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AL-TIRMIDHI, HIS WORKS AND HIS OPINIONS ON SUFISM

BY

MUHAMMED IBRAHEEM AL-GEYOUSHI

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بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ

رَبِّنا عَلَيْكَ تَوَكَّلنا وَإِلَيْكَ أَنبنا
وَإِلَيْكَ الْمَصِيرُ

يُؤْتِي الْحِكْمَةَ مَنْ يَشَاءُ وَمَنْ يُؤْتَ الْحِكْمَةَ

فَقَدْ أُوتِيَ خَيْرًا كَثِيرًا

وَمَا يَذَّكَّرُ إِلَّا أُولُو الْأَلْبَابِ

صَدَقَ بِهِ الْعَظِيمُ

FOREWORD

My thanks are due in the first place to Dr. 'Abd al-Halim Mahmūd, Deputy Shaikh of Al-Azhar, who, in October 1964, first drew my attention to the importance of three works by al-Tirmidhi, K Bayān al-Farq bain al-Sadr wa al-Qalb wa al-Fu'ad wa al-Lubb and K. al-Riyadah and Adab al-Nafs, which had been already published, and also to certain manuscripts in the National library, Cairo. After reading these books I found myself so intrigued by al-Tirmidhi that before long I was completely absorbed in the quest for his remaining works, many of which are still in MS.

In 1966 Dr. Walid 'Arafat kindly consented to supervise me in a programme of research the results of which are embodied in these pages. Throughout my studies Dr.

'Arafat's guidance and encouragement were a great source of strength to me, and to him I owe a debt of gratitude which I can hardly even begin to express. Another recipient of my gratitude is H.H. the Raja of Mahmudabad, who helped me to interpret a MS. in Persian. Nor can I

overlook in this connection two other persons,
without whose generous intervention this thesis
would not have borne the aspect it does, Dr. Anna
Irene Falk³, my English tutor, who took immense
pains in helping me to polish its style, and Dr.
James Dickie, lecturer in Islamic Studies at
Lancaster University, who read the thesis in
manuscript and contributed several valuable
suggestions.

AN ABSTRACT

This thesis deals with the life and works of Ḥakīm al-Tirmidhi, and his fundamental importance for the development of Sufism. It is divided into eight chapters, preceded by an introduction containing a survey of previous biographical and critical attempts.

Chapter I discusses his cultural background and his relationships with his teachers and students, and endeavours to reconstruct the history of his life from such scant biographical data as are available. Special consideration is given to his formative years and the persecution he suffered.

Chapter II is devoted to his works in the discussion of which the following procedure was observed throughout. First, reference was made to the libraries and collections which contain his extant works; secondly, a list of all his works, available or lost, published or unpublished, was provided; thirdly, each extant work was reviewed, stressing the most salient points in its contents.

Chapter III deals with his approach to (Tafīr)^s, Ḥadīth, 'Ilm al-Kalām and Fiqh.

Chapter IV concerns his theory of saints and sainthood. His characteristic division of saints, the

intricate hierarchy and the ten qualities of sainthood form the basis on which he discusses the saint's awareness of his sainthood and his ability to see the hidden, foresee the future and work miracles. This is followed by the analysis of the relationship between sainthood and prophethood, and al-Tirmidhi's own share of sainthood. The chapter ends with a discussion of the acceptance or rejection of al-Tirmidhi's theory by Ibn Taymyya and Ibn 'Arabi.

Chapter V, entirely devoted to al-Tirmidhi's ideas on gnosis, begins with the elucidation of the connection between light and gnosis. Much space is accorded to al-Tirmidhi's disquisition on exoteric and esoteric knowledge, their respective aims and categories and the behaviour conducive to their achievement. Finally, his ideas are compared with those of other Sufis by means of quotations from *Kashf al-Mahjūb* and *'Ilm al-Qulūb*.

Chapter VI, on the areas of interiority, describes the localities of the interior of the human body, made to represent the stations of faith. Each of them is portrayed as a mountain with its own bird, symbolic of one aspect of the soul, and with its own light. The brightest of these is the light of unity. It is equated with the

secret of life which generates all its forms.

Chapter VII depicts the struggle between the heart and the soul, and advises on exemplary Muslim conduct.

Chapter VIII inquires into al-Tirmidhi's influence on contemporary and later Sufi thought as observable in al-Malāmatīyya and al-Hakīmīyya, and traceable in the work of al-Ghazali, Ibn 'Arabi and Ibn al-Qayyim. It further quotes the opinions of Muslim biographers on al-Tirmidhi's role in the development of Islamic thought, giving special attention to his salient characteristics and methodological approach.

A "Summary and Conclusion" follows.

INTRODUCTION

Abu 'Abd-Allah Muhammad Ibn 'Ali al-Tirmidhi, better known as al-Hakīm-al-Tirmidhi was one of the great Sufi leaders of the third century A.H. The books in which he expressed his opinions attracted the attention of later Sufis who directed their efforts towards analysing and explaining them. Biographical material on al-Tirmidhi is found scattered in biographies, notes on Sufi literature but all is scarce. Such data do not give an adequate idea of the elevated level of thinking or of his views and his teachings, nor do they indicate the great influence which he and they had on Sufism. He was the first to clarify and formulate certain ideas on Sufism, and saints and sainthood to which his successors subscribed and on which they relied. This raises many questions as to the reasons why this prominent Sufi scholar was not duly recognised. These reasons will be explained in the course of the discussion of his life and his works.

Although Sufism developed both in the east and in the west, the work and studies of al-Tirmidhi were not known until twenty-five years or so ago (1),

(1) Six years before Professor Arberry wrote notes on al-Tirmidhi manuscripts in *Rivista degli studi orientali* XVIII (Rome 1940), pp. 315-327.

when Professor Arberry and Dr. 'Ali Hasan 'Abd ul-Kader edited the twin books *Al-Riyadah wa adab al-Nafs*⁽¹⁾ and wrote studies on al-Tirmidhi, giving a list of his works.⁽²⁾ They, however, appeared to be themselves uncertain about some points. For example, when they wrote on the book *Khatm al-Awliya'*⁽³⁾, they thought that the book contained only the questions which Ibn Arabi later answered in his book *al-Futuhāt al-Makkiyah*⁽⁴⁾ whereas in fact the questions answered by Ibn 'Arabi are only those found only in one of the 29 chapters of *Kitab Khatm al-Awliya'*, namely the fourth chapter. Also in 1946 another study by Dr. 'Abd al-Muhsin al-Husaini, on *Kitab Haqiqat al-Adamiya*⁽⁵⁾ was published in the Bulletin of the Faculty of Arts, University of Alexandria.

In 1958 Dr. Nicholas Hær, an American orientalist, edited *K. Bayān al-Farq bain al-Ṣadr wa al-Qalb wa al-Fu'ād wa al-Lubb* and analysed thoroughly al-Tirmidhi's distinctive trends of thought. Dr. Hær also wrote in detail on al-Tirmidhi's works and gave the names of the libraries in the various countries where they were to be found. Indeed, this proved an inestimable boon to

(1) Printed in Cairo.

(2) *Al-Riyadah*, pp. 3-32.

(3) Preface *al-Riyadah wa Adab al-Nafs* edited by Professor Arberry and Dr. 'Ali Hasan 'Abd al-Kader, p.15 Cairo 1947.

(4) See *al-Futuhāt al-Makkiyyah*, vol. 2, pp. 40-139.

(5) Vol. 3 pp. 50-108, 1946.

researchers, for it drew attention to the high position of al-Tirmidhi among Sufi thinkers.⁽¹⁾

Other works had been written before, particularly in English. In his article "Notes on al-Tirmidhi manuscript" published in *Reviste degli studi Orientali*, Professor Arberry gave notes on "Masā'il al-Ta'bir" and Masā'il Alī Sarkhas" as well as a description of the manuscript.

Earlier, in 1293 A.H., another book "Nawādir al-Uṣūl" was published in Istanbul accompanied by an explanation by Mr. Mustāfa al-Dimishqi. The rest of his many works are still in manuscript, lying in various world libraries, both in the east and the west, and a number of them have not even been located so far, although biographies had mentioned these works a long time ago. We hope that future research will uncover these works or some of them at least.

Manuscripts are known to be in Cairo, Alexandria, Tunisia, Damascus, Ankara, Istanbul, Leipzig in East Germany, Paris, Manchester and Calcutta in India.

Students of al-Tirmidhi have referred to the places where his works are to be found. The fullest account of these works is the one written by the American orientalist Nicholas Hair in his preface to K. Bayān "al-farq bain al-Ṣadr wa al-Qulb wa'l fuād wa-Lubb."⁽²⁾

(1) Bayān al-farq bain al-Ṣadr, pp. 3-33.

(2) See Preface to al-Farq bain al-Ṣadr wa al-Qulb wa'l fuad wa al-Lubb, pp.13-28.

Also there is an article in French by Dr. 'Othmān Yahya on al-Tirmidhi's works which contains a list of the works, their location, subject, and a description of each. In his article "Notes on al-Tirmidhi manuscript" published in *Revisite degli studi Orientali*, Professor Arberry gave notes on "Masā'il Ahl Sarkhas" as well as a description of the Manuscript.

In 1965 Dr. 'Othmān Ismā'īl Yahya edited *Kitab Khatm al-Awliyā'*, and included in the introduction text of *Risalat Budu wa al-Shān*, also by al-Tirmidhi himself, and in the footnotes the text of "*Kitab al-Qistās al-Mostaqim fi ma sa' ala' anhu al-Tirmidhi al-Hakim* by Ibn 'Arabi. The answers which Ibn 'Arabi gives in his book *al-Futūḥat al-Makkiyah* to the 155 questions raised by al-Tirmidhi in his book *Khatm al-Awliyā'* were also added⁽²⁾. In an appendix, Dr. Yahya added quotations on saints and sainthood⁽³⁾ (*al-Awliyā' wa al-Wilaya*) which he collected from several books by different writers of various centuries. In doing so Dr. Yahya has rendered a valuable service to the study of al-Tirmidhi and his works. This, together with his exposition of al-Tirmidhi's ideas about sainthood, al-Wilayah, is

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- (1) XVIII (Rome 1940) pp.315-327.
 (2) See *Khatm al-Awliyā'*, pp. 142-326.
 (3) *Khatm al-Awliyā'*, pp.449-514.

a great help to all future scholars and students of al-Tirmidhi and his works - something for which they may well be thankful.

In the same year was published another book by al-Tirmidhi, "Sharh al-Saḥāḥ wa Maḥāsidiha" in an edition by Husni Zaidan.

This study of al-Tirmidhi's works published and unpublished, and what scholars wrote about him is set out in the following plan.

INTRODUCTION

Chapter	I	Life and background.
"	II	His Works.
"	III	His approach to Tafsīr Ḥadīth, 'Ilm al-Kalam and Fiqh.
"	IV	Saints and Sainthood.
"	V	al-Tirmidhi's theory of gnosis.
"	VI	The areas of the interior and his theory of light
"	VII	The struggle between the heart and the soul, and forms of conduct.
"	VIII	The influence of al-Tirmidhi on Sufi thought.
		Summary and Conclusion

CHAPTER 1

1. Contemporary Intellectual Trends
2. His life:-
 - (a) His early studies
 - (b) Family Influences
 - (c) Pilgrimage and early journeys
 - (d) The period of hardship
 - (e) His spiritual progress
 - (f) His journey to Balkh and Nishapūr
3. His teachers
4. His students

Background

Contemporary Intellectual Trends

The third century A.H., in which al-Tirmidhi lived, represents the age of maturity of the Islamic State in the fulness of its culture and civilization. It was a century that produced giants of Islamic thought in every aspect of human knowledge. Schools of thought, whether in religious studies, philosophy, literature or language sprang up in every quarter of the Islamic world, in all major cities and centres of culture such as Baghdad, Kufah, Basrah, Madinah; Balkh, Nishapur, Bukhara, Tirmidh and others, whose mosques were used as centres of knowledge and cultural and religious activities. Scholars and students travelled to the farthest corners of the Islamic world in search of knowledge. Each region had its own distinctive character. Whoever wanted to study jurisprudence (Ilm al-Fiqh) went to Baghdad, to sit at the feet of the followers of Abu Hanifah; those who were desirous to study the Arabic language and its grammar went to Basrah and Kufah; those who wished to be expert in Hadith and Riwayah had to complete their studies by going to the sheikhs of Madinah and the traditionists of the Hijaz who were the disciples of Imam Malik or their successors. Nevertheless, there were also in other regions scholars of Hadith who played a significant

role in the service of Hadīth; this is especially true of Khurasān, where al-Tirmidhi was brought up. Khurasān was the centre of the greatest traditionists of the Islamic world, as is attested by the fact that al-Bukhārī⁽¹⁾, Muslim⁽²⁾, al-Tirmidhi⁽³⁾, Ibn-Majah,⁽⁴⁾ and Abu Dawūd⁽⁵⁾ were born and brought up in this region. Khurasān is also distinguished by having produced the leading Sufis, a relationship which manifests itself in their names, which were derived from a number of its towns. Moreover, most of the Sufi sects whose founders exerted the greatest influence on Sufi thought later on grew on its soil. A quick review of the Sufi sheikhs and their background will corroborate this fact.⁽⁶⁾

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- (1) Muhammad b Ismā'īl al-Bukhārī, the author of al-Jamī' al-Sahih (d. m Shawwāl 260 A.H. 874 A.D. See Tahdhib al-Tahdhib, vol. IX pp.47-55, and Tadhkirat al-Huffāz, vol. II, p.134.
- (2) Muslim b. al-Hajjaj al-Qushairi, the author of al-Sahih (born 204 A.H., 820 A.D., died Rajab 261 A.H. 875 A.D. See Tahdhib vol. X, pp.126-128).
- (3) Al-Tirmidhi, Abu, 'Isa Muhammad b 'Isa b Sawrah, the author of al-Jamiwal-Ilal and al-Shamā'il (died 13th Rajab 279 A.H. 892 A.D. at Tirmidh.); see Tadhkirat al-Huffāz, vol. II, pp.207-209, and Tahdhib, vol. IX pp.387-9)
- (4) Ibn Majah Muhammad b Yazid al-Qazwini (born 209 A.H., 824 A.D., died 22nd Ramaḍan 273 A.H., 887 A.D.), the author of al-Sunnan, al-Tafsīr, and al-Tarīkh. See Tadhkirat al-Huffāz vol. II, pp.209-210, and Tahdhib al-Tahdhib, vol. IX, pp. 530-2.
- (5) Abu Dawūd Sulaiman b al-Ash'ath b Shaddād b 'Amr b 'Amir al-Sijistani, the author of Kitāb al-Sunnan (born 202 A.H., 817 A.D., died 16th Shawwāl 275 A.H., 889 A.D.) See Tahdhib al-Tahdhib, vol. IV, pp. 169-173, and Tadhkirat al-Huffāz, vol. II, p.168.
- (6) See Tabaqāt al-Ṣūfiyyah by al-Sulami; Hilait al-Awliyā' by al-Asfīhāni, al-Risalah al-Qushairiyyah, and Tadhkirat al-Awliyā' by Atṭar.

The province of Khorasan in which lies the town of Tirmidh, and the neighbouring countries of Transoxania, were, before Islam, the scene of a multiplicity of various creeds and beliefs, living side by side, but each having its own course of extravagance and bigotry. The general atmosphere prevailing then in the province was, therefore, charged with conflict, diversity and religious prejudice, as is natural for such an area situated as it was between the various religious beliefs. (1)

Also, the people of the area were a medley of diverse races - Turks, Indians, Persians ... and the diversity of these races and their co-existence in this part of the world had a far-reaching effect in promoting the diversification of their thoughts, tendencies and sentiments. This was particularly clear in the intellectual, religious and social trends which divided the area and continued to be effective even after the spread of Islam. The commercially and strategically important position of the town of Tirmidh consisted in being the meeting-point of all these multifarious races, beliefs and cultures. (2)

These features overshadowed the life of the people

(1) Dr al-Husaini al-Ma'rifah 'inda al-Hakim al-Tirmidhi
p 42, Cairo 1968.

(2) Ibid., p 39.

of Tirmidh, and tinged their thoughts with a certain colour, whether wittingly or unwittingly. When Islam came, these tendencies were taken over, and they were subsequently of a great effect in disturbing the political, social and intellectual situation. Perhaps this may account for the multiplicity of schools of thought, political affiliations, social trends and cultural structures which developed in the area under the rule of Islam.

During the third century of the Islamic era in particular, various intellectual attitudes began to take shape, and one of the strongest was the religious enterprise for the collection, classification and sifting of the prophetic traditions. The movement gathered momentum, and soon grew so prevalent that it became the overall mark of culture in the area. Nothing can be more indicative of the depth and predominance of this cultural ferment than the fact that the six most famous compilers of tradition - al-Bukhārī (d.303 A.H.), Muslim (d.261 A.H.), Abu-Dawūd (d.275 A.H.), al-Nasā'ī (d.303 A.H.), al-Tirmidhi (d.279 A.H.) and Ibn Majah (d.273 A.H.) - were all from this province.⁽¹⁾

Also in this province arose the Sufi movements and their leaders, such as the Malamatiyyah, the Futuwwah

(1) Dr. 'Abd al-Mohsin al-Husaini, al-Ma'rifah 'Inda al-Hakim al-Tirmidhi, p.45.

of Shah al-Kirmani (d.310 A.H., 922 A.D.), the Sahliyah of Sahl al-Tustari (d.283 A.H., 896 A.D.), and the Kar-ramiyyah of Muhammad ibn Karram (d.255 A.H., 869 A.D.) In this province also lies the town of Balkh, which produced a number of Sufi sheikhs, such as Ibrahim ibn-Adham, (d.161 A.H., 778 A.D.) and Hatim al-A'amm (the Deaf), (d. 237 A.H., 851 A.D.). In addition, the province was the seedbed of scholastic (Kalam) sects of Shi'ites, Mu'tazilites, and Khwarijites, including the Murji'ites, and the Jahmites, who originated in Tirmidh itself. (1) Other religious groups, such as the Hanafis and Shāfi'ees, were in bitter conflict ^{which} developed on various occasions into a bloody struggle, as may be gathered from a statement by al-maqdisī in his "Ahsan al-Taqaṣim" (2)

Al-Tirmidhi's birthplace, Tirmidh, on the river Oxus in Transoxania, is far better documented as such. It has produced many other scholars of renown, in the field of Hadith and Fuqaha jurists, the most famous of whom was Abu 'Isa Muhammad Ibn Sawrah al-Tirmidhi, the author of al-Jami' wa al-'Ilal, and Kitab al-Shamā'il. Today, Tirmidh is a modest village in Afghanistan, which is nowadays in the Soviet Union, and still contains the white marble tomb of Abu 'Abdallah Muhammad Ibn 'Ali al-Tirmidhi among the

(1) Dr 'Abd al-Muhsin al-Husaini, al-Ma'rifah Inda al-Hakim al-Tirmidhi, p.47.

(2) Al-Maqdisy, "Ahsan al-Taqaṣim", p.323.

ruins of the old town. According to the Persian historian Hafiz Abro, it was built by Alexander the Great. At the time of the Islamic conquest it was a centre for Buddhism, with some monasteries which housed about a thousand monks,⁽¹⁾ and was ruled by a king called Tirmidh Shah. It was then protected by a strong fortress on the bank of the river. In 70 A.H., 689 A.D., it was conquered by Musa Ibn Abdallah Ibn Khazim who ruled it for 15 years until he was succeeded by Othman Ibn Masud by order of al-Mufaddal Ibn al-Muhallab, the governor of the region. Tirmidh is also mentioned by Yaqut in Mu jam al-Buldan. Its early history is well summed up by Professor Arberry and Dr Ali Hassan Abd al-Qadr in the preface to the books al-Riyadah wa Adab al-Nafs. They also mention that it was surrounded by a wall, had a brick-paved market-place and streets, and sweet drinking water from al-Saghani, as the Oxus did not satisfy the needs of the surrounding villages.⁽²⁾

His Life

Al-Tirmidhi's date of birth is passed over in silence by both biographical works as well as sufi literature, whether Arabic or Persian. Not even an approximate

(1) Preface to al-Riyadah, pp 10-11

(2) Ibid.

mention can be found. It is however easy to determine that al-Tirmidhi was born in the first quarter of the 3rd century A.H.; the dates of his death as given by different biographers, namely 255 A.H.⁽¹⁾, 296 A.H.⁽²⁾ 285 A.H.⁽³⁾, after 318 A.H.⁽⁴⁾ and 320 A.H., differ by as much as 65 years, but the correct date can be approximately deduced by comparing facts transmitted about him in the biographies. Safinat al-Awliyā' and Miftah al-Sa'ādah state that he died in 255 A.H., but this conflicts with the information supplied by al-Tirmidhi himself in his work known as Budu-shan al-Hakim al-Tirmidhi, which he wrote in his own pen, and in which he mentions a vision his wife had had on the morning of one Saturday ten days before the end of Dhu 'l-Qa'da 269 A.H.⁽⁵⁾. This proves that the date of his death as found in the above named two biographies cannot be correct. Nor does it tally with the statement of al-Subki and al-Dhahabi to the effect that he was driven out of Tirmidh and went to Nishapur in 285 A.H. This also conflicts with Professor Arberry's and Dr. 'Ali Hasan 'Abd al-Qāder's conclusion that he died in the year 296.A.H. But it may be presumed that his death occurred after 318 A.H.: some European

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- (1) Al-Riyadah p.10 and Miftah al-Sa'adah vol.II,p.170-1.
 (2) Al-Riyadah, p.11.
 (3) Encyclopedia of Islam, vol. IV, p.798.
 (4) Lisan al-Mizan, vol. V, pp.308-310.
 (5) Preface to Khatm al-Awliya', p.31.

scholars assume that he died as late as 320 A.H.⁽¹⁾ This indicates that he lived long, and was a centenarian.

In his book *Kashf al-Zunun*, Haji Khalifah gives more than one date of al-Tirmidhi's death, namely: 255, 258, 320 and 777 A.H.⁽²⁾ In his book *al-Risalah al-Mustatrafah al-Kittani* states that he was killed in Balkh 295 A.H.⁽³⁾

The coming pages will be devoted to the description of al-Tirmidhi's life. Unfortunately, only meagre information is available on the violent intellectual struggles which characterize its greater part, and which were responsible for his exile and for the persecution he suffered. A statement which recurs in most of the books that refer to him is particularly revelatory: "I did not write anything so that it should be attributed to me, but whenever I feel the hardship of the time, I always seek comfort in writing".⁽⁴⁾ This indicates to what extent he was forsaken by people, and might well have written in response to a decision of the governor, who had forbidden him to talk to the people after they had accused him of heresy and testified against him.

(1) *Lisan al-Mizan*, vol. V, pp.308-310.

(2) Pp. 9, 10, 700, 938, 1104, 1258, 1385, 1415, 1878, 1883, published in Turkey 1952.

(3) P.56 third edition, Damascus 1964.

(4) Ibn Hajar, *Lisan al-Mizan*, vol. V, p.308; Ibn al-Jawzi, *Ṣifat al-Safwah* vol.IV, p.141, al-Qushayri, *al-Risalah*, ed. by Dr. A.H. Mahmūd and M b Sharif Vol.I, p.127; and al-Ansari, *Sharh al-Risalah al-Qushairiyyah*, vol. I, p.164.

al-Tirmidhi's father was a muhaddith, a scholar of Hadīth and a faqih (jurist) and is mentioned by al-Khatib al-Baghdhadi.⁽¹⁾ al-Tirmidhi seems to have been introduced to knowledge almost as soon as he attained the age of reason. As his father was his first master, he did not have to turn to other sheikhs for guidance in his early studies. Motivated by the concern of a parent as well as that of a guardian and teacher, his father brought him up to love knowledge and urged him to study as assiduously as possible even in early childhood. Thus, when other children occupied their time with play, al-Tirmidhi devoted his^{self} to books and study. This is summed up with admirable succinctness by al-Tirmidhi himself in the following brief passage ". . . it was my start that Allah, blessed be His name, sent me my sheikh, the mercy of Allah be upon him, when I was eight years of age. He exhorted me to learn, taught me and urged me to seek knowledge. He continued to encourage me until (study) became a habit with me instead of play. I acquired the knowledge of both 'Ilm al-Athar and 'Ilm al-Ray in my childhood".⁽²⁾

(1) Tarikh Baghdad, vol.XI, p.373, No.9226. This statement has been erroneously assumed by some scholars to refer to al-Hakim al-Tirmidhi himself.

(2) He uses the terms Ilm al-Ra'y and Ilm al-Athar. The latter term has a wider sense than Ilm al-Hadīth, as it also involves critical knowledge of the transmitters and examination of the text; see Budu shan al-Hakim al-Tirmidhi, Ismā'īl Sā'ib Ms. fol.210, and Préface to Khatm al-Awliyā', p.14.

It is not known with any certainty when al-Tirmidhi's father died. It is incorrect that he died when al-Tirmidhi was still a boy, as reported by Farīd al-Dīn al-ʿAṭṭār in his book *Tadhkirat al-Awliyā'*,⁽¹⁾ On the contrary, the abundance of information found about his father in al-Tirmidhi's works indicates that he lived until the latter was a young man and had acquired considerable knowledge. Nor is it known exactly how long al-Tirmidhi continued to be taught by his father, whether this tuition were exclusive or which other sheikhs he studied under if he had other teachers in addition to his father.

It also appears that al-Tirmidhi had great love and affection for his mother, who seems to have possessed some knowledge of Ḥadīth and transmitted it to her son, as he relates a ḥadīth on her authority in his book *al-Radd ʿala al-Muʿaṭṭilah*, where she appears as the last link of the chain (isnād) on his side.⁽²⁾ He does not appear to have had any brothers, which may account for his mother's love for him, a love which was mutual. An account given by the Persian poet Farīd al-Dīn al-ʿAṭṭār in *Tadhkirat al-Awliyā'* shows how faithfully he always discharged his duties towards her.⁽³⁾

In those days, science and knowledge knew no

(1) *Tadhkirat al-Awliyā'*, vol.II, p.90.

(2) *al-Radd ʿala al-Muʿaṭṭilah*, Alexandria Ms. fol.174.

(3) *Tadhkirat al-Awliyā'*; vol. II, pp.91-2.

boundaries. Students travelled from one country to the other in search of knowledge, and journeys of this kind were a generally accepted and respected custom. The history of Islam teems with accounts of scholars travelling from east to west to drink at the fountain of knowledge and sit at the feet of famous sheikhs. Travel for the sake of knowledge was regarded as a necessity, or even an obligation that had to be discharged. In this respect, al-Tirmidhi was no exception. In his youth, he once agreed with two of his companions⁽¹⁾ to undertake an educational journey, which would give them the opportunity to meet the leading intellectuals of various countries. But this dream never materialised. His mother was taken ill, and, as there was nobody else to take care of her, al-Tirmidhi, though obsessed with his longing for knowledge, and heart-broken at the prospect of giving up the intended journey, would not leave his mother unattended. His friends set out on their journey, but he remained behind, lamenting the time he had lost and the opportunity of which he had been deprived.

The Persian poet Farid al-Din al-Attar describes this situation in *Tadhkirat al-Awliya'*, where he refers to al-Tirmidhi's plan to set out in quest of knowledge,

(1) John Auberry, *Muslim Saints and Mystics*, p.244.

and graphically depicts his despair at having to abandon it; "His mother said to him, 'Son, I am a weak woman with nobody to help or support me. You are the one who looks after me. In whose care will you leave me and go away?'"⁽¹⁾ These heart-rending words made him cancel the intended journey. His fellow students left without him. Some time later, al-Tirmidhi was at a cemetery, weeping hard, and saying "Thus have I remained behind . . . ignorant . . . dull, and my fellow students? They will return home armed with knowledge." All of a sudden, he saw a sheikh with a brightly shining face who came up to him and asked him why he was weeping. Al-Tirmidhi related his story, and the sheikh offered to teach him, so that he would outpace his friends in a comparatively short time. Al-Tirmidhi grasped the chance eagerly, and the sheikh taught him for a number of years.⁽²⁾ Finally he discovered that the sheikh was al-Khadr, peace be upon him, and he knew that he had been able to avail himself of this opportunity owing to the blessings of his mother's prayers.

This account demonstrates with what fervour young al-Tirmidhi was yearning for knowledge. It also shows the warmth of his affection for his mother, and the magnitude of the sacrifice he made for her, which had

(1) Tadhkirat al-Awliyā', vol II, pp 91-92, and fol II al-Ad'iah Ayasufya Ms No 1814

(2) Ibid. Vol II, p 91.

a great effect on his future. He felt that God had had mercy upon him and had sent him al-Khadr to teach him, and thus to compensate for the frustrated journey, and open up to him the illimited treasures of Divine Knowledge. However, he did not renounce future travel. Not satisfied with what knowledge had been vouchsafed to him by the grace of God, he seized the first chance that afforded itself, and went to Mecca to perform the pilgrimage. He was, as he himself says, 27 years old at that time.⁽¹⁾ On his way to Mecca he passed through Irāq, where he studied Hadīth under its scholars, and went to Baṣra and Kufah to study under their sheikhs. There he stayed until the month of Rajab of the same year,⁽²⁾ and remained until pilgrimage time in Mecca by the 'house of Allah', praying and invoking God in the small hours of the morning near Bab al Mutazam. God answered his prayers, and accepted his repentance. His later comment on this was, "I returned home after I had found myself."

This pilgrimage seems to have had a profound effect on al-Tirmidhi's spiritual life, and showed him a new way to God. This is what he says of these days in Mecca:

(1) *Budu shān al-Ḥakīm al-Tirmidhi*, Ismā'īl Ṣā'ib Ms, fol. 210; preface to *Khatm al-ʿAwliyā'*, p 14.

(2) *Ibid.*

"I asked Him near al-Multazam to reform me, and make me disinclined to earthly life, and to endow me with the ability to learn His Book by heart. I did not find anything else to ask for, apart from these things."⁽¹⁾

This was the turning point, a landmark in al-Tirmidhi's life, and the Great Threshold he passed on his way to Sufism. Having acquired a considerable share of each of the different branches of knowledge prevalent at that time such as Fiqh (jurisprudence), Ḥadīth, (tradition), Tafsīr (commentary) and 'Ilm al-Kalām (theology), he began learning the Qur'an by heart already on his return journey,⁽²⁾ and completely achieved this undertaking soon after his arrival home. The influence which the Qur'an had on his spiritual and emotional life was such that he spent whole nights from dusk to dawn reading it. The light of the Qur'an, as he said, filled him with happiness and contentment.⁽³⁾

After that he embarked on a search for books which "talked of the Praises of God", as he put it, and which gave good counsel and good words to help in the hereafter. A period of disorientation began in which al-Tirmidhi tried to "discover himself" and assure himself that he was on the right path. He looked for someone to advise

(1) Budūshān al-Hakīm al-Tirmidhi, Ismā'īl Sa'īb Ms, Fol 210, and Preface to Khatm al-Awliyā' pp 14-15.

(2) Ibid.

(3) Ibid.

and guide him, but to no avail. During this crucial period he resorted exclusively to prayers and fasting which alone provided relief from the fear and anxiety by which he was obsessed, until he was guided to the Sufis ('Ahl al-Ma rifah) and heard their discourse. He procured a copy of the book of al-Antaki, the reading of which led him on to Riyadāt al-Nafs (The Discipline of the Soul) on a very strict course of whose precepts he embarked. He went so far in the physical application⁽¹⁾ of this discipline that he refrained from drinking river water for fear that it might have flowed over a place where wrong had been done.

He kept aloof from people, and took to visiting ruins and forsaken places. He liked loneliness, and even frequented the desert which was distant enough from the preoccupations of everyday life to provide a placid atmosphere where nothing distracted him from his meditations⁽²⁾ about the greatness of the Creator, and thoughts of the Heaven and the Earth. The tranquillity, the grandeur and the vast expanse of desert seem to have provided him with the right frame of mind in which to try to fathom the secrets of the universe and to apprehend the greatness of life. This loneliness, inevitable since he

(1) Budu shan Ismā'īl Sā'ib Collection fol.210 and Preface to *Khatm al-Awliyā'*, p.15.

(2) *Ibid*, pp.15-16 and fol.210.

had no faithful friends to share the hardships of the way his carnal soul was anxious to follow, provided him with more opportunities for spiritual concentration than he would have found had he lived among people, busying themselves with their problems and troubled about their concerns.

This period of development is summed up in a passage it may be useful to quote here:

"I went back feeling very anxious to learn the Qur'an by heart, and learnt part of it on my way. When I reached home, God, by his Grace, helped me on until I finished it. I used to spend the whole night reading, without feeling tired or bored, and sometimes remained so until the morning. I found its sweetness in my heart... I looked in books for the praises of God, blessed be His Name, and tried to find the best words of good counsel and good help in life after death. I looked for a guide in this land, and nobody guided me to the right way, or gave me advice that might strengthen me, so I became an uncertain man, not knowing what was meant for me. I took to fasting and prayers and remained on this course till I heard the words of those who are known by the name of Ahl al-Ma'rifah. I obtained the book of Riyadāt al-Nafs, and followed its guidance. Allah helped me on and,

through his inspiration, prevented me from succumbing to lust until I felt as if I knew what was in store for me. I even went to the extent of abstaining from drinking cold water. I refrained from drinking the waters of the rivers for fear that they might have flowed over a place where they should not have done so. I used therefore to drink from the wells of the large valley. I liked loneliness at home and liked going to the desert. I used to wander in those ruins and around catacombs in the district, and continued in this habit. I longed for faithful friends to help me in this, but finding none, I went to the ruins and the wilderness."⁽¹⁾

By this route al-Tirmidhi found himself led to Sufism. During this period of struggle, the depth and extent of which are so vividly described in the above passage, al-Tirmidhi resolved to study astronomy, arithmetic, and the measurement of time by the movement of the sun, and made considerable progress. However, he gave up these studies in consequence of a vision in which he was warned to avoid such pursuits lest they affect his spiritual development and debarred him from God.⁽²⁾ What he carried on with was Riyadat al-Nafs, solitary confinement,

(1) See *Budu Shān al-Hakīm al-Tirmidhi*, Ismā'īl Sā'ib Ms. Fol.210 and *Khatm' al-Awliyā'*, preface, edited by Dr. 'Othman Yahya, Beirut 1965, p.15.

(2) See *Ibid.* Fol. 215, and *Ibid*, p.27.

soliloquy and supplication, until he found his way and his heart felt strong and alert. He looked for companions to help him on his way, and kept trust with them at a meeting place for discussions, prayers and supplications which prolonged themselves until the small hours of the morning.⁽¹⁾

Some knowledge of these activities seems to have transpired and given rise to gossip. Besides, there seems to have been at these discussions, some question of Sufi signs and Isharat, allegories which were incomprehensible to outsiders unaccustomed to such an analysis of the way wherein the shining brightness of the heart is diffused, providing inspiration to a deeper understanding of a Qur'anic verse or a Hadith of the Prophet, or to a more acute argumentation in learned controversies with scholars of the day. It appears that the ideas of al-Tirmidhi met with the disapproval of scholars who followed a different course, and were committed to different attitudes and different explanations of certain matters. The campaign against him was conducted by certain men who pretended to knowledge, but in reality knew nothing. It appears that they argued against him on the grounds of his views on sainthood and prophethood, and accused him maliciously of denying certain truths, and inventing

(1) *Budu shān al-Hakīm al-Tirmidhi*, Ismā'il Ṣa'ib Ms Fol 215, and *Khatm al-Awliyā*, p 27.

alternative principles. They even went so far as to report him to the Governor of Balkh, complaining publicly that he talked of unchaste love, corrupted people and claimed to be a prophet. The governor sent for him and ordered him to desist from talking about love. The accusations levelled against him caused him not only great pain and sorrow, but also made his life much harder and exposed him to great danger. But he persisted until the difficulties became so great that they could not be overcome.⁽¹⁾

It is characteristic of al-Tirmidhi that he put this time of trial to good use. He considered that this state of affairs offered him a chance to control himself, and to overcome the potential desires of the appetitive soul. He relates that he used to roam the streets barefoot, wearing poor clothes and carrying loads like a slave. In face of these difficulties his soul refused to do what he wanted; however, it relented gradually and eventually offered no more resistance. Thereupon he felt the sweetness of humility.⁽²⁾

He could not avoid meeting his friends at the liturgical congregations he attended in his friends' homes and could not help feeling pleasure at meeting them.

(1) Budu shan, Khatm pp.17-8 and Ismā'īl Sā'ib Ms.fol.215.

(2) Ibid.

He says: "Once, while I was returning one night from a meeting I felt as if my heart were shining with light, and my way was open before me..."⁽¹⁾ This period was a time of test and trial, when he endeavoured to conquer his lower-soul and, by the control of its desires, so defeat it that it could not hinder his progress towards God, by pride in the manifestations of worship and piety.

It is in the twin books entitled *al-Riyadah wa Adab al-Nafs*⁽²⁾ that these struggles, hardships and bitter trials are mirrored. There, in numerous other essays, he speaks of the cunning of the carnal soul which he likens to a ferocious beast, always on the outlook for a chance to assault its victim. One look at the Leipzig Manuscript suffices to visualise this difficult period through which he passed, and in which he endeavoured to gain control of himself. Finally, he found compensation for the bitter hardships he had suffered through venomous accusations, and the injuries spite had inflicted on him, and solace for his sore and dejected heart when he experienced visions which showed him that he was on the right way.

It is in *Budu Shan al-Hakim al-Tirmidhi* that a number of these visions are related. It is by no means difficult

(1) *Budu Shan al-Hakim al-Tirmidhi*, Ms fol 21b.

(2) Published in Cairo 1947, edited by Professor Arberry and Dr A H Abd al-Wader.

to account for these manifestations in the light of modern psychology. They are compensations to which the subconscious mind has recourse. What cannot materialise in real life can happen in a vision providing new strength to continue the struggle and the energy to achieve the objectives of the struggle. This is an advantage for people with upright souls and pure hearts. Their visions are a promise from God that they will be able to continue on their way, and hold fast to their undertaking until all obstacles are overcome. This is especially true of al-Tirmidhi and men like him who were aware of the words of the Prophet: "Nothing remains of prophethood except good tidings" (al-Mubashirāt). When the Prophet was asked: "What are the good tidings, O messenger of Allah?" he replied: "They are the truthful vision seen by man or seen for him". Al-Tirmidhi's visions gave him new hope; visions of others confirmed his own, and his spiritual strength was enhanced.

One of the visions is related in Budu Shan in these words: "In my vision it was as if I saw the messenger of Allah (may Allah's blessing and peace be upon him) come into the Mosque in our district. I followed him wherever he went. He walked into the Maqṣūrah⁽¹⁾ and there I followed him closely enough to be able to touch him.

(1) A special room.

I placed my feet in his footsteps, following him into the Maqsurah. He ascended the pulpit, and I climbed (the steps) after him until he reached the topmost step on which he sat. I sat down upon the next step, at his feet. My right hand was close to him, and my face (was turned) towards the Mosque doors leading to the market place, with my left hand nearest to the people waiting below. At that moment, I awoke, with the memory of my vision deeply vivid in my mind."⁽¹⁾

In the light of modern psychological research, the genesis of this vision is almost obvious. Persecuted by people who accused him of disbelief, alienated from the community to which he belonged, but convinced that his way was right, and that he was not guilty of any deviation, he had taken refuge in the world of visions and sought in his visions of the Prophet, of angels, the vindication and even confirmation of his innocence. He did not care what accusations people levelled against him, for he knew that they were not unaware of the purity of his heart. His attacks on the 'Ulamā' al-Rusūm or 'Ulamā' al-Zahir should be interpreted in the light of the wrong they perpetrated on him, for the hardships resulting from this persecution are very likely to have

(1) Budu Shān al-Hakīm al-Tirmidhi, Preface to Khatm al Awliyā', p.16; and Ismā'īl Sā'ib Ms.fol.210B.

inspired the pamphlet in question.⁽¹⁾

On the occasion of a journey which culminated in the only pilgrimage he refers to, he came, in transit through Iraq, into contact with scholars of Hadith, from which he derived much knowledge. He also spent some time in Basrah and Kufa.

The period described in *Hudu Shān*, whose beginning is not defined, ends in the year 286 A.H., the same year in which the reign of Al al-Saffar ended in Balkh, and that of the Samaniyyins began. The above mentioned summons to Balkh when silence on certain subjects was imposed on him falls into this period which lasted approximately 10 years. It was also during this time—according to al-Hafiz al-Dhabahi in *Tadhkirat al-Huffaz* in the year 285 A.H.⁽²⁾—that he moved to Nishapur where he taught *‘Ilm al-Ḥadīth*. It is by virtue of this fact that he has been described as a Muhaddith by a number of historians, among them al-Dhahabi, who states that he gave much attention to this subject (Ḥadīth), and travelled far and wide for its sake,⁽³⁾ and the commentator of *al-Risalah al-Qushairiyyah*, who mentions that he studied ḥadīth extensively in *‘Irāq* and other places, and was regarded as one of the equals of al-Bukhārī.

(1) Leipzig Ms. Fol 5, Ismāil Sāib Ms. Fol 127.

(2) Al-Dhahabi, *Tadhkirat al-Huffāz*, Vol II, p 197.

(3) *Ibid.*

He adds that al-Tirmidhi was, according to al-Hafiz ibn Najār's statement, one of the Muslim leaders who had been able to compose important works on Sufism, the fundamentals of religion and the meaning of Hadith, because he had studied under so many sheikhs. The influence of his studies of Hadith is also clearly traceable in works on such sufi subjects as al-Wilayah (sainthood), al-Riyāḍah (retreat), Adab al-Nafs (discipline of the soul), and various rules of behaviour where he quotes Hadith as evidential support for his statements. The influence of Hadith is exemplified in almost every page of his works.

Al-Tirmidhi was the head of a large family. He had six children, a fact to which he refers at the age of sixty-five.⁽¹⁾ He seems to have been quite affluent, for Farid al-Din al-Aṭṭar says in Tadhkirat al-Awliyā':⁽²⁾ "Al-Tirmidhi was once walking in the direction of the Mosque, wearing a clean Jubbah garb and a clean turban, when suddenly his maidservant poured slops with a baby's excreta over him". This otherwise trifling incident proves that al-Tirmidhi led a comfortable life and could afford a maid to look after his children.

His family life seems to have been happy, based on

(1) Leipzig Ms. Fol 168.

(2) Vol. I pp 91, 93, 98.

sincerity and respect and love. Farīd al-Dīn al-Attār relates that his children, asked how they knew if he was angry, replied that he used to treat them, on such occasions, with an affection which was even stronger than usual, but at the same time refrained from food and drink. Moreover, he shed tears and cried out in supplication: "O, Lord, have I aroused Thy anger that Thou hast thus permitted me to become angry? O my Lord I repent; guide them back to the right way." This is how they knew that he was angry with them. Therefore they repented, and asked his forgiveness, until he forsook his grief.⁽¹⁾

Al-Tirmidhi loved and highly esteemed his good wife who was a good companion to him in weal and woe. She also had a share of Divine Knowledge and an interest in Sufism. The support she gave him in that critical period gave him new fortitude and hope for the future. And indeed, they were finally both in a state of grace which Allah accorded them. Al-Tirmidhi was grateful for all his wife had done for him. His love and respect for her are clearly observable in Budu Shah. It is manifest that she had a maqām (station) and was struggling to attain a certain position as a Sufi. The account of her visions in Budu Shán is indicative of that.

(1) Vol I p. 91, 93, 98.

This account is also of great biographical importance, for the dates of some of these visions as quoted in *Budu Shan* help in ascertaining the time - and to a certain extent the duration - of al-Tirmidhi's critical period. Thus he states that she had a particular vision on a Saturday morning ten days before the end of Dhu 'l-Qa'da, i.e. in the year 269 A.H.⁽¹⁾ which permits us to locate the period in which al-Tirmidhi suffered oppression approximately between the above date and 285 A.H. Besides, this reference sheds a new light on the time of the composition of *Budu Shān*, which seems to have been written in 272 or 273 A.H. However, the words "then she saw a vision two or three years ago . . ." ⁽²⁾ may also be taken to mean that the pamphlet was written after the end of the critical period, which, in turn, might imply - in contradiction to what was stated above - that his period came to an end in 272 or 273 A.H., and not in 285 A.H. One thing is absolutely certain, namely that al-Tirmidhi's critical period was definitely over shortly after 285 A.H. It might be possible to reconcile these two divergent calculations by assuming the existence of a respite, however brief, in which he was free from threats on the

(1) *Budu Shān*, Preface to *Khatm al-Awliyā'*, p.31, fol.217, Ismā'īl Sā'ib Ms.

(2) *Ibid.*

part of the government, a respite which may have coincided with Banu al-Saffar's temporary loss of power in consequence of one of the revolts mentioned by the historical sources.

There is no doubt that this period of persecution in al-Tirmidhi's life was extraordinarily eventful not merely from the viewpoint of the above-mentioned external happenings, but also in the spiritual sense. However, the mystery of Sheikh al-Tirmidhi's life and activities has so far eluded all attempts at elucidation. It is to be hoped that research will prove more fruitful at some future date.

His journey to Balkh which closely followed one of the most severe bouts of persecution represents, perhaps, the last and most important lap of his travels. Most sources state that he met there with a hearty welcome; presumably the local population respected him owing to a certain similarity in their views. A number of works on sufi problems where he expresses his ideas on the workings of the soul and its weaknesses originated on this journey. This can be deduced from his letters to Muhammad Ibn al-Faḍl⁽¹⁾ and Abu ʿUthmān Saʿīd al-Ḥīri,⁽²⁾ two great sheikhs who lived in Balkh at that time, and

(1) Died in 319 A.H. See Risalat al-Qushairi, Vol I, p 118, and Tabaqat al-Sufiyyah, p 212.

(2) Died in 298 A.H., al-Risalah vol I, p 109, and Tabaqat p 170.

were the founders and leaders of the Malamatiyyah sect.

The journey obviously provided al-Tirmidhi with the opportunity to discuss the opinions of the Malamatiyyah by which, as these letters prove, he was influenced to a certain extent. This influence is observable in certain passages of his works such as those where he discusses the nature of the soul and the deceitful cunning it employs before it pounces at a given chance.⁽¹⁾

It can be inferred from historical works⁽²⁾ that this journey or rather flight to Balkh occurred in the last part of his life when he had already composed *Kitab Khatm al-Awliyā'* and *'Ilal al-Sharī'ah*, for the historians ascribe his flight to the necessity to escape from the consequences of grave and repeated accusations which were levelled at him after these books had been written: that he preferred sainthood to prophethood, valued some saints above some prophets, and that his talk of love was liable to lead to corruption. The study of his books shows that these accusations were entirely unjustified. Al-Tirmidhi had merely become the victim of spiteful slander of the kind that attacks great men at all times.

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- (1) *Risalah ila Muhammad Ibn al-Fadl*, Fols 15, 16, 17, 66, 67, 68, 69, Leipzig Ms, and *Risalah ila Abu Uthman Sa'id al-Nisaburi*, Fols 140b, 141, Leipzig Ms.
 (2) See *Lisān al-Mizān*, vol V, p 308-310, *Ṭabaqat al-Shāfi'iyyah*, Vol II p 20, and *Tadhkirat al-Huffāz*, Vol II p 197.

When God permitted these tribulations to come to an end, al-Tirmidhi reached the zenith of his spiritual and mental development. His words penetrated into the hearts of the people who were desirous of knowledge and illuminated them, removing all difficulties by their sincerity.

Students began arriving at his house from every quarter; their number increased daily until the premises could no longer accommodate them, so that al-Tirmidhi was asked to provide a place for them in the Mosque. Simultaneously, it was disclosed that the accusations against him had been slanderous. Al-Tirmidhi's vindication was complete. When his spiteful opponents proffered their apologies and asked for guidance, it became manifest that he had been the innocent victim of a vicious campaign. This is al-Tirmidhi's own account of these happenings as it is given in *Budu Shán*:

"A number of people gathered at my door, including the chiefs of the town. This happened without my knowledge. Then they knocked at the door; I came out to them and they spoke to me, asking me to sit in the mosque to teach them. This occurred while those who were my foremost accusers were rendering my position among the common people insufferable.⁽¹⁾ They continued to

(1) *Budu Shan*, p 20,21. *Khatm al-Awliya'* and Fol 212, Ismail Saib Ms.

insist until I accepted. When I spoke to them, words came as easily as water is taken from the sea, so that their hearts were affected by them, and the gathering increased until my house could not contain them, and the street and the Mosque were full. They insisted until they dragged me to the Mosque. The lies which had been told before were swept away; the people began to repent, and students appeared. Leadership came my way, and the temptation was like a test from God for his slave....."(1) The above text shows to what extent al-Tirmidhi was capable of self-observation and insight.

There is no mention of al-Tirmidhi's teachers in his work. The only one to whom he refers explicitly is his own father. It is true that he states on one occasion that, at the age of 27, he had sojourned for some time in Iraq to study Hadith on his way to Mecca for the pilgrimage.(2) But the Iraqi scholars under whom he studied are not mentioned by name. Those whose names are referred to in the Biographies are, with three exceptions only, sheikhs of Hadith and not of Sufism. His relationship to them, however, appears to have been one of equal to equal and

(1) Budu Shān, Preface to *Khatm al-Awliyā'*, pp 20-21; also the Ismail Ša'ib Ms, fol 212.

(2) Budu Shān, Preface to *Khatm al-Awliyā'*, p 14; and Fol 210 Ismail Ša'ib Ms.

quite emphatically not a student-teacher relationship. He seems to have called on them not in order to study under them, but to pay them visits of courtesy. It goes without saying that they communicated information to each other on such occasions, for it was the custom of the time for scholars to travel far and wide to exchange knowledge with their learned colleagues.

Mention has already been made of the journey to Iraq in which he had intended to participate when his mother's illness had foiled his intentions. He says in al-Ad^hiyah that, during the prayer one Friday in the Mosque, he could not refrain from tears and sobs, because he had missed such an opportunity of acquiring knowledge, and the faithful assembled in the mosque for the prayer had come asking what misfortune had befallen him. Some supposed his mother had died, others that he had been taken ill, others still that he had lost his sanity. He made his way to the exit of the mosque and went to the cemetery, where he fainted. When he regained consciousness, he found that his head rested on the knees of a holy man with a brightly shining face and a long white beard. Al-Tirmidhi rose and greeted the holy man respectfully, and the latter asked him; "Do you know who I am?" Al-Tirmidhi replied: "It is for the Master

to say." Whereupon the holy man said: "I am your brother al-Khidr, and have come to you with the permission of God, and brought a book for you. If you follow its instructions, you will reach your aims and what you desire with the blessing of God". He put the hand that had given the blessing into his pocket and produced the book. Then he told me how to comply with its instructions and how to live with people. And he authorized me (ajazani) and prayed for me."⁽¹⁾ The same account of al-Tirmidhi's encounter with al-Khidr is to be found in a modified form in al-'Attar's *Tadhkirat al-Awliya'*. The main difference between the two versions is that al-Attar states that when al-Khidr met al-Tirmidhi in the cemetery al-Tirmidhi was crying, which implies that he was fully conscious. Al-Khidr asked him why he was crying and al-Tirmidhi replied that he was grieving because his friends had gone to seek knowledge, and he would remain ignorant. Then al-Khidr promised to teach him daily so that he would shortly become superior to them. He taught him for a while at the cemetery.⁽²⁾ There is no mention, in al-'Attar's version, of any book, nor of instructions for

(1) al-Ad'iyah, Fols. 2,3, *Ayasufia Ms.*

(2) Al-Attar, *Tadhkirat al-Awliya'* Vol I, p 91-95, and *Muslim Saints and Mystics*, p 244.

its use.

This incident as mirrored in both accounts implies that al-Tirmidhi considered himself the disciple of al-Khidr, and regard al-Khidr as his teacher, who had imparted authoritative knowledge to him. Thus the only two teachers to whom al-Tirmidhi refers by name are first, his own father, and secondly, al-Khidr.

There is, however, a possibility of tracing those from whom he received Hadīth, for they figure as the last link in the chains of transmission he quotes in his various works. Some of them are referred to in this connection by the biographies such as al-Subki, al-Dhahabi, Ibn Hajar, al-Sulami and al-Qushayri. The following pages will contain a comprehensive list of these transmitters. Each entry will be provided with a few biographical notes.

His Teachers

1. 'Abbād Ibn 'Abbād Ibn Kathīr al-Thaqafi. (1)
2. 'Abbād Ibn 'Othmān Ibn 'Abbād Ibn Qāsim. (2)
3. 'Abbād Ibn Ya'qub al-Asadi al-Rawājini. (3)

(1) He was living in Mecca and was a pious sheikh, but he was weak in traditions, al-Jarh wa al-Ta'dīl vol. III, p.83.

(2) He was born in Basrah, and lived in Marw, al-Jarh wa al-Ta'dīl, vol.III, p.81.

(3) Died in 250 A.H. according to Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb, vol. V, p.109. He was a Shi'ite sheikh native of Kufah al-Jarh wa al-Ta'dīl, vol.III, p.88.

- 4 al ʿAbbās Ibn ʿAbd al-ʿAzīm al-ʿAnbari. (1)
 5 al ʿAbbas Ibn Ayyūb al-Zubaidi. (2)
 6 al ʿAbbas Ibn Zurarah al-Yashkuri. (3)
 7 ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz Ibn Muslim al-Qasmāli. (4)
 8 ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz Ibn Munīb al-Marwazi. (5)
 9 ʿAbd al-Jabbār Ibn al-ʿAlāʾ. (6)
 10 ʿAbd al-Jabbār Ibn Ḥabīb Ibn Nuḍbah. (7)
 11 ʿAbd al-Karīm Ibn ʿAbd Allah al-Sukkari. (8)
 12 ʿAbd al-Karīm Ibn ʿObaid Allah. (9)
 13 ʿAbd Allah Ibn ʿĀṣim al-Hammāni Abu Saʿīd al-Baṣri. (10)
 14 ʿAbd Allah Ibn ʿAbd Allah Ibn Osaīd al-Kilabi. (11)
 15 ʿAbd Allah Ibn al-Ḥakam Ibn Abi Ziyād al-Qatwani. (12)

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- (1) Died 246 A.H. Tahdhib, Vol V p 121, Tadhkirat al-Huffāz, vol II p 96, and Tarikh Baghdad, Vol XII, p 137, 138, and al-Jarḥ, Vol XIII, p 216
 (2) I cannot find him in the sources available to me.
 (3) Ditto.
 (4) He was a trustworthy native of Baṣrah, al-Jarḥ Vol II, part 2, p 395.
 (5) Saduq, Mustaqim al-Hadith, died 267 A.H. Tahdhib, Vol VI, p 360; al-Jarḥ Vol II part 2 p 397, 398 and Tarikh Baghdād Vol X p450.
 (6) He was a pious native of Mecca, in which he died 248 A.H. Tahdhib Vol VI, p 4, and al-Jarḥ Vol III part 1 p 32.
 (7) I cannot find him in the sources available to me.
 (8) Ditto.
 (9) Ditto.
 (10) See Tahdhib Vol V p 270, did not mention the date of his death.
 (11) I cannot find him in the sources available to me.
 (12) Died in 255 A.H. Tahdhib Vol V p 190, and al-Jarḥ Vol II part 2 p 38.

- 16 'Abd Allah Ibn Ḥusain al-Kindi Abu Sa'īd al-Ashajj al-Kūfi. (1)
- 17 'Abd Allah Ibn Khalaf Ibn Mūsā. (2)
- 18 'Abd Allah Ibn Muhammad Ibn Saifi al-Makhzūmi. (3)
- 19 'Abd Allah Ibn al-Waddah al-Lu'lu'i (4)
- 20 'Abd al-Malik Ibn Muhammad Ibn 'Abd Allah al-Raqāshi Abu Qulahah. (5)
- 21 'Abd al-Rahmān Ibn al-Faḍl Ibn al-Muwaffaq al-Kūfi. (6)
- 22 'Abd al-Rahmān Ibn Hāni' al-Kūfi al-Nakh'i. (7)
- 23 'Abd al-Rahim Abu 'Amr al-'Abdi. (8)
- 24 'Abd al-Rahim Ibn Habib Ibn Nudbah. (9)
- 25 'Abd al-Wahab Ibn Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakim al-Bazzār. (10)
- 26 'Abd al-Wahab Ibn 'Abd al-Karīm al-Warrāq. (11)

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- (1) According to Ibn Hajar, his date of death is not certain, the date is given as 256, or 257 A.H. Tahdhib al-Tahdhib, vol. V, p. 236, 237.
- (2) I cannot find him in the sources available to me.
- (3) Tahdhib al-Tahdhib Vol. VI, p. 9, without mentioning his date of death.
- (4) Died in Jumadā al-Ākhirah, 250 A.H. Tahdhib, Vol. VI, p. 68, 69, al-Jarh, vol. II, part 2, p. 192.
- (5) He was born in 190 A.H. and died in 276 A.H. Tahdhib Vol. VI, p. 240, and Tadhkirat al-Ḥuffāz Vol. II, p. 143, and Tārīkh Baghdād Vol. X, p. 425-427, and Tabqāt al-Ḥuffāz Vol. II, p. 47, Leyden edition 1833.
- (6) See Lisān al-Mizān Vol. III, p. 404, and Vol. IV, p. 105.
- (7) He is suspect in tradition, al-Jarh Vol. II part 2 p. 298; his date of death is not certain according to Tahdhib al-Tahdhib, it is 211 or 212 or 216 A.H. vol. VI, p. 290.
- (8) I cannot find him in the sources available to me.
- (9) See Tārīkh Baghdād Vol. II, p. 86.
- (10) I cannot find him in the sources available to me.
- (11) Ditto.

- 27 'Abd al-Wahāb Ibn Fulaih al-Makki (1)
- 28 'Abd al-Wārith Ibn 'Abd al-Samad Ibn 'Abd al-Wārith
Ibn Sa'id al-'Anbari. (2)
- 29 Abu 'Ali al-Saghāni. (3)
- 30 Abu 'Amr Hamad Ibn Nu'aim. (4)
- 31 Abu al-Ash'ath Ahmad Ibn al-Muqaddam al-'Ijli. (5)
- 32 Abu Bakr Ibn Sābiq al-Umawi. (6)
- 33 Abu al-Hasan Muhammad Ibn Bahr. (7)
- 34 Abu Hishām al-Rifā'i Muhammad Ibn Yazid Ibn Muhammad
Ibn Rifā'ah al-'Ijli al-Kūfi. (8)
- 35 Abu Husain al-Rifa'i. (9)
- 36 Abu al-Khattāb al-Sadusi Ziyad Ibn Yahya Ibn Hassan
al-Hassāni al-Yashkuri. (10)
- 37 Abu Nu'aim 'Abd al-Rahmān Ibn Nu'aim al-Nakhiy. (11)
- 38 Abu Qulabah 'Abd al-Malik al-Raqāshi. (12)

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- (1) A trustworthy native of Mecca, al-Jarḥ wa al-Ta'dīl Vol. III p. 73.
- (2) Trustworthy, a native of Baṣrah, died in 252 A.H., al-Jarḥ Vol. III p. 76, and Tahdhib al-Tahdhib, Vol. VI p. 444
- (3) I cannot find him in the sources available to me.
- (4) Ditto
- (5) Died in 253 A.H., Tahdhib al-Tahdhib Vol. I p. 81, 82, and Khulāṣah, p. 11.
- (6) I cannot find him in the sources available to me.
- (7) Ditto
- (8) Weak in tradition, died in 248 or 249 A.H. Tahdhib Vol. IX p. 527, and al-Jarḥ Vol. IV, part. I, p. 129.
- (9) I cannot find him in the sources available to me.
- (10) Died in 254 A.H. Tahdhib al-Tahdhib, Vol. III p. 388.
- (11) I cannot find him in the sources available to me.
- (12) Died in 276 A.H. Tadhkirat al-Huffāz Vol. II p. 143.

- 39 Abu Sinān al-Balkhī. (1)
 40 Abu Tālib al-Harawī. (2)
 41 Ahmad Ibn Bahr al-'Askari. (3)
 42 Ahmad Ibn 'Abd Allah al-Muhallabi. (4)
 43 Ahmad Ibn Murrah. (5)
 44 Ahmad Ibn Muṭrif al-Yamani. (6)
 45 Ahmad Ibn Yahya al-Azdi. (7)
 46 Al-'Alā' Ibn Maslamah al-Rawwās. (8)
 47 'Ali Ibn 'Abd al-'Aziz al-Baghdadi. (9)
 48 'Ali Ibn Hajar Ibn Aws al-Sa'di. (10)
 49 'Ali Ibn al-Hasan al-Naisaburi. (11)
 50 'Ali Ibn al-Hasan al-Tirmidhi. (12)
 51 'Ali Ibn Khashram al-Marwazi. (13)

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- (1) I cannot find him in the sources available to me.
 (2) Ditto.
 (3) See 'Jarh wa al-Ta'dil Vol. I, part. I, p. 42.
 (4) I cannot find him in the sources available to me.
 (5) Ditto.
 (6) Ditto.
 (7) See Tarikh Baghdad Vol V p 212.
 (8) He was accused of fabrication of Hadīth, see Tārikh Baghdād, Vol. XII p. 241, and Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb Vol. VIII p. 192.
 (9) I cannot find him in the sources available to me.
 (10) Trustworthy, the author of Kitāb "Aḥkām al-Qur'an", born 154 A.H. and died 244 A.H. see Tahdhīb Vol VII, p. 293, 294, Tārikh Baghdād Vol. III p. 416, 417, 418, al-Jarh Vol. III p. 183, and Tahdhīrat al-Huffaz Vol. II, p. 36.
 (11) I cannot find him in the sources available to me.
 (12) Father of al-Hakim al-Tirmidhi. See Tārikh Baghdād Vol. XI p. 373.
 (13) A relative of Bishr al-Hāfi b. 165 d. 257 A.H. Al-Jarh Vol. III p. 184.

- 52 'Ali Ibn Šāhl al-Ramli. (1)
- 53 'Ali Ibn Sa'īd Ibn Masrūq al-Kindi. (2)
- 54 'Alqamah Ibn 'Amr Ibn al-Husain al-Tamīmi. (3)
- 55 'Amr Ibn 'Ali al-Šadiqi. (4)
- 56 'Amr Ibn 'Ali Ibn al-Šairāfi. (5)
- 57 'Amr Ibn Hammād Ibn Talhah al-Qannād. (6)
- 58 'Amr Ibn Šālih al-L'ul'i. (7)
- 59 'Atiq Ibn Muhammad al-Khushani. (8)
- 60 Bishr Ibn Adam Ibn Bint Azhar al-Samman. (9)
- 61 Bishr Ibn Khālīd al-'Askari Abu Muhammad al-Farā'idi. (10)
- 62 Bishr Ibn Hilāl al-Šawwāf Abu Muhammad al-Numairi. (11)
- 63 Dawood Ibn Hammād al-Qaisi. (12)
- 64 Al-Fadl Ibn Muhammad al-Wāsiṭi. (13)
- 65 Al-Fadl Ibn Muhammad Ibn al-Wazir al-Dimashqi. (14)

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- (1) Trustworthy, died 261 A.H., al-Jarh Vol. III part-p. 189, and Tahdhib Vol. VII p. 329.
- (2) Died in Jumada al-Ula, 249 A.H. Tahdhib Vol. VII p. 327
- (3) Died 256 A.H., Tahdhib Vol. VII p. 276.
- (4) I cannot find him in the sources available to me.
- (5) Of Basrah, died 249 A.H., Tārikh Baghdād Vol. XII p. 207
- (6) I cannot find him in the sources available to me.
- (7) Ditto.
- (8) Ditto.
- (9) Died 254 A.H., Tahdhib Vol. I. p. 442.
- (10) Lived sometime in Basrah, died 253 or 255 A.H., see Tahdhib al-Tahdhib Vol. I, p. 448.
- (11) Died 247 A.H. Tahdhib Vol. I. p. 462.
- (12) In al-Jarh wa la-Ta'dil: Ibn Farafisat al-Balkhi, Vol. I part II, p. 409.
- (13) I cannot find him in the sources available to me.
- (14) Ditto.

- 66 Fuḍālah Ibn al-Faḍl al-Kuḍi. (1)
- 67 Ḥaḥṣ Ibn 'Amr Ibn Ribāl Ibn Ibrāhīm Ibn 'Ijlan
al-Ribālī Abu 'Amr al-Raqaṣhī. (2)
- 68 Ḥajjāj Ibn Muḥammad al-Maṣṣiṣī al-A'wār. (3)
- 69 Ḥamīd Ibn 'Alī al-Khallāl. (4)
- 70 Ḥamīd Ibn al-Rabī' al-Lakhmī. (5)
- 71 Ḥarūn Ibn Ḥātim al-Kūfi. (6)
- 72 Ḥarūn Ibn Muṣā Ibn Abī 'Alqamah al-Qazwīnī. (7)
- 73 Al-Ḥasan Ibn 'Amr Ibn Shaḥīq al-Baṣrī. (8)
- 74 Al-Ḥasan Ibn al-Ḥasan al-Marwazī. (9)
- 75 Al-Ḥasan Ibn Sawwār al-Baghawī. (10)
- 76 Ḥiṣn Ibn Fuḍālah. (11)
- 77 Al-Ḥusain Ibn 'Alī Ibn al-Aswad al-'Ijli. (12)
- 78 Al-Ḥusain Ibn Ḥayyān al-'Asqalānī. (13)

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- (1) Died 250 A.H. Tahdhib Vol·VIII p·268
- (2) A Native of Baṣrah, died 258 A.H. Tahdhib Vol·II p·415.
- (3) See Tadhkirat al-Huffāz Vol·I p·315, and Tahdhib Vol·II p·205, according to Tahdhib he died 206 A.H. but it is not possible.
- (4) I cannot find him in the sources available to me.
- (5) Died 258 A.H. Tārīkh Baghdād, Vol·VII p·162-5.
- (6) See al-Jarḥ wa al-Ta'dīl Vol·IV part·II p·88.
- (7) Born in 174 A.H. died 253 A.H. Tahdhib Vol·II p·10, 11 and Tārīkh Baghdād Vol·XIV, p·32.
- (8) Died 232 A.H. Tahdhib Vol·II p·309, and al-Jarḥ Vol·I part·II p·25.
- (9) I cannot find him in the sources available to me.
- (10) Died 216 or 217 A.H. Khulāṣah p·67 al-Jarḥ vol·IV, part·II, p·88 and Tārīkh Baghdād Vol·VII p·318.
- (11) I cannot find him in the sources available to me.
- (12) Died 254 A.H. Tahdhib Vol·II p·343, 344, and al-Jarḥ Vol·I part·II p·56.
- (13) I cannot find him in the sources available to me.

- 79 Al-Husain Ibn Huraiṭh Ibn Hasan Ibn Thābit Ibn Qutbah Abu Ḥammān al-Khuzā'i. (1)
- 80 Ibn Abi Bakr al-'Umari. (2)
- 81 Ibn Abi Maisarah. (3)
- 82 Ibn Abi al-Sifr, Ahmad Ibn 'Abd Allah Abu Ḥaidah. (4)
- 83 Ibn Akhi Yahya Ibn 'Isa al-Ramli. (5)
- 84 Ibrāhīm Ibn 'Abd al-Hamid al-Tammar. (6)
- 85 Ibrāhīm Ibn 'Abd Allah al-Khallāl. (7)
- 86 Ibrāhīm Ibn Harūn al-Balkhi. (8)
- 87 Ibrāhīm Ibn al-Mustamirr al-Baṣri al-Hudhali. (9)
- 88 Ibrāhīm Ibn Sa'īd al-Jawhari. (10)
- 89 Ibrāhīm Ibn Yusuf al-Ḥaḍrami al-Kūfi al-Sairāfi. (11)

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- (1) Died 244 A.H., Tahdhīb Vol. II p. 334.
- (2) I cannot find him in the sources available to me.
- (3) Ditto
- (4) Died 258 A.H. Khulāṣah, p. 7 Tahdhīb Vol. I p. 48, and al-Jarḥ Vol. I part. I p. 57.
- (5) I cannot find him in the sources available to me.
- (6) Ditto
- (7) Died 241 A.H. Tahdhīb Vol. I p. 132, and Khulāṣah p. 16.
- (8) See Tahdhīb Vol. I p. 176, without giving his date of death, and Khulāṣah p. 20.
- (9) See Tahdhīb Vol. I p. 164, no mention of his date of death, and see al-Jarḥ, vol. I part. I p. 140.
- (10) Al-Hāfiz Abu Ishāq al-Ṭabari and al-Baghdādi, the author of Tarikh Baghdād says, he was firm, trustworthy, died in 'Ain Raziah, no certainly of the date, it was given as 244, 247, 249 A.H. Tārīkh Baghdād Vol. I p. 97 and Tadhkirat al-Ḥuffaz Vol. II p. 97, 98.
- (11) Died in 249, 250 A.H. Tahdhīb Vol. I p. 185, and al-Jarḥ, Vol. I part. I p. 148.

- 90 'Isā Ibn Ahmad al-'Asqalāni (1)
 91 Ishāq Ibn Ziyād al-Aslami (2)
 92 Ismā'īl Ibn Naṣr (3)
 93 Ismā'īl Ibn Yahya Ibn Adam (4)
 94 Ja'far Ibn 'Amr (5)
 95 al-Jārūd Ibn Mu'ādh al-Sulami al-Tirmidhi (6)
 96 al-Khaṣīb Ibn Muslim (7)
 97 Mahdi Ibn 'Amir (8)
 98 al-Mu'ammal Ibn Hishām al-Yashkuri al-Baṣri (9)
 99 Muhammad Ibn 'Abd Allah Ibn Yazīd al-Muqri al-Makki (10)
 100 Muhammad Ibn Aban al-Balkhi (11)
 101 Muhammad Ibn Abi Mutī' (12)
 102 Muhammad Ibn 'Ali Ibn al-Ḥasan al-Shiqiqi al-'Abdi (13)
 103 Muhammad Ibn Ayyūb al-Sikhtiyāni (14)
 104 Muhammad Ibn Bashshār al-'Abdi (15)
 105 Muhammad Ibn al-Ḍaḥḥāk (16)

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- (1) Trustworthy, faithful, born in Baghdād 180 A.H. and died 268 A.H., Tahdhib Vol. XVIII p.206.
 (2) I cannot find him in the sources available to me.
 (3) See Jarḥ Vol I Part I p 202.
 (4) I cannot find him in the sources available to me.
 (5) Ditto.
 (6) Died 244 A.H. Tahdhib Vol II p 53, and Khulasah p 51
 (7) I cannot find him in the sources available to me.
 (8) Died 253 A.H. Khulasah, p 336.
 (9) Died 256 A.H. Tahdhib Vol. IX, p.284.
 (10) Died 244 A.H. in Balkh Tadhkirat al-Huffāz Vol. II p.74.
 (11) I cannot find him in the sources available to me.
 (12) Died 250, 251 A.H. Tahdhib Vol. IX p.349.
 (13) I cannot find him in the sources available to me.
 (14) Trustworthy, died 252 A.H. Tahdhib, Vol. IX p.70, and al-Jarḥ Vol. III part II p.214.
 (15) I cannot find him in the sources available to me.
 (16) Died 248 A.H. Tahdhib Vol. IX p.130 Tārikh Baghdād Vol. II p.259 and al-Jarḥ Vol. III part II p.232.

- 106 Muhammad Ibn Hamīd al-Rāzi. (1)
 107 Muhammad Ibn Isā Ibn Abd Allah al-Rabīi. (2)
 108 Muhammad Ibn Isamīl Ibn Samrah al-Ahmasi. (3)
 109 Muhammad Ibn Maṭmar al-Basri. (4)
 110 Muhammad Ibn Maimūn al-Makki. (5)
 111 Muhammad Ibn Muhammad Ibn Ḥusain. (6)
 112 Muhammad Ibn Muhammad Ibn Marzūq al-Basri. (7)
 113 Muhammad Ibn Muqbil. (8)
 114 Muhammad Ibn Mūsa al-Ḥarasi. (9)
 115 Muhammad Ibn ʿObaid Allah. (10)
 116 Muhammad Ibn ʿObaidah Ibn Sulaimān. (11)
 117 Muhammad Ibn ʿOmārah Ibn Ṣubh al-Asadī. (12)
 118 Muhammad Ibn ʿOmar al-Suwaiqi. (13)
 119 Muhammad Ibn Rizam Ibn ʿAhd al-Malik al-Obulli. (14)
 120 Muhammad Ibn Ṣadr. (15)
 121 Muhammad Ibn Saʿīd Ibn Suwaid al-Ḥakami. (16)

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- (1) I cannot find him in the sources available to me.
 (2) Trustworthy, died 258 A.H. or 260 A.H. Tahdhīb Vol. IX p.58 and al-Jarḥ Vol. III part. II p.190.
 (3) Died after 250 A.H. Tahdhīb Vol. IX p.466.
 (4) Died 252 A.H. Tahdhīb Vol. IX p.485, and al-Jarḥ Vol. IV part. I p.81, 82.
 (5) I cannot find him in the sources available to me.
 (6) Died 248 A.H. Tahdhīb Vol. IX p.431
 (7) I cannot find him in the sources available to me.
 (8) Died 248 A.H. Tahdhīb Vol. IX p.482 and al-Jarḥ Vol. IV part. I p.74 and Khulāṣah p.308.
 (9) I cannot find him in the sources available to me.
 (10) Ditto (12) Ditto
 (11) Ditto (13) Ditto
 (14) Ditto
 (15) According to Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb his name is Muhammad Ibn Ibrāhim Ibn Saʿrān, and he died in 243 or 247 A.H. Vol. IX p.11.
 (16) I cannot find him in the sources available to me.

- 122 Muhammad Ibn Shujā' al-Marwazi. (1)
 123 Muhammad Ibn Yahya Ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Marwazi. (2)
 124 Muhammad Ibn Yahya Ibn Ayyūb al-Qasari al-Marwazi. (3)
 125 Muhammad Ibn Yazīd Ibn Khunais al-Makhzūmi al-Makki. (4)
 126 Muhammad Ibn Yazīd al-Naisaburi. (5)
 127 Muhammad Ibn Zunbūr Abu Šāliḥ al-Makki. (6)
 128 Mūsā Ibn 'Abd Allah al-Šifl. (7)
 129 Nasr Ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Washshā' al-Kūfi. (8)
 130 Nasr Ibn 'Ali Ibn Nasr al-Jahḍami al-Azdi al-Harrani. (9)
 131 Nasr Ibn Fuḍālah. (10)
 132 Nuṣair Ibn Yahya. (11)
 133 'Obaid Allah al-Raba'i. (12)
 134 'Obaid Allah Ibn Yusuf al-Khaifari. (13)
 135 'Omar Ibn Abi 'Omar al-'Abdi. (14)
 136 'Omar Ibn Yahya Ibn Nafi' al-Ubulli. (15)
 137 'Oqbah Ibn Qubaiṣah. (16)

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- (1) Died in 244 or 247 A.H. according to Tahdhib Vol. IX p.218, and Tārīḡh Baghdād Vol. V p.349.
 (2) Died 252 A.H. Tahdhib Vol. IX p.516.
 (3) See Tahdhib Vol. IX p.507.
 (4) See Tahdhib Vol. IX p.523, and al-Jarḥ Vol. IV Part. I p.127.
 (5) I cannot find him in the sources available to me.
 (6) Died 248 or 249 A.H. according to Tahdhib Vol. IX p.167.
 (7) I cannot find him in the sources available to me.
 (8) Died 248 A.H. Tahdhib Vol. X p.248 and al-Jarḥ Vol. IV Part. I p.472.
 (9) Died 250 or 251 A.H. Tahdhib Vol. X p.430 and al-Jarḥ Vol. IV part. I p.471 and Tadhkirat al-Ḥuffāz Vol. II p.92.
 (10) I cannot find him in the sources available to me.
 (11) Ditto (12) Ditto;
 (13) Died after 250 A.H. Tahdhib Vol. VII p.57.
 (14) Weak in tradition, Tahdhib Vol. VII p.447.
 (15) I cannot find him in the sources available to me.
 (16) According to Ibn Hibbān he is trustworthy. See Tahdhib Vol. VII p.249.

- 138 'Otbah Ibn Abd Allah al-Marwazi al-Azdi. (1)
 139 Qutaibah Ibn Sa'id. (2)
 140 Rizq Allah Ibn Mūsa. (3)
 141 Sahl Ibn al-'Abbās. (4)
 142 Sahl Ibn Salm. (5)
 143 Sa'id Ibn 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Makhzūmi. (6)
 144 Sa'id Ibn Yahya al-Umawi. (7)
 145 Ṣālih Ibn 'Abd Allah al-Tirmidhi. (8)
 146 Ṣālih Ibn Muhammad al-Tirmidhi. (9)
 147 Salamah Ibn Shabīb al-Naisabūr . (10)
 148 Sufyān Ibn Wakī'. (11)
 149 Sulaimān Ibn Mansūr al-Balkhi Abu Hilal al-Dhahabi. (11)
 150 Sulaiman Ibn Hamīd Abu al-Rabī' al-Iyādi. (12)

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- (1) Died 244 A.H. Tahdhib Vol. VII p.98.
 (2) Born 149 A.H., died in Sha'ban 241 A.H. Tadhkirat al-Huffāz, Vol. II p.33, Tārīkh Baghdād Vol. XII p.464, al-Jarḥ Vol. III part. II p.140, and Tahdhib Vol. VIII p.358.
 (3) Died 256 or 260 A.H. or after that according to Tahdhib Vol. III p.273, and Tārīkh Baghdād Vol. VIII p.437 and al-Jarḥ, Vol. I part. II p.524.
 (4) I cannot find him in the sources available to me.
 (5) See al-Jarḥ, Vol. II part. I p.193.
 (6) Died 249 A.H. Tahdhib Vol. IV p.55, and al-Jarḥ Vol. II part. I p.42.
 (7) According to Tahdhib he died 249 or 259 A.H. Vol. IV p.98, and al-Jarḥ, Vol. II part. I, p.74.
 (8) Died 231 or 239 A.H. Tahdhib, Vol. IV p.395 and Tārīkh Baghdād Vol. IX p.315.
 (9) He was accused of being a liar, Tahdhib, died 299, Tahdhib Vol. IX p.396, and Tārīkh Baghdād Vol. IX p.330.
 (10) Died 247 A.H. Tahdhib Vol. IV p.146, and Tadhkirat al-Huffāz Vol. II p.112.
 (11) Died 240 A.H. Tahdhib Vol. IV p.121,122.
 (12) See al-Jarḥ Vol. II part. I p.164, and al-'Ulām, Vol. III, p.172.

- 151 Yahya Ibn 'Abd Allah al-Harrāni. (1)
 152 Yahya Ibn al-Ahmar al-Mukkatib. (2)
 153 Yahya Ibn Ahmad Ibn 'Abdh al-Tā'ī al-Kātib. (3)
 154 Maḥya Ibn Ḥabīb Ibn Arabī. (4)
 155 Yahya Ibn al-Mughīrah Ibn 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Makhzūmi. (5)
 156 Yahya Ibn Mūsā al-Balkhi. (6)
 157 Yahya Ibn Mūsā al-Hudāni. (7)
 158 Ya'qūb Ibn Ibrāhīm al-Dawraqī. (8)
 159 Ya'qūb Ibn Shaibah Ibn al-Ṣālt Ibn 'Uṣfūr al-Baṣri. (9)
 160 Yazīd Ibn 'Amr Ibn Yazīd al-Barrani 'Abd Allah al-Ghanawi. (10)
 161 Yazīd Ibn Ma'qil Walad Abi Tībah. (11)

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- (1) Died 218 A.H. Tahdhīb vol.XI, pages 240 and 241 and al-Jarh vol.IV, part II, page 164.
 (2) I cannot find him in the sources available to me.
 (3) See Tarikh Baghdād vol.XIV, p.230.
 (4) Trustworth, honest, died 248 A.H. or after 250 A.H. Tahdhīb Vol.XI, p.196, and al-Jarh described him as faithful, Vol.IV, part II, p.137.
 (5) Died 253 A.H. Tahdhīb Vol.XI, p.288.
 (6) Trustworthy, al-Jarh, vol.IX, part II, p.188 and Tahdhīb Vol.XI p.289. According to Tahdhīb his death was in 239 or 240 or 241 A.H. According to Tahdhkirāt al-Huffāz he died 230 A.H. Vol.II, p.56.
 (7) According to Tahdhīb and Tahdhkirāt al-Huffāz he is the same one as above.
 (8) The author of al-Musnad. Died 252 A.H. Tahdhkirāt al-Huffāz Vol. XI p.88. According to Tarikh Baghdād his birth was 166 A.H. Vol.XIV pp.277-279 and Tahdhīb Vol.XI, p.397.
 (9) Born 182 A.H., died 262 A.H., author of al-Musnad, Tarikh Baghdād Vol. XIV, pp. 281-288.
 (10) I cannot find him in the sources available to me.
 (11) Ditto.

- 162 Yusuf Ibn Abd Allah Ibn Nujaid. (1)
 163 Yusuf Ibn Ishāq. (2)
 164 al-Zubair Ibn Bakkār al-Zubairi. (3)

His Students

It is surprising how few his students were compared to the great number of his teachers. The following list gives his students' names:—

- 1 Abu Bakr Muhammad Ibn Ja'far Ibn al-Haitham. (4)
- 2 Abu Bakr al-Warraq Muhammad Ibn Umar al-Hakim. (5)
- 3 Abu Muhammad Yahya Ibn Mansūr al-Qadi. (6)
- 4 Ahmad Ibn Muhammad Ibn Isā. (7)
- 5 Al-Hasan Ibn Ali al-Juzjani. (8)
- 6 Mansūr Ibn Abd Allah Ibn Khālid al-Harāwi. (9)

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- (1) See Tahdhib Vol. XI p.416.
 (2) I cannot find him in the sources available to me.
 (3) Died 256 A.H., the author of Kitāb Nasab Quraish, Tahdhib Vol. III p.312, Tadhkirat al-Huffāz Vol. II p.99, al-Jarh Vol I part II p.585, Tārikh Baghdād Vol. VIII p.467-471, and Wafayat al-A'yan Vol. VI p.529, edited by Dr. al-Riffa'i.
 (4) Tārikh Baghdād Vol. X p.80.
 (5) Ṭabaqāt al-Sūfiyyah p.221, Hilait al-Awliyā' Vol. IX, p.235-237, Ṣifat al-Safwah, Vol. I p.139, Ṭabaqāt al-Sha'rāni, Vol. I p.106, al-Risālah al-Qushayriyyah Vol. I p.128, and Nata'ij al-Afkār al-Qudsiyyah sharḥ al-Risalah al-Qushayriyyah, Vol. I p.166, 167.
 (6) al-Hilaih Vol. X p.22, and Shadharāt al-Dhahab Vol. III p.3.
 (7) Ṭabaqāt al-Sūfiyyah p.349, Ṣifat al-Safwah Vol. II p.223, Tārikh Baghdād Vol. V p.60, and Ṭabaqāt al-Sha'rāni Vol. I p.115.
 (8) Ṭabaqāt al-Sūfiyyah p.246, Hilait al-Awliyā' Vol. X p.350, and Ṭabaqāt al-Sha'rāni Vol. I p.105.
 (9) Tārikh Baghdād Vol. XIII p.84.

CHAPTER II

HIS WORKS

1. Where they are found
2. The various manuscript collections.
3. A list of al-Tirmidhi's works.
4. The contents of each manuscript.

His Works

The corpus of al-Tirmidhi's work consists of about sixty books of varying length, some of them consisting only of a few pages. Most have never been published. A number of them are lost, and the extant ones are scattered over the libraries of the East and the West. The majority are found in collections such as the Alexandria Library Collection No. 145 various arts; the As'ad Efendi Collection Nos. 1479 and 1814; the Ayasufia Collection Nos. 1975 and 1814; the Cairo Collection Nos. 125 Dar al-Kutub, majāmi', and 694 majāmi' Tal'at, and 227 al-Khī-Zānah al-Taim-ūriyyah majāmi', and al-Azhar 236 majāmi' 5799; the Calcutta collection No. 1056; the Ismā'il Sā'ib Collection No. 1571; the Kharagioglu Collection No. 806; the Leipzig Collection No. 212c; the Paris Collection No. 5018; the Qastamuni Collection No. 2713; the Wali al-Dīn Collection No. 770; and the Zāhiriyyah Collection No. 104 Tasawwuf.

(a) The Alexandria Collection

1. al-Masā'il al-Maknūnah.
2. Tahsīl Nazā'ir al-Qur'ān.

3. al-Radd lalā al-Muḥattilah.

(b) The As'ad Efendi Collection No. 1479.

1. al-Furūq.
2. Sharḥ al-Ṣalah wa maqāṣiduha.
3. al-Ādā' wa al-Nafs.
4. Manāzil al-ʿIbād min al-ʿibādah.
5. Kitāb al-ʿAql wa al-Hawa.
6. al-Amthāl min al-Kitāb wa al-Sunnah
7. Al-Manhiyyāt.
8. Haqīqat al-Ādamiyyah.
9. ʿUrs al-Muwahidīn.

(c) The As'ad Efendi Collection No. 1814.

1. Ghawr al-Umūr.

(d) The Ayasufia Collection No. 1975.

1. Al-Furūq.
2. Al-Adiyah.

(e) The Cairo Collections

1. ʿIlal al-Sharīʿahor Kaifiyyat al-Ṣalah. Ms. No. 125.
2. ʿIlm al-Awliyā, Ms. No. 694.
3. Al-Hidāyah ila Maʿarifat Adab al-Wilāyah.
Ms. No. 227.

(f) The Calcutta Collection

1. Tibiyān al-Amthāl.
2. ʿIlm al-Awliyā
3. Twenty-seven different essays on various subjects.

(g) The Ismā'īl Sā'ib Collection

1. Sharḥ Qawlih ma al-Imān wa al-Islam wa al-Jahsān.
2. Al-Riyāḍah.
3. Bayān al-ʿIlm.
4. Daqā'iq al-ʿUlūm.
5. Jawāb Kitāb min al-Riyy.
6. Masā'il.
7. Kitāb al-Akiyās wa al-Mugtarrīn.
8. Al-Masā'il al-ʿAfimah.
9. Anwā' al-ʿUlūm.
10. Masā'il Ahl Sarkhas or Bayān Adāb al-Muridīn.
11. Al-Farq Baina al-Āyāt wa al-Karāmāt.
12. Kitāb al-Huqūq.
13. Budu Shān al-Ḥakīm al-Tirmidhi.
14. Kitāb Manāzil al-Qāsidīn (named in other collections Manāzil al-ʿIbād.)

(h) The Kharagioglu Collection

1. Kitāb al-Ḥikmahor al-Khidmah min ʿIlm al-Bāṭin.
2. Sabab al-Takbīr fi al-Ṣalāh.
3. ʿIlm al-Awliyā'.
4. Ithbāt al-ʿIlal, coded ʿIlal al-ʿIbādāt.

(i) The Leipzig Collection

1. Al-Masā'il al-Makmūnah.
2. Various Masā'il.
3. Masā'il ahl Sarkhas or Bayan Adab al-Murīdīn.
4. Masālah fi al-Imān wa al-Islam wa al-Iahsān.
and Sharh al-Imān wa al-Islam wa al-Iahsān.
5. Masā'il al-Ta' bīr.
6. Various Masail, beginning with Masalahfi al-Niyy. entitl'd Daqā'iq al-'Ulūm, in the Ismā'īl Sā'ib Collection.
7. Jawāb Kitāb min al-Riyy.
8. Various Masā'il.
9. Al-Masā'il al-'Afinah.
10. Anwā' al-'Ilm.
11. Various Masā'il, beginning with Saba Qulūb al-Muwahhidīn.

(j) The Paris Collection.

1. Sharh al-Ṣalah.
2. al-Hajj.
3. al-Jūmal.
4. al-Ihtiyātāt.
5. al-Furūq.
6. 'Urs al-Muwahhidīn.

7. Ghawr al-Umūr.
8. Manāzil al-ʿIbādmīn al-ʿIbādah.
9. al-Aql wa al-Hawa.
10. al-Amthāl.
11. al-Manhiyyāt.
12. Haqīqat al-Ādanniyyah.

(k) Qastamūni Collection No. 2713.

1. Sifat al-Qulūb.
2. Maʿrifat al-Asrār.

(l) Wali al-Dīn Collection No. 770.

1. Shifāʾ al-ʿIlal.
2. Manazil al-Qurbah.
3. Anwāʾ al-ʿUlūm.
4. Ithbāt al-ʿIlal
5. Al-Radd ʿAla al-Rafīdah.
6. Masʾalah fi al-Imān wa al-Islām wa al-Ihsān.
7. Khatm al-Awliyā.
8. ʿIlal al-ʿIbādāt.
9. Various masʾāʾil containing fifteen ones beginning with masʾalah fi Kaifiyyat Khalq al-Insān.

(m) Al-Zāhiriyyah Collection No. 104 Tasawwuf.

1. Al-Akyās wa al-Mughtarrīn.

2. Al-masā'il al-^ḥAfinah.
3. Anwā' al-^ḥilm.
4. Jawāb kitāb min al-Riyy.
5. A various number of masā'il containing twenty nine ones beginning with masa'lah fi al-Adab.
6. Kitāb Bayān al-Kasb.
7. Masā'il Ahl Sarkhas or Bayan Shan al-Muridīn.
8. Kitāb al-Riyādah.

As it appears from the last few pages that al-Tirmidhi wrote many books and essays to answer questions and explain points asked by the people of his time. These points were divided between Sufism, Commentary, Traditions, Jurisprudence and Theology. The following list of his works shows that his writing covered all these fields and it indicates where they are to be found in the libraries of the world.

1. Abwab Mukhtalifah, Ms. Calcutta No. 1056.
2. Adab al-Nafs, published Cairo 1947, edited by Professor Arberry and Dr. 'Ali Hasan 'Abd al-Qāder.
3. al-Ad'iyah, Ms. in Persian, AyaSūfia No. 1814.

4. 'Adhāb al-Qabr (lost).
5. Ajwibat masā'īl (Masā'īl ahl Sarkhas) Ms. Leipzig No. 212, Ismā'īl Sā'ib No. 1571 and al-Zāhiriyyah No. 104 Tasawwuf.
6. al-Akyās wa al-Mughtarrīn Ms. al-Zāhiriyyah No. 104 Tasawwuf and Ismā'īl Sā'ib No. 1571.
7. al-Amthāl min al-Kitāb wa al-Sunnah, Ms. Paris 5018 and As'ad No. 1479.
8. Anwā' al-ʿulūm, Ms. Wali al-Dīn No. 770, Leipzig No. 212 and Ismā'īl Sā'ib No. 1571.
9. al-ʿAql wa al-Hawa, Ms. Paris No. 5018 and As'ad No. 1479.
10. Bad' Sha'n al-Hakīm al-Tirmidhi, Ms. Ismā'īl Sā'ib, No. 1571, and published in the preface to Khatm al-Awliyā' edited by Dr. ʿOthmān Ismā'īl Yahya.
11. Bayān adab al-Muridīn (lost).
12. Bayān al-Farq bain al-Ṣadr wa al-Qalb wa al-Fuād wa al-Lubb, published Cairo 1958, edited by Dr. Nichola Hair.
13. Bayān al-ʿilm, Ms. Ismā'īl Sā'ib, No. 1571.
14. Bayān al-Kasb, Ms. al-Zāhiriyyah, No. 104, Tasawwuf.

15. Bayān al-Ma rifah wa al-Safā' (lost).
16. al-Farq bain al-Āyāt wa al-Karānāt Ms. Ismā'īl Sā'ib No. 1571 and Calcutta Ms. 1116.
17. al-Furuq wa manā' al-Tarādūf Ms. Paris No. 5018, As ad No. 1479, Alexandria No. 33, Fiqh Shafi'i, AyaSūfia No. 1975 and Wahīd Basha No. 2251.
18. Ghars al-Ārifin Ms. Calcutta No. 1056.
19. Ghawr al-Umūr, or al-Ad ā' wa al-Nafs, Ms. Paris No. 5018, As'ad No. 1479 and 1312.
20. al-Hajj wa asrāruh, Ms. Paris No. 5018.
21. al-Hidāyah ila ma rifat adab al-Wilāyah Ms. Cairo; al-Khizānah al-Taimūriyyah No, 227.
22. al-Ḥikmah, Ms. Kharagioghlu No. 806.
23. al-Ḥuqūq, Ms. Ismā'īl Sā'ib No. 1571.
24. al-Ihtiyātāt, Ms. Paris No. 5018.
25. 'Ilm al-Awliyā' Ms. Cairo No. 694, Calcutta No. 1056 and Kharagioghlu No. 806.
26. al-Irāfāt (lost).
27. Jawāb Kitāb min al-Riyy, Ms. Ismā'īl Sā'ib No. 1571, Leipzig No. 212 and al-Zāhiriyyah No. 104 Tasawwuf.
28. al-Jumal al-Lāzim ma rifatuha, Ms. Paris No. 5018, and Manchester No. g 106.

29. al-Kalam 'ala Ma'na laillaha illa Allah, Ms. Wali al-Dīn No. 770, Khazīnah No. 1762 and Leipzig No. 212.
30. Khatm al-Awliyā' (lost)
31. Khatm al-Awliyā', published Beirut 1965, edited by Dr. 'Othmān Ismā'īl Yaḥya.
32. Manazil al-'Ibād min al-'Ibādah, Ms. Paris 5018. As'ad No. 1479 and Ismā'īl Ṣā'ib. No. 1571.
33. Manhaj (lost)
34. al-Manhiyyāt, Ms. Paris No. 5018, As'ad No. 1479.
35. Ma'rifat al-Asrār Ms. Qastamūni No. 2713.
36. Masā'il number one, Ms. Leipzig No. 212, and Ismā'īl Ṣā'ib No. 1571.
37. Masā'il number two, Ms. Leipzig No. 212.
38. Mas'alah fi al-Imān wa al-Islām wa al-Ihsān, Ms. Leipzig No. 212 and Wali al-Dīn No. 770.
39. al-Masā'il al-'Afinah, Ms., Leipzig No. 212, and Ismā'īl Ṣā'ib 1571.
40. al-Masā'il al-Maknūnah, Ms., Leipzig No. 212 and Alexandria No. 145, Various arts.
41. Masā'il al-Tabīr, Ms., Leipzig Ms. No. 212, and Ismā'īl Ṣā'ib No. 1571, Prof. Arberry

published in Rivista Degli Studi Orientali
XVIII, 1940, pp.315-327.

42. al-Minhaj fi al-ʿIbādah (lost).
43. al-Munājāh Ms. al-Azhar No. 236 majami' 5789.
44. Muntakhabāt min Kitāb al-Safā' Ms. Chester
Betti.
45. al-Najh (lost).
46. Nawader al-Uṣūl, published in Istanbūl 1293 AH.
47. Nawader uṣūl al-ʿirfān waZawāhir furūʿ al-ʿilm
Ms. Vienna.No. 640.
48. al-Radd ʿala al-Muʿaṭṭilah, Ms. Alexandria
No. 145.
49. al-Radd ʿala al-Rāfiḍah, Ms. Wali al-Dīn, No.
770.
50. al-Riyāḍah published in Cairo 1947 edited by
Professor Arberry and Dr. ʿAli Ḥasan ʿAbd al-
Qāder.
51. Risalah fi al-Futuwwah Ms. Ayaṣufia
52. Sharh al-Imān wa al-Islām wa al-Ihsān, Ms.
Leipzig, No. 212, and Ismāʿīl Sāʿib No. 1571.
53. Sharh al-Salāh, wa maqāsiduha, Ms. Paris No.
5018, and Asʿad, No. 1479, and published in
Cairo 1965 edited by Mr.Husni Zaidan.

54. Sharḥ Su'ālāt fi al-Ta'birāt al-Ilahiyyah, Ms. al-Zaitunah.
55. Sifat al-Qulūb, Ms. Qastamūni No. 2713.
56. Sīrat al-Awliyā', (lost).
57. Tabaqāt al-Ṣūfiyyah (lost).
58. Tafsīr (lost).
59. Tafsīr āyat la sharqiyyah wa la gharbiyyah ma'a ta'wīl Arba'īn Ḥadīthan Ms.
60. Taḥṣīl Nazā'ir al-Qur'ān Ms. Alexandria Ms. No.145.
61. Tareikh al-Mashayikh (lost).
62. al-Tawhīd (lost).
63. Tibayān al-Amthāl, Ms. Calcutta 1056.
64. al-'Ulum (lost).
65. 'Urs al-Muwahhidīn Ms. Paris No. 5018, As'ad, No. 1479, and Ismā'īl Sā'ib No. 4824.

These are, to the best of my knowledge, the titles of the books which al-Tirmidhi wrote. There are certainly some more of which we do not yet know, and they may be discovered in the future. He repeated many of his ideas in more than one book. If one tries to classify al-Tirmidhi's works according to the subjects they might be divided into seven groups:-

- (1) Commentary (Tafsīr); (2) Tradition (Ḥadīth); (3) 'Ilm al-Kalām; (4) Jurisprudence (Fiqh); (5) History of Sufism; (6) Sufi opinions; (7) Principles of Jurisprudence, Usūl al-fiqh.

Abwab mukhtalifah

This is in manuscript form extant solely in Calcutta Library⁽¹⁾. The work contains 27 essays, most of which have been mentioned in al-Tirmidhi's other works.

The book deals with the following subjects:-

1. Ṣifat al-Nūn wa al-Thawr wa al-Thara.
2. Aqāwīl al-Aṭbāq al-Sab ah.
3. Mas'alah fi al-Insān.
4. Ṣifat al-Hawa.
5. Huwa al-Awwal wa al-Ākhir.
6. Bāb fi al-Wilāyah wa al-Taḳwa wa Tafsīr al-Tā'ibūn al-'Abidūn.
7. Qiṣṣat ' Uzair.
8. Wa idha qadaṣamran.
9. Madhukira fi al-Tasbīh wa al-Taḥmid.
10. Kamāl al-'Ubudah.
11. Fi al-'Aql.
12. Lataghḍab.
13. Asmā' Allah.
14. al-Tasbīh wa al-Th^amīd wa al-Tahlīl.
15. Taqdīr Allah.
16. al-Mārifah amīr al-Qalb.

(1) Ms. No. 1056, fols. 129B-176B.

17. al-Murū'ah.
18. Kamāl al-Murū'ah.
19. al-Tawhīd.
20. Lailaha illa Allah.
21. al-Qur'ān.
22. al-Ru'yah.
23. al-Niyyah al-Ḥasanah.
24. Madhukira fi-Ismihi Allah.
25. Arkān al-Dīn Thalathah al-Haqq wa al-'Adl wa al-Sidq.
26. Fi al-Shukr.
27. Darajāt al-Dhikr wa Marātib al-Dhākirīn.

Adab al-Nafs

This was published in Cairo 1947, edited by Prof. Arberry and Dr. ^vAli Ḥasan 'Abd Qader^{al-}. The book gives account of the ^vand Dr. ^vAli Ḥasan 'Abd Qader^{al-}. The book gives account of struggle until one controls his own desires.

Al-Ad'iyah

This is still in manuscript form extant in one copy found in Ayasufia library, it is supposed to have been written by al-Tirmidhi giving the methods of reading this invocation. supplication

In the beginning of the book he gives a short account of the manner in which this book was given to him by the prophet Khidr. He says that when he was young most of his colleagues who were studying under a common teacher had made a programme of going to Iraq with the purpose of completing their higher studies. Al-Tirmidhi he was the only child of his widowed mother was not allowed by his mother to proceed to Iraq as she had no-one else to look after her and she, while dissuading him from this journey had said: "If it is destined that you should receive knowledge then the Almighty will create the circumstances for you to help you in attaining the highest position without your having to take that long journey to Iraq". And so it happened that al-Tirmidhi used to spend a part of his time every day in the local graveyard and cry his heart out and pray that he may be able to achieve his much desired goal of inspiring knowledge. One day while he was in this condition he found himself face to face with an old man whose face

shone with a light divine and on enquiring his name, he was told that he was Khidr who had come especially to instruct him.

Al-Tirmidhi relates how Khidr dictated to him this complete essay on the afore mentioned ~~Suppli~~ ^{Supplications} in Arabic which he has translated into ~~Perssian~~ ^{Persian}. ~~Book~~

Whatever may be the truth about this story or the book one thing which draws the attention of the reader is that while the book deals with the modes and methods to be adopted with the recitation of the ~~Suppli~~ ^{Supplications}, the ~~Suppli~~ ^{Supplications} itself is not included in the manuscript. In other parts of the book, the qualities and the powers of these ~~Suppli~~ ^{Supplications} are also mentioned, but there one finds oneself confronted with too many repetitions. From the caligraphy of the book, it appears that it was copied from a manuscript hundreds of years after al-Hakim al-Tirmidhi's death.

"Ajwibat Masā'il ahl Sarkhas" or "Bayān adab al-Murīdīn"

This book still in manuscript form, is found in three copies: one in Ismā'īl Ṣā'ib⁽¹⁾; the second in Leipzig⁽²⁾; the third in al-Zāhiriyyah⁽³⁾. Dr. Heer refers to Ajwibat al-Masā'il ., Bayān adab al-Muridīn - mentioned in Kashf al-Mahjūb without any further information regarding theme or content. However, the title itself and the fact that the first sub-title in the preceding work "Ajwibat al-Masā'il" is also "Bayān adab al-Murīd" would seem to suggest that this book may be the same as to "Ajwibat al-Masā'il" preserved under a different title.

The book contains the following points:-

- (a) Sha'n al-Murīd, b. Ṣalāh al-Qalb; (c) Ma'na al-Wilāyah wa al-Mahabbah; (d) al-'Āqil alladhi ya'qilu 'an Allah amrah, (e) al-'Aduww,; (f) al-Hawa al-Murdi; (g) al-Waswasah; (h) Kathrat al-Waswasah; (j) Darar al-Waswasah fi al-Ṣalāh; (k) Sabab al-Ḥisāb; (l) Adam wusūl al-Mujtahidīn fi 'a'māl al-Birr wa wusūl al-Mujtahidin (n) nahia "al Dunya" wa kaifa al-Zuhdu fiha; (n) Hāl al Nabiiy, o-Inna akramakum (Inda Allah atqākukm; (q) Laisa fi al-Fard riyā'; (p) al-Farq bain al-Taqwa wa al-Wara'; (r) al-Akl min al-

min al-Buūt allati sammaha Allah, (s)wa la yubdina zainat-
 ahunna; (t) wa lawla Fadl Allah 'alaikumwa rahmatuhu;
 (u) yakhruju min al-Nar man kana fi Qalbihi mithqāl
 min iman
 habbah; (v) al-Itisam bi habl Allah.

Kitāb al-Akyās wa al-MughtaḥRrīn

(The book of knowledgable men and the misguided) is still in manuscript. It is available in three copies: at the al-Zāhiryyah⁽¹⁾, at the Ismā'īl Sā'ib Library in Istanbūl⁽²⁾ and at Leipzig . The latter is incomplete. ⁽³⁾

On the first page of the book, al-Tirmidhi states, "We see the religion of God founded on three pillars: right, justice and veracity. The right pertains to the members of the body; justice to the heart; and veracity to reason."⁽⁴⁾ He then proceeds to explain of what importance these three pillars are for the followers of Islam. He quotes the following ḥādith of the Prophet: "What I fear most for my community are the errors of the scholars, the deviations of the wise and misapprehensions".⁽⁵⁾ The greatest damage is done by the last. He warns the Sufis not to succumb to the illusions of the soul, and adduces examples to show how the wiles of the soul tend to corrupt religious performance.

The ideas of al-Tirmidhi expressed in this book have furnished material for that part of al-Ghazali's

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- (1) Fols. 1-114.
 (2) Fols. 70A-114B.
 (3) Ms.No. 212, it is mentioned in ^{Bayān} al-Farq, p.15.
 (4) Fol. 1. al-Zāhiryyah Ms. & Fol. 70A Ismā il Sā'ib Ms
 (5) Ibid.

work which deals with destructive and corrosive actions.

When the actions of man are controlled by justice and veracity they are good, but if they are corrupted or led astray by the wiles of the ^{carnal} soul, their three opposites, error, injustice and falsehood will take their place, and lead to the three tendencies of which the Prophet spoke with such apprehension, and which cause deviations in belief, worship and action.

These deviations, and those likely to be affected by them are treated in al-Akiyās in the following order of occurrence:-

Al-shirk; polytheism; al-Wudū, ablution ; al-Salah, prayer; Talab al-ilm, search for knowledge; al-nikāh, marriage; mujāwarat al-bait, proximity to the house of God; Tilawat al-Qur'ān, citation of the Qu'rān; binā'al Masājid, erection of mosques, sabīl al-dū'ah ila Allah, the way of those calling (others) to God; Maidān al-muridīn, the field of novices; Maidān al-sādiqīn, the field of the faithful; Maidān al-'arifīn, the field of gnostics; Maidān al-Muttaqīn, the field of the pious.

Anwā' al-'Ulūm

Kinds of knowledges, still unpublished, the four extant manuscripts of which are found (a) in the Wali al-Dīn Library⁽¹⁾ and (b) in the Ismā'īl Ṣā'ib Library in Turkey⁽²⁾; (c) in al-Zāhiryyah⁽³⁾ and (d) in the Leipzig collection⁽⁴⁾. There is a slight textual difference between the Wali al-Dīn manuscript on the one hand and Zāhiryyah, the Ismā'īl Ṣā'ib and the Leipzig manuscripts on the other. The difference concerns the order of the passages and the phrasing of the beginning and the end. The manuscripts bear slightly different titles: the one in the Wali al-Dīn Library is entitled Anwā' al-'ulūm, and those in the Ismā'īl Ṣā'ib and the Leipzig collection Anwā' al-'Ilm. It is to the Anwā' al-'Ilm that al-Tirmidhi refers when he discusses al-'Ilm al-A fin, saying: "We have dealt with the matter of knowledge in the Book of Knowledge, Kitab al-'Ilm." At the beginning of this book the following remark is made: "But I am now going to discuss further the subject about which I wrote separately".⁽⁵⁾

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- (1) See Wali al-Dīn manuscript no.770, fols.27A-31B.
 (2) See Ismā'īl Ṣā'ib manuscript no.1571, fols.124B-129B.
 (3) See al-Zāhiryyah manuscript, fols.138-152.
 (4) See Leipzig manuscript, fols. 157A-161A.
 (5) See al-Masa'il al-'Afinah, Leipzig, fol.56, Zāhiryyah fol. 135 and Ismā'īl Ṣā'ib fol. 123.

Referring to *Anwā' al-ʿilm* in his preface *Khatm al-Awliyā'*, the editor of the latter, Dr. Yahya, mentions only the *Wali al-Dīn* manuscript. In describing the manuscript he quotes, according to his wont, its title, its beginning and end, including two essays which do not figure in *Anwā' al-ilm* at all, but form part of another work of al-Tirmidhi.⁽¹⁾ Besides - apparently misled by a scribal mistake - he refers, in his description of the Leipzig collection, to *Anwā' al-ʿilm* as a part of *al-ilm al-Afin*.

The American orientalist, Dr. Hair, also passes over the *Ismāʿīl Sāʿib* copy in silence when referring to the books in his preface to *al-Farq Bayān Balna al-Ṣadr wa-al-Qalb wa al-Fuʿād wa al-lubb*.⁽²⁾

Anwā' al-ʿulūm is a discourse on the three kinds of knowledge: *ʿilm al-Ḥalāl wa al-Ḥarām* (= the knowledge of the lawful and the forbidden); *ʿilm al-Ḥikmah* (= the knowledge of wisdom); and *ʿilm al-maʿrifah* (= gnosis). Al-Tirmidhi follows up this disquisition with a discussion of the three groups of scholars who devote themselves to these three pursuits, of the possibilities open to them and the limits of what is attainable in their respective fields.

(1) See *Khatm*, p.85.

(2) *Ibid* pp. 13-28.

Kitāb al 'Aql wa al Hawa

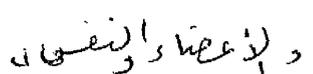
(The ~~Intellect~~ and the Desire) is still in manuscript form. It is found in two copies, one in the As'ad Effendi Library in Istanbul⁽¹⁾, the other in the Bibliotheque Nationale in Paris⁽²⁾. The former is written in a beautiful clear and legible script. It forms part of a collection of works by al-Tirmidhi, and the date found at the end of Kitāb al-Manhiyyāt, fol. 270, namely 1120 A.H., is presumably the date at which the copy of the manuscript was completed.

The As'ad collection consists of twelve works by al-Tirmidhi. The first two, Kitāb al-Furūq and Kitāb Sharḥ al-Salāh, seem to have been copied by Muhammad ibn Ahmad Wali Zadah, as his signature, followed by the date 1119 A.H. is found at the end of either of these books.⁽³⁾ No such signature occurs after the other books of the collection which were presumably copied by his son, al Hajj Ahmad Ibn Muhammad ibn al Hajj Ali ibn Wali, in 1120. Since Kitāb al-'Aql wa al Hawa is number five of the collection, it is the latter scribe who is responsible for the copy.

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- (1) Fols. 168B-173A. Ms. No. 1479.
 (2) Fols. 135-138.
 (3) Fols. 73A-128.

The manuscript in the Bibliotheque Nationale is copied by 'Ali ibn 'Ali ibn Sulaiman ibn Ahmad ibn Sulaiman al Muradi al Andalusī, whose signature is found on fol. 34 at the end of Kitāb Sharh al-Saṭah which is the first one of the works in this collection. However, no date is appended to the signature. Despite the lack of the date it is possible to assume judging by the Andalusian script, that the Paris manuscript is earlier than the Istanbul one. The script is hardly legible.

Neither of the two manuscripts of al-'Aql wa al-Hawa seems to represent the complete text of the book. Both manuscripts break off at the same word, al Shukr (thankfulness) while discussing al-Shukr, the twenty-first helper of the fifty helpers of al-'Aql. The number fifty as the total of all helpers of the mind is announced at the beginning of the book.

Here another difficulty arises. The total number of the helpers of al-'Aql is given in other books such as the Ghawr al-Umūr⁽¹⁾, al-A'ḍā' wa Nafs⁽²⁾  as a hundred, not fifty. This discrepancy, however, is not only apparent, not real, since al-Tirmidhi employs in al-'Aql wa al-Hawa a new

(1) Fols. 30B.

(2) Fols. 151 A & B.

method of explanation. In discussing the word which denotes a particular helper, he also mentions its synonym, its opposite, as well as the means by which this quality is obtained, and the outward symptoms which permit ^{one} to conclude that this quality is present in a certain person. He also enumerates the actions *which* the one to whom this quality - in this case thankfulness - can be attributed, must be capable of performing. Finally, he praises the quality itself as well as the one to whom it is attributed. If one counts the term for each helper as well as its synonym, the total obtained will be not fifty, but a hundred.

A valuable contribution to the field of ethics, the book provides a complete blueprint of human behaviour.

Bayān al-Farq Bain al-Sadr wa al-Qalb wa al-Fu'ād wa
 ʿal-Lubb.

The Difference Between the Breast, the Heart, the Sense
 and the Kernel.

The explanation "The Difference Between the Breast, the Heart, the ^{Inner Heart} ~~Sense~~ and the Kernel" was published in Cairo in 1958, and edited by the American Dr. Orientalist Nicholas ~~Haer~~, from the only manuscript copy of Dar-al-Kutub in Cairo. It is a psychological analysis of the heart and its four interior areas, inside and outside it, which are, from the outside to the inside: the breast, the heart, the sense and the kernel. Each of these areas is attached to one of the divine lights. The breast is associated with the light of Islam, and is at the same time the seat of sovereignty for the evil minded soul and the repository of oral knowledge acquired by learning. It is the area of struggle between the impulses of the carnal soul on the one hand and the guidance of the heart on the other, and therefore it tightens or expands according to whether the evil promptings of the soul happen to be dominant, or the light of the heart is in the ascendant.

The heart, which is the second area, is to the

breast as the root is to the branch. It is associated with the light of faith and it is the mainspring of the light of self-abasement, fear of God, affection, satisfaction, certainty, apprehension, hopefulness, patience and contentment. It is also the source of the principles of knowledge and blindness and sight can be its predicates.

The Sense, which is the third area, is to the Heart as the pearl is to the shell. It is associated with the light of gnosis, and it is therefore the repository of mental occurrences and the place of vision.

The Kernel, which is the fourth area, is to the senses as the light of sight is to the eye. It is the seat of the light of unity with God, and it is the most consummate light and the Supreme Authority.

These four areas are associated at the same time with the four stations of people, namely, in ascending order; the Muslim, the Believer, the Contemplator and the one who believes in Unity of God. They are also associated with the states of the soul as mentioned in the Qur^{ān}, which are: the evil-minded soul, the self-reproaching soul, the inspired soul and the reformed soul.

Al-Tirmidhi likens light to mountains, and each of these has its own location or seat, which is the area assigned to it in the heart. It has also its own bird, in flight over the mountain, representing one of the different kind of soul. For instance, Islam is a mountain; its foot or base is the breast and its bird is the evil-minded soul. Faith is a mountain; its seat is the heart and its bird is the inspired soul. Unity of God is a mountain; its source is the Kernel and its bird is the reformed self.

By this classification, al-Tirmidhi attempts to lay down an outline for the various ways of human conduct and activity in the domains of good and evil.

Dr. Hair made the book into six chapters, each of which consists of a group of ideas belonging together as follows:-

- | | |
|--------------|---------------------------|
| 1st chapter: | The Areas of Interiority. |
| 2nd chapter: | the Breast. |
| 3rd chapter: | the Heart. |
| 4th chapter: | the Sense. |
| 5th chapter: | the Kernel. |
| 6th chapter: | the Lights of the Heart. |

Therefore, the book may be regarded as a

psychological analysis of the human urges and motivations, and an attempt to trace them to internal sources in the light of Islamic teachings, and to portray the Islamic ideals, which call for sublime conduct and straight morals.

Budu Shān al-Hakim al-Tirmidhi

There is a manuscript copy of this work in the Ismā'īl Sā'ib Library. Dr. Yahyah has published it in the Preface to Khatm al-Awliyā'.

The work gives some aspects of al-Tirmidhi's life and especially about his study and the period of hardship which he suffered through the accusations of people. Nearly half of the work is relating a vision of his wife and his friends concerning his spiritual progress.

Bayan al-ʿIlm.

The Meaning of Knowledge, still in manuscript form, is found in a sole copy in the Ismāʿil Sāʿib collection.⁽¹⁾ In this book al-Tirmidhi deals with the notorious accusation raised against him that he rejected knowledge, in particular ʿilm al fiḥ (jurisprudence). This accusation was triggered off by an actual attack al-Tirmidhi had made against some jurists whom he suspected of misusing their knowledge to gain worldly benefits, and who seem to have felt strongly provoked by this blame in which there was undeniably a grain of truth.⁽²⁾ It was to refute this accusation that al-Tirmidhi embarked on another discussion of knowledge. Therefore, though the subject of Bayan is, on the face of it, similar to that of Anwāʾ al-ʿUlūm, the two books were prompted by different motives and the approach to the subject matter and consequently the division of knowledge are quite different and governed by other considerations. He discusses first the nature and meaning of ʿilm, and then divides it into three groups: ʿilm al-zāhir,

(1) Fols. 11-25.
 (2) Fol. 15.

exoteric knowledge, concerned with earthly matters; ʿilm ahkām al-Ākhirah, esoteric knowledge concerned with the hereafter; ʿilm ahkām Allah, the knowledge of divine instructions. He gives a detailed description of the groups and their respective followers.

Bayān al-Kasb

This in manuscript form is extant in a single copy at al-Zāhiryyah Library⁽¹⁾. The work deals with the duty of the Muslim to get his food and shows the right way to get what he needs. It gives examples from the life of the prophets as well as pious people who worked hard to get their food.

(1) Ms. No. 104. Tasawwuf.

Daqā'iq al-ʿUlūm

The Subtleties of Knowledge, in manuscript is extant in two copies, one in the Leipzig Collection⁽¹⁾, the other in the Ismā'īl Ṣā'ib Collection,⁽²⁾ Dr. Nicola Hair refers to it as Masail No. 1.⁽³⁾ The title Daqā'iq al-ʿUlūm is given at the end of the Ismā'īl Ṣā'ib copy by the anonymous scribe, in the following formula: "The book of Daqā'iq al-ʿUlūm has been completed by the grace of God".⁽⁴⁾ This title is preferable to the one chosen by Dr. Hair as it corresponds exactly to the eleven points stressed and elucidated in the book.

The eleven points of Daqā'iq al-ʿUlūm are, in their order of occurrence: (1) al-Niyāh (Determination); (2) Mas'alah fi Dhikr al Munfaridīn (Essay on People Unparalleled); (3) Mas'alah fi Wasf al Munfaridīn (Description of Peopleless People); (4) Mas'alah fi al Shukr wa al Ṣabr (Essay on Gratitude and Patience); (5) Al-Ibtialā'bi al Niḥmah wa al Shiddah (God tests men, in both ease and difficulty); (6) Wa Allah ya ʿalamu mutaqallabakūm wa math wākum, (Allah knows your move and your state); (7) Ossisat al dunia ʿala al-ʿubūdah wa al ʿAkhirah ʿala alhurriyyah, (Life on earth is based on servanthood and after is based on freedom); (8) Dukhūl al-fuqarā' al-

(1) Fols. 103-128.

(2) Fols. 25-48.

(3) ~~al-Farq Bain al-Sadr wa al~~
Qalb p.25.

(4) Fol. 48.

Jannah qabla al-Aghniyā' (the poor will enter Paradise before the rich); (9) 'Alamat Hubb al-Rajul li 'abdin min 'abīdih (the manifestation of a man for the love of one of his slaves); (10) Fā'idah 'Azīzah wa Jīzah (Precious Brief Advice); (11) Aqrab al Nās Min al Rushd; (the people nearest to the right).

Al-Farq Baina al-Āyāt wa al-Kāramāt

(Difference between coincidental miracles and miracles) is still in manuscript. It is found in two copies, one of which is at the Ismā'īl Sā'ib Library⁽¹⁾ and the other at the Calcutta Library⁽²⁾. The latter is incomplete. In this book, al-Tirmidhi discusses the views of those who deny the ability of saints to work miracles, and explains why he himself inclines to the opposite view. He obviously distrusts his opponents, whom he finds unreliable, and "weak in their faith". He refutes their opinion, and adduces proofs from the Qur'ān and the Sunna in support of his contention that it is the privilege of saints to work miracles. He cites the examples of Mary, and the man who had knowledge of the Book at the time of the Prophet Sulaiman. These two instances - says al-Tirmidhi - come from ancient times and pre-Islamic peoples, but if the principle be true then there is no reason to suppose that it does not apply to Muslim saints. Then al-Tirmidhi proceeds to a discussion of the difference between Karānah and Mu'jizah, i.e. between the miracles of the Prophets and those of the Saints, and relates eighty three hadīth which, as he says, vindicate the right of Saints to perform miracles.

(1) See Ismā'īl Sā'ib, manuscript, fols. 152B-177B.

(2) See Calcutta manuscript no. 166.

al-Furūq wa man^ā al Tarādūf

This is still in manuscript. There are five copies of the work extant: at the Bibliotheque Nationale in Paris⁽¹⁾; at the As'ad Library in Istanbūl⁽²⁾; at the Aya Sophia Library in Istanbūl⁽³⁾; at the Wahid Pasha Library in Istanbūl⁽⁴⁾; and at the Baladīyyat Alexandria Library in Alexandria⁽⁵⁾. The last is incomplete.

Al-Tirmidhi begins as he does in many of his works with a rhetorical question. "You have asked me why some verbs are similar and what is the difference between them. You know that the reason for the difference is that verbs have come out for action from a chest divided between a good heart and a wicked soul. Whichever of them is in control, the verb takes its part and stands at its side. This is why verbs differ in their origin but are similar in their appearance."⁽⁶⁾ Al-Tirmidhi announces, in the preface to ^{al-}Furūq, his intention to adduce 164 examples of synonyms to illustrate his statement. It is the discussion and explanation of this phenomenon that form the subject of the entire work. However, he deals with not 164 but 155

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- (1) Fols. 64B-100A.
 (2) Fols. 1A-73A.
 (3) Fols. 1B-103A.
 (4) Ms.No. 2251 mentioned by Dr.Hair, p.24, al-Farq. Bayān
 (5) Ms.No. 33 Fiḡh Shaf i Bayān al-Farq, p.24.
 (6) Fol. 1 of As'ad/Aya Sophia Mss.

pairs of verbs. The procedure he observes in so doing is to name first one, then the other of a pair of synonymous verbs, e.g. *mudārāh* and *mudāhanah* (humouring and coaxing) and then to state which of them is laudable in the sense and intention, i.e. ethically good, and which is pejorative in its connotation, i.e. ethically bad; in other words, which is acceptable in the religious sense and which is not. Then he quotes Qu'ranic verses and sayings or actions of the Prophet in support of his interpretation.

The outward aspect of the book which is that of a philological work, is deceptive, for neither its contents nor its approach have anything in common with philology. The discussion of the synonymous words furnishes merely a pretext for lengthy ethico-didactical disquisitions on human behaviour.

Contents of the Book of Differences (Kitab al-Furūq)

- | | | | |
|----|-------------------------|---------------|-----------|
| 1. | The difference between: | Humouring and | Cajolery. |
| 2. | " | " | " |
| 3. | " | " | " |
| 4. | " | " | " |
| 5. | " | " | " |
| 6. | " | " | " |

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|-----|-------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| 7. | The difference between: | Temperance and Gruffness. |
| 8. | " " " | Awe and Quietude. |
| 9. | " " " | Indignation and Ardour. |
| 10. | " " " | Pity and Tenderness. |
| 11. | " " " | Self-Restraint and Transgression. |
| 12. | " " " | Patience and Fortitude. |
| 13. | " " " | Dignity and Haughtiness. |
| 14. | " " " | Reserve and Loftiness. |
| 15. | " " " | Humility and Humbug. |
| 16. | " " " | Fear and Cowardice. |
| 17. | " " " | Servitude and Worship. |
| 18. | " " " | Earning and Hoarding. |
| 19. | " " " | Liberality and Greed. |
| 20. | " " " | Generosity and Wastefulness. |
| 21. | " " " | Suspicion and Distrust. |
| 22. | " " " | Penetration and Supposition. |
| 23. | " " " | Report and Backbiting. |
| 24. | " " " | Present and Bribe. |
| 25. | " " " | Pitilessness and Hard-Heartedness. |
| 26. | " " " | Resolution and Tenacity. |
| 27. | " " " | Anger and Grudge. |
| 28. | " " " | Self-discipline and Self-Schooling. |

29. The difference between: Prudence and Shrewdness.
30. " " " Trust (in God) and Fatalism.
31. " " " Perplexity and Despair.
32. " " " Dazzlement and Loss of Hope.
33. " " " Contentment and Inactivity.
34. " " " Presumption and Boldness.
35. " " " Forbearance and Meanness.
36. " " " Sufferance and Impotence.
37. " " " Good Nature, Stupidity and Ineptitude.
38. " " " Confidence and Conceit.
39. " " " Depression and Grumbling.
40. " " " Hopefulness and Wishfulness.
41. " " " Intention and Hope.
42. " " " Tenderness and Trepidation.
43. " " " Sadness and Sorrow.
44. " " " Shunning of Humiliation and Seeking of Honour.
45. " " " Gratefulness and Gasconading.
46. " " " Broadcasting of God's Blessings and Boasting of Them.
47. " " " Heart-rejoicing and Soul-Rejoicing.
48. " " " Love of Leadership and Love of Mastership.

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| 49. | The difference between: | God-oriented Love and Self-oriented Love. |
| 50. | " " " | Inspiration and (Disquieting) Whispering. |
| 51. | " " " | Overprizing of the World in behalf of God and overprizing of the World in behalf of the Soul. |
| 52. | " " " | Bearing up and bearing with. |
| 53. | " " " | Anxiety and gloom. |
| 54. | " " " | Sympathy and fondness. |
| 55. | " " " | Compassion and Bewitchment |
| 56. | " " " | Jealousy and Discontent. |
| 57. | " " " | Praise and adulation. |
| 58. | " " " | Greed and Utilization. |
| 59. | " " " | Ostentation and Vying. |
| 60. | " " " | Solidity and Denseness. |
| 61. | " " " | Instrumental Agent and Self-Serving Agent. |
| 62. | " " " | Grudge and Stinginess. |
| 63. | " " " | Poverty and Privation. |
| 64. | " " " | Serving God and Serving Justice. |
| 65. | " " " | Soft-heartedness and Heart-ache. |
| 66. | " " " | Promptitude and Haste. |
| 67. | " " " | Admonition and Blame. |
| 68. | " " " | Complaint and Carping. |

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| 69. | The difference between: | Cautioning and Slanderous Cautioning. |
| 70. | " " " | Slackness and Deliberation. |
| 71. | " " " | Precipitation and Haste. |
| 72. | " " " | Expectation and Covetousness. |
| 73. | " " " | Exhibition of God's Blessings and Swagger. |
| 74. | " " " | Beautification and Ornamentation. |
| 75. | " " " | Suavity and Affectation. |
| 76. | " " " | Gallantry and Courtship. |
| 77. | " " " | Idea and Fancy. |
| 78. | " " " | Righteous Pride and Unrighteous Pride. |
| 79. | " " " | Genuine Awe and Hypocritical Awe. |
| 80. | " " " | Upholders and Parroters. |
| 81. | " " " | Inculcator and Narrator. |
| 82. | " " " | Preacher and Monitor. |
| 83. | " " " | Finicality and Precision. |
| 84. | " " " | Deliberation and Procrastination. |
| 85. | " " " | Mentoring and Unsociability. |
| 86. | " " " | Thrift and Stint. |
| 87. | " " " | (Good) cheer and titillation. |
| 88. | " " " | Vigil and Rising at Night. |
| 89. | " " " | Help and Aid. |

90. The difference between: Compassion and Fellow
Feeling.
91. " " " Accordance and Complaisance.
92. " " " Congratulation and Envy.
93. " " " Remonstrations and Taunting.
94. " " " Courage and Recklessness.
95. " " " Propitiation and Sycophancy.
96. " " " Correction and Domineering.
97. " " " Demur and Procrastination.
98. " " " Finding out and Poking.
99. " " " Alert-mindedness and
Immoderation.
100. " " " Ornament and Decoration.
101. " " " Lust for Women, Concupiscence
and Tumescence.
102. " " " Communion and Invocation.
103. " " " Experience of the Sweetness
of Transcendence and its
experience with the Sweetness
of Love.
104. " " " Desisting from Worldly Desires
out of Disinterest and
Desisting out of Weariness.
105. " " " Good Opinion from Direct
Knowledge and Good Opinion
from Extra-sensory Knowledge.
106. " " " Gravity and Sloth.
107. " " " Chastening and Rudeness.
108. " " " Righteous Irritation and
Folly.

109. The difference between: Self-Defence and Insolence.
110. " " " Wrath and Rashness.
111. " " " Deliberateness and Dullness.
112. " " " Gentleness and Humbleness.
113. " " " Deterrent Power and Arbitrary Power.
114. " " " Forethought and Overconfidence.
115. " " " Rational Judgment and Predjudice.
116. " " " Wishing to Die out of Eagerness and out of Vexation.
117. " " " Good-fellowship and simulated fellowship.
118. " " " Friendliness to Pious People for the Acquirement of Politeness and Good Manners and Friendliness to Pious People by Intrusion and for the Acquirement of Good Reputation.
119. " " " Relayers and Relaters of Traditions.
120. " " " Retainers and Reciters of the Qu'ran.
121. " " " Mentor and Narrator.
122. " " " Indignation for oneself and Indignation for God.
123. " " " Telling a good deed to please and telling to oblige.

124. The difference between: Aversion and Hostility.
125. " " " Perfection and Consummation.
126. " " " Preacher and Admonisher.
127. " " " Elusion and Shiftiness.
128. " " " Inability and Breach of Promise.
129. " " " Intimidation and Threat.
130. " " " Forewarning and Tale Telling.
131. " " " Gentleness and Humbleness.
132. " " " Tranquillity and Low Spirits.
133. " " " Large Mindedness and Purity of Heart.
134. " " " Benevolent Assistance and Purposeful Aid.
135. " " " Selfless Hospitality and Self-Serving Hospitality.
136. " " " Shelter and Trap.
137. " " " Imbibing of Knowledge to Supply a Need and Acquirement of Knowledge for pleasurable and professional purposes.
138. " " " (See No. 21) Suspicion and Evil Thought.
139. " " " Articulation and Fluency.
140. " " " Frugality and Miserliness.
141. " " " Visiting and Intrusion.
142. " " " Well Deserved Status and Undeserved Reputation.

143. The difference between: Steadfastness and Self-Denial.
144. " " " Love of Women and Concupiscence.
145. " " " Temptation and Flight from Poverty in Disdain and Shame.
146. " " " Self-confidence and Vanity.
147. " " " Disfavouring the rich out of indignance for their denial of rights and disfavouring out of envy and covetousness.
148. " " " Seeking of Wealth to remove Temptation out of Piety and Seeking of Wealth out of Avarice and Self-Aggrandisement.
149. " " " Nicknames and Cognomen.
150. " " " Deterrent Power and Arbitrary Power (see no.113)
151. " " " Fear of God and Fear of People.
152. " " " Silence for fear of maledictions and Silence out of Disdain and Affectation.
153. " " " Defence of Honour and Spreading of Scandal.
154. " " " Satisfaction and Malicious Pleasure.
155. " " " Inference and Analogy.

K. Ghawr al Umūr

(The depth of significance) is also known under another name, al A^ʿdā'wa al Nafs (the limbs and the soul). This has given rise to the erroneous opinion that it is a question of two books. In reality both titles designate one and the same work. There are three manuscripts in existence, one at the Bibliotheque Nationale in Paris⁽¹⁾, the other at As^ʿad Library in Istanbul, nos. 1479.⁽²⁾ copied in the year 1112 A.H. by Hajj Ahmad Ibn al Hajj Ali Ibn Wali, and⁽³⁾ copied on the 19th Rajab in the year 1238 A.H. by al-Sayyid Ibrahim al Barkawi.

On the first page, al-Tirmidhi enumerates 33 points, each of which, as he states, possesses a deep significance, Ghawr Na^ʿīd. This statement indicates that it is Ghawr al Umur that is the more apposite title of the two. Besides, other books of al-Tirmidhi contain references to the book Ghawr al Umūr. One of them is Sharḥ al Ṣalāh fol. 95 of the As ad Collection, and the other K. Manāzil al-ʿIbād, fol. 162 of the same collection.

K. Ghawr al Umūr deals with the following points:

- (1) the nature of the heart; (2) the names of the heart; (3) the nature of the chest and its states; (4) the nature

(1) Fols. 112-128.
 (2) Fols. 132A-158A.
 (3) Fols. 1-56A.

of the soul; (nafs) (5) the nature of Iblīs and his helpers; (6) the description of this power and the soul; (7) the deceitfulness and the wiles of the soul; (8) the states of the soul; (9) the beginnings of the soul; (10) the nature of gnosis; (11) its contents; (12) the light; (13) its attributes and its guises; (14) the nature of Adam and his hundred qualities; (15) the nature of the helpers or gnosis; (16) the nature of the mind; (17) its origin or substance; (18) its chair of judgment; (19) the helpers of the mind; (20) description of the towns and villages of gnosis with its monuments and inhabitants; (21) description of the camp, its officers and its administrative quarters (dawawin); (22) the treasuries of obedience; (23) the origins of wisdom; (24) the presence of the soul; (25) the shape of Adam and the meaning of his name; (26) the meaning la ilaha illa Allah; (27) the explanation of the divine words; "Am I not your Lord?";⁽¹⁾ (28) the explanation of the name Khalīl al Rahmān (the close friend of the Merciful); (29) the explanation of the name of Iblīs; (30) the explanation of the name of Pharaoh; (31) the explanation of the words of God: "God is the light of the heavens and the earth";⁽²⁾ (32) the explanation of the olive tree; (33) the explanation of the tree of Ṭuba.

(1) Chapter VII, v.172..

(2) Chapter XXIV, v.35.

al-Hikmah
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This is still in manuscript. There is a copy in the Kharā^ghi Oghlu Library under No. 806.⁽¹⁾ In this book, al-Tirmidhi explains the meaning of Hikmah, and how it proceeds from God to the servant and in reverse, from the servant to God. He tells that Wisdom involves using different ways for different people - what is suitable for the wise is unsuitable for the ignorant. Throughout he uses similes applicable to various situations of life, and shows what results from using Wisdom or from neglecting it.

(1) fols. 1 - 18.

Al-Huquq

(Rights and obligations), which is still in manuscript form. One copy is found in the Ismā'īl Sā'ib Library⁽¹⁾. This book is significant in that it deals with its subject in a novel way in which he has neither predecessors nor successors. In this book, which no doubt represents an achievement, he describes the religious duties of Muslims and divides them into two groups:

(a) the observation of commands and prohibitions as a sign of gratitude for the grace of God from its recipient whose duty it is to know that what God has given him by giving him his body which is a form of grace. Thus by using his body rightly and avoiding what is wrong, man can thank God for His graces.

(b) thanks to those who have done one a favour, for they are entitled to gratitude. The reference here is to those who give religious guidance; to the members of one's family; to those who serve society and education. Al-Tirmidhi enumerates seventeen kinds of obligations:

(1) obligation towards the Prophet; (2) the government; (3) religious leaders; (4) the mu'addhinin; (5) the

(1) See Ismā'īl Sā'ib manuscript, fols. 177B-209B.

of prayer
leaders; (6) the parents; (7) children; (8) husbands
and wives; (9) relations; (10) neighbours; (11) servants;
(12) animals and beasts of burden; (13) medical advisers;
(14) undertakers; (15) frontier guards 'ghuzā'; (16)
market supervisors 'muhtasibs'; (17) teachers.

Jawab kitāb min al-Riyy

(The answer to a letter from Rayy). This is still in manuscript form extant in three copies: one in the Leipzig collection⁽¹⁾, the second in the Ismā'īl Sā'ib collection⁽²⁾, the third in al-Zāhriyyah collection⁽³⁾. Al-Tirmidhi's correspondent, who seems to have been an aspirant to Sufi wisdom, had met a certain Sheikh from whom he expected guidance, but had found it sadly inadequate so that, instead of progressing, he had lost the state he had achieved before. He therefore asked al-Tirmidhi's advice and expressed longing to meet him. Al-Tirmidhi's reaction to this complaint forms the subject of the introductory lines of this epistle. He says that this unsatisfactory development had been the result of the contemplation of the creator through the creation, and advised him to return to his point of departure and enter on the way of repentance and purification, and pray two Rak'ah in a solitary retreat. This struggle is to be continued until success is achieved. This epistle is illustrative of al-Tirmidhi's attitude towards the popular conception accepted by the majority of Sufis that a Sufi disciple needs the guidance

(1) Fols. 129-131.

(2) Fols. 48 - 50.

(3) Fols. 155-160.

of a sheikh to attain his goal. Al-Tirmidhi emphatically denies the advisability of such guidance and stresses the necessity of the lonely struggle of a man within himself which alone can produce the desired result.

'Ilm al-Awliyā'

This is in manuscript form and is found in three extant copies, one of which is in Cairo⁽¹⁾; one in Calcutta⁽²⁾ and one in Kharagioghlu in Turkey.⁽³⁾ The Calcutta manuscript is in a very bad condition as the ink has run and some pages are almost undecipherable. The Kharagioghlu manuscript is not damaged, but the script is so minute that it is almost illegible. The clearest and most serviceable is the Cairo manuscript, which has not suffered any damage.

On the first page, al-Tirmidhi states that all knowledge comes from names, and names lead to things. Everything has a name, and a name is an indication of its nature, and at the same time a sign of the intention of the one who gave it. He then proceeds to show how it is that names contain all knowledge, and adds that this is the reason why Allah taught Adam all the names, and why the angels had to bow to his superior knowledge and recognise his superior rank.

The main points of the book are:- (1) all knowledge is contained in names; (2) the knowledge of

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- (1) Fols. 39-78A, Ms. No. 694, majāmī' Talāt, copied M 23d Şafar 1091 A.H. by Ahmad b. al-Sheikh.
 (2) Fols. 83A-28B.
 (3) Fols. 27A-75B.

origins and attributes is derived from the alphabet;

(3) there are seventy-two languages and Arabic is the first and the last of them; it was the language of Adam and will be the language of the people of paradise;

(4) knowledge of and contemplation on the subject of the sea and its marvels; (5) exoteric and esoteric knowledge; (6) esoteric knowledge stems from the highest wisdom of God; (7) life is comparable to the sea, who enters it is drawn into it and drowns in it;

(8) earthly desires cover the heart, so that its surface is similar to a rusty mirror; (9) the names of God and the true purpose of reciting them according to the hadith; (10) the secret reason for calling people to say la ilaha illa Allah; (11) the sincerity of worship and the meaning of faith; (12) the true belief in la ilaha illa Allah; (13) the secret of destiny and the knowledge which God keeps from his servants; (14) the meaning of the knowledge of "fear of God", "al Taqwa"; (15) which is superior - the state of gratitude or the state of patience?; (16) discussion of the honour, nature and type of knowledge; (17) juxtaposition of patience and ability; (18) comparison of the movements of a man with two recording angels at his sides with a customer buying goods from different sources.

Ithbāt al-^ʿIlal or al-^ʿlal

This has not yet been edited or published. There are two manuscript copies in existence, one in the Wali al-Dīn Library⁽¹⁾ and the other at the Karagioglu Library in Istanbūl.⁽²⁾ The book seems to have originated, like so many of al-Tirmidhi's works, in the answer to a question put to him by some outsiders. However, it is possible that these interlocutors are merely fictional, and the form of question and answer merely represents a rhetorical device of the kind so often employed by Arabic authors. The question is: "You have asked me how the people are divided (in their opinions) about the reasons of divine orders and prohibitions, and whether there is a reason or not. Some of them say that it is religious, for God created them to worship Him through orders and prohibitions, for which there is no other reason, and which serve as a test. Others say that they are only a test and this test is regarded as a form of worship. Nobody denies that, says al-Tirmidhi, but no doubt reasons exist which are known to some people but not to others. You have asked me to explain to you these reasons according

(1) Fols. 34A-83B.
 (2) Fols. 76A-103.

to my knowledge." (1) It is obvious that al-Tirmidhi himself believes that there are indeed reasons on which the whole edifice of Islamic faith is created. That is why he embarks on a discussion and refutations of the opinions of those who deny their existence, supporting all his arguments by evidential verses from the Qur'an. Al-Tirmidhi believes that these reasons can be fathomed by the wisdom of God granted to the 'Ulamā' who possessed exoteric as well as esoteric knowledge. The 'Ulamā' he divides into those possessed of both kinds of knowledge and those who have only the inferior esoteric kind.

According to the biographers, this was one of the two books that led to the accusation that he corrupted people by proffering false knowledge. This accusation seems to have arisen from the wrong impression that he was an innovator, trying to introduce his own ideas into Islam, while the book is obviously merely interpretative.

A number of titles in *Ithbāt al-ʿilal fi al-Amr wa al-Nahy*, especially those connected with prayer, resemble those occurring in *Kayfiyyat al-Salāh*, and indeed many of the topics discussed under these headings

(1) Wali al-Dīn Ms. fol. 34A,B.

are also similar. However, the viewpoints from which they are approached differ quite considerably, and so does their treatment.

The subject-matter of Ithbat could be subsumed under these headings: creed, action and worship. The author has made it his main concern here to analyse the causation of each of these phenomena. He concentrates on the following points: (1) why we profess the belief in the unity of God; (2) why we Act; (3) why ablutions are performed; (4) why certain parts of the body are subject to ablution; (5) why total ablution on certain occasions (al janābah) (6) why we pray; (7) why we turn our faces in prayer towards the Ka'bah (8) why we exalt God in prayer; (9) why we praise God; (10) why we seek refuge from the Satan in God (isti'ādah), (11) why we read; (12) why we bow; (13) why we glorify God while bowing; (14) why we prostrate ourselves; (15) why we glorify God when prostrating ourselves; (16) why we sit up after having prostrated ourselves; (17) why we say tashahud while we sit; (18) why we greet God and why we greet the Prophet and righteous people; (19) why the number of bows and prostrations is strictly defined; (20) why we bow twice; (21) why the number of obligatory

prayers is strictly defined; (22) why the Friday prayer must be communal; (23) why the Friday prayers are recited loudly while daytime prayers are not said loudly on other days; (24) why the Chapter of Adoration and the Chapter of Man are selected for reading for the Friday morning prayer; (25) why these five times have been designated for prayer; (26) why it is more deserving to pray at the beginning than at the end of the prayer period; (27) why communal prayers exist, and why there is a leader (Imam); (28) why we are lined up to pray; (29) why we are lined up behind the leader; (30) why the first line is privileged; (31) why there is a leader; (32) why there are additional prayers and why the last three chapters are preferable with these prayers; (33) why the Qunūt is said in this prayer; (34) why Id al Adha exists, and why a sacrifice is performed on that day; (35) why takbir is continuous on that day; (36) why the body is covered at prayer; (37) why there is a special burial prayer and why it contains four takbirs; (38) why the leadership of the sultan has been instituted; (39) why the last line of the funeral procession has more merit than the first; (40) why one stands when performing the burial prayer; (41) why the salutation at the burial and in the prayer; (42) who leads the funeral procession and who

brings up the rear; (43) why the prayer for a dead child; (44) why the coffin of the deceased; (45) why the deeds of the living as an offering to the dead; (46) why fasting; (47) why fasting on the days of 'Arafāt and 'Ashūrā, and the use of Kohl for the eyes; (48) why al-Zakah; (49) why the amounts of Zakah are fixed; (50) why the tithes; (51) why the fifth; (52) why one goes on the pilgrimage; (53) why Islam; (54) why sacrifices; (55) ^{why} usury; (56) ^{is forbidden;} why it is forbidden to sell food without weight or measure; (57) why one inherits; (58) ^{why the} exclusion of murderers from inheritance; (59) why nobody inherits from Prophets; (60) in what proportion the heirs share in the estate they inherit; (61) why alcohol is prohibited; (62) why it is forbidden to consume blood; (63) why it is prohibited to eat meat from a carcass; (64) why men are forbidden to wear gold and silk; (65) why it is forbidden to trail the long train of a noble ostentatiously behind one; (66) why the sacrificial animal should not be touched once the ten days have begun.

al-Kalām 'ala mā'nā la illaha illa Allah

(Discourse on the significance of 'There is no other deity but Allah:') is extant only in manuscript form. There are three copies of the work, one in Leipzig⁽¹⁾, the second in the Khazīnah Library⁽²⁾ and the third in the Wali al-Dīn Library.⁽³⁾ The latter copy bears the title Shifā' al-'ilal.

Dr. Hair refers only to the Khazīnah and the Wali al-Dīn manuscripts.⁽⁴⁾ In his description of the manuscripts of the Leipzig collection, Dr. Yahyā lists this work as part of another more comprehensive book which deals with a number of various subjects.⁽⁵⁾ However, it is to all intents and purposes, a wholly independent and self-contained work on a completely different subject in which al-Tirmidhi enumerates and explains the duties of a Muslim who is a true believer in God, "la illaha illa Allah", and the benefits resulting from this faith when it is professed and practised with due sincerity. The title Shifā' al-'ilal seems preferable as it is indicative of the method applied in the treatment of this subject.

(1) Fols. 178-185.

(2) Ms. No. 1762, Bayān al-Farq, p.24..

(3) Fols. 1 - 8B.

(4) Bayān al-Farq, p.24.

(5) Preface to Khāṭm al-Awliya', p.81.

Kitāb Kaifiyyat al Salāh wa al Siwāk wa al Ightisāl wa
al-Wdū' wa asl dhālik wa sababuh

(The performance of prayers, the use of the siwak, washing and ablutions, their roots and reasons.) There is an alternative title ʿilal al ʿIbādah (Motivation in Worship) which seems preferable, but which has not been authenticated.

This book is still in manuscript form. It is found in two copies, one in Cairo⁽¹⁾, the other at the Wali al-Dīn Library in Istanbūl⁽²⁾. It seems that the first title goes back to the scribe, to whom it seemed appropriate in view of the contents of the book. It figures on the title page of the Cairo Manuscript, and is obviously written by the hand of the scribe himself. The second title, also found in the Cairo copy, is clearly in a different handwriting, and has been added to the title page. The Wali al Dīn copy bears no title at all, nor has it a title page of its own at all. Neither of these titles derives from al-Tirmidhi himself, who seems to have called this book "Kitab al Ṣalah" (the book of prayer). Indeed, prayer is the chief subject of the book, whatever else is discussed there is connected

(1) Dar al-Kutub, Ms. No.125 Majāmiʿ

(2) Fols. 128B-177B, Ms. No. 770.

directly or indirectly with prayer. Besides, it is the wont of all Sufi scholars to refer to these subsidiary matters in more or less detail when discussing the subject of prayer.

There is a reference in Kitāb Ithbāt al-Ḥilal, fol.59 in the Wali al Dīn collection which can be taken as an additional indication that the title intended by al-Tirmidhi for his work was indeed Kitāb Kaifiyay al Ṣalāh. When he discusses the subject of ṣatr (to cover) he says: "We have given a detailed description of the performance of these steps in the Book of Prayer."⁽¹⁾

There is a considerable difference in the order and arrangement of the topic in the two extant manuscripts. The manuscript in the Wali al Dīn contains five more sections than the Cairo manuscript, namely Mawaqit al Ṣalāh (the times of Prayer) fol.144B; Satr al Muṣalli (Barrier of Protection for the Worshipper) fol. 145A; al Ṣalwāt al Khams bi wudū' wāḥid (Five prayers to one ablution), fol. 145B; al Tashaddud fi Satr al-ʿAwrah fi al wudū' al ightisāl min al janābah (Strict cover for the private parts during ablution and ritual purification after sexual intercourse) fol.145B; Mawāqīt al Ṣalah (the time of Prayer),

(1) Wali al Dīn, fol. 59.

a heading identical with the first of these sections, applied to a different text. While the former specifies the five times of daily prayer, the latter stresses the preferability of early performance. This section is found on fol. 175A.

Apart from a number of inserts obviously made by the scribe who copies the Cairo Manuscript, and which are evidently derived from *Ithbāt al 'ilal*, the text of both manuscripts is identical. The inserts are explicitly described as such by the scribe himself in various places, with reference to their source. The lack of proper demarcation is, however, very confusing, especially in view of the length of some inserts which at times comprise entire chapters, so that it would be almost impossible to distinguish where the text of *Kaifiyyat* ends and the insert begins, were it not for the existence of the alternative manuscript: the process of juxtaposing and comparing the two manuscripts has been long and painstaking, owing to the difference in the arrangement of the two extant texts. It has finally been possible to separate the inserts from the original text.

Kaifiyyat does not figure in Dr. Nicola Hair's list of al-Tirmidhi's works in the Preface to his

edition of Kitāb/^{Bayān}al Farq baina al ṣadr wa al Qalb.⁽¹⁾
 Nor do Professor Arberry and Dr. 'Abd al Qādir refer to
 it in their edition of Kitāb al Riyāḍah wa adab al nafs.⁽²⁾
 As to Dr. Yahya's list published in Melanges Vol. III,
 Damascus 1957, it is evident that what he considers to
 be a third copy of Kitāb 'Ilal al-'ibadah⁽³⁾, by which
 he means Ithbat al-ilal, which is in fact a manuscript
 of Kafiyat al-Ṣalāh. This confusion is probably caused
 by Dr. Yahya's extreme reliance on Massignon. However,
 referring to the Wali al Dīn copy in the Preface to
 his edition of Khatm al Awliyā; Dr. Yahya uses the
 title 'Ilal al-'ibadah⁽⁴⁾. In so doing, he has clearly
 the Cairo manuscript in mind. This is confirmed by the
 fact that he mentions the difference in the ending
 between the Cairo copy and the Wali al Dīn copy,⁽⁵⁾
 but without referring to the difference in the order of
 the items by which it is caused. For, when one compares
 the end of the Cairo copy with the end of the same
 chapter of the Wali al Dīn copy, one finds that the
 text is the same.

To judge by the title, the subject matter of
 this book is derived from the devotional sector of the

-
- (1) Pp. 13-28.
 (2) Cairo, 1947.
 (3) p.433.
 (4) p.87.
 (5): pp. 87-8.

Sharī'ah. However, little attention is paid to the ritual aspect, and the details are dealt with in a rather cursory way. What is enlarged upon are the moral and spiritual effects of the prayers.

The order of the 34 chapters in the Cairo copy is logical, while the arrangement of the Wali al Dīn copy is haphazard, and was obviously made at a later stage.

Khatm al Awli yā'

(Seal of Saints), published in Beirut in 1965 and edited by Dr. 'Uthmān Ismā'īl Yahyā, is the most important of al-Tirmidhi's works. It is a treatise on Sainthood and Prophethood, and deals with the relationship between these two, the hierarchy of saints and their seal, Khatm al-Awliyā'; it also discusses the position of the latter, whose rank is inferior to the prophets but higher than the saints. Khatm al-Awliyā' represents the most exhaustive and most comprehensive theory of sainthood that has ever come from al-Tirmidhi's pen.

Already in the first page, al-Tirmidhi plunges immediately in medias res, tackling the main point of his theory first. Conforming to a well known ancient custom, he addresses an imaginary interlocutor with the words: "You refer to discussions on sainthood between groups of people, and ask about the nature of saints, their hierarchy what results from their being accepted (into the ranks of saints), and whether the saints are conscious of their blessed state or not. And you also mention that some people maintain that saints are ignorant of this fact, and refer to the fact that some consider themselves to be saints but are not."⁽¹⁾

(1) Pages 114-5

In Dr. Yahyā's arrangement, the book consists of 29 chapters. Al-Tirmidhi himself does not explicitly divide it into chapters, but often uses introductory phrases of various patterns to indicate the transition from one subject to another, and the text flows thus uninterruptedly from the beginning to the end of the book. The prevalent device is that of question and answer, but he uses it not only to introduce major points, but also to draw attention to a digression or a detail.

The titles of the 29 chapters in Yahyā's edition are:

(I) Wali haqq-Allah (The Saint of Obligation unto God);
 (II) Dawat al-Haqq wa Jabat al-'Abd (Call of the Truth and the Answer of Man); (III) Wali haqq-Allah wa Wali Allah (The Saint of Obligation unto God and the Saint of God); (IV) Al-Masā'il al Rūhāniyyah (Spiritual Points); (V) 'Ilm al Awliyā' wa 'ilm al Anbiyā' (Knowledge of saints and knowledge of prophets); (VI) Wali Allah (the Saint of God); (VII) Khishāl al wilayah al 'Ashr (the ten qualities of sainthood); (VIII) Khatm al Awliyā' wa Khatm al Anbiyā' (the seal of the saints and the seal of the prophets); (IX) Al Nubuwwah wa al wilayah (Prophethood and Sainthood); (X) 'Alāmāt al Awliyā' (Signs distinguishing saints) or (Indications of sainthood in the saint); (XI) Ilqā' al-Shaitān wa nask al-Rahmān (the promptings of Satan repealed by God); (XII) Ahl al

qurba (People of Proximity); (XIII) Khatm al Awliyā'
 (the seal of saints); (XIV) Al-bushra (Good Tidings);
 (XV) al-Kitāb wa al-Rūh (the Book and the Spirit);
 (XVI) Tafkīr 'āmmat al mu'minīn wa tafkīr Khāṣṣat al
 Awliyā' (Meditation of common believers and meditation of
 high ranking saints); (XVII) 'Aqd al wilāyah wa 'Aqd al
 Mubuwwah (the nature of Sainthood and the nature of
 Prophethood); (XVIII) Munkirū aḥwāl al-Awliyā' (those who
 deny the merits of the Saints); (XIX) al-wilāyah wa al-
 'ādah wa al-mahabbah (Sainthood, happiness and love);
 (XX) al Wali wa al Khatī' (the Saint and the Sin); (XXI)
 al-Wali wa al asrār al lāhiyyah (the Saint and the divine
 secrets); (XXII) al muhtadi wa al mujtabā (Who is Guided and
 who is chosen); (XXIII) al maddah wa al jadhbah (Ebb and
 Tide in Divine Rapture); (XXIV) al-majdhūb (Divinely
 attracted); (XXV) Khatm al-Awliyā' (the seal of the Saints);
 (XXVI) Awliyā' al zūr (Friends of Falsehood); (XXVII) Dawlat
 al Khair wa dawlat al sharr (the State of Good and the State
 of Evil); (XXVIII) Ahl al-Dīn (the Men of Religion);
 (XXIX) al 'Amal wa al Darajat (the actions and the degrees).

Three basic ideas form the starting point of the
 discussion in each of the twenty nine divisions or subjects.
 They are: (1) spiritual activity on both its levels, that
 of sincere struggle and that of divine grace; (2) exoteric

and esoteric knowledge; (3) prophethood, sainthood, prophecy in their general relationships as well as in their special individual attributes.

In the preface to Khatm al Awliyā' the editor, Dr. Yahya, has supplied a short biography of al-Tirmidhi⁽¹⁾, as well as a brief assessment of his work and his position among Sufi thinkers.⁽²⁾ Dr. Yahya treats further of the subject matter of Khatm al Awliyā'. He touches briefly on the methods utilised in it by al-Tirmidhi, stressing that it mostly takes the form of a dialogue between the Sheikh and the student.⁽³⁾ Finally, he enlarges on the influence the book in particular and al-Tirmidhi's outlook and ideas in general had on later generations of Sufis.⁽⁴⁾

Included in this preface is al-Tirmidhi's autobiography, entitled Risālat Budu al Shān.⁽⁵⁾ Dr. Yahya also gives a description of the Leipzig collection, with its 130 essays, quoting the beginning and the end of every single essay and referring to the fol. on which it figures in the collection.⁽⁶⁾ He deals in the same way with the 23 essays and books contained in the Wali al Dīn collection.⁽⁷⁾ He further supplies three lists of

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- (1) Pp. 2-12.
 (2) Pp. 93-96.
 (3) Pp. 98-99.
 (4) Pp. 96-97.
 (5) Pp. 13-32.
 (6) Pp. 39-84.
 (7) Pp. 84-92.

al-Tirmidhi's teachers in which, however, only those teachers are considered to whom al-Tirmidhi refers in Khatm al Awliyā'. The teachers are mentioned with their respective chains of transmission. Annotated in footnotes are the teachers' biographical data, together with references to their place in biographical books.⁽¹⁾ This is followed by a list of al-Tirmidhi's students,⁽²⁾ for which Dr. Yaḥyā entirely relies on the biographical works. It must be added that the method of dealing with biographical detail in footnotes is observed by Dr. Yaḥyā throughout the whole of the edited text.

In a third list he names the books in which Khatm al Awliyā' is mentioned or discussed.⁽³⁾ On pages 142-326 Dr. Yaḥyā has added, in footnotes, the answers given to al-Tirmidhi's 157 questions by Ibn Arabi in two of his books, al-Futūḥāt al Makkiyyah⁽⁴⁾ and al-Qistās al-Mustaqīm fima sa'ala 'anhu al-Tirmidhi al-ḥakīm⁽⁵⁾, this latter exclusively devoted to this purpose. A separate supplement contains a selection of quotations on saints and sainthood from various works which fill sixty six pages of small print.⁽⁶⁾

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- (1) pp. 33-37.
 (2) p.37.
 (3) p.96.
 (4) Vol. II, pp.40-139.
 (5) Bayazīd, Ms. No. 3750.
 (6) pp. 447-514.

Kitāb Manāzil al-ʿibād min al-ʿibādah, or Manāzil al-Qāsidīn

The degrees of Worshippers, still in manuscript form, found in three copies, one in Ismāʿīl Sāʿib⁽¹⁾, the second in Paris⁽²⁾ and the third in asʿad⁽³⁾, deals with worship and the hierarchy of worshippers. Al-Tirmidhi, who was asked to rationalise his division of worshippers into ranks according to their secret and open worship, justifies here this division by adducing proofs from the Qurʾān and the Hadith. In so doing, he first states the ranks or degrees of worshippers, and the qualities required of those who are fit to attain them. Secondly, he discusses each of these qualities, always supporting his contention by quotations from the Qu'rān and the Sunna. He mentions the names of the men who had attained these ranks, discussing their circumstances, their ways, their characteristics and their struggle. Then he enumerates the seven degrees of worshippers: (a) the degree of repentance, tauba^h, given to those who deserve the love of God because they repent and keep themselves pure and clean; (b) the degree of religious devotion, zuhd, given to those who have no desire for worldly things, which is superior to tauba^h since those who prepare for it must purify themselves of sin. Seeing in the world nothing but blemishes, they turn from it in scorn,

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- (1) Fols. 221A-238.
 (2) Fols. 130B-136A.
 (3) Fols. 159A-167B.

they sense mundane life as a prison, for the Prophet says: "The world is a prison for the believer, and a paradise for the unbeliever;" (c) the degree of the struggle with the carnal soul mujāhadatal-nafs, given to al-zahidin, who having no desire for the things of this world, must resist their carnal souls which hanker after them, regarding their carnal souls as enemies until they obtain full control of them, for the Prophet says: "Your greatest enemy is yourself, which is between your sides", (..) the degree of love and proximity, mahabbat Allah wa al-Qurba^h, a rank occupied by those who cut themselves off from the desires of the soul and savour the taste of the proximity of God and His mercy. They are those of whom God says: "Then God will bring a people whom He loves and who love Him humble toward believers, mighty against the unbelievers, striving hard in God's way, v.54, Surah 5; (1)

Darajat al-qurba, the degree of those who attain the utmost proximity after having taken refuge with God from the recurrence of the soul's desires, and received the grace of God when he had purified them from these desires, for the Qu'ran refers to them in these words; "And they knew that there was no refuge from God but in Him". (2)

(3)

(1) Chapter V, v.54.

(2) Chapter IX, v.118.

(1) Manzilat ahl al Khashiah min Allah subhanahu the rank of those who stand in awe of God. They are the people of whom the Qur'ān says: "God has revealed the best announcement, a Book consistent, repeating (its injunctions) whereat do shudder the skins of those who fear the Lord, then their skins and their hearts soften to God's remembrance", (1); (2) Manzilat ahl al jibaya^h wa al Tajalli wa al Tafwīd - the degree of the chosen and the transfigured and the submissive whom God controls in all their undertakings, those who have submitted all their affairs to God. The existence of this degree is confirmed by the hadīth qudsi (the sacred hadīth) where it is said: "All the blemishes have been removed from their souls", and by the verse of the Qur'an: "I entrust all my affairs to God", (2)

Thus al-Tirmidhi, having stated and described the seven degrees of worshippers, their respective situations and the kind of deeds to be expected from each, ended by justifying his division and his particular conceptions by quotations from the Qur'ān and the hadith.

(1) Chapter XXXIX, verse 23.
 (2) Chapter XL, verse 44.

Manhagfi

This book is mentioned both in Kashf al-Zunūn (page 783) and in the list in the preface to Kitāb Bayān al-Farq⁽¹⁾ etc. But there is a certain point which I have noticed: after Hajji Khalifah mentions this book he adds that it is by Sheikh Muhammad ibn 'Ali al Hakīm al-Tirmidhi and he then gives the year of this Sheikh's death as 777 A.H., writing this date in numbers and in words. This would look as if Hajji Khalifah wished to stress that this author was another man of exactly the same name as the well-known Tirmidhi, but who lived some 400 years after the great Sheikh.

(1) 12, p.26.

Ma'rifat al-Asrar

This is still in manuscript. The one copy is in the Qastamuni Library⁽¹⁾. In this book al Tirmidhi follows the traditional Sufi method. The many things he speaks of are to be found in other Sufi literature, subjects such as al-Shukr, al-Ṣabr, al-Tawbah, al-Ru'yāh al-Istiqamah, al-Tawadū', al-Zuhd etc. These technical Sufi words are expounded by Sufi sheikhs, each giving his own view of their meaning. And in this book al-Tirmidhi has done likewise. The first point he makes is the creation of Mind; the last is 'Ilm al- Azaliyyah wa al-Isharah. It is noticed especially that there is a somewhat lengthy preface at the beginning of this book. Long prefaces are contrary to al-Tirmidhi's habit. Therefore it is deduced that this preface was added at a later date.

In short this book deals with technical Sufi words.

I-MS.no.2713.

Masā'il

There are a great number of these essays distributed among the Leipzig Collection. Dr. Hair calls them Masa'il No. 2. Having found them in eight different places in the collection, I have divided them into eight sections.

- (1) From fol. 55 to fol. 68 are nine essays; the first "Wajadtu-al-Mashī'ah amīrān 'ā la al Ṣifāt", the last is a letter to Muhammad Ibn al-Faḍl al-Balkhy.
- (2) On fol. 100 is one essay called "al-Ṣabr".
- (3) From fol. 131 to fol. 149 are 29 essays; the most are very short. The first is Masa'alah fi al-Adab, the last is "Wajatu al-Nāzir ila Khalqih 'ala thalāthati asnāf.
- (4) From fol. 162 to fol. 178 are 26 essays; one of them is 8 fols; the others are contained in the remaining 8 fols.. The first essay is "Saba qulūb al-Muwahh-din-bi nūr al Hidāyah; the last is al-Muwahhəd mata yakūn muwahhiddīn.
- (5) From fol. 185 to fol. 195 are eleven essays. The first is headed: "Āfat Misyān al Maw t; the last one is headed Sabab Nisyān al-'Ilm.

(6) From fol.195 to fol. 208 are 17 essays. All of them are commentaries on verses of the Holy Qur'ān. The first is "Mālahā min Fawāq"^I; the last is wa mina al-Nās man yaqūlu 'anzanna bi Allah wa al-Yawn al-Ākhir. ("Amongst the people are some who say we believe in God and in the Last Day.") 2

(7) From fol. 208 to fol. 225 are eleven essays. The first is "al Insan" (The Man) and the last is "al Salat 'ala al-Nabi"; blessing on the prophet.

At the end of this group is written the following: "This is the last work I have collected of Masā'il al-Sheikh al-Imān al-Hakim. It is copied by the poor one, to the Mercy of His Lord, Muhammad ibn Muhammad ibn Abi Jarād on the 16th of Rabi' al-Awal in the year 611 A.H., and he asks Allah to him and to his parents and to all Muslims. Amin. May Allah bless our master Muhammad and his family".

(8) From fol. 226 to fol. 228 are two essays. One is headed: "Allah produced what He willed, then He produced His creation." The other one is headed: "You asked about the origin of the sweetness of worship."

I- Ch.XXXVIII,V.15. wherein there is no delay.

2- Ch. II, V.8.

3- fol.225b.Leipzig. MS.

Mas'alah fi al Imān wa al Islām wa al Ihsān

Essay on Faith, Islam and Perfection
and

Sharh qaḥḥi ma al Iman wa al-Islām wa al Ihsan

Commentary on the Measuring of Faith, Islam and Perfection

These two essays under two separate - and different - titles, dealing with the same subject. Neither has appeared in print as yet. There are two copies of each. One manuscript of the Mas'alah is found in Leipzig⁽¹⁾; the other in the Wali a Dīn library in Istanbul⁽²⁾. As to the Sharh, one manuscript is in the Leipzig Collection⁽³⁾, and the other is in the Ismā'īl Ṣā'ib Library.⁽⁴⁾ This last copy is imperfect, in that some pages are missing, and the pagination is erroneous.

In his review of the Leipzig collection in the Preface to Khatm al Awliyā'⁽⁵⁾, Dr. Yaḥya represents both essays, despite their distinctly different titles, as one single work, which they obviously are not. Moreover, he stresses, in a footnote on page 67 of his preface, that there is a discrepancy between the end of the text in the manuscript in the Leipzig collection and the one in the Ismā'īl Ṣā'ib Library. He makes substantially the same statement in an article published in Melanges, Vol. III

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- (1) Fols. 88B-92A.
 (2) Fols. 87A-90A.
 (3) Fols. 92A-99B.
 (4) Fols. 3B-8B.
 (5) Khatm al Awliya pp. 66-7.

pp. 464-497: "It is to be observed that the beginning of fol. 4 is not the logical continuation of the preceding folios". This discrepancy is only apparent, and can only be ascribed to an oversight of the faulty pagination of the Ismā'īl Sā'ib copy. The change in the order of the pages in the Ismā'īl Sā'ib copy has resulted in the incorporation into the Sharh essay of the last two pages of the next essay, entitled Mas'alah fi al-Ṣabr. This seems to have misled Dr. Yahya. Again, in discussing the Wali al Dīn Manuscript, the final lines as quoted by Dr. Yahya do not coincide with the actual end of the essay, since they are the initial lines of the next item, a prayer, erroneously added by the scribe.⁽¹⁾

Al-Tirmidhi discusses, in the Mas'alah, the increase and decrease in faith as well as the difference between faith and Islam. In the Sharh he comments, in some detail, on the hadīth connected with this subject.

(1) Khatm al-Awliyā; p.86.

The Book of "Al-Masā'il al-Maknūnah" - "Veiled Questions"

This is a collection of essays and compositions on various subjects of exegesis, jurisprudence, theology and Sufism, with the latter claiming the larger proportion. They deal with a large number of ideas which al-Tirmidhi discussed in his other books with concentration and ample explanation such as sainthood, gnosis, conflict between the soul and the heart and other related additional or explanatory matters.

There is no predominantly common factor to combine these essays and composition under one single head or one co-ordinate, the reason being that they were not written to be a book having one central idea. They are rather a collection of casual thoughts which occurred to al-Tirmidhi's inner self while engaged in answering questions made to him from time to time, or in dealing with intellectual and ethical problems posed for discussion by his disciples on various occasions in their meetings with him. They vary in length, from a few lines to ten folios, and some of them have no titles.

Of this book there are two copies, each of which

is part of a collection of treatises or books by al-Tirmidhi. The first copy constitutes the first part of the Leipzig collection.⁽¹⁾ The title is inscribed at the top of the first folio, like this: "Kitab al-Masā'il al-Maknūnah". It is in the hand of the copyist. But on the cover there is another title, which is: "Al-Durr al-Maknūn fi As'ilat na Kana wama Yakūn" - "The Veiled Pearls in Questions of What Was and What Will Be", also in the hand of the copyist. It looks as if this title was given to the whole collection of more than 130 parts, when the transcription took place on the 6th Rabī' I, 611 A.H. by Muhammad b. Hibat-Allah b. Muhammad b. Hibat-Allah b. Abi Jarād, as stated on folio 225 at the end of the collection.

The second copy is in the library of Alexandria Municipality as part of the first collection⁽²⁾, all by al-Tirmidhi and comprising two other books. The collection was transcribed on the 17th Jumadā I, 593 A.H. by the same Muhammad b. Hibat-Allah already mentioned.

The following is a list of the subjects covered by this book with some of the titles devised to fit the contents of the material:-

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- (1) Fols. 1-54A.
 (2) Fols. 1-47B.

- (1) The travail of the Soul and the travail of the heart.
- (2) The exponents of jurisprudence and the exponents of tradition.
- (3) The wise call - the interpretation of the Qu'ranic verse: "Call unto the way of thy Lord with wisdom and goodly admonition."⁽¹⁾
- (4) "Every Soul is pledged for what it earns."⁽²⁾
- (5) "Praised be the name of Thy Lord most high."⁽³⁾
- (6) Apprehension from knowledge and fear of observation.
- (7) The people of "There is no God but God."
- (8) The diffusion of the Spirit in the body.
- (9) Man's suzerainty over the world.
- (10) The heart is the prince over the organs (of the body).
- (11) Passion is the stimulant of (sensual) desires, and the mind is the stimulant for sciences and gnosis.
- (12) The soldiers of gnosis.
- (13) Sovereign God bans the ideas of limitation and form from the hearts of the believers in the Unity of God.

(1) Chapter XVI, v.125.
 (2) Chapter LXXIV, v.38.
 (3) Chapter LXXXVII, v.1.

- (14) "And if They, when They have wronged themselves, come to thee and ask pardon of God."⁽¹⁾
- (15) Appreciation of things by the cognizance of their worth.
- (16) Inheritance.
- (17) The gathering of hearts in the name of God.
- (18) The qualities of the patient.
- (19) The fortification of the Servant with godliness against the Soul's bane.
- (20) A message to Muhammad b. al-Fadl.
- (21) No one remits sins except You.
- (22) The meaning of Praise. .
- (23) The granting of gnosis to human beings.
- (24) The reply of a message to one of his brethren.
- (25) God not perceptible by sight.⁽²⁾
- (26) Standing at the door of Paradise and standing at the door of God.
- (27) The staidness of hearts through faith.
- (28) Disengagement of the heart.
- (29) "But had they believed and feared, a reward from God were better".⁽³⁾
- (30) The ends-in-view of the Chapter of the Cow.

(1) Chapter XLI, v.64.
 (2) Chapter VI, v.103.
 (3) Chapter II, v.103.

- (31)"Who is it that intercedes with Him save by his permission?"(1)
- (32)The Spirit is the principle of creation.
- (33)"Verily, thou art toiling after thy Lord, toiling."(2)
- (34)"We have surely created man in anguish."(3)
- (35)"Will they not repent to God and ask pardon of Him."(4)
- (36)"And when those who believe in our signs come to thee"(5)
- (37)The sign of a man's love of one of his servants.
- (38)The sweetest thing in this world and the sweetest thing in the world of the Spirit. (Malakūt).
- (39)Difference between the gift and the present.
- (40)Gnosis, knowledge, mind, intellect and retention are human faculties.
- (41)The origin of the human being.
- (42)"Say, 'Who shall guard you by night and by day from the Merciful?'"(6)
- (43)Of the Qur'ān, only the Chapter of TAHA remains in Paradise.
- (44)"And unto Thy Lord is the limit."(7)
- (45)"The Knower of the Unseen and of the evident."(8)

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- (1) Chapter II, v.255.
 (2) Chapter LIIIIIV, v.6.
 (3) Chapter XL, v.4.
 (4) Chapter V, v.74.
 (5) Chapter VI, v.54.
 (6) Chapter XXI, v.42.
 (7) Chapter LIII, v.4.
 (8) Chapter XXXIX, v.46.

- (46) "Muhammad the Apostle of God, and those who are with him are vehement against the misbelievers." (1)
- (47) The messengers of God are the landmarks amongst God's creatures.
- (48) Those who have been given the lamp and the fair-mindedness.
- (49) "He grants to whom He pleases females, and He grants to whom He pleases males." (2)
- (50) God's joy at the believers praising and glorifying Him.
- (51) "But who saves one, it is as though he saved all men together." (3)
- (52) Types of the Holy War.
- (53) Servitude as a whole.
- (54) The two eyes of the Sense (fu'ād).
- (55) Manifestation of affection, mercy and compassion.
- (56) Worldly concerns.
- (57) The first act in the worship of God is knowledge.
- (58) "O ye who believe! fear God and speak straightforward speech." (4)
- (59) Guile.
- (60) The development of gnosis.

(1) Chapter XLVIII, v.29.
 (2) Chapter XLII, v.49.
 (3) Chapter XLV, 32.
 (4) Chapter XXXIII, 70.

- (61) The grades of people when paraded for judgment.
- (62) The Soul's share in the acquisition of scientists.
- (63) The explanation of "the lowly" - "al Siflah".
- (64) Emergence from illusion and its stages.
- (65) The case of reason and passion.
- (66) The station of the thankful feeder is like that of the patient faster.

Masā'il al-Ta'bir

This is still in manuscript. Of the two copies, one is in the Leipzig Collection⁽¹⁾ and the other is in the Ismā'il Ṣa'ib Collection.⁽²⁾ Professor Arberry edited it under the title "Notes on a Tirmidhi manuscript," in "Rivista degli studi Orientali."⁽³⁾

This is a small work: it is only one essay. Al-Tirmidhi gives examples of the struggle of the carnal soul and the continued watching of the heart which is necessary in man's progress towards God, until he is steadfastly close to his creator. The author illustrates this by four examples:-

- (a) The man who patiently strikes the flint until he gets a spark.
- (b) The watering of a young tree until its roots are firm and branches high so that the wind does not damage it.
- (c) The practice of a young bird in its attempts to fly away until it succeeds in sailing through the air with confidence.
- (d) An irrigation channel shared by four neighbours. If one of them sleeps when his term comes to use the waters, then he has missed his chance.

(1) fols. 100B-103A.

(2) fols. 175-177.

(3) ~~Volume~~ XVIII, pp.315-327, Rome 1940.

al-Minhaj fi al-'Abādah

This is a book which has been lost but Hajji Khalifah mentions it in Kashf el Zunūn page 1887. The fact that he calls it a short book indicates that he had actually seen the book. Dr. Nicola Hair mentions this work in the preface to Biyān al-Farq bain al-Sirr wa al-Qalb wa al-Fouād wa al-Lubb.⁽¹⁾

(1) p.26.

The Book "Nawādir al-Uṣūl", entitled "Salwāt al-Ārifīn
wa Bustān al-Muwahhidīn.

Of all al-Tirmidhi's books, this was the most famous, the one with the greatest circulation, and the first to be printed. The printing was in Istanbūl, in the year 1293 A.H., and the editor was ^{Sheikh} Mustafa ibn Ismā'īl al-Dimashqi, who wrote an explanatory book for it, which he called "Mirqāt al-Wusūl Hawāshi Nawādir al-Uṣūl fi Ahādīth al-Rasūl". ⁽¹⁾ Biographies record that the religious savants of Naishapur received this book from al-Tirmidhi himself when he travelled to it in 285 A.H. Al-Tirmidhi refers to it briefly, in some of his books, as "Kitab al-Uṣūl", as is his custom in referring briefly to his books. Of this book, there are many copies in manuscript in various places.

Al-Tirmidhi collected in this book 291 traditions and he called each of them Asl (root). He first narrates the text of the tradition and then explains it. During the explanation, he digresses into lateral connotations of the words of the tradition, with the consequence that ample material is added, reflecting a great variety of information and views which express al-Tirmidhi's

(1) Tadhkirat al-Huffāz, vol. II, p.197 and Lisān al-Mizān, vol. V, p.308, and Tabāq'at al-Shāfi'iyyah vol. II, p.20.

thought on diverse points raised in his other books. The traditions, in the hands of al-Tirmidhi, especially in this book, were used as documentary and authoritative evidence for his views, particularly in his views on the brand of Sufism which he originated and developed, with details about such of its roots and structures as sainthood, its grades and seal; gnosis, its degrees and varieties; human conduct; morals; mores; their limits and features. In this way, the book came out as a muster of a great assortment of varied subjects, and therefore, one can hardly find a common characteristic under which the book, or any other book of his, for that matter, may be categorised, except that it is an anthology of the traditions.

The roots, or Uṣūl, in the book mark out the paths prescribed by al-Tirmidhi for devotions, mores, conduct and morals. But through the words of the traditions, he manages to underline his intended constructions and reinforce his tendencies. Although in other books, he commits himself to a serialisation of the reporters of the traditions, from the Companion, and through to the Tabi'īn (followers) and Tabi'ī (Tabi'īn (followers of the followers)), he confines himself in this book to a curtailment of the

serialization, mentioning the full series only in the first tradition and in the forty-fourth.⁽¹⁾ It seems to me, therefore, that the intention of al-Tirmidhi here is to set forth, in this book, the germs of his ideas, with a summary exposition, leaving amplification and expatiation for his other books and tracts, and this may explain why he called the book "Nawādir al-Uṣūl". Most probably, the book is one of al-Tirmidhi's early works, because he made several references to it in his other books, but made no reference to it in those books. Usually, al-Tirmidhi, in the opening parts of his books, gives the reason or the motive for undertaking to write the book or to study the subject, by saying, for instance, "You have asked about . . ."; but in this book, al-Tirmidhi does not follow this course, but goes straight to the point and directly begins to narrate the tradition, or, as he calls it, the first aṣl (root), which is "immunity against the bite of the scorpion". It would be too much to give all the uṣūl (roots), and therefore only the last one will be given, which is "al-Qalb al-Ḥaqīqi fi Athqāl al-ʿAzamah".

This book contains 432 pages, large octavo. In modern printing, it would occupy double this number of

(1) p.59.

pages. The pages of the marginal notes come to 142, large octavo. It is worth noting at this point the view of al-Tirmidhi on the credibility of traditions, which he discusses under No. 44,⁽¹⁾ in a chapter entitled "The Credibility of the Narration of Traditions", wherein he reports a tradition with its continuous chain of reporters, in the following text: "If you are told of me a tradition which you can recognise and not reject, whether I said it or not, believe it, for I say what is recognisable and not liable to rejection; and if you are told of me a tradition which you reject and cannot recognise, disbelieve it, for I do not say what is liable to rejection and is irrerecognisable".⁽²⁾

(1) p.59.
(2) Ibid.

This work is still in manuscript form. The manuscript from the available photocopy seems to have been written within the last 300 years and so it must have been copied from some older manuscript. A copy of it is also available in the Vienna Library. (1) It is what the Persians call a "arkīb-Bund, divided into nine Bunds, each ending with the last verse of the first Bund. The theme of the poem deals with many doctrines of taṣawwuf.

The language seems to be more of a latter period than could have been in use at the time of al-Tirmidhi. However, the ideas dealt with in the poem itself are not in any way contrary to those advocated by al-Tirmidhi.

It is very difficult to accept that this work could be included in al-Tirmidhi's writings, although there are instances where we find that serious writers have composed poems as a form of relaxation and diversion.

(1) Ms. No. 640.

"Kitab al-Radd 'ala al-Mu'attilah"

This book is still in manuscript form. It is found in one copy in the Alexandria Library⁽¹⁾ bound in one volume together with two other books by al-Tirmidhi; unfortunately many pages of the book have been ruined because the lines have faded in a large number of them. The book was copied in 593 A.H. by Muhammad Ibn Hibat Allah Ibn Muhammad Ibn Hibat Allah Ibn Abi Jarad.

The aim of this book is to support the views of Ahl al-Sunnah who attributes qualities to God and rejects the Mu'tazilites' views, which deny the attribution of qualities to God. Al-Tirmidhi collected a large number of traditions in support of his thesis. If one bears in mind al-Tirmidhi's action of collection the book will be considered as one of his works in the field of Hadith; but if one bears in mind the aim of the book, it will be considered as one of his excursions in the field of theology.

(1) Ms. No. 145, various arts, fols. 79A-124.

Al-Riyāḍah or Ḥaḳīquat al-ʿAdamiyyah.

These are two titles given alternatively to one work. It was published under the title al-Riyāḍah in Cairo, in 1947, as edited by Professor J. Arberry and Dr. ʿAli Ḥasan Abduḷ Ḳāder, and under the title Ḥāḳīqat al-ʿAdamiyy hin the Magazine of the Faculty of Arts in Alexandria University in 1946,⁽¹⁾ as edited by Abduḷ Moḥsin al-Ḥusayni (later Dr. A. Moḥsin al-Ḥuseyni). This work gives a description of the struggle between the carnal soul and the heart. The lecture of the book imparts a distinct impression that the author knew everything about human emotions and their origins. It establishes a connection between certain manifestations of human behaviour and certain parts of the body. One witnesses an armed combat between two forces with varying luck; sometimes one of them wins and sometimes the other. The consequences of the victory of either are shown in their effect on human conduct and spiritual progress. This is followed by implied advice to Sufis on how to overcome the deceits of the carnal soul and to control its desires in their progress towards God.

(1) Vol. III, pp. 50-108.

Sabab al-Takbīr fi al-Salāh

This is still in manuscript. The one known copy is in the Kharagi Oghlu Library under No. 806.⁽¹⁾ This book has never been mentioned before, not even by al-Tirmidhi himself. The book explains the reasons for using Takbīr during prayer.

Sifat al-Qulūb

This is extant in manuscript form in a unique copy at Qastamuni Library⁽²⁾. In fact it is a part of Ghawr al-Umūr, dealing with the cities of light; or, in other words, it is a short edition of Ghawr al-Umūr dealing with the same subject in brief.

(1) Fols. 21-27.
 (2) Ms. No. 2713.

Kitāb Sharḥ al-Salāh wa MaqāṣiduhaThe Book of "Explanation of Prayer and its Aims"

This book exists in two manuscript copies: one in the private library of As'ad Effendi in Istanbul,⁽¹⁾ and the other in the Bibliotheque Nationale.⁽²⁾ The book was printed in Cairo 1965, edited by Mr. Husni Zaidan. It appears that the editor failed to give the book its due in the way of careful study and redaction, owing perhaps to his having been unable to consult the manuscript copy of As'ad Effendi, and to his dependence, in the circumstances, on the Paris manuscript, of which he had procured a photographic copy. The subject is "Worship, and its Spiritual Effects"; effects, that is, which would rebound on the worshipper who worships in the right way.

Al-Tirmidhi, in a few lines, determined the goal of the book in the following way: "You have asked me about Worship, and its import among deeds; its forms among actions; its fruit among the fruits of acts of obedience; its reward in the hereafter among rewards; its station in the estimation of God, among stations; and its religious significance in the law, and its notable points",⁽³⁾ relying in his details and expositions, on the traditions

(1) Fols. 74-128.

(2) Fols. 1-34B.

(3) Fol. 74B As ad Ms. fol. 1A Paris Ms.

of the Prophet, but colouring his survey and explanation with Sufi infusions, particularly when he establishes connections between all kinds of worship and devotion, and their effects, spiritual and behavioural. In this attempt he touched upon the following subjects, to shed light on the points raised in the introduction:-

- (1) Import of Worship;
- (2) Explanation of the lights of words;
- (3) Import of Standing;
- (4) Explanation of Greetings to God;
- (5) Import of Wedding;
- (6) Ablution;
- (7) Form of Worship among Actions;
- (8) Status of Worship vis a vis God;
- (9) Explanation of Acceptance;
- (10) People of Recitation;
- (11) Discourse on Immunities;
- (12) Verbal Epitomes and their Explanation;
- (13) Number of Bendings in Worship;
- (14) Explanation of Points of Time;
- (15) Explanation of God's Gratification and Pardon;
- (16) Teaching of Ablution;
- (17) Stations of Acts of Worship vis-a-vis People;
- (18) Prescription of Acts of Worship for Believers;
- (19) Explanation of the Discourse on Immunities;
- (20) Discourse of Hadīth al Nu^ḥman b. Bashīr on God's magnification.

Tafsīr āyah la Sharqīyyah wa la Gharbiyyah Ma'a Ta'wīl
Arba'īn Hadīthan

Still at the manuscript stage is a commentary on the verse "neither eastern nor western", followed by the interpretation of forty hadīth.⁽¹⁾ This book, attributed by Dr. Yahya to al-Tirmidhi, is obviously not al-Tirmidhi's work. Dr. Yahya, who includes it in the list of al-Tirmidhi's work,⁽²⁾ is probably motivated by the mention of al-Tirmidhi's name and of the above quoted commentary on the first page and adds that its real author is Muhammad al Tawūsi.

Having quoted al-Tirmidhi's name and commentary, the author proceeds to interpret forty hadīth, imitating the manner employed by al-Tirmidhi in commenting on the above-mentioned verse where he goes out from the assumption that letters besides their phonetic value, possess certain meaning of their own. However, the use of this method is here greatly exaggerated. Moreover, the hadīth dealt with here do not occur in their proper order. Thus, for example, hadīth no. 16 follows hadīth no. 3 and no. 16 is followed by no. 22 and then no. 12. These examples are indicative of the confusion reigning in *Fayz ul-Lah* 2/163t, fol. 133, which is the last, contains the following sentence: "This is what we have

(1) Chapter XXIV, verse 35.
(2) *Mélanges*, vol. III, p.1.

copied from the commentary on the Ḥadīth by Ibrāhīm Ibn Muhammad al-Ṭāwūsi, of the tribe Intisaban, al-ʿUradani, by birth (milādan), which he composed after moving from Khurāsān to Ḥamadhān.⁽¹⁾ On the following page (fol. 134) the author announces his intention to explain the meaning of al-Taḡwa (fear of God) and Wasīlah (means), their degrees, the honour of their secret of origin and their end

and the explanation of the stages of Jihād. Then he speaks of another book in which he treated the degrees of faith, its inward core and its outward manifestation, the origin of the tree of faith, its branches and its roots. The book is entitled Tahrīr al-Bayān fi shuʿab al-Imān wa: utab al-Ihsān.

Kitāb 'Urs al-Muwahhidīn

This is still in manuscript form in three copies, one in the As'ad Manuscript⁽¹⁾, the second in the Paris Manuscript⁽²⁾ and the third in Ismā'īl Sā'ib.⁽³⁾ It develops the idea that the liturgy consists of various forms of worship by which angels minister to God such as standing, sitting, bowing, secret address (munajāh), praise of God, glorification and magnification. Al-Tirmidhi visualises prayer as a wedding feast, arranged by the king for his servants or slaves before whom various kinds of food have been spread to eat, drink and enjoy. Thus the prayer gives those who pray all the opportunities of salvation such as purification and return to God.

The other books such as al-Amthal, al-Manhiyyat, al-Masā'il al-'Afinah, al-Radd 'ala al-Rafidah and Tahṣīl Nazā'ir al-Qur'ān have been discussed in Chapter III.

(1) Fols. 287B-291B.

(2) Fols. 111A-113B.

(3) Ms. No. 4824, mentioned in Bayān al-Farq, p.22.

CHAPTER III

HIS APPROACH TO TAFSIR, HADITH, ILM AL KALAM
AND FIQH.

1. al-Tirmidhi the commentator.
2. The traditionist.
3. The theologian.
4. The jurist.

Al-Tirmidhi the Commentator

What immediately strikes the student of al-Tirmidhi's philosophy is that his ideas and opinions depend in the first place on a deep understanding of the Qur'ān and the earnest endeavour to penetrate not merely its external, but also its secret and internal meaning. His early interest in the Qur'ān goes back to the time of the pilgrimage, he mentions in his work "Budu al-Sha'an", saying: "When I stood at the door of al-Multazam in the Ka bah I began to pray, holding the door, and begged God to help me to memorize His book, the Qur'ān. I could not think of anything else to ask for. On the way back, I started memorizing it and continued until I had completed it. Sometimes I used to keep awake all night, reading the Qur'ān, feeling its sweetness in my heart".⁽¹⁾

This understanding of the Qur'ān is reflected in all the works composed by al-Tirmidhi in various branches of knowledge. A number of them are directly connected with the Qur'ān, and are illustrative of his personal interpretation of the Qur'ān. They are:-

1. Tahṣīl nazāir al-Qur'ān⁽²⁾
2. Al-Amthāl min al-Kitāb wa al-Sunnah.⁽³⁾
3. Essays (Masā'il) each commenting on one verse of the Qur'ān.

(1) Preface to "Khatm al-Awliyā'", pp.14-15 and Ismā'īl Sā'ib Ms. fol.210.

(2) Alexandria Ms. fols.48-79.

(3) As'ad Ms. fols. 174-231 and Paris Ms. fols.140-185

4: Tafsir al-Quran, which is not extant, but of which al-Hujwiri says al-Tirmidhi began writing it in the last years of his life. It was never completed.(1)

A study of these works shows that his approach to the Qur'an is not materially different from that of other Sufis before or after him. The method he uses consists in employing Quranic words as a basis on which to develop sufi ideas. He looks to the words of the Qur'an for support, and delves deeply into them to discover their intrinsic secrets. This is a sufi method, for the sufis search eagerly for words likely to yield a secret meaning, and trust them to guide them on the right path. Al-Tirmidhi used to stress that letters contain secrets indicative of certain meanings, known only to gnostics who arrive at these secrets by the light of God which illuminates their hearts. This method is best exemplified by the commentary on the verse, "God is the light of heaven and earth"(2)

However, it is the conventional sufi method that prevails in the commentaries on 43 Qurānic verses which are found scattered in his works. Sometimes he explains only two words of a verse, as he does in "al-Gh̄ al-Shahādah" The following list enumerates the verses, indicating their place in the Qur'ān as well as in the context of al-Tirmidhi's work.

(1) "Khashf al-Mahjūb" translated by Nicholson, p.141

(2) Chapter XXIV, verse 35.

- 1 Vision comprehends Him not, and He comprehends all vision and He is Subtle, the Aware. (Ch.VI v.104)(1)
- 2 The main points of Surat al-Baqarah.(2)
- 3 Who is he that can intercede with Him but by his permission. (Ch.II v.255)(3)
- 4 O man, thou must strive a hard striving (to attain) to thy Lord, until thou meet Him. (Ch.LXXXIV v.6)(4)
- 5 We have certainly created man to face difficulties. (Ch.XC v.4)(5)
- 6 Will they not then turn to Allah, and ask His forgiveness? (Ch.V v.74)(6)
- 7 And when those who believe in Our message come to thee, say: peace to you. (Ch. VI v.54)(7)
- 8 Say: who guards you by night and by day from the Beneficent? (Ch.XXI, v.42)(8)
- 9 Call to the way of your Lord with wisdom and goodly exhortation. (Ch.XVI v.125)(9)

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- (1) "al-Masā'il al-Makmūnah" Leipzig fol.21, Alexandria fol.7
 - (2) Ibid. Leipzig fol.22, Alexandria fol.19
 - (3) Ibid. fol.23, Ibid. fol.20
 - (4) Ibid. fol.24, Ibid. fol.20
 - (5) Ibid. fol.24, Ibid. fol.20
 - (6) Ibid. fol.24, Ibid. fol.21
 - (7) Ibid. fol.24, Ibid. fol.21
 - (8) Ibid. fol.26, Ibid. fol.23
 - (9) Ibid. fol. 5, Ibid. fol.4

10. Every soul is held in pledge for what it earns.
(Ch. LXXXIV, v.38)⁽¹⁾
11. Glorify the name of thy Lord, the most high . . .
(Ch. LXXXVII, v.1.)⁽²⁾
12. And if they had believed and kept their duty . . .
(Ch. XXII, v.103)⁽³⁾
13. And it is in the original of the book with us truly
elevated, full of wisdom . . . (Ch.XLIII, v.4)⁽⁴⁾
14. And that to thy Lord is the goal . . (Ch.LIII v.43)⁽⁵⁾
15. The Knower of the unseen and the seen . . (This verse
fragment occurs three times in the Qur'ān (Ch. XXXIX
v.146, Ch. LIX, v.22 and Ch. LXIV, v.18)⁽⁶⁾
16. Muhammad is the messenger of Allah, and those with
him are firm of heart against the disbelievers . . .
(Ch. XLVIII v.29)⁽⁷⁾
17. He grants females to whom He pleases and grants males
to whom He pleases . . . (Ch. XLII, v.49)⁽⁸⁾
18. O you who believe, keep your duty to Allah, and speak
straight words. (XXXIII, v.70)⁽⁹⁾

(1) al-Masā'il al-Maknunah, Leipzig fol.6, Alexandria fol.5.
(2) Ibid. Leipzig fol. 26, Alexandria, fol.15.
(3) Ibid. fol.22, Ibid. fol.15.
(4) Ibid. fol.23, Ibid. fol.20.
(5) Ibid. fol.25, Ibid. fol.24.
(6) Ibid. fol.28, Ibid. fol.25.
(7) Ibid. fol.29, Ibid. fol.25.
(8) Ibid. fol.34. Ibid. fol.29.
(9) Ibid. fol.39. Ibid. fol.33.

- 19 He is the First and the Last and the Manifest and
the Hidden. ..(Ch.LVII v.3)(1)
- 20 And were it not for Allah's grace upon you and
His mercy....(Ch.XXIV v.10,14)(2)
- 21 And do not display their adornment...(Ch.XXIV v.31)(3)
- 22 And Allah knows your movements and your staying
(in one place) ...(Ch.XLVII, v.19)(4)
- 23 The word "ittaqo" (fear God) is used in the Qur'an in
four meanings: i."Then be on guard against the fire"
(Ch.II v.24) ii "And guard yourselves against a
day in which you will be returned to Allah..."
(Ch.II v.281) iii and iv "And keep your duty to
Allah, by whom you demand one of another (your rights),
and to the ties of relationship" (Ch.IV v.1)(5)
- 24 And (as to) those on whose part you fear desertion....
(Ch. IV v.34)(6)
- 25 Who is he that will offer to Allah a good gift, so
He will double it for him, and he will have a generous
reward. (Ch.LVII v.11)(7)
- 26 And these wait but for one cry, wherein there is no

(1) "Al-Masa'il al-Maknunah" Leipzig fol.61
(2) Ibid. Leipzig fol.88
(3) Ibid. fol.87
(4) Ibid. fol.120 and Isma'il Sa'ib fol.43
(5) Ibid. fol.140 and Ibid. fol.61
(6) Ibid. fol.140.
(7) Ibid. fol.146.

- delay (Ch.XXXVIII v.15)⁽¹⁾
- 27 They wait for nought but that Allah should come
to them in the shadows of the clouds with angels.
(Ch.II v.210)⁽²⁾
- 28 And we shall turn to the work they have done, so
We shall render it as scattered notes. (Ch.XXV v.23)⁽³⁾
- 29 Abundance diverts you. (Ch.CII v.1)⁽⁴⁾
- 30 Nearer to thee and nearer (is woe). (Ch.LXXV v.34)⁽⁵⁾
- 31 So thy Lord poured on them a portion of chastise-
ment. (Ch.LXXXIX v.13)⁽⁶⁾
- 32 And he indeed fails who buries it. (Ch.XCI v.10)⁽⁷⁾
- 33 The Fire. They are brought before it every morning
and evening....(Ch.XL v.46)⁽⁸⁾
- 34 It is the Fire kindled by Allah, which rises over
the hearts. (Ch.CIV vv.6 and 7)⁽⁹⁾
- 35 Everything will perish but He.(Ch.XXVIII v.88)⁽¹⁰⁾
- 36to abide therein....(Ch.IX v.72)⁽¹¹⁾
- 37and for them is a grievous chastisement.

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- (1) Fol. 196a Leipzig MS.
(2) Fol. 196b, 197a Leipzig MS.
(3) Fol. 197b Leipzig MS.
(4) Fol. 198b Leipzig MS.
(5) Fol. 199a Leipzig MS.
(6) Fol. 199b Leipzig MS.
(7) Fol. 199b Leipzig MS.
(8) Fol. 200a Leipzig MS.
(9) Fol. 200a Leipzig MS.
(10) Fol. 200b Leipzig MS.
(11) Fol. 200b Leipzig MS.

- (Ch.II v.7, and Ch. XLV v.10)⁽¹⁾
- 38then be on your guard against the fire whose
fuel is men and stones; it is prepared for the
disbelievers. (Ch.II v.24)⁽²⁾
- 39 And his wife — the bearer of slander.(Ch.CXII v.4)⁽³⁾
- 40the right path. (Ch.I v.5)⁽⁴⁾
- 41 And there are some people who say: We believe in
Allah and the Last Day; and they are not believers.
(Ch.II v.8)⁽⁵⁾
- 42 Am I not your Lord? (Ch.VII, v. 172)⁽⁶⁾
- 43 God is the light of the heavens and the earth (Ch.XXIV, v3)⁽⁷⁾

(1) Fol. 201a Leipzig MS.
 (2) Fol. 202, 203 Leipzig MS.
 (3) Fol. 203b, 204a Leipzig MS.
 (4) Fol. 204a, 205b Leipzig MS.
 (5) Fol. 205b, 208b Leipzig MS.

(6) Ghawr al-Umur, fol. 15.
 (7) Ibid., fol. 423.

One of the works directly connected with the Qur'ān is "Kitāb Tahsīl Nazā'ir al-Qur'ān". In this book, al-Tirmidhi employs a revolutionary method. He goes throughout the whole of the Qur'ān, examining all its chapters in his search for words used in the Qur'ān in several different meanings. He gives first the original meaning of the word in question, and then the other meanings in which it is used, pointing out the linguistic relationship between the original meaning and the other semantic variants of the word.

After the first three lines, the text becomes somewhat confusing, as a sentence on the first page gives the impression that al-Tirmidhi is discussing a book composed by someone else under the same title. Presumably, the confusion goes back to some errors of the scribe who copied the text. Unfortunately, there is no other copy in existence, so that the suspicion is impossible to justify.

In the "Tahsīl Nazā'ir al-Qur'ān", al-Tirmidhi deals in this manner with eighty Qur'ānic words, which are listed below as follows:

1	al-Huda, guidance	2	al-Kufr, disbelieve
3	al-Shirk, polytheism	4	al-Suwa, perfection
5	al-Marad, illness	6	al-Fasād, corruption
7	al-Mashi, walking	8	al-Libās, clothing
9	al-Su', evil	10	al-Khizi, disgrace
11	Bāwa, they returned	12	al-Rahmah, mercy
13	al-Furqān, evidence	14	Qānitūn, devout
15	Dhikr, remembrance	16	Khawf, fear
17	Ṣalāh, prayer	18	al-Nas, people
19	Kataba, he writes	20	Khair, good
21	Khīyānah, dishonesty	22	Imam, leader, chief
23	al-'Ummah, community	24	Shiqāq, disunion
25	al-Wajh, face	26	Fitnah, impiety
27	'Udwān, aggression	28	'Afw, pardon
29	al-Tuhūr, cleanliness	30	Inna, 10
31	Anna, how	32	Zann, suspicious
33	Hikmah, wisdom	34	Ma'rūf, favour
35	Tāghūt, oppression	36	Zalīmīn, those unjust to others
37	'Itma'ann, he was tranquil	38	al-Sa'i, endeavour
39	al-Fawāhish, abominations	40	Adna, closer
41	al-Ta'wil, inter- pretation	42	Istighfār, ask forgive- ness

- | | | | |
|----|--|----|---|
| 43 | al-Dīn, religion | 44 | al-Iḥsās, feeling |
| 45 | al-Islam, Islam | 46 | al-Imān, faith |
| 47 | al-Shukr, thankfulness | 48 | al-Faḍl, grace |
| 49 | Ṣirr, could | 50 | al-Ba'sā distress |
| 51 | al-Ḍarrā', affliction | 52 | Wakīl, charge |
| 53 | Muḥsanāt, married
women | 54 | Shāhid, witness |
| 55 | Ḥaraj, blame | 56 | al-Rada, perishableness |
| 57 | Shia, groups | 58 | Matā, enjoyment |
| 59 | al-Duḥa, forenoon | 60 | al-Khāsirīn, losers |
| 61 | al-Istita'ah, ability | 62 | Fatawalla 'anhum, he
turned away from them |
| 63 | Rūh, spirit | 64 | al-'Aḥzāb, allies |
| 65 | al-Taqwa, fear of God | 66 | al-Ṣaff, rank |
| 67 | al-Ḥashr, banishment | 68 | al-Rajā', hope |
| 69 | La yarjūna liqā'anna,
those who expect not
meeting with us | 70 | al-Wahī, revelation |
| 71 | al-Jabbār, supreme | 72 | al-Ṣuwa, perfection |
| 73 | Laghw, vain | 74 | al-Zill, shade |
| 75 | al-Haqq, truth | 76 | Bighair Hisab, without
measure |
| 77 | al-Mā', water | 78 | Kabir, large |
| 79 | Yuzā'ūn, to form
into groups | 80 | al-Sabil, way |

It is observable that, in explaining the meanings of these words, al-Tirmidhi does so according to Sufi interpretation, and sometimes he employs them to convey his personal convictions as a leader of Sufism. He uses thus al-Hikmāh (wisdom)⁽¹⁾, al-Wahī (revelation)⁽²⁾, and al-Dhikr (recollection), and sometimes profits by the opportunity to adduce additional meanings likely to further this idea. Among them is al-siwā (perfection), whose current meaning is perfection, but which he applies to the creation of Adam whose creation was perfect⁽³⁾.

Another book in this series is "al-Amthāl min al-Kitāb wa al Sunnah", "The Parables in the Qur'ān and the Traditions",⁽⁴⁾ in which he deals in a similar way, with Qu'rānic parables. The title of the book implies the intention of treating all the parables found in the Qur'ān and Sunnah. But in reality the book falls short of this promise, as only 22 parables from the Qur'ān and an equal number of parables from the Sunnah are discussed. In fact the parables from the Qur'ān which he listed are only eighteen, as four of them are duplicated. For the rest, the book is occupied with the sayings of different sheikhs which are, however, not quite unconnected with his original

(1) Fol. 68.

(2) Fol. 77B.

(3) Fol. 78A.

(4) As'ād Ms. Fols. 174-231 and Paris Ms. fols.140-185.

purpose, as they are always based on a teaching found in the Qur'ān or the Sunna. But they have nothing to do with the parables actually discussed in the first part of the work.

The Qur'ānic parables contained in al-Amthal are:

1. The parable of the hypocrites.
2. The parable of the Jews with the Prophet.
3. The parable of the hypocrites who denied the Qur'ān.
4. The parable of the call of the Prophet to the infidels.
5. The parable of money spent in obedience to God.
6. The parable of idolators and hypocrites.
7. The parable of the Jews who had received a message from God and neglected it.
8. The parable of the impermanence of this world.
9. The parable of truth and falsehood.
10. The parable of the prayer of the infidel.
11. The parable of the good word.
12. The parable of deeds of the infidels.
13. The parable of the idols.
14. The parable of one who betrays his trust.
15. The parable of the impotence of idols.
16. The parable of the heart and the deeds of the believer.
17. The parable of the consequences of the deeds of the infidels.

18. The parable of joint worship of God and idols.

It should be noted that in comparing the Calcutta Ms(1) with the As'ad manuscript, one is first struck by a difference in the title. The former is merely entitled "Tibyan al-Amthal" while the latter bears the full title quoted above. The proface of both discusses the purpose of parables in the Qur'ān. Both texts have exactly the same meaning, but the wording is slightly different, e.g.

It is impossible to compare the two manuscripts in their entirety, and draw parallels from both, as the Calcutta manuscript is so faded that a number of words have become illegible.

Al-Tirmidhi comments on numerous verses of the Qur'ān in various works. The most significant and characteristic among them is the commentary on the Verse of Light, and many great commentators of the Qur'ān have quoted him and relied heavily on the ideas he propounded in their explanations of this verse. So do, for instance, al-Qurtubi(2) and al-Shawkāni (3), though they are separated by nearly five centuries.

Al-Tirmidhi follows, in his Qur'anic commentaries, three clearly distinguishable methods. The first, usually described as "exoteric" (or literal) approach "al-manhaj

(1) Ms. No 1056, fols.1-82b

(2) "Al-Jāmi' li Ahkām al-Qur'ān" vol.XII, p260, Cairo.

(3) "Fath al-Qadīr, vol.IV p.32, al Halabi, Cairo.

of Zāhir" and followed by the majority of Qur'ān commentators, consists in a discussion of the literal meaning of the verses to which Sufis refer as their "outward" meaning. The second is typical of Sufi understanding of the Qur'ān, which is based on the assumption that every verse of the Qur'ān has an "inward" as well as an "outward" meaning. The third consists in drawing inferences and conclusions from meagre data hitherto available, and not until the Tafsir referred to by al-Hujwiri⁽¹⁾ is traced one day will it be possible to pronounce the final word on al-Tirmidhi's technique in this respect.

One must not forget to point out that al-Tirmidhi's attitude towards and explanations of sufi ideas are coloured by the Qur'ān and the Sunnah by which they are inspired.

Al-Tirmidhi as a Scholar of Hadīth

Al-Tirmidhi is described by many biographers as al-Muḥaddith, and no biographer in this field forgets to mention his name among those who have made a great contribution to a field of study in both of whose aspects, transmission and criticism, he was immensely interested. The commentator of "al-Risalah al-Qushairiyyah" puts him on an equal footing with al-Bukhāri.⁽²⁾

(1) Kashf al-Mahjūb Translation, p.141.

(2) Sharḥ al-Risalah al-Qushairiyyah, vol.I, p.164.

Al-Tirmidhi was acquainted with traditions already early in life. He seems to have been positively steeped in Ḥadīth by which the atmosphere he lived in was permeated, for his father was a scholar of Ḥadīth, and numerous traditions transmitted by him figure in al-Tirmidhi's works. He also quotes a number of Ḥadīth on the authority of his maternal grandfather and in one book, al-Radd 'ala al-Mu'atṭilah⁽¹⁾ a ḥadīth he had heard from his mother, who was well versed in traditions. He also received Ḥadīth from many Sheikhs whose number reached more than one hundred and sixty.

On the other hand, a large number of scholars of Ḥadīth received them from al-Tirmidhi, especially those of Khurāsān, who related his book, Nawādir al-Uṣūal. His knowledge of Ḥadīth influenced all his Sufi ideas, and provided material in support and explanation of his theories. It is safe to say that almost every page of al-Tirmidhi's work contains a Ḥadīth or a reference to one.

The number of books written by him in the field of Ḥadīth is not inconsiderable. They are, in alphabetical order: (1) Al-Amthāl min al-Sunnah. (In fact it is a part of his work al-Amthāl min al-kitāh wa al-Sunnah.)
 (2) Al-Radd'ala al-Mu'atṭilah.⁽²⁾

(1) Fol. 88B, Alexandria Ms.

(2) Fols. 80-124, Alexandria Ms.

Hadīth with their isnād (chains of authorities) so that it can be considered a work on tradition.

The second book in this field is Kitāb al-Manhiyyāt wa kul ma warad^amin Hadīth bin Nahi (Book on Prohibitions). As the title of the book indicates, al-Tirmidhi collected in it traditions dealing with prohibitions. In this book, he approaches his subject from an angle which differs from that taken up in al-Radd. He deviates from the principle of strict objectivity in transmission to engage on an introductory explanation of the traditions quoted, counting all prohibited things, adducing the reasons why they are prohibited and the harm which can result if the prohibitions are disregarded.

In al-Radd he presents a number of traditions to let the reader choose those that appeal to him, but here he interposes interpretation and gives directions.

The third work in the field of traditions is a collection of parables which he produced as a parallel work to the parables of the Qur'ān. The fourth is a collection of traditions all of which centre on the controversial subject of whether the saints can work miracles or not. Al-Tirmidhi first states that history, and the pre-Islamic history of other nations, confirms the fact that saints possess this privilege, and then

quotes a number of Ḥadīths, amounting to nearly eighty, in support of this contention. The Ḥadīths are preceded by a discussion of the ideas of those who refuse to believe in the power of saints to work miracles. These, they attribute only to Prophets, as to ascribe this power to saints would, in their opinion, lead to confusion; that is why al-Tirmidhi launches out on an explanation of the difference between miracles worked by Prophets termed Mu'jizāt and those worked by saints, termed Karamāt.

The title of this work is, accordingly, al-Farq baina al-Āyāt wa al-Karamāt, (the difference between evidential miracles and miracles). The last of al-Tirmidhi's works on traditions is Nawadir al-Uṣūl (Infrequent principles).

The only one of al-Tirmidhi's books to be published in this field, it was printed in Turkey in 1293.A.H. 1876. It contains 291 Ḥadīth. Each of them deals with an essential principle of Muslim ethics with a bearing on behaviour, work, treatment of others, and worship.

In ~~Nawadir~~, al-Tirmidhi does not limit himself to one field of knowledge, but touches upon several disciplines such as fiqh, tafsīr and Tawhīd (jurisprudence, commentary and theology).

Before closing the discussion on al-Tirmidhi's method

in tradition, it would be a good idea to study his way of acceptance or rejection of the ḥadīth; he states that when one hears a ḥadīth, and feels that one's heart accepts it, and does not reject it, that means it is a correct ḥadīth, because the Prophet always says what is acceptable and not doubt-worthy; the following two pages will detail his idea on that point.

In his book Nawādir al-Uṣūl (on Ṣidq al-Ḥadīth)⁽¹⁾ al-Tirmidhi devotes a chapter which opens with a tradition ascribed by reporters to the Prophet in which he says: "If you are told about me a tradition which you can recognise and do not doubt whether I said it or not, believe it, for I do say what can be recognised and not doubted; and if you are told a tradition which you doubt and cannot recognise, disbelieve it, for truly, I do not say what can be doubted and cannot be recognised."

By quoting this tradition, at the top of Chapter XLIV⁽²⁾ al-Tirmidhi reveals his idea about the evaluation of traditions and their alternation between acceptance and rejection. He thinks that a tradition that is acceptable to reason and allowable by it may be credited to the Prophet, notwithstanding whether he said it or not, but a tradition

(1) p.59, published Istanbul, 1293, AH. Ed. Mustafa al-Dimashqi.
 (2) p.59.

rejected and denied by reason should not be credited to the Prophet. This principle, as enunciated by al-Tirmidhi, is acceptable as a whole; but the snag there is the statement "Whether I said it or not". For how can the Prophet be credited with a tradition if he did not say it? In answering this, al-Tirmidhi takes it that the Prophet, even if he did not say the tradition, word for word, must have been accredited with the purport and basis of it, so long as it has nothing clashing with ~~intellect~~. His criterion for that is the feeling of assurance and freedom from uncertainty; and he follows this up with a number of traditions which ~~are unacceptable~~ because of the rejection and disbelief by the heart. (1)

Al-Tirmidhi the Theologian

None of al-Tirmidhi's works is entirely devoted to theology, except a short book entitled 'al-Radd ^{ala} al-Rafidah (2) in which he discusses the concept of Caliphate (government) as well as those worthy of this task. Simultaneously, he refutes there the Shi'ite rejection of the right to the Caliphate of Abu Bakr and Umar. Hence the title "The Answer to the Rejection". As to the work al-Radd ^{ala} al-Mu'attilah, (3) discussed above when his method of transmission was treated, (4) it is classed there with the works on Hadith,

(1) Nawadir al-Usul Ch.XLIV, p.59:

(2) Fols.83b-87a Wali al-Din Ms.

(3) Fols.79b-124a Alexandria Ms.

(4) Supra. p.

though it is, viewed thematically, purely theological. Obviously in order to prove the error of the Mu'tazilites, who maintain that God has no qualities (Sif āt), and in support of the orthodox view of Ahl al-Sunnah, who attributes qualities to God, he has collected in this work all the traditions available to him which mention these qualities. But, though the very title indicates the theological purpose, both treatment and approach are those of the traditionist. The viewpoint adopted in this work permits the placing of al-Tirmidhi quite unequivocally among the Sunnite theologians.

Al-Tirmidhi speaks at length of Tawhid (Divine Unity) and Muwahhedin (Unitarians). He does not use these terms in conformity with the theological usage, but according to the belief in divine unity held by the Sufis who, when they speak of unity, mean absolute transcendence (tanzih) which, as they say, from the sufi point of view, "exactly fits the Almighty Creator". This is the only correct belief for the unitarian to profess when he sees "nothing with God". This belief is conducive to the idea of fana, annihilation, which led to pantheistic monism (ittihad) in the sense of "Einswerden" among the later Sufis, and though al-Tirmidhi himself does not go so far, what he says of unity can be considered a step in this direction.

In addition to these two concepts, al-Tirmidhi discusses six points which, apart from being all theological by nature, are otherwise quite unrelated among themselves. They concern the following questions:

- (a) Is it possible to see God?
- (b) Can faith be acquired or is it granted?
- (c) Are Good and Evil attributable to God or to Man?
- (d) Is there a time limit to Paradise and Hell?
- (e) Can faith increase and diminish?
- (f) Are Islam and Iman divisible or indivisible?

Miracles (Karāmāt) and evidential miracles (Mu'ajizāt) are discussed in al-Farq baina al-Āyāt wa al-Karāmāt,⁽¹⁾ and in some other books of his, particularly in Khatm al-Awliya.⁽²⁾ As to the possibility of seeing God, in the hereafter, the answer he gave to the questioner was an unqualified "Yes", but when the man asked: "How can He be seen?", al-Tirmidhi's answer was rather cryptic: "As He is known here". The man asked: "And how is He known here?", and al-Tirmidhi said "As He will be seen there".⁽³⁾ Unfortunately, there is no further information from which one could derive a more exact idea of his views on this difficult theological problem. One thing is certain; he believes that one could see God in Heaven.

In commenting on the verse of the Qur'ān: "No vision can grasp Him, but His grasp is over all visions; He is

(1) Fols.152B-177B, Ismā'īl Sā'ib Ms.
 (2) Pp. 391-398.
 (3) Leipzig collection, fol.215B.

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 (3) Leipzig collection, fol.215B.

above all comprehension, yet is acquainted with all things",⁽¹⁾ al-Tirmidhi says that God is not visible to people in all His aspects either in this world or the next, but they will be able to see some of His qualities. In his interpretation, the word adraka, to grasp, is taken to mean to see everything, but one will not be able to see everything of God, this is why he feels able to invoke the support of this Qur'ānic verse for his view of the matter.⁽²⁾

Al-Tirmidhi considers that belief is acquired, because it is a human act, and it is only for this reason that requittal for belief is granted. But the instrument of belief is granted. But the instrument of belief is reason, which is a gift from God. Man's acquiescence and confidence in the findings of reason, and in its inspirations into the heart are acquired, and man deserves credit for that.⁽³⁾

The idea that faith can increase and decrease and the question whether faith and Islam are one or separable, have been the subject of extensive discussion among Muslim scholars. What emerges from al-Tirmidhi's disquisition is that faith in itself is not subject to changes, but its effects and consequences can vary indefinitely in their

(1) Chapter VI, verse 103.

(2) Leipzig collection, fol. 21B-22A.

(3) Ibid. 166.

extent and degree according to what besets the heart of man in the way of wishes and desires which prevent the ray of faith from acting within it, so that it cannot direct man's conduct and actions.⁽¹⁾ "This is comparable to the sun and its rays", says al-Tirmidhi. "Once I took part in a discussion between two men. One of them said that faith can grow and diminish, and the other rejected this statement. Then I pointed to the body of the sun, asking; 'what is this?'. The first man said 'It is the sun'. Then I asked 'Can it increase or not?' 'No', he said. Then I pointed to the sunshine on the surface of the earth and asked: 'What is this?' 'It is the sun?', he replied. Then I asked 'Can it increase or not?' He was confused. I said 'Do you not call it the sun? And yet it waxes and wanes. And this body which you call the sun does neither wax nor wane?' 'Indeed', he said. I said, 'And is not growth in human beings, plants and fruit observable parallel to the increase of the rays? And when the sunshine increases, does not its heat affect the crops of men?' 'Yes', he said. I said, 'Faith is like the sun, which rises over your heart from the light, and shines inside your breast; if the clouds of the soul's desire obscure the light,

(1) See Mas'alah fi al-Imān wa al-Islām, wa al-Ihsān, Leipzig Ms. fols. 88b-92a, and Wāli al-Dīn Ms. fols. 87a-90a.

then the intensity of the shine decreases, weakness penetrates the heart, and its action slows down. But when the passion is removed, the shine increases, calm prevails in the heart, and man gathers sufficient strength to continue his servanthood. If it is the rays of faith that you have in mind, you can speak of its increase and decrease, and therefore argument is superfluous. And whoever says that faith increases and decreases, this is what he means; and whoever says that it neither increases nor decreases, because when it decreases, doubt comes, he means faith itself. But the increases mentioned in the Qur'ān mean that the light increases, and then the heart grows calmer and firmer."⁽¹⁾

Al-Tirmidhi believes that Islām and Imān, though inseparable, are of two kinds, for Iman is tranquility and firmness, while Islam is submission to the orders and prohibitions of God. The acceptance and the rejection of both are one covenant, but it is acceptance or rejection of two kinds. Al-Tirmidhi enlarges on this idea in the following disquisition.

"I met two persons engaged in an argument. One of them said: 'Islam and Iman are one'; the other said:

(1) Mas'alah fi al-Imān al-Islām wal Ahsān, Leipzig Ms. fol. 91, and Wali al-Din Ms, fol. 89.

'They are two'. I said: 'When did you ever find two names with exactly the same meaning? Were it so, it would not make sense. Whom God has ^{chosen} from the beginning, God will purify his heart by the water of mercy until it becomes as clean as anything that can be washed. Then God brings it alive by the light of life. Before that the heart was but a piece of human flesh with two blind eyes and two deaf ears. When God purifies it by the water of mercy, it is made worthy of the light of life. When the light of life comes, the heart of the chosen one comes alive through God. When the light of guidance supervenes then he is guided and this is the significance of what is said in the Qur'ān: "We made a light for him by which he walked with people",⁽¹⁾ and that is the light of gnosis. Then the light of reason comes, and through it man can distinguish what is determined from what is undetermined. Then the heart is tranquil, and its tranquillity increases because of the light of love. Then man confesses with his tongue: "La illaha illa Allah" - "There is no other God but Allah". With these words on his tongue, and the light of gnosis in his heart, he is confirmed in the belief that Allah is his God, and he is His servant; that means that God can do anything for man's concerns, and man is

(1) Chapter VI, verse 122. *وَجَعَلْنَا لَهْدَىٰ لَهُمْ سُلٰمٰتًا*

one of His servants and goes no further than God permits, and is willingly content with what God decrees for him. When man becomes worthy of two names; mu'min (believer), and Muslim. Mu'min because his heart is tranquil and has no need to seek for God, and Muslim because he submits to God in all his concerns.⁽¹⁾ Whichever among my precursors says: "Imān and Islām are one", means to say that they are in one covenant, but does not mean that they are of one kind". For how can firmness, tranquility and submission be one? And whoever says: "They are one" and does not mean the covenant on two kinds, is in error. Man, since he entered into the covenant on Imān and Islām, must keep his covenant all through his life, perform the duties of servanthood in two ways, one imposed and one ordered. Imposed are the conditions of poverty and wealth, pride and humility, health and sickness, all likes and dislikes; in all these conditions his heart must remain calm, for these things come from God in whom he believes. But what is ordered, the duty of worship and avoidance of the forbidden, doing the duties and avoiding what is forbidden is compulsory. Only when he does that does he submit to God in order and prohibition; if he observes the covenant of Imān and Islām he will be let off the weighing

(1) Leipzig Ms fols. 91-92.

and the counting. (1)

Good and evil are from God in his Godship, and from men in their deeds. God's Godship is interminable, and so are men's deeds, so long as they are alive. God is not answerable for his Godship, but men are answerable for their deeds. (2)

Heaven and Hell are two calls for mercy and punishment, always renewed every day because of the continuous renewal of man's deeds and objectives. They assume the distinctive colours of bliss and torture, and therefore they are not subject to extinction, notwithstanding the holy verse. "Everything shall perish except Himself", because perishing is other than extinction, and they both perish but they are not subject to extinction. (3)

Al-Tirmidhi the Jurist

Al-Tirmidhi adopts a specific and very original attitude towards jurisprudence. His works sometimes express sharp criticism of jurists who use their knowledge to obtain worldly benefits and material profit. (4) This criticism stems from the conviction that knowledge cannot but leave its mark on the character and behaviour of the scholar. He believes that useful knowledge must guide the scholar to the way to God, and to the attainment of Ma'rifa.

(1) *Imān, Islām and Ihsān*, Leipzig Ms. fols. 91-92.

(2) Leipzig, 166.

(3) Leipzig, 178.

(4) *Al-Masā'il al-Maknūnah*, fols 45b-46a, Leipzig Ms. and *Anwā' al-Ulūm*, fols 159b-160a, Leipzig Ms and *Anwā'* Ibid. fols 127-129, *Ismā'il Sā'ib Ms.*

He consequently blames those scholars who spend their lives in studying the differences between people, because pre-occupation with such matters is bound to affect their outlook, and supplant the beneficial influence of Ma'rifa. As they have no time to study the sayings of the Prophet and his deeds, they are robbed of the chance to be guided by them to better things. Therefore, their hearts grow dark and hard. They become blind to the light of Ma'rifa and not easily amenable to guidance.

Al-Tirmidhi adduces the deterrent example of the followers of Abu Ḥanīfah to show what happens to those who fill their lives with useless knowledge which does not provide guidance to the Truth. He also mentions a number of points indicative of this perversion by the use of knowledge which is also apt to mislead others. He describes all these points by the collective term al-Masā'il and al-'Afinah⁽¹⁾ (the perverted points), and a series of jurists who used their knowledge to help people evade the true obligations of religion.

As a jurist, al-Tirmidhi does not adhere to any of the existing schools of law. Although al-Subki, in his book *Ṭabaqāt al-Shāfi'iyyah*,⁽²⁾ maintains that al-Tirmidhi belongs to the Shāfi' school; this is not borne out by the

(1) Fols 148b-161a, Leipzig Ms, and Fols 115a-124b, Ismā'il sā'ib Ms, and Fols 114-138, al-Zahiriyyah Ms.

(2) Vol II, p.20.

study of his books. Al-Tirmidhi wrote a number of books on jurisprudence in which he gives in the first place much attention to the spiritual influence and gain to be derived from worship. On the other hand, he attached no importance to the details which are the sole pre-occupation of jurists.

Secondly, he draws attention to corrosive influences which prevent the perfect progress of the worship as rot pests and parasites impede the natural growth of a plant.

Thirdly, he scans the sayings of the Prophet to find the reasons for religious prescriptions and customs.

Fourthly, he attempts to explain the reasons behind the outward form of a number of religious rites and customs such as fasts, prayers, pilgrimages, ablutions, etc.

It is clear that al-Tirmidhi's ideas in this field are coloured, like all his ideas, by the Sufi approach. Here, he distinguishes between 'ilm (knowledge) and fiqh (jurisprudence) as well as between 'ālim and faqīh. The works of al-Tirmidhi in the field of fiqh are:

- 1 Ithbāt al-'Ilal.⁽¹⁾ Ms.
- 2 Kaifyyat al-Ṣalah, or 'Ilal al-'Ibadah,⁽²⁾ Ms.
- 3 Al-Haj wa assaruh,⁽³⁾ Ms.

(1) Fols. 34A-83B Wali al-Dīn Ms. and fols. 76A-102B Gharajjughlu Ms.

(2) Fols. 128B-177B, Wali al-Dīn Ms. and fols. 148A-212B Dar al-Kutub, Cairo Ms. 120, Majāmi'.

(3) Fols. 36B-51A Paris Ms.

- 4 Sharh al-Ṣalāh wa maqāsiduha,⁽¹⁾ edited by Ḥosni Zaidan.
5. Sabab al-Takbīr fi al-Ṣalah,⁽¹⁾ Ms.
6. al-Masā'il al-'Afinah, Ms.⁽²⁾

(1) There are two manuscripts of this work, one in Paris fols. 1-36A and the other in the As'ad collection, fols. 74-131.

(2) Fols. 148B-161A Leipzig Ms. and fols. 115A-124B Ismā'īl Sā'ib Ms.

CHAPTER IVSaints and Sainthood

1. The definition of a Saint; (a) wali Haqq-Allah.
(b) wali-Allah.
2. The ten qualities of Sainthood.
3. Saints of the highest rank; (a) al-Budalā; (b) al-Şiddiqūn; (c) al-Muhaddathūn; (d) Khatm al-Awliyā'.
4. The relation between Sainthood and Prophethood.
5. Awareness and self-awareness of the Saint of Sainthood.
6. Husn al-'Aqibah; the good end.
7. Can the Saint know the hidden future? —
8. On Miracles: (a) the difference between karāmāh and mu'jizah; (b) the opinions of scholars.
9. The guardianship of truth.
10. The possibility of a later Saint rising higher than the earlier ones.
11. The knowledge of the Saints.
12. al-Tirmidhi's share of Sainthood.
13. Ibn Taimiyyah's view of Saints and Sainthood.
14. Ibn 'Arabi's view of Saints and Sainthood.

Al-Tirmidhi's Theory of Saints and Sainthood

The terms Wali and Wilaya

Before dealing with al-Tirmidhi's theory on saints and sainthood, it will be expedient to discuss first the meaning of these two terms in Arabic and also as they are used in the Qur'ān.

The words Wali and Wilaya were in existence and in use before Islam, and before the revelation of the Qur'ān. The root waliya means "to be next to" or "to follow immediately after". Hence the pre-Islamic meaning of the word wali is "helper", "friend", "beloved", "relative", as being next to one, terms in all of which the element of close proximity or close connection is predominant and the idea of being by one's side or next to one is always present.⁽¹⁾

In the Qur'ān, the words wali occurs 46 and Awliya' occurs forty-two times. Wali is used several times attributively to express a quality of Allah in the sense of "protector and supporter of those who believe", e.g. "Allah is the protecting friend of those who believe"; (2) "Allah is the protecting friend of the believers"; (3) "Allah is the protecting friend";⁽⁴⁾

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- (1) See ibn manzūr, lisan al-⁴Arab, vol.XV, p.406 and ibn Faris, mu⁴jam maqāies al-Lughah, vol.II p.141.
 (2) Chapter II, verse 257.
 (3) Chapter III, verse 68.
 (4) Chapter XLII, verse 9.

"For Allah is the protecting friend of those who ward off (evil)";⁽¹⁾ At other times, it is used adjectivally to describe human beings, and assumes the significance "nearest to God" as, for example, "Indeed, verily, the friends of Allah are those on whom fear comes not, nor do they grieve."⁽²⁾

At the beginning of Islam, it was understood from the use of this term in the Qur'ān that God lends His support to every believer, and this was taken to include all believers. Later, Shiites limited its application to Ali and his family.⁽³⁾ In Sufi usage the term acquired, in addition to its original Qur'anic sense, a new meaning. In *Kashf al Mahjūb* al-Hujwiry lists the following meanings of wilayah according to Sufi use: tasaruf (=the power to dispose); rubūbiyyah (~~lordship~~); imārah (= possession of command); and mahabbah (= love). In support of the ^{rendering} rububiyya,⁽⁴⁾ he adduces the following quotation from the Qur'an: "There, protection is only from God, the True."⁽⁵⁾

The following pages represent an attempt to reproduce al-Tirmidhi's theory in its salient points, while trying to retain, as far as possible, his own

(1) Chapter XIV, v.19.

(2) Chapter X, v.62.

(3) Abu al-ʿAla ʿAfifi, *al-Tasawwuf al-Thawrah al-Ruḥiyyah fi al-Islam*, p.291, Cairo 1963.

(4) *Kashfal-mahjūb*, translated by Nicholson, p.210, London 1967.

(5) Chapter XVIII, v.45.

phraseology.

The main features of al-Tirmidhi's theory

All the works of al-Tirmidhi, without exception, deal with the subject of saints and sainthood, either extensively or at least marginally. There is no known attempt before him to give a similarly comprehensive picture of this subject, nor even one which refers to it in the same terms.

Two themes which recur in all his books are: a detailed elucidation of the ways to sainthood, and the description of the struggle between the desires of the carnal soul and the longing of the heart. All those who dealt with this subject after him, whether they wrote on the same lines or modified his approach, relied upon his opinions and utilized his ideas. His conception of sainthood and saints, their "degrees" (of rank as well as perfection) which compose a fully developed hierarchy, their "seal" and their relationship with the Prophets are, as laid down in the Khatm al Awliya (1) (= the seal of the Saints), basic for Sufi thought.

Al-Tirmidhi's definition of a Saint

(a) Wali -haqq-Allah.

(1) One of al-Tirmidhi's most important works, published in Beirut, 1965, edited by Dr. Othmān Yahya.

Al-Tirmidhi states, to begin with, that every believer is a friend of God, and His beloved and that, reciprocally, God is his friend and his beloved. He pursues the believers ceaselessly with His grace, and their faith follows Him continuously. Al-Tirmidhi stresses emphatically the mutual and continuous character of this relationship. Sainthood is of two kinds: general, as common to and exhibited by all believers. It is the result of their faith in one God, wilāyat ul Tawhīd, by which they shed enmity. Special sainthood, on the other hand, is one by which they emerge from unfaithfulness and achieve trustworthiness in the eyes of God the Almighty. (1)

Special sainthood is again subdivided into two groups. Those of the first group he describes as awliy' haqq-Allah (literally "the saints of the duty towards God") which he sometimes interprets as "the workers of the truth", and, at other times, as "people of guidance". They are engaged, for the sake of God, in a struggle with themselves and their desires which they conduct until they succeed in preventing their limbs from doing things that are forbidden, and desist from the neglect of religious duties. As soon as they

(1) Leipzig Ms. fols. 71 and 209.

are considered to reach this stage, they have merited the attribute "pious" by which they are then designated. Apart from the unlawful actions, there are certain permissible ones such as speaking, listening, looking, eating, drinking, dressing, riding and earning, which those to whom the epithet "pious" is applied avoid doing in excess. (1)

The outward demeanour of saints, and their general way of tackling and performing all actions is characterised by a general propriety and correctness. None of the actions done by a saint will be wrong since he will not let any of his movements, be they those of his hands, feet or eyes, nor any utterance of his tongue, deviate from what is right. Internally, however, he is troubled by the desires of his soul. (2)

A new, bitter struggle with his carnal soul begins which aims at the purification of his feelings and ideas. The carnal soul tries to deceive him by using numerous guiles, while he remains constantly on the alert, and immediately checks any of the soul's desires that attempts to gain the upper hand. The struggle goes on until, illuminated by the light of God, he finds himself in a state of grace, and God's light guides him on his way. This process of struggle repeats itself whenever a

(1) Khatm al-Awliyā', pp.117-119.

(2) Khatm, pp. 118-119.

new desire assails him and tries to assert itself.⁽¹⁾

At this point, he is exposed to an ordeal. The soul is calm and quiet, watching for a chance to tempt him, and the wali haqq-Allah who succumbs to its guiles will fail. If he remains alert, he will preserve his capacity to resist and successfully withstand both the soul's assault and its attempt to test him and he will be able to continue on his way. Then temptation reappears in a new guise. Whenever the saint endeavours to attain a certain degree by which to become worthy of a new grace of God, the carnal soul tries to deceive him by prompting him to an excess of zeal; it prompts him to do more good in order to taste the sweetness of submission, to try to generate a kind of satisfaction with, or even pride in, his own goodness and achievement. The wali haqq Allah who keeps to the straight way and pays no heed to the false promptings of the "thieving soul", well aware that its ways are the ways of temptation, will come through this ordeal safely, guided by the light of God.⁽²⁾

However, when he thinks that he has reached the end of the road, he will discover that the desires of the soul are still alive in him. He falls prey to

(1) Khaṭm p.122.
 (2) Ibid. p.130.

uncertainty, begins to realise that it is not in his power to put an end to its machinations, and turns his face towards God, entreating Him to succour him in his struggle with the soul's desires. God answers his prayer by sending His Mercy by which he is rescued at a moment's notice, though he had almost forsaken all hope, and is taken into God's proximity.⁽¹⁾ To illustrate and support this statement al-Tirmidhi quotes the following verse of the Qur'an: "... or Who responds to the distressed one when he calls on Him, and Who relieves suffering...?"⁽²⁾

At this stage, the wali haqq-Allah is ordered to remain in his place in the nearness of God the Almighty to receive the Light of Proximity which will burn the soul's desires from his breast until he becomes one of the Chosen of God, i.e. those found suitable to remain near Him. Guarded by Truth, he will, if he remains in his place and is not deceived by his soul, redeem his pledge to Allah.⁽³⁾

He now remains at his post, to be delivered from the thralldom of the soul, and absorbs the spirit of vicinity in the wide sphere of Tawhīd. He performs no action save by permission, and will only leave his place

(1) Khatm pp.133-4.

(2) Chapter XXII, v.62.

(3) Khatm, pp.136-7.

to work for the body with God's permission and under God's guard.

He still remains at the stage termed by al-Tirmidhi awliyā haqq-Allah. His place is at the House of Power, bayt al-‘izzah, in the Lower Heaven, because he is still the servant of the soul.⁽¹⁾ This is why he is ordered to remain at his post. For, if he went to perform any good works in that degree of vicinity in order to free himself from his thralldom, the soul's desires, the wish to be praised by men, and the fear to fall from the already achieved height, would combine to vitiate his action which would thus not be free from hypocrisy.⁽²⁾

(b) Wali Allah

The next, i.e. second degree of sainthood is that of wali Allah, the saint of God. He remains at the stage of proximity he attained as wali haqq-Allah. To be able to hold this position, he must fulfil three conditions; they are: scrupulous observance of the stipulations, truthful perseverance and patience in his obedience.⁽³⁾ He must perform his duties, keeping within the limits of that which separates him from what is wrong.

It is incumbent on him to observe these three

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- (1) Khatm pp.136-7.
 (2) Khatm, p.328.
 (3) Khatm, p.331.

conditions and remain at his allotted place until he has achieved ten qualities by the possession of which he is made muqawwan = made ready; muhadhdhab = retouched; munazza = purified; mu'addab = ~~disciplined~~; muzakka = purified; muwassa' = endowed with tolerance, meekness and courtesy; murabba = refined; mushajja' = encouraged, confirmed; and mu'awwad = divinely protected.⁽¹⁾

It is observable that some of these adjectives are so similar in their meaning that they are almost mutually substitutable. Consequently, the concepts they denote can be reduced to five: purity, goodness, spiritual wealth, strength and immunity (from evil).

The possession of these ten qualities renders the sainthood of Allah complete. Once this has occurred, the saint will be taken from bayt al-'Azzah to mulkil al mulk where he will find himself in the presence of the king of the kingdom. It has been arranged for him to be before God and begin to speak to Him "face to face",⁽²⁾ a phrase which has no anthropomorphic connotations, but simply means the absence of any barrier or veil between him and God. For support for the validity of this point in his theory, al-Tirmidhi turns to the following

(1) Khatn p.331.

(2) Ibid. p.332.

hadīth: "The best thing for my servant to come close to me is to be regular in his religious duties, and to continue striving for my proximity by supererogatory services until I grant him my love. When I love him, I will be his hearing, his sight, his tongue, his hand, his leg and his heart. None of these limbs can do anything but by my guidance."(1)

To ascertain the exact dividing line between the wali haqq-Allah and the wali-Allah, it is best to focus one's attention on the point when the wali Allah begins to evolve from the wali haqq-Allah. It is from the moment when he sets out on his way to God, overcoming all difficulties, striving with the soul's desires, and on guard against its guiles, until the moment when he reaches the end of the way of awliyā' haqq-Allah and discovers, to his dismay, that the wishes of the soul are still alive and he is unable to kill them. Therefore he cries humbly before God, until He grants him His proximity by His mercy. Thus it can be said that the term wali haqq-Allah applies most aptly to the beginning of the road, and is definitely replaced, at its end, by the term awliyā'-Allah. That is the exact moment when the saint is transferred from bayt al-'izzah to al-bayt al-ma'mūr.

(1) Khatm 332.

(2) Khatm, p.137.

Part of the Awliyā' Wali Allah is a group of Saints which has been designated by al-Tirmidhi by a number of terms such as al-siddiqūn (= the righteous); al-Ahrār (= the free); al-Kuramā' (= the generous); al-Nubalā' (= the noble) and al-Mustafaun (= those chosen by God from the beginning). What they have in common is that they have all been granted the grace of God, and have been chosen in a special way.⁽¹⁾ God himself has prepared them to receive His knowledge, rabbāhum, and shed his light upon them until their souls were purified as metal is purified by fire.⁽²⁾ When they had reached the state of perfect purity he elevated them to the highest place and gave them of His unparalleled wisdom. They were led from the darkness of the soul into the light of proximity, qurbah, and then into His light. In support of this statement al-Tirmidhi adduces the following verse of the Qur'an: "God is a protecting friend of those who believe. He brings them out of darkness into the light!"⁽³⁾ They are those who had put their trust in God alone, and abstained from putting their trust into any but Him. Therefore they were described by Him in His book as

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- (1) Fols. 131B-132A, Leipzig Ms.
 (2) Khatm, p.409.
 (3) Chapter II, v.257.

"(those) who have believed, and whose hearts have rest in the remembrance of Allah. Verily, in the remembrance of Allah do hearts find rest."⁽¹⁾

The Ten Qualities of Sainthood

Al-Tirmidhi has established a certain logical connection between the ten qualities of Sainthood which must be achieved for the Saint to be granted the guardianship of truth, and the degrees of the grace of God. The latter are referred to by the general term mulk (= kingdom), and represent each a key to one of God's names. Each kingdom has a sultān (= ruler), a council, gifts (to dispense), and what al-Tirmidhi terms najwa (= spiritual exchange).⁽²⁾

Any questions arising with regard to the nature of these kingdoms and the position of the saints in them, the privileges bestowed on them, etc., can only be answered in full when the differences between the above-mentioned ten qualities whose meanings are so similar can be elucidated.

If the saint - says al-Tirmidhi - fulfil the stipulations in the place of proximity and succeeds in maintaining himself in his degree, he will proceed, by the will of God, to the realm of Jabarūt (power) by

(1) Chapter XIII, v.28.

(2) Khatm, p.334.

means of which his soul will be "made ready" yūqawwam, i.e. prevented from pandering to its desires until it is subdued and submissive. Then it will be ready to proceed to the second degree, that is, it will be transferred to the realm of sultān (authority), to be "retouched" yuhadhhdhāba process which will begin with the dissolution of all that has remained in the soul of the blemishes of pride which are at the root of shahawāt (= the soul's desires). When this has been accomplished the saint proceeds to the realm of al-jalāl (= majesty), to be disciplined, yū'addūb,⁽¹⁾ a point on which al-Tirmidhi does not enlarge at all. Thereupon, the saint goes on to the realm of al jamāl (= beauty) to be purged, yunaqqā, to the realm of al-'azamāh (= magnificence) to be cleansed; yutahhar; to the realm of haibah (= awe) to be purified, yuzakkī'a. Hence, he is taken to the realm of rahmah (= mercy) to be endowed with tolerance, meekness and courtesy; ^(yūwassā') to the realm of bahā' (= radiance) to be refined, yurabba; to the realm of baḥth (= joy) to be endowed with goodness, yutayyab.⁽²⁾ Thus he continues to move from one realm to another, acquiring in each a new quality and obtaining anew gift, and divine light is revealed to him as never before, until his journey

(1) Khatm, p.333.

(2) Khatm, p.334

ends in the realm of fardāniyyah (uniqueness), so that his individuality is defined. (1)

It is noticed that these ten qualities, which al-Tirmidhi lists and which he links to ideas each of which he described as a realm (mulk) are only stages through which the hearts of saints ascend, and out of God's bounty receive that which enables them directly to view God's Majesty, His Magnificence, His Awe, His Might and His Authority, so that they feel subdued and rendered null.

In some of these realms the hearts of saints view enough of God's mercy, beauty and radiance to make them feel at ease so that they proceed on their way passing, as it were, between two wings on either side, fear of God and hope in Him. It is observable that the grace of God of which the saints partake in the measure as they rise in rank is of two kinds, one emanating from His power and the other from His mercy. In both states the saint is guarded the while by the Truth, al haqq, and supported by Divine Peace, sakīnah. (2)

Following his discourse on these qualities, al-Tirmidhi comments as follows: God's mysterious kindness thus confirms the saint's own individuality, His mercy

(1) Khatm, p.334.
 (2) Khatm, p.335.

includes him among all others, His love brings him closer longing for Him to draw nearer.⁽¹⁾ Then He overlooks him and later addresses him, turns towards him and then away from him, wherever he goes he is therefore in His grip and one of His trusted ones.⁽²⁾

Saints of the Highest Ranks

On the uppermost rungs of the hierarchy of saints there are al-budalā', al-sidiqqūn (or al-umanā'), al-muhaddathūn and khatm al awliyā', in ascending order.

Al-budalā' are forty in number, and they surround the throne. Al-Tirmidhi intimates that they are among ummāl al-sidq, the workers of Truth, who are in attendance at the place of proximity to God. Since they have been ordered to remain at their post, they have not yet obtained this permission.⁽³⁾

Al-sidiqqūn, whom he describes by epithets such as al-umanā' (= the honest or trusted ones) or al-aqwiyyā' (= the stronger ones) do not require this permission, and their place is in mulk al-mulk, the kingdom of kingdoms. They have offered their souls to God, and He has rewarded them by giving them of His light. Having finally overcome the tyranny of the soul, they have freed themselves from its thrall. The love

(1) Khatm, p334.

(2) Khatm al-Awliyā', p. 334.

(3) Fōls. 131B-132A, Leipzig manuscript.

of God controls them, and His magnificence fills their hearts so that there is no room left in them for the love of money; hence avarice does not tempt them. This is why they merit the epithet "stronger", and why they do not need permission which only the weak require.⁽¹⁾ Like al-budalā', they are forty in number; God made them after the Prophet's death to be the governors of the world. When one of them dies, another saint is promoted to his place. When the end of the world approaches, however, they will all die, having outlived their usefulness, and the Khatm al-Awliyā', will come.⁽²⁾

Al-Muhaddathūn. The dividing line between al-Tirmidhi's definitions of the muhaddathun and the ṣidiqqūn is blurred. However, it can be inferred that the muhaddathun are higher in rank. Al-Tirmidhi terms them sadēt al-Awliyā' (= the masters of the saints). Each of them "has been a chosen one from the beginning" of their sainthood, i.e. God's grace descended upon them without preliminary struggle or exertion on their part. They are not equal in rank to one another, but al-Tirmidhi refrains from giving details. He merely states that some of them are endowed with a third part of prophethood, some with half, and some with even more;

(1) Fols. 131B-132A, Leipzig Ms.

(2) Khatm al-Awliyā' p.344.

the one endowed with the highest proportion is "the seal of sainthood". (1)

The meaning of the term muhaddath is "he who receives intimation." Intimation comes to the saint in one of three ways. It can take the form of a vision sent to the saint in his sleep to convey an annunciation, mubashshirāt, of the kind referred to in the saying of the Prophet: "There is nothing (that) remains from Prophethood except the tidings. It was said: "What are the tidings, O Messenger of God?" He said, "It is a pleasant vision to be seen by the man or to be seen by others for him." It is one forty-sixth part of Prophethood. (2) The reference here is, obviously, to the twenty-three years of the Prophet's mission, in the first six months of which he received the revelation in visions.

Intimation can also enter the heart when it is awake by way of sakinah (= divine peace) which remains in the heart to strengthen its confidence. The Qur'an says: "He it is who sent down peace of reassurance into the hearts of the believers that they might add faith unto their faith", (3). The one who receives the sakinah in his heart obtains with it a share of

(1) Khatm, p.347.

(2) Nawādir al-Uṣṭā p.118 and see fol.147A Ma'rifat al-Asrār Qastamūni Ms.

(3) Chapter XLVIII, v.4.

Prophethood which exceeds one third, and varies according to his deserts before God.

Thirdly, intuitions can come in consequence of ilham (inspiration) when it is brought to the heart by "a spirit".⁽¹⁾ It should be borne in mind that when it was brought to the Prophet in what Islam calls wahi revelation, he was fully aware of the fact of the messenger being an angel. However, though al-Tirmidhi uses the term wahi "revelation", its application to anyone but the Prophet would hardly be acceptable. Nor can it be surmised that it was al-Tirmidhi's intention to equate the phenomenon of ilhām with prophetic revelation, especially as he carefully distinguishes between wahi revelation and ilhām inspiration on a number of other occasions.⁽²⁾

As has already been stated, the topmost rung of the hierarchy of saints is occupied by Khatm al-Awliya' who is the Master of the saints, as the Prophet Mohammad is the master of the Prophets. He is, besides, "Hujjat Allah", the manifestation by which the saints and all the believers receive proof of the grace of God, and the intercessor who will plead with God on their behalf on the Day of Judgment.⁽³⁾ He is God's chosen

(1) Nawadir al-Uṣṣā, p.119.

(2) Khatm al-Awliya', pp.346-7.

(3) Khatm, p.345

servant to whom God will grant His closest proximity and who will receive not only what God gives to His saints, but the very seal of 'sainthood. That is why he is always mentioned at the beginning as the First to be mentioned, al-dhikr; the first of those who possess knowledge, al-'ilm; the first to receive God's will, mashi'ah; and the first of the objects of destiny, al-maḡadīr. He is the first in the list on the preserved tablet, al-laḡh al-maḡfūz. His station is the highest among the Saints. His place is before God in the Realm of Oneness; saints are at the rear.⁽¹⁾ His gifts come from the treasures of God's bounty. In the sessions of the Realm, he speaks face to face with God, Yunājīhi Kūfahar.⁽²⁾

While the heart has fear in it, God fills it with love. Due to the component of fear, his heart will avoid what God dislikes, whether it is small or great. The love in it will give him high spirits and courage. God joins love and fear together for him to achieve and maintain perfect internal and external balance. If he were given fear only, he would withdraw into himself and fail to accomplish many things; if he were given love only, his soul would be so excited by its joy that

(1) Khatm, p. 345.
 (2) Khatm, p. 367.

he might become arbitrary and despotic. Hence God gives him moderation by placing fear on the inside and love on the outside until his heart is adjusted, and the smile of generosity and broadmindedness appears on his face and in his general behaviour. (1)

When he is promoted to the grade of awe and intimacy, the saint is overawed by God's Majesty and delighted with his beauty. He then goes on to the stage of great proximity and is firmly established there. God will then purify him by His light, open to him the way to His oneness and enlighten him on the origin of the meaning of the Outer Word and the Inner Word. When this is done, He will grant him the true life and use him as one of His workers. (2)

As has been seen, al-Tirmidhi states that the seal of sainthood as well as the Muhaddathūn share a part of prophethood. The fact that he attributed to them part of qualities of prophethood led to the accusation that he preferred saints to the prophets. It is possible that his accusers insisted on the point that none of his theories on the degrees of saints and their seal could be proved. Be that as it may, it was due to these accusations that he was shunned by people, and then put

(1) Khatm, p.405.
 (2) Ibid. p.406.

under house arrest by orders of the ruler.⁽¹⁾

Details of al-Tirmidhi's views on the relationship between prophethood and sainthood will be discussed in the following pages. So will be his speculations on the possible coming of one who may equal Abu Bakr and Umar or even excel them, and who may, but need not, be identical with Khatm al Awliya'. His ideas on miracles foreknowledge of the future, the security of the future and finally on the limits within which a saint is accepted as such by his environment and within which he himself is conscious of his own sainthood will also be analysed.

The Relation Between Sainthood and Prophethood

Saints are subdivided into two groups, those who are guided and those who are chosen. As the Qur'an says: "God chooses for Himself whom He pleases, and guides to Himself him who turns to him."⁽²⁾ Those in the first group are higher in rank than the second since God chose them from the beginning. Therefore they are not subjected to constant attack by their carnal souls, and remain humble despite their proximity to God, as they do not owe it to their own endeavour, but to God's

(1) Supra

(2) Chapter XLIII, v.13.

grace. Thus there is no veil between them and God. Those chosen from the beginning include messengers, prophets and masters of saints such as Muhaddathūn, Siddiqīn and the seal of saints.⁽¹⁾ The prophets were saints of God before they became prophets, hence they possess both qualities, prophethood and sainthood.⁽²⁾ Nobody is their equal. They are all superior in rank to the saints. Al-Tirmidhi says: "Far be it from a Muslim to think of a being higher than a prophet".⁽³⁾ According to him, this is not open to argument. In the light of this statement, the accusation that he preferred saints to prophets would appear totally unjustified. The accusation may have originated in what al-Tirmidhi says on another aspect of prophethood, namely that a prophet is a saint before he becomes a prophet. Sainthood is a basic spiritual station (maqām) while prophethood is a special spiritual station, so that the sainthood of the prophet is basic to his prophethood. Consequently, the prophet combines the two qualities, prophethood and sainthood.⁽⁴⁾

If his sainthood rates higher than his prophethood, he ranks higher as a saint than as a prophet. This is

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- (1) Khatm, pp. 351-360.
 (2) Mā'rifat al-Asrār, fol.147, Qstamuni Ms.
 (3) Khatm, p.394.
 (4) Mā'rifat al-Asrār, fol. 147.

not to be taken as a comparison between two different persons, one of whom is a prophet and the other a non-prophet, but between the prophet and the saint within one person who combines both qualities. Al-Tirmidhi makes this point perfectly clear when he discusses the higher ranks in the hierarchy of sainthood such as Messengers, Prophets, Muhaddathūn and Other Saints.⁽¹⁾

Dr. Afifi has claimed that al-Tirmidhi preferred saints to prophets and as a proof of this claim he pointed out that al-Tirmidhi quotes the hadīth concerning a certain group who are neither prophets nor martyrs but who are envied for their proximity to God by prophets and martyrs.⁽²⁾ Dr. Afifi must have misunderstood the relevant context, or must have been misled by another authority. Al-Tirmidhi quoted the above hadīth to show the proximity of saints to God. Asked why then should prophets envy them that proximity, when they are not superior to the prophets, al-Tirmidhi replied: "The Hadīth itself explains that: 'because of their place in relation to God.'⁽³⁾

Al-Tirmidhi gave a very delicate detail for the graduation of the station and its connections with one another - till they achieve the highest grade of

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- (1) Ma rifat al-Asrār.fol. 147 and Khatm pp.356-7.
 (2) al-Tasawwuf al-Thawrah al-Rūhiyyah fi al-Islam p.304.
 (3) Khatm, p.394.

prophethood and mission as follows:-

Mind is high, faith is higher than mind, al-Şiddiqiyyah is higher than faith because one cannot reach the rank^{of} Şiddiqiyyah except with mind and faith and Şiddiqiyyah, both are the beginning of prophethood, the Şiddiqiyyah of prophethood is different from the common one. As is mentioned in the Qur'an: "Mention in the Book Ibrahim for he was a saint and prophet." Also prophet Idrīs was a saint in his boyhood and a prophet when he grew up.

The prophethood is a perfect spiritual station and whatever has been added to it will be considered as more than perfect.

Hadith is higher than Şiddiqiyyah, and it is the middle of prophethood and the end of Hadith is the beginning of prophethood. The Prophet said: moderation, good looks and right guidance are considered as one of twenty-three parts of prophethood. Prophethood is the top-most rank and the mission is higher than prophethood. So Kilafah with a mission is higher than mission without Kilafah and a mission with kilafah is higher than mission with Kilafah and mission with affection is higher than a

mission with kalam. Hadīth with/^amission is higher than/^amission with affection. Thus prophethood is a perfect rank, and whatever is added to it will be an addition to the perfect, (1) as God says: "we certainly preferred some prophets to others." (2)

The Nature of Prophethood and its Grades

Prophethood is divided into forty-six parts. Only the Prophet has received all the parts. Whoever possesses two or three parts is called a Saint. So that the prophet says, "A truthful vision is one of the forty-six parts of prophethood."

He also says that moderation, good-looks and the right guidance are one of the twenty-three parts of the prophethood.

The parts of prophethood are as follows:
 Hadīth, which is the greatest part of prophethood; al-Siddiqiyyah; Inspiration; Firasah; Mind; Comprehension; Intellect; Strong belief; Confidence; Manifestation; Safety; Courage; Generosity; Mercy; Advice; Trustfulness; Satisfaction; Surrender; Guidance; Giving; Liberality; Submission; Purity; the Return to Allah; Politeness; Solemnity; Veneration; Geniality; Longing; Affection; Straightness; Favour; Fulfilment; Sincerity;

(1) Ma'rifatul-Asrār 147.

(2) Chapter XVII, v.55.

the Humility of Oneself; Clemency; Awe; Preservation; Vision; Miracles; Intelligence; Fear; Hope; Faith; and Islam.

Awareness and Self-Awareness of Sainthood.

Muslim scholars differ on the possibility of a saint being conscious of the quality of sainthood inherent in him. Nor are they unanimous on whether sainthood is a manifest phenomenon, immediately observable by others. There are two conflicting opinions on this point: some scholars affirm this possibility, others, forming a larger group which includes some Sufis, deny it. They argue, if the saint is aware of his sainthood, he need not fear the future, since his future is secure, hence 'ulūdiyyah (= servanthship) is superfluous.⁽¹⁾ Details of this controversy are found in al-Qushayrī's Risalah, and al-Tarruf li madhabi ahl al tasaww f by al-Kulābādhi Kashf al-Mahjūb by al-Hujwiry, and in Hayāt al Qulūb by Imām al-Dīn al-Umawī. That it was still raging in al-Tirmidhi's time is apparent from the corresponding passage in Khat m al Awliyā'. When al-Tirmidhi was asked his opinion on this point he stated that two groups of saints were distinguishable in this respect.

(1) al-Qushayrī Risalah v.II p.662.

There were stronger and weaker ones. The latter had not achieved the place of proximity, nor had they been granted hirāsāt al-haqq (= placed in the guardianship of Truth). The desires of the soul are still alive in their chests because the light of proximity has not yet burnt out its blemishes; they must be constantly on the alert if they want to attain the place of sanctuary.⁽¹⁾ Al-Tirmidhi calls them ‘ummāl al-sidq, Workers of Faithfulness, who must not go among people but remain in hiding, and have no right to be mashhūr (= known for their sainthood). The former, on the other hand, need not hide. They are conscious of their sainthood. They are the Chosen on whom God bestows His grace and His light which illuminates their hearts, enabling them to proceed to the highest place in the Realm of al-malakūt, to the Almighty, the Master of the Throne. Their souls have been burnished until they have acquired the look of the uncultivated desert, their hearts are illuminated by the light of God.⁽²⁾ The Prophet described them when he said: "The heart of a believer is a shining emptiness", and: "The purified heart of a pious man in which there is no sin, nor aggression,

(1) Khatm al-Awliya', pp.363-364.

(2) Khatm, p.365.

nor ill will, nor spite."⁽¹⁾ They are not hidden from others and are known to themselves; they are the proof of God on earth, the tokens of His guidance and the Stronger Ones who are under the protection of God, and hence are free from the tyranny of the carnal soul who has no power over them. They rely on God alone: the Prophet was known, he who is the master of the prophets as well as of the saints. So were Abu Bakar and Umar after him; neither of them had to remain in hiding, nor were the people ignorant of their distinction.⁽²⁾ This is a point referred to by Sufi writers such as al-Qushairy,⁽³⁾ al-Hujwiry,⁽⁴⁾ al-Kulābādhi,⁽⁵⁾ and al-Sarrāj.⁽⁶⁾ It can be said that all great Sufi sheikhs take the view that, in great saints, the quality of sainthood is manifest.

Husn al-ʿaqibah

When the question was asked of al-Tirmidhi whether it was possible for a Saint to receive bushra (= good tidings) of his salvation in the hereafter, his answer was that the awliyaʾ haqq-Allah had no such certainty, but the awliyaʾ-Allah who enter the place of proximity, might have it, for what comes to

(1) Khatm, p.365.

(2) Ibid.

(3) al-Risālah, vol.II p.266, edited by Dr. ʿAbd al-Ḥalīm Mahmūd, and Mahmūd ibn al-Sharūf.

(4) Kashf al-Mahjūb, translated by Nicholson, p.213.

(5) al-Taʿarruf li madhhab ahl al-Taʿawwuf, p.74 edited by Dr. ʿAbd al-Ḥalīm Mahmūd, T.A.B. Srūr.

(6) al-Lumaʾ, pp.393-408, edited Dr. A.H.Mahmūd and T.A.B. Srūr.

their hearts reaches them by way of truth, and is accepted by the sakīnah (= divine peace).⁽¹⁾ Thus they might receive good tidings (bushra) and they should believe them, in accordance with the verse: "Lo, verily the friends of Allah are (those) on whom fear comes not, nor do they grieve. Those who believe and keep their duty to Allah, theirs are good tidings in the life of this world and in the Hereafter. There is no changing the words of Allah, that is the supreme triumph."⁽²⁾ In support of this statement, al-Tirmidhi invokes the authority of the Prophet who, asked by Abu al Darda⁽³⁾ about the nature of bushra replied: "It is a righteous vision to be seen by the servant of God or to be seen for him." He further quotes the verse of the Qur'an: "Is he to be counted equal with them who rely on a clear proof from their Lord and a witness from Him recited it."⁽⁴⁾ Al-Tirmidhi comments on this verse as follows: "The clear proof" means that the veil has been removed from his heart, and what reaches his unveiled heart comes by way of truth, and the witness which follows it is the divine peace, sakīnah, as mentioned in the

(1) Khatm, p.373.

(2) Chapter X, v.63-65.

(3) One of the prophet companions.

(4) Chapter XI, v.17, the word "yatli" means recite and follow.

book of God.⁽¹⁾ As it is said in the Qur'ān, divine peace increases faith in their hearts⁽²⁾ and gives them more confidence.

Al-Tirmidhi gives the following explanation why only the awliyā'-Allah and not the awliyā' haqq-Allah have a secure future. It is the heart where belief in the oneness of God resides, while the nafs, the carnal soul is the habitat of evil desires. The breast contains both. Each of them has a door leading into the chest, and therefore there exists a kind of partnership between the carnal soul and the heart. While the nafs is veiled by the desire, there is no certainty that it will not affect the heart, which is therefore unprotected. When, however, the concealing veil is removed by prophethood, so that the nafs dies and the heart remains alive, there is neither risk of harm or corruption or prevention of the good tidings (of future security) when Bushra comes.⁽³⁾ Similar is the case with the Muhaddathūn who enjoy a great part of prophethood so that there is no fear of the heart being harmed by the carnal soul when Bushra is received. Those, however, whose carnal soul has not died yet, such as the awliyā' haqq-Allah, have no right to Bushra (tidings) and are not safe from interference on the part of the carnal soul which

(1) Khatm, p.374.
 (2) Chapter XLVIII, v.4.
 (3) Khatm, pp. 374-375.

al-Tirmidhi calls meddling.⁽¹⁾ The awliyā' -Allah are guarded by the truth while the awliyā' haqq-Allah have not yet been granted this protection. In the light of this, it is clear why the Prophet told ten of his companions that they would live in paradise in the Hereafter. It was because all of them were Siddiq, and no harm could come to them.⁽²⁾

Al-Hujwiri, in his Kashf al-Mahjūb makes a statement to the effect that there are, among the saints, four thousand who have to hide and are not known to each other. Nor are they conscious of their superior state, or recognized as saints by other people.⁽³⁾ Then there are those who have the power to loose and to bind and are rulers of the world; among them are three hundred al-Akhyār, forty Abdāl, seven Abrār, four Awtād, three Nuqaba' and one Qutb al-Ghawth. They all know each other, and act in concord.⁽⁴⁾

Aware that there are Muslim scholars who reject the idea that saints can be aware of their sainthood, since this awareness gives them security of the future which would make it unnecessary for them to worship, al Hujwiri says that consciousness of sainthood

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- (1) Khatm, pp. 374-376. ~~ibid.~~
 (2) Khatm, p.377.
 (3) p.213, translated by Nicholson London 1911,1967.
 (4) Ibid.

does not imply security in the Hereafter. He compares the saint to the believer who knows his faith, though there is no security for him. Why should the position of the saint differ? It is possible that God favours him by showing him the splendours which await him in the Hereafter, and gives him Bushra (tidings) of future security as long as he is supported by Spiritual Power, and protected from disobedience.⁽¹⁾ Al-Hujwiri proceeds to relate the opinions of the Sheikhs on these two points which some of them accept and some reject.⁽²⁾

There are other scholars beside al-Hujwiri who voice their own opinions and relate the opinions of other Sheikhs on these two points. Both al-Qushayri⁽³⁾ and al-Kulabādhi⁽⁴⁾ accept al-Bushra and the possibility of the realisation of sainthood, but only in relation to the great saints. They also report the different opinions of the Sheikhs on this matter. So does Imād al-Dīn al Umawi in the book Hayat al-Qulūb fi al Wusūl ila al-Mahbūb⁽⁵⁾, voicing the same opinions.

If one compares the utterances of the Sufis with those of al-Tirmidhi, it is immediately obvious

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- (1) Kashf al-Mahjūb, p.213.
 (2) Ibid.
 (3) al-Risālah, vol. II p.662.
 (4) al-Taʿarūf, pp. 71-79.
 (5) vol.II p.286 in margin book Qūt al-Qulūb.

that they depend entirely on his ideas, without, however, giving detailed comments on every point as al-Tirmidhi himself does. If one bears in mind that what al-Hujwiri says on this topic is merely an elucidation of the doctrine of the Hakimiyyah⁽¹⁾ as followed by the Sufi sect, one realises how much he owes to al-Tirmidhi.

Can the saint know the hidden future?

Al-Tirmidhi believes that great saints who are conscious of their sainthood and have received the divine tidings of their future security, know both the future and what is hidden from the common run of men. God has given them power and has illuminated their hearts, so that they can be aware of future or distant occurrences which cannot be apprehended by ordinary human power, the spirits of the saints are free of the darkness of material substance, and have been released from the prison of their bodies, so that their illuminated hearts and their mind's eyes can see what cannot be seen by others, even if they are in the same place.⁽²⁾ They see part of these things by virtue of firasah which God has granted to all Muhaddathun among his saints, and of which the

(1) Kas hf al-Mahjub, pp.210-240.

(2) Khatm, p.391.

Prophet said: "Fear you the believer's firasah, for he sees by the light of God." It is due to firasah that 'Omar perceived in al-Ashtar al-Nakha'i the misfortune he would cause, saying: "May God curse him, surely I foresee a critical day for the Muslims because of him."⁽¹⁾ It was the same power of perception that made him call on Sariyah, the chief of the army, and say: "O Sariyah, keep to the mountainside!" The faithful assembled in the mosque to listen to his sermon were amazed, but the soldiers stated on their return that they had heard 'Omar's voice exhorting them to keep to the mountainside.⁽²⁾

Another example adduced by al-Tirmidhi is the account of a legacy Abu Bakr wanted to make to his daughter 'Aishah. He recommended to her not to accept the gift with regard to her brother and her two sisters. When 'Aishah remarked that she had only one sister, Abu Bakr said: "I have the feeling that the unborn child, the daughter of Harithah (his wife) is carrying is a girl."⁽³⁾ In due time this proved to be so. After giving several more examples, al-Tirmidhi adds that this was nothing but foreknowledge of hidden future events bestowed by God on the masters

(1) Khatm, p.391.

(2) Ibid.

(3) Khatm, p.397.

of the saints by the grace of His light.⁽¹⁾

The objection that what is hidden can be known only to God since the Qur'ān says: "Say: no one knows the hidden of the heaven and the earth but God"⁽²⁾ can be refuted by the following argument: it is a fact that what is hidden is known to God alone, but how often did God impart knowledge of these hidden things to His messengers, His prophets and the people whom He had endowed with firāsah and ilhām, so that the events related above as examples did occur. What has been quoted about Abu Bakr and Omar is proof of that. Al-Tirmidhi expounds further, saying that there are hidden matters known to God alone such as al-sa'ah (= the hour of the resurrection). He gave His messengers knowledge of some of the hidden things, for the Qur'ān says that God alone knows the unseen and makes no one acquainted with His mysteries, except a prophet whom He has chosen.⁽³⁾ He is "the knower of the unseen, so He makes His secrets known to none, except a messenger whom He chooses."⁽⁴⁾

On Miracles

The Sheikhs differ on the power to work miracles which is attributed to Saints. Al-Tirmidhi

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- (1) Khatm, p.397.
 (2) Chapter XXVII, v.65.
 (3) Khatm, p.398.
 (4) Chapter LXXII, v.26.

is inclined to ascribe such power to them unreservedly and argues that it is accepted that sainthood is granted by God to His servants, and that he sends them Bushra (good tidings). The Qur'an speaks of Mary who received the annunciation that she would bear Jesus; the 'ulamā' say of her that she "received the fruits of Winter in Summer and the fruits of Summer in Winter."⁽¹⁾ The Qur'an contains accounts of ahl al-kahf (= the people of the cave) as well as of Dhul Qarnain and Kh'ḍr. There is also mention in the Qur'an, of one whose name is given by commentators as Aṣif ibn Barkhia who knew one of the names of God and had therefore the power to transport the throne of the Queen of Shebā' "within the twinkling of an eye" and place it firmly before Solomon. Al-Tirmidhi supports his argument with additional examples from the lives of the Prophet's companions and their successors and with quotations from the ḥadīth.

In one of his works, entitled "al Farq bain al-Ayāt wa al-karāmāt"⁽²⁾ al-Tirmidhi stresses the difference between mu'jizāt (evidentiary) miracles and karāmāt miracles. He discusses the controversial attitude of the scholars towards miracles, and supports

(1) Khatm, pp.399-400.

(2) Fols. 153-178 Isma'īl Sa'ib Ms.

his own affirmative opinion by numerous quotations from the Qur'ān, the Ḥadīth and accounts given by Sheikhs. Al-Tirmidhi is quite explicit in his definition of mu'jizāt. They are worked by prophets at any time. The prophets may make miracles occur at will to convince those who do not believe in their prophethood, but they do so for the benefit of others, not their own. Mu'jizāt cannot be achieved by effort and will survive the prophets. (1)

Al-Tirmidhi's examination of the differences between mu'jizah and karamah led to a further heated controversy among Muslim theologians, and formed henceforward an important topic of discussion among the two sects, Ashā'irah and Mu'tazilah. All Sufis affirmed the power of Saints to work miracles. Among the other scholars, some accepted and some rejected this opinion. Those who opposed it maintained that the attribution of miracles to Saints would cause confusion, and was conducive to unbelief. A cursory glance at Sufi literature shows what a lively and extensive discussion developed on this subject. The key works in this field are: al-Luma' by al-Sarraj (2), al-Ta'drūf by al-Kulābādhi (3) and

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- (1) Ma'rifat al-Asrār, fol.217, Qastamuni Ms.
 (2) PP.393-408 edited Dr. 'Abd al-Halim Mahmūd and T.A.B. Surūr.
 (3) pp.17-79 edited Dr. 'Abd al-Halim Mahmūd and T.A.B. Surūr.

Kashf al-Mahjub by al-Hujwiri. Especially informative in this respect is al-Risalah⁽¹⁾ by al-Qushayri who not only quotes the opinions of other scholars but also voices his own. The following lines represent a brief summary of what he says on the subject of Karāma:

"It is possible for saints to work miracles. The occurrence of miracles inspires in others the belief in the genuineness of the sainthood. When a miracle becomes manifest it is a sign of true sainthood. The miracle is both the proof of this genuineness and its result, for it is the saint's genuineness that enables him to work miracles."⁽²⁾

The trend of al-Qushayri's argument is approximately as follows. A miracle is possible since our mind judges it to be so. No principle will be violated if it is accepted as possible. It is our duty to ascribe omnipotence to God; since everything is in His power, there is nothing to prevent the possibility of miracles. A miracle is an extraordinary act emanating from one to whom sainthood has been granted; it is the sign of his genuineness and honour while he is alive. It is sometimes performed as he

(1) Edited by Dr. Abd al-Halim Mahmūd and T.A.B. Surūr.
Vol. II pp.660-661.

(2) al-Risālah, vol. II p.660.

wills it, or in answer to his prayer, sometimes it will not occur, although he wishes it, though it may occur without his having desired it. Thus it is not always and not completely intentional.⁽¹⁾

Al-Qushayri seems to allude to the prophets who have orders from God to call on the people to follow them, and have faith in their message, and to compare them with the saints who have no such orders, when he states: "The saint has not been ordered to call the people to himself, but is allowed to manifest his sainthood to those who are qualified (to perceive it)"

Abu Ishaq al-Isfrayeini says that saints have the power to work miracles, but only in answer to prayer. Unlike the miracles of the prophets, the miracles of the saints are not mu'jizāt al-Anbiā' (evidential miracles), and are thus not extraordinary acts. Al-Isfrayeīnī names the reason why he is not prepared to accept them as such: it is because mu'jizāt are proofs of prophecy, and do not occur where there are no prophets.⁽²⁾

Abu Bakr ibn Fawrak says: "A miracle is the proof of the genuineness of the miracle-worker. If he claims prophethood, it will be a sign of veracity

(1) al-Risalah, vol, II p.661+662.
 (2) al-Risalah, vol, II p.660.

in what he says, and will deserve the appellation mu jizat, but if he gives others to understand that he is a saint, it will merely be the sign of the genuineness of his sainthood, and will be called karamah even if the two kinds of miracles are not outwardly distinguishable from each other. Prophets are ordered to make their miracles, and insist on their being acknowledged as such; the saints refrain from any such claims. It is an open question why they are not allowed to do so; presumably because they are not quite free from guile or deceit.⁽¹⁾

Al-Ash^hari states that karāmāt are ascribable to both prophets and saints, but mu'jizāt only to prophets. Mu jizāt cannot be attributed to saints because their attribution is dependent on the claim to prophethood on the part of the miracle worker which the saint is not allowed to make.⁽²⁾ This means that there is no actual difference in kind between mu'jizāt and karāmāt, but only a formal, terminological difference resulting from the difference of the attending circumstances. So much for the view of al-Qushayri.

Al-Juwaini says: "It is the opinion of

(1) al-Risalah, vol,II.p.661.

(2) al-Irshād, p.316, edited by Dr. Muhammad, Yusuf Musa and Mr. Ali 'Abd al-Mun'im.

the people of ahl al-haqq (the people of the truth, by which he means ahl al-Sunnah) that saints can perform 'extraordinary acts'. Equating these acts with miracles, al-Juwainī concurs with ibn Fawrak and al-Ashārī in that he sees a difference between mu'jizāt and karamāt only in the presence or absence of the claim to prophethood.⁽¹⁾

The Guardianship of Truth

The saint who has the right to work miracles is protected from his soul's desires as well as from the pitfalls (wiles, subterfuges) of Satan. This right is therefore reserved for the higher ranks of saints, i.e. the Ṣiddiqūn, muhaddathūn, the Chosen who are the Masters of the Saints. The power of their carnal souls is broken; they are guarded by the truth, Mahrūsūn bi'l-haqq and supported by sakinah (divine peace), and so is what has penetrated into their hearts by way of firasah (perception), ilhām (inspiration) and Tahdīth (intimation). By virtue of the way in which it was conveyed, the knowledge of the Saints cannot but agree with the Sharī'ah, due to the manner in which it was acquired, it is inaccessible to and impenetrable by wrong,

(1) al-Irshād, p.316, edited by Dr. Muhammad Yusuf Musa and 'Alī 'Abd al-Murīm.

by wrong, and is in this respect comparable to the knowledge of the Prophets which has been imparted through revelation and is accepted by the spirit, (Rūh).⁽¹⁾

There is a difference between the knowledge of the Prophets and the knowledge of the Saints, for who denies the former is an / unbeliever but who rejects the latter is not: he is no unbeliever, though it is possible that his lot will not be pleasant in the hereafter. This is because the knowledge of a prophet having been revealed, is dogmatic, so that its acceptance is obligatory for him and for others. For this reason that revelation must be guarded. Nor must the saint doubt the knowledge imparted to him, but belief in it is an obligation on himself only, not on others.⁽²⁾ Thus when Mary received the tidings of the conception of Jesus, she knew through sakīnah that it was true, and trusted it. The Qur'ān commends her for it in the following verse: "And she put her faith in the words of her Lord and His scripture, and was of the obedient."⁽³⁾ This happened because of the Guardianship of Truth.⁽⁴⁾

Al-Tirmidhi refers to this protection as Ṭismah

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- (1) Khatm al-Awliya', pp.349-350 and 390.
 (2) Khatm, p.346-7 and 353.
 (3) Chapter LXVI, v.12.
 (4) Khatm, pp.399-400.

in connection with both Prophets and Saints. The majority of Sufi Sheikhs, however, distinguish between the two, restricting islah to the Prophets. The protection enjoyed by saints is denoted by hifz.⁽¹⁾

Al-Tirmidhi states that the saints are protected from confusion of their inspired knowledge, but not from temptation by Satan and the desires of their own souls. Consequently, they are liable to commit sin.⁽²⁾ This also seems to be the idea of al Junaid who, when asked: "Does gnostic al-Harith fornicate, o Abu'l Qasim?" is said to have remained for a while in silent contemplation, and then raised his head and replied: "And the commandment of Allah is certain destiny."⁽³⁾

Al-Kulābādhi says: "The second is a sainthood of peculiar election and choice, and this it is necessary for a man to be aware of and to realise. When a man possesses this, he is preserved from regarding himself and therefore he does not fall into conceit; he is withdrawn from other men, that is, in the sense of taking pleasure in regarding them, and therefore they do not tempt him. He is saved from the faults inherent in human nature, although the stamp of

(1) Khatm, pp.403-418.

(2) Khatm, pp.402-403.

(3) Al-Qushayri al-Risalah, vol.II p.665.

humanity remains and persists in him: therefore he does not take delight in any of the pleasures of the soul, in such a way as to be tempted in his religion, although natural delights⁽¹⁾ do persist in him.

These are the special qualities of God's friendship (wilayah) towards man: and if a man has these qualities, the Enemy⁽²⁾ will have no means of reaching him, to lead him astray: for God says, 'Verily, as for My servants, thou hast no authority over them.'⁽³⁾ Nevertheless, he will not be divinely preserved from committing lesser or greater sins: but if he falls into either, sincere repentance will be close at hand to him."⁽⁴⁾

When speaking of the hierarchical differences between siddīqūn and the Khatm al-awliyā', al-Tirmidhi ascribed to the Khatm al-awliyā' the highest rank, almost approximating to that of the prophets, and pointed out that he would live close to the end of the world.⁽⁵⁾ This provoked the question: "Is it possible for a saint living in our time to be equal to Abu Bakr and 'Umar?" In his answer al-Tirmidhi distinguished between good deeds and rank. He said: "It is not possible for any saint to equal Abu Bakr

(1) Such as breathing, eating and sleeping.

(2) Sc. Satan.

(3) S. XV, v.42.

(4) al-Tā'rif, p.75 and its translation by Arberry "The Doctrine of the Sufis", pp.61-2.

(5) Khatm, p.436.

and 'Umar in his deeds, because they both did unique things which nobody else can emulate such as Hurūb al-Riddah the suppression of apostasy planned and executed by Abu Bakr, by which he firmly secured the pillars of religion after they had been almost overturned by the force of the schism. Through Abu Bakr God gave Islam back to the nation. 'Umar established cities, opened up roads, and paved the way to Islam until the people could follow him on a wide, clear path. (1) Nobody but these two had such opportunities; that is why their names are mentioned in the Hadīth which says: "I came out of the door of Paradise towards the "Balance" al-mizān, and then I sat on one side and my community on the other, and then I outweighed my nation. Then Abu-Bakr sat on the same hand and he also outweighed the nation. Then 'Umar sat, and he also outweighed (it)". (2)

Al-Tirmidhi added that this took place while 'Othman and 'Ali were there. The fact that they are not mentioned in the ḥadīth proves that their deeds were not equal to those of Abu Bakr and 'Umar. This is an aspect in which neither Abu Bakr nor 'Umar will ever be equalled, as no one will ever have such

(1) Khatm, pr. 437-8.

(2) Ibid.

opportunities. In this respect, it has and will be impossible for those who live later to come up to their standards.⁽¹⁾

But when, in measuring and assessing the ranks of saints, we bear in mind the achievements and the firmness of their trusting faith, then there is nothing to prevent those who come later from equalling or even surpassing Abu Bakr and 'Umar. Al-Tirmidhi says: "Who can prevent the mercy of God from prevailing over people even in these recent times? Nobody can check it, for it is continuous. Do they think that there is no siddīq nor muqarrab nor mujtabā nor mustafā nowadays? Is it not known that the Mahdi will come close to the end of the world. Is it not said that the seal of saints will also come, and will bear witness on the day of judgment that all the Saints are recipients of the mercy of God."⁽²⁾

Al-Tirmidhi in support of these ideas quotes the following ḥadīth: "Certainly the inhabitants of the supreme paradisaal abodes will be seen in their high ranks as the shining star, in the horizon." He added: "Abu Bakr and 'Umar will be among them. The ḥadīth does not say whether these people will be there from

(1) Khatm, pp.438-9.

(2) Khatm, pp.436-439.

the beginning of the nation or whether they will come in its later periods.⁽¹⁾ They are al-Muqarrabūn who are described in the Qur'an,⁽²⁾ "The servants of the Beneficent are they who walk upon the earth modestly and when the foolish ones address them they answer: peace; and who spend the night prostrate or standing before their Lord, and who say: Our Lord! Avert from us the doom of hell; lo! the doom thereof is anguish; Lo! it is wretched as abode and station; And those who, when they spend, are neither prodigal nor grudging; and there is ever a firm station between the two; And those who cry, not unto any other God along with Allah nor take the life which Allah hath forbidden save in (the course of) justice, nor commit adultery - and whoso doeth this shall pay the penalty ; the doom will be doubled for him on the day of Resurrection, and he will abide therein disdained for ever; Save him who repenteth and believeth and doth righteous work; as for such, Allah will change their evil deeds to good deeds. Allah is ever Forgiving, Merciful. And whosoever repenteth and doeth good, he verily repenteth toward Allah with true repentance - and those who will not witness vanity, but when they

(1) Khatm, p.439.
 (2) Chapter XXV, v.63.

pass near senseless play, pass by with dignity. And those who, when they are reminded of the revelations of their Lord, fall not deaf and blind thereat. And who say: Our Lord! Vouchsafe us comfort of our wives and of our offspring, and make us patterns for (all) those who ward off (evil). They will be awarded the high place forasmuch as they were steadfast, and they will meet therein with welcome and the word of peace"(1)

Those described in these verses deserve to occupy the highest places because they have striven patiently to observe the rules and prohibitions, and to achieve the virtues enumerated in these verses."(2)

Al-Tirmidhi concludes: "Only those will be able to persevere in the observance of these rules of moral behaviour, whose hearts God has filled with the knowledge of Himself, whose breast the light has dilated, and whose heart He has enlivened. And this is unattainable except by one whose heart is full of awe and the gnosis of God."(3)

The Knowledge of the Saints

The Saints who are in full possession of the ten characteristics of sainthood have had the doors opened

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- (1) Chapter XXV, verses 63-75.
 (2) Khatm, p.440.
 (3) Khatm, p.440.

for them to lead them to the Supreme Secret where they can glimpse the glory of the Realm of the Kingdom, and they have had the curtain removed to reveal the knowledge by which they can study the Ways of God in a variety of cognition unattainable by anybody except this class of privileged people of God such as prophets and saints. This variety of cognition is peculiar to them and inaccessible to others and provides the answers to the Hundred and Fifty Five Questions, which were posed by al-Tirmidhi in the course of his reply to those who claim that they partake of sainthood and which Ibn 'Arabi answered once in a book called: "Al-Qistās al-Mustaqīm Fi Ma Sa'al 'Anhu Al-Tirmidhi al-Hakīm"⁽¹⁾, or as sometimes variously called, "Al-Masā'il al-Rūhāniyyah".⁽²⁾ At some other time he answered these questions in greater detail in the second volume of his work, "Al-Futūhāt al-Makkiyyah".⁽³⁾ It is to be noted that the questions here amounted to 157, as set out in the book "The Seal of Saints" - "Khatm al-Awliyā'".

As regards the points enquired about, they are as follows:-

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- (1) Bayāzid Ms. No.3750 and published in footnotes of Khatm al-Awliyā', pp.142-326.
 (2) Daqal Kutub Ms. No.255.
 (3) Vol.II pp.40-139.

- (1) How to describe the stations of the Saints who have exhausted their endeavour towards the achievement of self-mortification and assess how many are their stations?
- (2) Where are the stations of the People of Proximity?
- (3) Where are those who have gone beyond the Warriors? In what have they gone beyond Them?
- (4) Whither are they bound?
- (5) Where is the Station of the People of Sessions and of intimate communion?
- (6) How many are they?
- (7) By virtue of what have they become deserving of God?
- (8) What is their converse and communion?
- (9) By what do they commence their communion?
- (10) By what do they terminate it?
- (11) By what are they answered?
- (12) How is their progress to be described?
- (13) Who deserves to be the Seal of the Saints as Muhammad (P.U.B.H.) deserved to be the Seal of Prophethood?
- (14) By what qualification would the deserver deserve that?
- (15) What reason is there for the Seal and what does it signify?

- (16) How many sessions should there be for the realm to reach to the King of the Kingdom?
- (17) Where does the rank of Messenger stand in relation to that of Prophets?
- (18) Where does the rank of Prophets stand in relation to that of Saints?
- (19) What is the share/^{of} each Messenger of God's favour?
- (20) Which of His names has been vouchsafed to him?
- (21) What are the shares/^{of} the Saints of His names?
- (22) What is the knowledge of initial creation?
- (23) What does it mean to say: "God was, and there was nothing with Him"?
- (24) What is the beginning of the Names?
- (25) What is the beginning of Inspiration?
- (26) What is the beginning of the Spirit?
- (27) What is the beginning of Certitude?
- (28) What is equity?
- (29) In what do prophets excel one another and in what do saints excel one another?
- (30) What is the meaning of "God created the world in darkness"?
- (31) What is their case there?
- (32) How is it to describe their predetermined lots?

- (33) What is the reason for the knowledge of pre-determination which was withheld from Messengers downwards?
- (34) Why was it withheld?
- (35) When will the Secret of Predetermination be disclosed to them?
- (36) Where will it be revealed?
- (37) To whomsoever of them will it be revealed?
- (38) What is leave from our Lord for obedience and disobedience?
- (39) What is the Supreme Intellect from which (individual) minds were allotted to all men?
- (40) What is the description of Adam?
- (41) For what reason was he chosen?
- (42) What is his pristine nature?
- (43) What is the pristine nature?
- (44) Why did God call him man?
- (45) By virtue of what did he achieve such precedence over the angels that He ordered them to prostrate (themselves) before him?
- (46) What is the number of characters granted to him?
- (47) How many are the treasures of characters?
- (48) In the Prophet's statement: "Verily God has one hundred and seventeen characters",

what are these characters?

- (49) How many of these do Apostles have?
- (50) How many of them belong to Muhammad (P.B.U.H.)?
- (51) Where are the treasures of beneficences?
- (52) Where are the treasures of personal endeavour?
- (53) From where are Prophets granted?
- (54) Where are the treasures of the saints
 - () of intimate communion (al-Muhaddathun)?
- (55) What is intimate communion?
- (56) What is Revelation?
- (57) What is the difference between Prophets and
 - saints of intimate communion? (al-Muhaddathūn).
- (58) How are they placed in relation to them?
- (59) Where are the rest of the saints placed?
- (60) What is the shelter of the in-gathering on the
 - Day of Judgment?
- (61) How did it come to be like the wink of an eye?
- (62) And the case of the Crack of Doom being quicker
 - than the wink of an eye?
- (63) What is the discourse of God to the generality
 - of the gathering?
- (64) And what did He say to the Unitarians?
- (65) What is His discourse to the Messengers?

- (66) Where will they seek refuge from the site on
Doomsday?
- (67) How are the ranks of Saints and Prophets on
the day of visit?
- (68) What are the chances for the Prophets to look
at God?
- (69) What are the chances for the Saints of
intimate communion to look at Him?
- (70) What are the chances of the rest of the Saints
to look at Him?
- (71) What are the chances for the common people to
look at Him?
- (72) In His statement: "Each one of them goes off
with his ^{share} / from the Lord, and thus people of
Paradise will be oblivious of their bliss for
being engaged in looking at Him"...
- (73) What is the Exalted Station?
- (74) By what means is it achieved?
- (75) How different is the ^{share} / of Muhammad (P.B.U.H.)
from the ^{share} / of the rest of the prophets?
- (76) What is the Banner of Praise?
- (77) How should one praise his Lord in order to
deserve the Banner of Praise?

- (78) What should one offer to his Lord in the way of servitude?
- (79) By what does he conclude praise so that God may hand him the keys of Liberality?
- (80) What are the keys of Liberality?
- (81) To whom are the gifts of our Lord distributed?
- (82) What are the component parts of Prophethood?
- (83) What is Prophethood?
- (84) Of how many parts is Şiddīqiyyah(Arch-Sainthood)?
- (85) What is Şiddīqiyyah(Arch-Sainthood)?
- (86) On how many components has submission to God been grounded?
- (87) What does Truth exact from the Unitarians?
- (88) What is Truth?
- (89) What is its beginning?
- (90) What does it do to mankind?
- (91) What is it empowered to do?
- (92) What is the fruit of it?
- (93) What is the rightful one? (in-dwelling).
- (94) Where is the place of one who is rightful?
- (95) What is the Serenity of God?
- (96) What is the implication for the faithful Muslim of this verse of the Qur'an: "The outer and the

inner, and the First and the Last"?

- (97) What is the ^{share} / of the Faithful of His saying:
 "Everything is perishable except his face"?
- (98) Why did he mention "face" specifically?
- (99) What is the beginning of Praise?
- (100) What does his saying Amen mean?
- (101) What is Prostration?
- (102) What is its beginning?
- (103) What does His saying: "Magnanimity is my skirt"
 mean?
- (104) What does His saying: "Greatness is my mantle
 mean?
- (10) What is the "skirt"?
- (106) What is the "mantle"?
- (107) What is haughtiness?
- (108) What is the crown of the realm?
- (109) What is dignity?
- (110) What is the description of the sessions of awe?
- (111) What is the description of the realm of boons?
- (112) What is the description of the realm of light?
- (113) What is the description of the realm of pre-
 determination?
- (114) What is the holy?

- (115) What are the luminosities of the face of God?
- (116) What is the drink of love?
- (117) What is the chalice of love?
- (118) Where is it from?
- (119) What is the drink of His love to you which would intoxicate you and make you oblivious of your love of him?
- (120) What is the grasp (qabḍah)?
- (121) Who are those who deserved contraction and consequently got it?
- (122) What does He do to them in the state of contraction?
- (123) How many times does He look at the Saints every day?
- (124) At what of them does He look?
- (125) At what of the prophets does He look?
- (126) How many times does He turn towards His favourites every day?
- (127) What is togetherness involving common people, the elect, the prophets and the favourites; and what is the disparity and the difference between them in this respect?
- (128) What is the meaning of "remembrance" in the saying "and surely the remembrance of God is

greater"?

- (129) What means His ~~remembrance~~ in the saying:
 "Remember me, then, and I will remember you"?
- (130) What is the meaning of Name?
- (131) What is the chief name which occasioned all the names?
- (132) What is the name which was unintelligible to all creatures except His favourites?
- (133) By what did the companion of Solomon acquire that (name) which was withheld from Solomon himself albeit he was one of the Messengers?
- (134) Why was that?
- (135) What of the Name did he perceive: was it its letters or its meaning?
- (136) Where is the gate of this Name which is the one invisible to mankind among its gates?
- (137) What is its vestment?
- (138) What are its letters?
- (139) The disconnected letters are the key to each of His Names. Where are these Names? The letters are only twenty eight. Where are these letters?
- (140) How is it that the letter Alif has come to be

the first of the letters?

- (141) How was it that the letter Alif was repeated with the letter Lam at the end?
- (142) On what basis of calculation did the letters come to be 28?
- (143) What is the meaning of His saying: "God created Adam in His own image"?
- (144) And of His saying: "Surely twelve prophets will wish to be from among my community?"
- (145) What is the interpretation of Moses' saying: "O God, let me be from Muhammad's community"?
- (146) What is the interpretation of: "Verily God has servants who, although not prophets, are envied by the prophets for their high station and their closeness to God?"
- (147) What is the interpretation of: "In the name of God"?
- (148) What is the interpretation of: "Peace be upon you O Prophet"?
- (149) And of: "Peace be upon us and upon the righteous servants of God."
- (150) What is the interpretation of: "My household are a security for my community?"
- (151) And of: "The kinfolk of Muhammad"?

- (152) And of: "The proclaimer of the proof"?
- (153) Whence does he speak to mankind and thus proclaim God's proof against them? The Supreme God did proclaim the proof against them, and provided for the proclaimer a path to the treasures of speech.
- (154) And how are the treasures of proof related to the treasures of speech or the treasures of the knowledge of providence?
- (155) How are the treasures of the knowledge of God related to the treasures of the knowledge of His beginnings?
- (156) What is the interpretation of: "The origin of the book"? He treasured it from all the messengers for him and for his community?
- (157) What could the meaning of the "forgiveness" which belongs to our prophet be, when He proclaimed "forgiveness" to the prophets and endowed them with it?⁽¹⁾

Ibn Arabi says that al-Tirmidhi set these questions forth in order to expose those pretenders in his time and thus force them to relinquish their

(1) Khatm al-Awliyā', pp. 142-326.

pretension, because these items of knowledge cannot be acquired through investigation and scholarly research but rather through cognition flowing from divine afflatus at the disposal of His saints.⁽¹⁾

As regards access to this knowledge which al-Tirmidhi indicated, the path leading to it, the steps to be paced by its people, its degrees, and its relationship with the other departments of knowledge which al-Tirmidhi and other Sufis call the knowledge of the exterior - all these will be discussed in our discourse at length when we discuss the idea of cognition according to al-Tirmidhi.

Al-Tirmidhi's Share of Sainthood

There is one question which occurs to one's mind namely, what is al-Tirmidhi's own place in sainthood and in its grades which he expatiated upon in his discourse on the subject? Is there anything in what he wrote which could clarify his position among the saints?

Al-Tirmidhi did not talk expressly on his position of sainthood. But we could infer from his writings that he had reached the culmination normally attainable by saints in successive periods, that is

(1) al-Futūḥāt al-Makkiyyah, vol. II pp.110-139.

to say the ranks which recur with the passage of time, but not including the Seal. We may also understand from what he said that he achieved all the ranks of Sainthood except the Seal which was the subject of a book called "Khatm al-Awliya". There he says that "Time will not elapse until God sends forth the Seal of Saints".⁽¹⁾ This give us to understand that he did not claim for himself the exclusive title of the Seal of Saints. In previous statements, he said something which indicated his station, but that was implicitly rather than explicitly, and one could only understand from it that he attained a high rank in the Siddiqiyyahscale, without any mention of the particular name of that rank. In the course of his talk about the ranks assigned to the saints after those of the first period, especially after Abu-Bakr and Umar, he says: "There must be somebody in this community who knows their stations and possibilities with regard to their Lord; since the knowledge of this is only acquired from the "Sea of Knowledge".⁽²⁾ The spirits of the Siddiqiahare close to one another, and their hearts in the station with Him are

(1) Khatm, p.448.

(2) Bahr al-Ma'rifah *al-Ma'rifah*.

co-ordinated, each of them being cognisant of the other as to the respective station. Thus, this somebody can know the share of Abu-Bakr and that of Umar (May God be pleased with them) of the grace of God only by knowing his won lot of God's grace. Abu Bakr's share of the grace of God was in the Realm of Greatness and Umar's share was in the Realm of Majesty, and the share of Ali was in the Realm of Holiness."⁽¹⁾

Then he proceeded to answer a question on these lots, saying: "The lot of Abu-Bakr is *modesty; haya*; He (May God be pleased with him) said: "To be sure, if I go into a privy, I wrap up my head in shame from God." And the lot of Umar is right, as shown by a saying of the Prophet's (P.B.U.H.): "God stamped right on Umar's tongue and heart" The lot of Ali is love, as shown by the generality of his speeches and his sincere praisings of his Lord. The Prophet's (P.B.U.H.) place is in the Realm of Realm in front of Him, and his lot is His Oneness."⁽²⁾

We must understand from this text that al-Tirmidhi attained a certain station of the saintly stations, which makes it possible for him to know these lots, to determine them and to assign the lot of each of Abu-

(1) Khatn, p.441.

(2) Khatn, p.441.

Bakr, Umar and Ali. But if we want to be more precise in determining his station according to what may be inferred from this statement we may say that he attained the Siddīqiyya rank, in view of his saying that "The Spirits of the Siddīqis are close to one another, and their hearts in the station with Him are co-ordinated, each of them being cognisant of the other as to the respective station."

If we pursue al-Tirmidhi's discourse on his spiritual graduation and his exposition of the way how he reached God as set forth in his treatise "Budu al-Shan", we shall find more details and greater precision. There in this treatise he tells us a number of visions which, if we recall to our minds what he says in regard to the saints in the course of their demeanour towards God, will lead us to discover from them with ease and facility the stations through which he passed in his upward progress and the culmination. Also if we recall to our minds his discourse on Inspiration, Insight, Intuition, Vigilance against the Devil and the Self by safeguarding right and reinforcing tranquillity, it will be easy for us to realise that he regards these visions of his as one of the categories of divine

knowledge, which are infused into saints by God in one of the following three ways. In the first of these visions, he says that he saw the Messenger of God enter the mosque and go up the pulpit and he was ascending immediately behind. The Prophet, on reaching the highest step, sat down, and al-Tirmidhi sat on the step at the feet of the Prophet.⁽¹⁾ Ibn 'Arabi says something somewhat similar to this about himself, and that he sat at the feet of the Prophet. He called this spiritual scene "In the world of Real Forms in the presence of Majesty."⁽²⁾ This is the Realm of Majesty of which al-Tirmidhi spoke more than once in his exposition of the ten characteristics of sainthood.⁽³⁾

In his second vision he portrays his standing in front of God and how he was struck by awe when he penetrated behind the installed screens, and how, when he emerged from behind the screens near the door he felt himself exclaiming: "He has forgiven me"⁽⁴⁾, and then the dread which had seized him passed off. Perhaps we may gather from al-Tirmidhi's exposition of these visions that he passed the place of proximity

(1) Budu shān, Preface to Khatm, p.16.

(2) al-Futūhāt, vol. 1, pages 2-3.

(3) Khatm, pp.333-334.

(4) Khatm, p.17.

to the Realm of Realms of which he spoke in connection with the fully trustworthy saints. The vision of his wife, where she was visited by angels carrying flowers and myrtle, shows that he attained the rank of Siddiqiyah. This we know from his disquisition in "The Seal of the Saints".⁽¹⁾

The vision of the tree described by his wife - how she set herself the task of tending it until birds came and settled on all its branches when those branches, dry and leafless before, became verdant, and how she continued to watch the birds go up to the branches to the summit, when there was not a single branch which did not grow green,⁽²⁾ - may indicate that al-Tirmidhi, in his spiritual progress, will climb until he reaches the top, with God's grace; and the meaning of this is that he is one of the elects of God to whom He refers in His statement: "God chooses for Himself whomsoever He likes, and guides towards Him those who defer to Him."⁽³⁾ In another vision, his wife had a vision that he was one of the four pillars (awtād) and that he was one of those whose station is the "frequented house"

(1) Khatm, pp.22-23.

(2) Khatm, p.17.

(3) Chapter XLIII, v.13.

(al-Bait al-Ma'mūr).⁽¹⁾

There is another vision by his wife, which is more detailed and dramatic. There, the narration is about the Forty who are described by al-Tirmidhi as the Siddiqis who will be the rulers of the world subsequent to the death of the Prophet. It may also be gathered from it that al-Tirmidhi is the chief of these Forty and the best of them. The narrative also speaks about the question of the soldiers and men-at-arms and how people felt safe in their presence, and how previously al-Tirmidhi met the Prince and took him to the mosque for worship.⁽²⁾ Perhaps, from the mention of soldiers and men-at-arms, we may glimpse here a reference to the explanation of the Third and the Fourth questions of the questions propounded by al-Tirmidhi in his book "The Seal of Saints", with his concluding comment to the effect that knowledge of these questions and of their answers constitutes a comprehensive account of the prophets and of the saints. These two questions are: (a) Where are those who went past the soldiers, and by what did they go past? (b) where will they end up?⁽³⁾

(1) Khatm, p.25.
 (2) Khatm, pp.29-31.
 (3) Khatm, pp.146-7.

From this, it is permissible to conclude that al-Tirmidhi did go past the soldiers, and did attain a rank which, although he did not tell us about it, could be inferred from an account of some of its aspects given by Ibn-'Arabi when he answered those questions, and said about al-Tirmidhi that he was the leader of the Forty and the centre (quṭb) of his time.⁽¹⁾ It may be that the story set forth by Fareed al-Din al-Attar in his book "tadhkirat al-Awliyā", derived from Abu-Bakr al-Warraq, and reported by al-Hijwiri, sheds more light on the question of al-Tirmidhi's attainment of this rank which we deduced from the dramatic vision. This story is as follows, according to al-Warraq's verbal narrative: "One day, al-Tirmidhi told me: "I shall take you with me to a certain place." "The Master knows what is best", I replied. Then I went off with him, and shortly afterwards, we came upon a rugged and toilsome wilderness in the middle of which there was a throne of gold under a green and leafy tree, beside a spring of water. A man, dressed in beautiful robe, was sitting on the throne. When the sheikh drew near the man got up, and al-Tirmidhi sat on the throne.

(1) al-Futūḥāt, vol.II, pp.41-43.

Soon a company of men gathered together from all directions, until the number was forty completely. They made signs towards the sky and food soon appeared and they ate. The sheikh asked the man some questions which the man answered, but in a language of which not a single word I was able to understand. Then al-Tirmidhi asked to be excused, and he went away, travelling back. He told me: "Go, you have been blessed", and in a few moments we were back in Tirmidh."⁽¹⁾

It has been noticed that Ibn 'Arabi, whenever he mentions al-Tirmidhi, always refers to him as al-Imam (the Leader) Muhammad bin Ali; and in his discussion of the meaning of ~~western~~ "Pole" (qutb) he says that the **Poles** who are conventionally to have this name exclusively are only one at a time. The **Pole** is also the Succourer (al-Ghawth) and he is one of the closest follows, and is also the master of the circle in his time. Some of them may have outward rule and thus have the outward khilafat and simultaneously possess the inward khilafat because of rank, as is the case with Abu-Bakr, 'Unar, 'Ali, al-Hasan, Mu'awiyah Ibn Yazid, 'Unar bin 'Abdul-'Aziz and al-Mutawakkil. Some

(1) Tadhkirat al-Awliya', vol.1, p.92, Kashfal al-Mahjub, p.229 and Muslim Saints and Mystics, pp.244-245.

others may have the inward khilafat exclusively for themselves, without having any rule or authority outwardly, like Ahmad bin Harun al-Rashid al-Sabti and Abu-Yazid al-Bistāni. The Imams (Leaders of Faith) come from among them; and they do not exceed two in number, with no third. They are the successors of the **Pole** (qutb) on his death, and they are in the capacity of two ministers (wiziers) to the **Pole** (qutb). (1)

What Ibn Arabi says gives us to understand indirectly that he thinks that al-Tirmidhi did not attain the rank of **Pole** (qutb) because he always precedes his name with the word "Imam", and also because when he counted the **Poles**, he did not mention his name, although he did not state all the names.

However, we may, on the grounds of what may be concluded from the writings of al-Tirmidhi himself or reports about him by the contemporaneous Sufi sheikhs like al-Warrāq, entitled "The Tutor of the Saints", say that he was a Siddīq, a pillar (watd), an Imām and a **Pole** (qutb), if we accept the classification of the Saints by the Sufis, and if we

(1) al-Futūhāt. vol. II p.6.

~~accept the classification of the Saints by the Sufis;~~
and if we go along with them in their notion about
Sainthood and Saints.

Ibn-Taimiyyah's view of Sainthood and Saints:

What occurs immediately to one's mind is that Ibn-Taimiyyah is the foremost enemy of the Sufis and that he resents them in his books and treatises. But the truth which shines through his other writings is different. Ibn-Taimiyyah fights the intruders into Sufism, the falsifiers of its supreme truths, those who fraudulently confuse in the minds of people what is right with what is wrong, and those who employ the name of Sufism as an excuse for releasing themselves from religious duties, laudable moral rules, and the fundamentals of integrity. The great Sufi sheikhs and the founders of Sufi ways combatted inexorably all those deviations. There is hardly a book by a great Sufi which does not attack innovation, hypocrisy and the employment of the Sufi way as a stepping stone to headship, an access to a worldly gain or riches. In general, at the time of Ibn-Taimiyyah was such that pretenders prevailed, and were able to form societies, the sole concern of which was to lure people by their stunts and acrobatic deeds, and thus

offend against the supreme truths of Sufism and its noble ways, as a result of disengaging themselves from the ties of religious principles and in consequence of their moral turpitude and deviation from the right path in their behaviour, disguising themselves under mottoes previously proclaimed and exalted by the early protagonists for the benefit of the sincere ones who would follow them as their guides, with tranquillity and confidence. These new ones came now upon the scene, and started to reiterate the sayings of their early predecessors and to use them as a cover for their shameful deeds and abominations by which they corrupted the society and tarnished the name of the sect, falsifying as they did the patent truths and debasing the true ideas. This explains why Ibn-Taimiyyah was stern and uncompromising in his unabated attacks on them, in the belief that to attack them was a religious obligation of the same nature as the repulsion of the Tartars from the land of the Muslims, as stated by him in one of his writings. He was led to be severe in his urging that every opening or channel should be sealed in the face of these saboteurs to prevent them from penetrating the citadel of faith

and intruding their falsehoods and lies. Therefore he raised the "banner of commitment" to the Book (Qur'an) and Tradition, and this was in fact what the early eminent Sufi sheikhs and the Sufi leaders called for in their books, treatises and Wasāyā Ibn-Tainiyyah's views on this subject are not far from those of the early Sufis, and his tendency in this direction was that of a number of sheikhs who belonged to Sufism and who called for the Sufi ways to be followed. This should not mean, however, that he agreed in full to everything they said, but the approved principles were accepted and confirmed by him. Another contributing factor towards the unfolding of his strong line is the numerous missives which he, in consequence of the increasing pretenders in his time, received from various quarters asking him the opinion he held and requesting him to make manifest the truths of the law concerning those matters which were at the time "on the tongues of people". His idea was that the friends of God were those who believed and feared, as stated in the Glorious Qur'an, and he divided them into two groups: (a) the Moderates of the right-hand and (b) the close and foremost fellows. The friend of God is the

antithesis of the enemy of God. He cited verses from the Qur'an to confirm this fact, such as:

"Verily, the friends of God are those on whom there is no fear, neither shall they be grieved - they who believed and who did fear",⁽¹⁾ and "God only is your patron, and His messenger and those who believe".⁽²⁾

A tradition of the Prophet's reads: "He who is antagonistic to a friend of Mine is challenging me to a fight." The friend of God is one who befriends Him through agreeing with Him in the things he likes and the things pleasant to Him, and who draws near to Him through acts of obedience to His commands. In a tradition of the Prophet's there is mention of the "fellows of the right hand" and they are the fellows of God who gain this proximity through their performance of binding duties, and of the close and foremost fellows who gain proximity through their performance of both the superegatory duties and the binding duties. These latter are mentioned in the Qur'an in the Chapters of Faṭir, al-Waḳū'ah, Inevitable, al-Insān, Man, and al-Mutaffifin, Those who give short weight, as follows respectively:

"Those who are foremost in good works",⁽³⁾ and the

(1) Chapter X, v.62.

(2) Chapter V, v.55.

(3) Chapter XXXV, v.32.

foremost foremost"⁽¹⁾, "Verily, the righteous shall drink a cup tempered with Kafur"⁽²⁾, and "A book inscribed - Those nigh to God shall witness it."⁽³⁾

He maintains that the friend of God is one who is a firm believer and fearful of God; and that he can foresee what will happen to him eventually - he can inspect himself and can make others do the same. However, he thinks that this should happen discreetly, and he does not pronounce on it definitely, except insofar as the "Ten Who Were Promised Paradise" whose friendship to God is established are concerned. He further says that anybody who has earned a reputation for truthfulness among people may be attested as a friend of God.⁽⁴⁾

He even goes still further. So far, the reference has been to common people. But the people of distinction are capable of learning the destinies of nations by virtue of unveilings vouchsafed them by God. This is clear from his saying that the select saints have access to the knowledge of certain matters through the clarification by God of their insight and through what communion and inspiration they

(1) Chapter LVI, v.10.

(2) Chapter LXXII, v.5.

(3) Chapter LXXXIII, vv. 20-21.

(4) al-Rasa il wa al-Mas ā'il, vol.1, p.43, al-Manār's edition, Cairo, 1341 A.H.

they obtain as a result of this clarification. But this should not be binding upon others,⁽¹⁾ as is affirmed by al-Tirmidhi. His opinion is that what the clarification produces should conform with the contents of the Book, the Qur'ān and the Tradition, and he maintains that the sinlessness of the messenger and the prophet is ensured by the assertions of the Book, e.g. "We have not sent before thee any messenger or prophet, but that when he wished, Satan threw something into his wish."⁽²⁾ Therefore what this revealing or unveiling produces should be accepted only if it is in agreement with both the Book, the Qur'ān and the Tradition, because this means conformity. Those who say that this agreement is not needed are heretics, and those who maintain this standpoint are as good as unbelievers.⁽³⁾ He takes it that the alternative reading of Ibn-Abbās: "or someone in close communion (with God) (muhaddath)" was rescinded for the purpose that sinlessness is to be confined to the prophet and the messenger only.⁽⁴⁾

Thus he maintains that sinlessness should belong exclusively to the prophet and messenger, and he does

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- (1) al-Rasā'il wa al-Masā'il, vol.1, p.43 al-Mānār edition, Cairo, 1341 A.H.
 (2) Chapter XXII, v.52.
 (3) al-Rasā'il wa al-Masā'il, vol.1, p.44.
 (4) Ibid.

not stipulate in the case of the saints that they should be proof against sin or venial sins. It is not a condition that they should renounce mortal sins or disbelief followed by repentance because the Qur'an described them as follows: "But whoso brings the truth and believes in it, these are they who fear. For them is what they please with their Lord, that is the reward of those who do well; that God may cover for them their worst offences which they have done, and may reward them with their reward for the best of that which they have done."⁽¹⁾ And those Shi'ites who attribute sinlessness to the Twelve Imams, and those sheikhs who say that the saint is "proof" and the prophet is sinless, are suffering from zealotry, more like that of Christians and of their prelates and priests with regard to Jesus.⁽²⁾

What the Sufis say with regard to saints being proof against Satan's suggestion, saints are proof against self-suggestion, and not against sin. The view of two of the leading Sufis, namely al-Tirmidhi and al-Junaid in this connection is well known. Al-Junaid was asked once: "Does the gnostic Saint

(1) Chapter XXXIX, vv.33-35.

(2) al-Rasā'il wa al-Masā'il, vol.1, p.44.

commit adultery, Abu'l-Qasim?" He pondered a little and then said: "And God's bidding is a decreed decree."⁽¹⁾ In his book "The Seal of the Saints", al-Tirmidhi speaks of the extent of fear which seizes the Saint when he commits a sin.⁽²⁾ The sinlessness which he claimed for the Saint was also maintained by the generality of the sheikhs who subscribe to his view. But it is sinlessness, or immunity insofar as auto-suggestion and evil promptings are concerned, when the heart is infused with mystic communication, inspirations, promptings and clairvoyance.

Then ibn-Tainiyyah proceeds to put forward his view about the names of the saints and saintly people current on the lips of the sheikhs, such as the "succourer" al-Ghawth, the four pillars Amtad, the seven Poles (aqṭāb), the Forty Substitutes, Abdāl, and the three hundred Nujaba. He says that these names do not occur in God's book, the Qur'an or in the Prophet's traditions, nor in the statements of the predecessors, in the same order. He also says that those names were never received from sheikhs fully accredited by the community, and that this sort

(1) al-Risālah al-Qushairiyyah, vol.II,p.665.

(2) Khatn al-Awliyā', pp.402-404.

of knowledge is neither completely false nor completely true, with the true and the false having been commingled together.⁽¹⁾ One may gather from the statement of Ibn-Taimiyyah that his objection is only against the number and the order given by the Sufis at certain times and places. There is, however, no evidence to prove it, in his view, and it seems to me that this is where his objection only applies. But the objection itself does not preclude at all the possibility that there may have existed such categories of saints.

Ibn-Taimiyyah rejects the name: "The Succourer - al-Ghāwth", on the grounds that the word befits no one but God who is the Succourer of those who call for help, and nobody should seek succour from any quarter except from God; neither from an angel favoured of God, nor from a messenger-prophet. He says that those who presume that people of the earth apply for the supply of these needs to the Three Hundred, the Three Hundred apply to the Seventy, the Seventy to the Forty, the Forty to the Seven, the Seven to the Four, and finally the Four to the Succourer.⁽²⁾ These are deviators and polytheists,

(1) al-Rasā'il wa al-Masā'il, vol.1.p.46.

(2) Ibid, p.48.

like those polytheists spoken of by God in 'The Verse': "And when distress touches you in the sea, those whom you call on, except Him, stray away from you."⁽¹⁾ and also in the Verse: "He who answers the distressed when he calls upon Him."⁽²⁾ He regards this serialisation posed by him as contrary to the divine revelation in the Verse: "When my servants ask thee concerning Me, then, verily, I am near; I answer the prayer of him who prays to Me. So let them ask me for an answer, and let Them believe in Me; haply they may be directed aright."⁽³⁾ He thinks that this came to them from the thesis of the Rafiqdites⁽⁴⁾, concerning the Sinless Imam and also from the Ismailites,⁽⁴⁾ the Nusairis⁽⁴⁾ and others who have the following designations: al-Sābiq (the Forerunner), al-Tālī (the follower), al-Nāṭiq (the speaker), al-Asās (the foundation), and al-Jasad (the body). It is possible that there may be someone designated as al-Watad (the pin or pillar) by which religion and faith are firmly fixed in place by its mountains, except that their restriction of the number to four only is analagous to what astrologers say about the mountains or pins of the earth.⁽⁵⁾ In

(1) Chapter XVII, v.67.
 (2) Chapter XXVII, v.62.
 (3) Chapter II, v.186.
 (4) Branches of Shi'ats Sect.
 (5) al-Rasa'il wa al-Masā'il.

the same way, the idea is also applicable in relation to the meaning of al-Qutb which is the pivot round which his sphere of action turns, whether in temporal or spiritual affairs. It may also be applied to designate anyone who may have a say in the question under discussion. But the restriction to a limited number is only a limitation of God's liberality towards His servants.⁽¹⁾ Along these he proceeds to reject the idea that the Abdāl (The Substitutes) are only forty, and that whenever one of them dies, a substitute takes his place, and that the Succourer (al-Ghawth) is the one by whom God succours the people of the earth. He also denies as false the assertion of those who claim that people are given their livelihood and are helped only through these Forty, because livelihood and help are known to have prerequisites, the strongest of which is the prayer, the worship and the sincerity of the Muslims, and this cannot be contingent upon forty, or more or less. However, this may relate to the Weak ones, as stated in the story of Sa'id b. Abi Waqqāṣ when the Prophet told him: "O Sa'id do you get your livelihood except by virtue of your weak

(1) al-Rasā'il wa al-Masā'il, vol. 1, p.49.

ones through their prayer, worship and sincerity!"⁽¹⁾

There are other prerequisites for livelihood and help, because even unbelievers and wicked ones are sometimes helped and provided for.⁽²⁾

He rejects also the notion that the Abdāl (The Substitutes) are absent in the Mountain of Lebanon, and affirms that it is impossible for anyone to be absent in this manner all his lifetime. The idea, he says, is akin to the assumptions of those who say that 'Ali goes riding on the clouds, Muhammad son of al-Hanafiyyah lives in the mount of Radwā, Mohammad b. al-Hasan is in a crypt in Samcrrā, and that al-Hākim lives on the mountain of Cairo. Nevertheless, it is possible that a certain person may supernaturally disappear for some time, either to foil his enemy or for some other purpose. This, of course, entails that Ibn-Tainiyyah approves of miracles by Saints. His explanation of the meaning of Ahl-al-Ghaib (The People of Invisibility) in this connection is very subtle. He says, "Yes, the light of his heart, the guidance of his sense, and such divine secrets, trusts, enlightenments and knowledge as may be deposited there are concealed from people generally

(1) al-Rasā'il wa al-Masā'il, vol, 1.p.50.

(2) Ibid.

and also his holiness and sainthood are shielded from the knowledge of the generality of people. This is a fact. The divine secrets shared by God and His saints are of the same status - most people do not know that."⁽¹⁾

Furthermore, Ibn Tainiyyah rejects the theory of the Seal of the Saints propounded by al-Tirmidhi, and says that al-Tirmidhi's statement in this connection has encouraged several men to claim this title for themselves, each one claiming that he is the Seal of the Saints, as did Ibn Hanawaih, Ibn-Arabi and others. The whole idea concerning the Seal of the Saints is regarded by him as fallacious on the grounds that the best saints of this community, those first and foremost were the Emigrants (al-Muhajirūn) and the Helpers (al-Ansār); and that the choicest men after the Prophet were Abu-Bakr and 'Umar; and that the best of its generations was that when the Prophet was entrusted with his mission, and those next to them. The Seal of the Saints, he says, is the last pious believer among men, and even this is not the choicest saint nor the most superior, because the most superior one is Abu-Bakr and then 'Umar,

(1) al-Rasā'il wa al-Masā'il, vol, 1.p.51.

both of whom are such that the sun has never shone or set on any one, save the prophets, superior to them. (1)

Ibn-Taimiyyah, however, sees no objection to the idea that there may be among saints some who are Siddiqun and Muhaddath (he who is in holy communion), but there is no definite number of them, because nothing of this was ever mentioned. The words Siddiq and Muhaddath did occur in the Holy Qur'an and in traditions of the Prophet, and he regards the Siddiq as superior to the Muhaddath (the person in holy communion), because although Umar is the first and foremost among those in holy communion, yet Abu Bakr is superior to him on account of his being a Siddiq. Also the Siddiq partakes of the Light from the niche of prophethood, and whatever comes to him is protected from the evil suggestions of Satan. The Muhaddath (in holy communion), however, is liable to right and wrong, and it is the Book the Qur'an and the Tradition which mark off his right from wrong. (2)

Ibn-Taimiyyah, in his book *Haqiqat Madhhab al-Ittihadiyyin*, assailed with severe strictures the

(1) *al-Rasā'il wa al-Masā'il*, vol. 1, pp.51-2.

(2) *Haqiqat Madhhab al-Ittihadiyyin*, pp.59-60.

the theory of the Seal of the Saints as propounded by al-Ḥakīm al-Tirmidhi, and whilst he entertains respect and appreciation for al-Ḥakīm al-Tirmidhi as one of the chief Sufi Sheikhs, he, however, considers that he committed an error in the idea of the Seal of the Saints and contradicted himself in some points where he allowed that there would be someone among the latter men who could be superior to Abu-Bakr and Umar, namely, the Seal of the Saints, and where, in replying to those who claim that the Saint is concealed from sight with his sainthood unrevealed, he cited the cases of Abu-Bakr and Umar: al-Tirmidhi rejects as fallacious the claims of these pretenders because what follows from their statements is that the Saint who, in their view, is unknown is better than Abu-Bakr and Umar and this is absurd.⁽¹⁾

This thesis of al-Ḥakīm al-Tirmidhi's, says Ibn-Tainiyyah, has paved the way for many pretenders to arrogate for themselves the rank of "Seal of the Saints" such as Ibn-Arabi and others. This is why he strongly attacks Ibn-Arabi and his like, and accuses him of unbelief as a result of his decision regarding the theory of the Seal of the Saints and

(1) Haqiqat Madhhab al-Ittihadīyyīn, p.60.

in consequence of his preference of the Seal of the Saints to the messengers of God, and because of his view that the prophets partake of the light of the seal of the Saints on certain occasions. All this, Ibn-Taimiyyah says, is unbelief, pure and simple. (1)

Ibn-Arabi's View

Ibn-Arabi's discussion of Sainthood and Saints is ramified, rambling and of many appendices, because it is his way, when discussing an idea, to treat a subject comprehensively and to exhaust every relevant opinion or statement, trying to emphasise them in such garb as would show his hand in the weaving of it and his touches. The scope here is not ample enough to embrace all he said on the subject; but, in our survey, we shall underscore three ideas which he invested with a new complexion, different from that ~~given to them~~ by al-Tirmidhi namely: (a) the general prophethood and the prophethood of law-giving, (b) the acquisition of the rank of prophethood and (c) the seal of the *Particular* and *Universal* sainthood.

Ibn-Arabi maintains that prophethood is a station with God, achievable by men, but exclusively

(1) Haqiqat Madhhab al-Ittiḥādiyyin, p.57.

for the superiors among them. The station is granted to the law-giving prophet, and may be granted to the lieutenant of this law-giving prophet, if he follows in his footsteps.⁽¹⁾ This is inferred from the following verse in the Qur'an concerning Musa, the prophet: "And we granted him of our mercy, his brother Aaron as a prophet".⁽²⁾ On the strength of this, Ibn 'Arabi concludes that the status of prophethood can be acquired, in the same way as Aaron acquired it by copying Musa (Moses). This is his inference and the tenor of his argument but a glance at the Qur'ānic verse would lead us to infer that Aaron attained his prophethood by the grace of God, and not by acquisition. This is reinforced by the word "Wahabna" - we granted - and a grant is a free gift or gratuity directly from God, in which a servant of God has no hand nor is it a reward or a wage for a piece of work.

Ibn-Arabi also maintains on this inference of his that prophethood is of two kinds: (a) law-giving prophethood and (b) general prophethood, and that the law-giving prophethood came to an end in the prophethood of Muhammad, in the sense that there

(1) al-Futūḥāt, vol. II, p.3.
 (2) Chapter IXX, v.53.

will be no law-giving prophethood after the Prophet Muhammad and there will be no other revealed law (shar'). This kind of prophethood is the one implied in the Prophet's saying: "There will be no prophet after me." The implication here is that there will be no revealed law after his revealed law.⁽¹⁾

The general prophethood or the status of prophethood, on the other hand, which is meant by Ibn-Arabi to be the station of proximity, is not blocked or terminated. Ibn-Arabi, in this classification, was led by what he said himself that Christ would come at the end of time and, that as a prophet coming after Muhammad, he was the one meant in the Prophet's tradition just quoted, in the sense that Muhammad's prophethood would be a law-giving prophethood and that Christ, coming as he would after Muhammad, would be only a follower in this context and would only enforce the laws of Muhammad.⁽²⁾

In support of this, his view, Ibn-Arabi employs the idea of the non-cessation of the general prophethood which is the station of proximity, and the idea that those who are close to God (al-Muqarrabūn) comprise the prophets, the saints and

(1) al-Futūḥāt, vol, II p.3.

(2) Ibid.

the angels. This designation is given the verse:
 "a spring from which those nigh to God shall drink."⁽¹⁾
 It is also used in reference to Jesus in the verse:
 "regarded in this world and the next and of those
 whose place is nigh to God."⁽²⁾ The Archangel Gabriel
 used to come down to the Prophet with the revelations.
 He was one of those whose place is very near to God,
 and yet he was not designated as prophet. Ibn-
 Arabi says that al-Ghazzali is reported to have sub-
 scribed to the theory of the acquisition of proximity
 which can be achieved by those near to God like the
 prophets and others.⁽³⁾ Ibn-Arabi says further that
 al-Ghazzali touched on this subject in his treatise
 "Alchemy of Happiness"/"Keenya' al-Sa'āda". But al-
 Ghazzali's discourse, either in "Alchemy of
 Happiness" or in al-nunqidh mina al-Dalāl "Deliverance
 from Error", there is no mention at all of anything
 of this sort. There, his discussion is focussed only
 on gnosis and information obtainable through the
 medium of prophethood or certain aspects of it such
 as inspiration and other channels of gnosis vouchsafed
 by God to those of His servants who are sincere in

(1) Chapter LXXXVIII, v.28.

(2) Chapter III, v.45.

(3) al-Futūḥāt, vol. II p.3.

this adoration and have diligently pressed on on the way leading to Him. Therefore, he did not even as much as hint, directly or remotely, at the acquisition, or the station, of prophethood, and his only engagement in the subject is to present the idea and then attempt to throw light on the attainment of gnosis not through the worked channel but, as he intends to show, through the channel of revelation and inspiration from the divine main-spring directly. (1)

Ibn-Arabi reverts to the same subject again on page 90 of the same part of the book, in the course of his answers to questions Nos. 82 and 83 of al-Tirmidhi's questions set forth in his book *Khatm al-Awliyā*, the Seal of the Saints. These two questions will be remembered as (1) of how many parts is prophethood and (2) what is prophethood? In the course of his discussion here, he reports a statement attributed to Sheikh Abdul-Qadir al-Jilāni, which implies that he (al-Jilāni) tends towards the same trend as Ibn-Arabi who favours the idea of the permanence of the general prophethood. The statement is "O fraternities of prophets, you have been vouchsafed the title, and we have been vouchsafed

(1) See al-Munqidh min al-Dalāl, p.52 and *Kimyā' al-Sa'adah*, pp.87-88 edited by Sheikh Muhammad Jābir.

what you have not been vouchsafed."⁽¹⁾

Accordingly, Ibn-Arabi thinks that there are two seals of sainthood, and not one. The seal is only one in all time, in the sense that he cannot be repeated or duplicated in periods of time, but remains one in the whole duration of the world, and God concludes by him the Saints who inherit from Muhammad, so that none of those inheritors can be greater than he. And as there is a seal for the general sainthood (the Muhammedan sainthood) so is there another seal for the general sainthood, from Adam to the last saint. The seal of the general sainthood is Jesus, of whom Ibn-Arabi says: "He is the Seal of the Saints as he was the seal of the cycle of the realm. For him there will be two resurrectional gatherings: one with the community of Muhammad and the other, in his capacity as a messenger of God, with the messengers."⁽²⁾ He thinks that the seal of the Muhammedan sainthood is not the last of the saints, but only Superior in rank, and that saints subsequent to him do not inherit from the Muhammedan prophethood but only from the prophethoods prior to the Muhammedan prophethood. He also thinks that there are saints who inherit from

(1) al-Fütūhāt, vol. II, p. 90.

(2) Ibid.

Adam and others from Noah, and others still from Abraham. There are also inheritors from every prophet. He expatiates on all this in the second volume of his "Futūhāt".⁽¹⁾

It will be remembered that al-Tirmidhi, when talking about saints, considers sainthood as a general spiritual standing, associated with the prophet in his prophethood. Ibn-ʿArabi endorses this, but he, on the same page, retreats from it and says that sainthood is general prophethood, and that the law-giving prophethood is exclusive prophethood.⁽²⁾

But one who studies the thesis of Ibn-ʿArabi will find it clear that he does not believe that there was a prophet after Muhammad, and that he only discusses the idea in the light of Sufism. What prompted him to adopt this standpoint is, as stated previously, the advent of Jesus. This discussion of his has thrown the door open for a variety of pretenders who were able to introduce into Islam various foreign elements, incongenial to it. As a result, a schismatic sect such as al-Qadyāniyyah, for instance, took advantage of his theory and used it as a support for the contention that it was

(1) al-Futūhāt, vol. II pp.4-23.
 (2) Ibid p.24.

possible for a prophet to succeed Muhammad.

CHAPTER V.AL-TIRMITH,S THEORY OF GNOSIS.

1. Light and its kinds.
2. The seven cities of light.
3. The keys
4. al-Ma'rifah.
5. The Mind.
6. The hundred helpers of mind.
7. Kinds and grades of knowledge.
8. al-Hikmah.
9. Kinds and sources of wisdom.
10. The meaning of letters and names.
11. Catagories of Scholars.
12. Ahl al-Ada.
13. New names for the grades of knowledge.
14. 'Ilm, hikman, and marifah.
15. Ilm, hikman, and marifah as used by other Sufis
'and as developed, in *Kashf al-Mahjub*.
16. Quotation from *Kitab Ilm al-Qulub*.

Al-Tirmidhi's Theory of Gnosis

Gnosis, ma`rifah as al-Tirmidhi understands it, is related to his idea of light. His conception of light includes a number of different kinds of ma`rifah each of which is seen as a fruit of light. The following pages are an attempt to demonstrate the nature of the relationships between light and ma`rifahas deduced from his work.

Light

Al-Tirmidhi's idea of light is based on and derived from the verse of the Qur'ān: "God is the light of heavens and earth".⁽¹⁾ Al-Tirmidhi divides all light into nine kinds, all of which emanate from the light of God:-

- (1) The light of the sun.
- (2) The light of the moon.
- (3) The light of the stars.
- (4) The light of day.
- (5) The light of lightning.
- (6) The light of fire.
- (7) The light of the eye.
- (8) The light of elements.
- (9) The light of gnosis, ma`rifah.

(1) Chapter XXIV, v.35.

Ma`rifahis the king and master of all lights because it emanates from God's Oneness, wears the clothes of His Lordship and leads to the Uniqueness. The light of the ma`rifahis the supreme light and it is nobler and brighter than all other kinds of light, though all of them come from God. This is because it is an inward light, while all the others are outward lights. They have merely come out of His kingdom, while ma`rifahhas come out of Oneness.⁽¹⁾

Here al-Tirmidhi interrupts his analysis of ma`rifah to embark on a discussion of the nature of light in general. He states: "Light has seven cities" and then he proceeds to enumerate them as follows:-

- (1) Sense (fu'ād).
- (2) Conscience (ḍamīr).
- (3) Ghilāf.
- (4) Heart (qalb).
- (5) Epicardium (shighāf).
- (6) Core of the heart (ḥabbat al-qalb)
- (7) Intellect. (al-Lubb).

The seven abodes of light are not equal in rank, al-Tirmidhi visualises them in a kind of

(1) See .-Ghawr al-Umūr, fol.23A As ad Ms.No. 1312 and al-A`dā' wa al-Nafs, fol.147A and Ṣifat al-Qulūb, fol.223A.

gradation or rather involution, with each following "city" forming the nucleus of the preceding one.

The conscience is the nucleus of the fu'ād, the ghilāf is the nucleus of the conscience, the heart is the nucleus of ghilāf, the epicardium is the nucleus of the heart, the heart's core is the nucleus of the epicardium, the intellect is the nucleus of the heart's core. It is the organ of the light.⁽¹⁾

Thus al-Tirmidhi conceives of the seven cities as each situated within one of the others, each with its own door provided with a key and a curtain. There is a wall between every two doors, and a trench before each wall.⁽²⁾

Each of the doors is derived from one of God's qualities: the door of the fu'ād from the light of mercy; that of conscience from the light of pity; that of the ghilāf from the light of generosity; that of the heart from the light of glory. The door of the epicardium comes from the light of giving, and the door of the core of the heart from the light of divinity. The door of the intellect is made of atf, affection, and the light of affection comes from the

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- (1) See Ghawr fol. 1B and al-A'dā' fol. 133B and Ṣifat al-Qulub, fol. 220A.
 (2) See Ghawr fol. 2A and al-A'dā' fol. 134A Ṣifat al-Qulub, fol. 220B.

light of proximity to God. The light of proximity comes from the light of will. The light of will comes from the light of love which comes from the light of grace. These are very subtle shades, says al-Tirmidhi, and cannot be subjected to examination or scrutiny.⁽¹⁾ He then proceeds to describe the "curtains" veiling each door: ~~the inner heart~~ (fu'ād) is covered with beauty, the conscience with majesty, and the ghilāf with authority. The heart is covered with awe; the epicardum with ability; the core with magnificence and the intellect with *modesty which* is part of the realm.⁽²⁾

The Keys

To open any of these doors one has to know the right key, which one can obtain by preparing oneself by achieving the quality indicated by the relevant attribute. Having opened the door by means of the suitable key, one can pass through it and enter the city. Thus admission ^{*igrār,*} is the key of the door of fu'ād, oneness the key of the door of conscience, and faith the key of the door of Ghilāf. Islam is the key which opens the door of the heart, sincerity the key to the door of the epicardum, veracity the key to the door

(1) Ghawr fol. 2A, and al-A'ḍā' fol. 134A and Sifat al-Qulūb, fol. 220A and B.

(2) Ibid.

of the core, but it is gnosis which is the key to the door of the intellect. (1)

The ~~breast~~ ^{Heart} surrounds the ~~inner~~ as the plain surrounds a city. It is a large plain, so that advice, commands and decrees issue from it. They originate at the sessions of the king and the mind.

The description of the scene of these sessions is colourful. Lamps of mercy, rays emanating from the heart and sparkling candles are the source of great brightness. The king's seat is also bright with the shine of various metals. The seats of the participants are gradated according to their merit. It is his refectory where his table is set, and the court where his armies are gathered and whence they go out. It is veiled with curtains of mercy and surrounded with seven walls and seven trenches. (2)

In describing the relation between fu'ād and chest and other objects and substances which he thought were found round the chest, al-Tirmidhi bore in mind the meaning of the verses of the Qur'an: "God is the light of heaven and earth. The likeness of His light is as if there were a niche and within it a lamp: the lamp enclosed in glass". (3)

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- (1) Ghawr fol. 2 and al-A'ḡā' fol. 134 and Ṣifat fol. 220.
 (2) Ibid.
 (3) Chapter XXIV, v. 35.

"One whose heart God has opened to Islam, so that he has received enlightenment from God."⁽¹⁾

"And that which is (locked up) in (Human) breasts is made manifest."⁽²⁾

In support of his ideas on this connection between the chest and the sense (fu'ād), al-Tirmidhi adduces the words of Ibn 'Abbās and Ubayy b. Ka'b: "The lamp is the light, the glass is in the heart, and the niche is the chest"; and also those of al-Suddī who says: "As the lamp was placed in the glass and it was flooded with light, and the light came forth out of the niche to light the house, so the chest lit up and the light flooded from the chest and illuminated the soul."⁽³⁾

Al-Tirmidhi spins out further the comparison between the soul's and the city's need for light. He also enlarges on the need for security of these cities, which are surrounded with walls and ditches. There are seven walls to protect the city from enemy attack. For further protection there are seven ditches between the walls to make it difficult for the enemy to break through.⁽⁴⁾

All the walls and ditches are given distinguishing

(1) Chapter XXXIX, v. 22.

(2) Chapter C v. 10.

(3) See al-A'ḍā' fol. 134B and Ghawr fol. 2B.

(4) Ibid.

names of their own, and the verse of the Qur'ān which determined the choice of the name is quoted in each case. There are seven walls in all. The first derives from the need to seek protection; the second consists of remembrance of God; the third the endeavour to triumph; the fourth of search for help; the fifth is struggle; the sixth confidence and the seventh submission.⁽¹⁾

The ditches are equally seven. A ditch named Triumph surrounds the wall named refuge; the ditch of remembrance of God is placed before the wall of remembrance; the ditch succour, i.e. success (al-ʿawn) protects the wall of search for help; victory protects the wall named request for help; the ditch guidance protects the wall named struggle; awe shields confidence and safety the wall submission.⁽²⁾

The seven above-named walls stand on firm foundations which increase their strength and make them impregnable. The seven foundations are Thankfulness, Satisfaction, Patience, Sincerity, Intention; Acceptance and Admission.⁽³⁾

This protection which, as al-Tirmidhi believes, is intended to protect the Cities of the Light from

(1) See Ghawr fol. 3A and al A'dā' fol. 134B.
 (2) See Ghawr fol. 3B and al A'dā' fol. 134B.
 (3) See Ghawr fol. 5A and al A'dā' fol. 135A

the enemy, is by no means always effective. The guards are fallible, and may fall asleep or neglect their duties for some reason or other. If this happens the soul's desires sneak into the plain surrounding the Cities of Light, i.e. the chest, and attempt to climb its walls or weaken or damage them. Therefore it is necessary to have a system of maintenance and repairing to discover any weaknesses in time to prevent the crumbling of the walls. This complicated protection system consists of eight members:-

Praise of God (al-tahlīl)

Commendation (al-tahmīd)

Magnifying (al-takbīr)

Magnificence (al-tamjīd)

Submission (al-istislām)

Glorification of God (al-tasbīh)

Asking Forgiveness (al-istighfār)

Blessing the Prophet (al-ṣalāt 'ala l-Nabi)⁽¹⁾

These eight members are sources of power which help the heart to renew its activity and spread its radiation in all directions of influence. They are, therefore, unapproachable to any of the soul's desires.

(1) See Ghawr fol. 5, al-... fol. 135.

The ~~breast~~ is visualised as a plain surrounding the sense (fu 'ād), and there are four doors leading from the ~~lower~~^{Heart} to the chest. However, only two doors lead from the Soul to the ~~breast~~. It is through these doors that the Soul's desires come out trying to control the ~~breast~~ and suppress the light of the heart which tries to expel the soul's desires. This struggle between the light of the heart and the desires of the soul for the control of the chest is continuous. (1)

The two leading from the chest of the soul are the door of command and the door of prohibition. Each has a door-keeper, one named Ability and the other Will. They are clad in a cloth of light consisting of oneness and godhood, and woven from kindness, gentleness, compassion and mercy. (2)

They are lined with the light of authority, magnificence, awe and pride^(Kibriyā') (3)

Al-Tirmidhi's idea of light which is considered a source of goodness and guidance, and of the carnal soul which is considered the root of evil, is clearly reminiscent of the Zoroastrian dichotomy of a lord of light and a lord of darkness which may have

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- (1) See Ghawr fol. 5, al-A'ādā fol. 135.
 (2) See Ṣifāt al-Qulūb fol. 222 and Ghawr fol. 4 and al-A'ādā' fol. 135.
 (3) Ibid.

subconsciously influenced al-Tirmidhi's thinking. However, the idea of Satan and the soul's desires in Islam and that in other revealed religions are not very dissimilar. The possibility of the infiltration of Zoroastrian ideas into al-Tirmidhi's thought can by no means be excluded; his insistence on the concepts of the light of the heart and the darkness of desire unmistakably point in this direction.

Al-Ma'rifah

It is clear from the above description of al-Tirmidhi's idea of light and its cities, walls and ditches, that he has embarked on an elaborate comparison of the rule of Ma'rifah with the territory of a realm where a king exercises his authority and whence authoritative orders issue forth.

Al-Tirmidhi enlarges on the conception of al-Ma'rifah which figures foremost in his mind, depicting in great detail how its commands are executed, how its authority is brought to bear and its followers looked after. Al-Ma'rifah, says al-Tirmidhi, is a King whom God has crowned with

with light and on whom He bestowed the adornment of oneness, and who is seated on the throne of the Kingdom, in the highest and noblest position. He is clad in garments of beauty, authority, light, mercy, kindness, affection, pity, power and majesty, and is covered with godhood.⁽¹⁾ In front of him are the veils of justice, truth, magnificence, awe, authority, light, mercy and pride.⁽²⁾ He spins out the simile still further, attaching to al Ma rifah a retinue of courtiers and a crowd of administrators.

~~INTELLECT~~ Intellect is al Marifah's crown prince, and holds the position of a judge. About the mind, al-Tirmidhi says: "God has created it from the light of awe". Its name, 'Aql, consists of three letters, 'Ain, Qāf, and Lām, each of which has a number of meanings. It was an original theory which al-Tirmidhi had himself evolved that the letters of the Arabic alphabet, being the origin of all knowledge, indicate a certain meaning or meanings each. 'Ain has five of them: honour, magnificence, height, knowledge and gift; Qāf has equally five; proximity, articulation, steadiness, endurance and ability. It is noteworthy that the meanings of 'Ain all begin with ain, and

(1) Ghawr, fol. 30A and al- A'dā, fol. 151A.
 (2) Ibid.

those of Qāf with qāf,⁽¹⁾ but he does not deal with Lām in the same way. His definition of Lām is ontological rather than semantic, it is concerned with its very substance and essential properties. He states: "Lām is made of gentleness which comes of mercy which comes from sympathy which comes from pity which comes from longing which comes from love."⁽²⁾ This long chain of ancestry shaped like a heraldic tree is not further explained. He selects only one of its links, the last, for special interpretation. Love (ḥubb) consists of two Arabic letters: hā' and bā'. The significance of hā' is fourfold: life, modesty, clemency and wisdom; that of bā', twofold goodness (al-birr) and brightness. Hā' of life symbolises the bringing of the body to life; the hā' of love animates the heart, which must be taken to mean that a heart without love is dead. The bā' of goodness stands for the conferment of grace of this world, and the bā' of brightness, bahā' is indicative of God's pride in the goodness of man.⁽³⁾ What al-Tirmidhi has in mind here is the saying of the Prophet:

"Certainly God will be proud of His righteous servant

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- (1) Ghawr fol.30B and al-A'qā' fol.151B.
 (2) Ibid.
 (3) Ibid.

before His angels".

Primacy among all these conceptions is accorded to the mind. It is the most sublime of creations its garments are the most honourable. It blazes with light, oneness and righteous pride. What covers it is the light of beauty, the light of brightness, of magnificence, of sublimity and of awe.⁽¹⁾

Each of the hundred helpers who assist the Mind in governing the kingdom has a name and is the holder of an office. Clemency and knowledge are ministers; conviction is the commander-in-chief of the army; truth investigates complaints; victory, conquest and comprehension form the vanguards; understanding is responsible for announcements; respect and tranquillity are two chiefs; modesty has the task of keeping secrets; patience is the investigating officer and bides his time; guidance and consciousness act as pathfinders; preservation and maintenance are the keepers of the treasures; purity, gravity and the fear of God and piety are the custodians of the treasure house; meditation and recollection are in charge of the arrangements; pardon and godliness are the peacemakers; mercy, pity, gentleness, watchfulness

(1) Ghawr, fol. 30B and al- Aḍḍā'fol. 151B.

tenderness, coaxing are the helpers of the judge; generosity, more character, distinction, gifts and munificence provide the means of subsistence; praise, remembrance, thankfulness and gratitude are responsible for the reinforcements; awe, authority, pride, magnificence, glory and power are seen as combatant heroes; and humility, submission and obedience as foot-soldiers; veracity is the judge; sincerity, intention, determination and firmness are the challengers; fulfilment is the trustee; justice is the gaoler; soundness and correctness are both flag-bearing ensigns; good deeds is the banner-bearer; wisdom is the governor; worship is service. Acceptance and satisfaction are the stewards; care is the planner; thought and management are the counsellors; confidence in God is the commandment of the fortress; triumph and victory are marksmen; reliability and magnanimity are general ambassadors; desire, awe, hope and fear are sentinels; coaxing (al-mudārah) and silence act as observers; love is bondar (Persian); order and prohibition are the keepers of contracts and covenants; endurance is the executioner; morals and customs are both deputies

for an unspecified authority; ferocity is responsibility for the police force; the brain is the commander-in-chief; inspiration is the messenger of the great king; supervision is the purveyor of news; song is the drummer; gladness, pleasure and delight organise the play; lesson (al-^{*}ibrah) is a spying scout, trying to ascertain the lie of the land; warning is the adjutant who ^{alerts the} storm troops and makes public announcements; intelligence and skill are commanders; godliness and asceticism are market supervisors and weight-inspectors; repentance forms the vanguard of the army; and finally remorse brings up the rear. (1)

Kinds and Grades of Knowledge

Like all Sufis al-Tirmidhi maintains that all knowledge is of two kinds: exoteric and esoteric. Comparing the two kinds of knowledge, he says that exoteric knowledge is the pillar of the Sharī'ah. It educates the soul, directs it to the right, straight path, frees it from ignorance and instructs it in religion. Esoteric knowledge, on the other hand, is the knowledge of the heart. More than one term is used to describe each of the two branches of knowledge.

(1) Ghawr, fol 31A and B, and al-A' dā' fol.151A and B.

Exoteric knowledge is termed the "knowledge of Sharī'ah" or "the knowledge of the rules of this world", and it is free. Esoteric knowledge is designated by the terms "the useful one" and "the knowledge of reality" (al Ḥaqīqah). Esoteric knowledge is above all price, for its only price is the attainment of the truth, the way to which starts from exoteric knowledge through constant struggle to gnosis.⁽¹⁾ Gnosis, al Ma'rifah, as conceived by al-Tirmidhi, is the uttermost aim of those who have begun their way to God. Only a man whose spirit is pure, whose heart is exquisitely illuminated by divine grace, whose feelings are delicate and whose discernment is acutely penetrating, will be chosen by God who will grant him His protection and flood him with light.

In support of the idea of the division of knowledge into exoteric and esoteric, he adduces the following Hadith: "Knowledge is of two kinds; the first one is the knowledge of the tongue and it is the proof of God upon His creation; the second one is the knowledge of the heart and it is the useful one."⁽¹⁾ He also quotes the saying of the Prophet: "Any verse

(1) al-Farq, p.49, and 'ilm al-Awliyā', fol42. Cairo Ms.

has external and internal meaning, and any letter has a beginning and an end."⁽¹⁾

Neither of these two kinds of knowledge can exist without the other because exoteric knowledge is a manifestation of the Shari'ah, and esoteric knowledge the pillar of truth. Thus the heart and the soul need both kinds in order to be perfect. The perfection of the external manifestation of religion depends on the knowledge of the Shari'ah, while the perfection of its internal content depends on the knowledge of truth.

Any learned man should possess both kinds of knowledge to be a perfect scholar; if he lacks one of them, he will be considered imperfect. Thus it is quite clear that there is a strong connection between these two kinds of knowledge. Whoever worships according to esoteric knowledge and denies the existence of the exoteric kind is only a heretic (zindīq) and what he knows is not really knowledge but a suggestion of evil.⁽²⁾

It is clear from these details that Tirmidhi recognises the necessity of exoteric knowledge, and believes that it should be mastered as thoroughly as possible. He also denies emphatically the

(1) 'ilm al-Awliyā, fol.55, Cairo Ms.

(2) al-Farq, pp.52-3¹/₂

the existence of any conflict between the two kinds of knowledge and suspects the faith of those who can claim to possess esoteric knowledge independent from the Sharī'ah. Claims of this kind are false, and indicative of beliefs which are far from orthodox.

Al-Tirmidhi divides exoteric knowledge into two kinds, knowledge of the lawful and knowledge of the forbidden. He denounces those who turn to the superficialities of exoteric knowledge in order to acquire a spurious reputation for wisdom and scholarship, and insists that this kind of knowledge destroys those in quest of it. He also rejects the abuse of knowledge for the sake of acquiring worldly benefits and the favours of those in authority.⁽¹⁾

As his criticism of this kind of people and their false pretences to knowledge was rather peremptory, he was accused by those he denounced of being an enemy of knowledge. This prompted him to compose works of various size to expound the kinds of knowledge and the types of scholarship. He also enumerated the kinds of knowledge which were most useful. The following books are exclusively devoted to the discussion of kinds of knowledge and groups of

(1) Bayān al-'ilm, fols.14-24, Ismā'il Ṣa'īb Ms.
Anwā' al-'Ulūm fols.27-32, wali al-Dīn Ms.

scholars:-

1. Bayān al-‘Ilm
2. Anwā’ al-‘Ilm or Anwā’ al-‘Ulūm
3. ‘Ilm al-‘Awliyā’
4. Al-‘Akyās wal-Muhtirīn.
5. Al-‘Ilm al-‘Afin
6. Al-‘A‘dā’ wal-nafs
7. Ghawr al- Umūr
8. Al-‘Aql wal-Howā
9. Šifātul-qulūb

All of them are still in manuscript. There are also scattered references to this subject in his other various works. He attempts further divisions of knowledge. However, there is no real contradiction between these divisions, only additional details are provided in accordance with his scientific approach, which varies, or in accordance with the question he has to answer. Here are several of these divisions: "Knowledge is of three kinds; precise verses, established orthodox law and just obligatory prescription." In another place he says: "As far as I know, knowledge is of three kinds: the knowledge of what is lawful and what is forbidden is the

knowledge of this life, and it is called 'Ilm al-Zāhir; the knowledge of the way of the hereafter is esoteric knowledge, "'ilm al-Bātin"; and the knowledge of the laws prescribed by God for His creatures in this world and in the next."⁽¹⁾

One can see that this division differs only in form from another found in the Leipzig collection which was: "Knowledge is of three kinds: one is the knowledge of the lawful and the forbidden, the second is wisdom, the third is gnosis (ma'rifa't Allah). The last is the highest wisdom."⁽²⁾

The following statement which figures in 'Ilm al-Awliyā' coincides with the three above-quoted divisions in its content though not in the order of occurrence of the three parts: "Knowledge is of three kinds: knowledge of God, knowledge of God's orders, disposition, ordination and the oneness of His Lordship, which is part of servanthood (al-'ubūdah) and knowledge of God's commands."⁽³⁾

These divisions are still further complicated by the number of terms used to designate exoteric knowledge to which he refers, at times, as "the knowledge of the lawful and the forbidden" and at

(1) See Bayān al-'ilm, fols. 11-12 Ismā'il Sā'ib Ms.
 (2) Anwā' al-'ilm, fol. 157, Leipzig, Ms.
 (3) Fol. 42 Cairo Ms. and fol. 29 Kharagi Ughlu Ms.

times as "the knowledge of God's commands", or "instructions of the Shari'ah" such as al-fiqh and the transmissions of the Hadith.⁽¹⁾

What strikes one here first is the apparent inconsistency between these divisions of knowledge and the main division given at the beginning of the chapter: the new divisions are not twofold, but threefold. Closer scrutiny, however, reveals immediately that it is merely a question of a subdivision of the esoteric branch. Esoteric knowledge which is equated with secret worship, is subdivided into two parts, either of which is severally designated. The first is named "knowledge of the way of the hereafter" or "the wisdom" or "the knowledge of God". The second, which is the last and also the highest, is termed "the knowledge of the orders (given) by God to His creatures in this world and in the hereafter" or "the knowledge of God (ilm al-Ma'rifah) which is the highest wisdom" or "the knowledge of God's orders and His Lordship".⁽²⁾ Both are parts of esoteric knowledge, the second ranking above the first.

Al-Tirmidhi proceeds to give advice on how to

(1) Anwā' al-'ilm, fol.157. Leipzig Ms.

(2) 'Ilm al-Awliya' fol. 61, Cairo Ms.

obtain esoteric knowledge. It is acquired by degrees, and the source from which it is derived is a sincere approach to God: a life in entire accordance with His will, and complete disregard of one's own desires which are to be considered of no import whatsoever.⁽¹⁾ Then one will be granted God's light by which one will be able to discern some of His mysteries, and some of the secrets of creation, the awareness of which will arise as a feeling in the heart. This awareness is given the name ʿUlūm Ahl al-Muāmalāt, and interpreted as follows: "Know that esoteric knowledge, ilm al-Bāṭin, initiates man into the mysteries of creation. The way in which the gnostic, Arif, can achieve this is to suppress his soul's desires. His approach to God consists of three stages, the first of which is submission to His will in deference to His power; the second awe of God in recognition of His magnificence and glory; and the third intimacy with God by virtue of His gentleness, His beauty and His generosity."⁽²⁾

Al-Tirmidhi believes that this esoteric knowledge stems from three roots: the knowledge of

(1) Maʿrifat al-Asrār, fols. 214-5, Qastamūni Ms.
 (2) Ibid, fol.216.

servanthood which rests on freedom from possessions; the knowledge of freedom which rests on the seven forgotten parts of honour, and the knowledge of Lordship which rests on willingness and ability. (1)

As has already been mentioned, the first of the two branches of esoteric knowledge which he terms "secret worship", al-'Ibādah al-Bātinah, is subdivided into two categories, lawful and forbidden. The components of lawful esoteric knowledge are: godliness al-wara'; fear of God al-taqwa; non-attachment: al-zuhd; patience al-sabr; satisfaction al-ridā; conviction al-qanā'ah; confidence al-tawakkul; submission al-tafwīd; ~~certainty~~ al-yaqīn; clean heart salāmat al-sadr; tolerance, sakhāwat al-nafs; gratitude for favours received Ru'yat al-minnah; al-ihtisab; good faith husn al-zann; good temper, ^(accountability) husn al-khuluq; good knowledge husn al-marifah; good companionship husn al-suhbah and sincerity al-ikhlas. (2)

The components of forbidden secret worship are, according to al-Tirmidhi: fear of poverty; dissatisfaction with one's lot; rancour; grudge; envy; self-aggrandisement; self-exaltation; love of being adulated; love of life in the world; pride; anger;

(1) Ma rifat al-Asrar, f.1. 217, Qastamūni Ms.

(2) Bayān al-'ilm fol.14, Ismā'il Sā'ib. Ms.

passion; disdain of poverty; love of overlordship;
 enmity; hate; greed; miserliness; covetousness;
 alarm; pomposity; wantonness; overconfidence; undue
 respect for the rich for their riches; contempt of
 the poor for their poverty; boastfulness; vanity; to
 curry favour with people in a way approved by God,
 but when alone in a way disapproved by God;
 competition for worldly goods; vainglory; dissimulation;
 eclat; turning from people out of hauteur; intrusiveness;
 garrulity; verbosity; snoopiness; gluttony; arrogance;
 mischief; opportunism; possessiveness; ingratiating
 of oneself with other people; unctuousness; self-
 conceit; fondness of being highly praised;
 preoccupation with calumny and indifference to one's
 imperfections; unmindfulness of God's blessing;
 forgetfulness of the name of the benefactor;
 blindness to God's charity; loss of heartfelt sorrow;
 departure of the fear of God; taking the law into
 one's hand when one is subjected to humiliation,
 while failing to champion justice; befriending of
 people outwardly for clandestine hostility;
 acquiescence in actions calculated to deprive from
 God's gifts; allowing passion to be the partner in
 one's affairs; amenableness to passion; desire to

to talk; insidious desire; reliance on submissiveness; flight from self-mortification; seeking of prestige; cunning; treachery; deception; avarice; prolonged optimism; high handedness; self-pride; fear of the loss of prestige in the popular eye; loss of self-possessiveness when contradicted; seeking to be over-powering to the neglect of God's overpowerfulness; cruelty; rudeness; grossness; inadvertence; bad manners; earthly joy; sorrow for the loss of earthly goods; feeling at home with people and feeling of loneliness in their absence; disputation; brusqueness; thoughtlessness; precipitation; bad temper; rascality; disdainful attitude towards the faithful; making light of sacrosanct things; impudence; and mercilessness. (1)

"الضل، والحسد، والفش، والحقد، وطلب الصلو، وطلب المنزلة، وحب الجاه، وحب الفرح بالحياة، وحب الثناء، وحب المحمدين، وخوف الفقر، وقلّة المقدور، والأنفة من الفقر، والكبر، والفضب، والرياسة، وحب الرئاسة، والعداوة، والمبغضة، والطمع، والرغبة، والرغبة، والحرص، والشح، والميغل، والمتعظيم للأنبياء من أجل غناهم، والاستاهنة بالفقراء من أجل فقرهم، والبذخ، والاشهر،

(1) Bayān al-ʿilm, fol. 14, Ismāʿīl Sāʿib Ms.

و البطر، و التحبب الى الناس بما يحب الله و اذا خلا فيما يكره الله، و جمع الدنيا
 للفخر و التكاثر، و الخيلاء و التنافس في الدنيا، و المباهاة، و الرياء، و السمعة
 و الاعراض عن الحق استكبارا، و السفه، و الخوص فيما لا يعنيه، و كثر الكلام،
 و فضول الطعام، و الصلف، و المن، و الاذى، و اختيار الاحوال، و التملك في
 الامور، و التزين للمخلوقين، و المداهنة، و العجب، و حب التعظيم، و ان يمدح
 بما لا يفعل، و الاشتغال بعيوب الخلق عن عيوب النفس، و نسيان النعمة، و ترك
 ذكر المنعم، و العمى عن احسان الله، و افتقاد الحزن من القلب، و الخشية،
 و الانتصار للنفس اذا نالها الذل، و ترك الانتصار للحق، و اتخاذ اخوان العالانية
 على عداوة في السر، و الامن لسب ما اعطي، و ترك الهوى حتى يشاركه في الامور،
 و الانقياد للهوى، و شهوة الكلام، و الشهوة الخفية، و الاتكال على الطاعات،
 و الهرب من الذل في هجنة من الحق، و طلب العز، و المكر، و الخيانة، و المخادعة،
 و طول الامل، و التجبر، و عزة النفس، و خوف سقوط المنزل من عيون الخلق، و ذهاب
 ملك النفس اذا رد عليه قوله، و التماس المغالبه لا لله، و القسوة، و الفظاظه،
 و غلظ القلب، و غيظ النفس، و الغفلة، و الامن، و الركون الى الدنيا، و سوء الخلق،
 و الفسق بالدنيا، و الحزن على فواتها، و الانس بالمخلوقين، و الوحشة اذا عجز
 عن رؤيتهم، و المراء في الكلام، و الجفاء، و الدليش، و العجلة، و الخفة، و الحقد
 و الدهاء، و الجزيره، و قلة الحياء، و قلة الرحمة.

The most important part of esoteric knowledge is the comprehension of divine order according to which God rules His creation. Al-Tirmidhi says of His comprehension that it is as deep as the deep sea whose bottom cannot be reached. It emanates from the highest wisdom of God and can be derived from the original knowledge and the light of oneness in God's proximity among the ranks of the chosen. It is very precious wisdom imparted only to those who have overcome their soul's desires, and see nothing but God alone; they are the muhaddathūn who know the secret meaning of every letter, and its share of knowledge and see the authority inherent in each word, and its power in all the affairs of this world.⁽¹⁾

AL-HIKMAH

Sometimes, al-Tirmidhi calls esoteric knowledge by the name of 'wisdom', in many of his writings. For instance, he used the name plainly in his book, 'Al Furūq'⁽²⁾ when trying to explain the effect of the esoteric and the exoteric knowledge, he said: "If you cleanse its (the heart's) location only outwardly, or if you deposit in it exoteric knowledge,

(1) 'Ilm al-Awliyā fol. 43. Cairo Ms.
 (2) Fol. 97 Ayasufiā Ms.

only, it will not give you as a return except what you have deposited, and that is a kind of knowledge which has no replenishing source; but if you cleanse its location inwardly, it will give you as a return, exoteric knowledge with the replenishing source, which is the esoteric knowledge, and it is called Wisdom "al-Hikmah", the replenishing source is from God.⁽¹⁾ Wisdom, according to "Tahṣīl Nazā'ir al-Qur'ān" is inside knowledge. Exoteric knowledge is for those who know the commands of God and esoteric knowledge is for those who know God and know His plans. Those who know the commands of God are the agents of God; and those who know God and His plans are the lieutenants of God who lead the soldiers to His gate, and who hold in their hands the standards of those nearest to God and the standard of the princes.⁽²⁾ They are those who have competent authority to whom obedience is owed by God's order, in His saying: "Obey God, and obey the Messenger and those in authority from among you."⁽³⁾

Gnosis is called the "Supreme Wisdom", or the "Wisdom of Wisdom". But in several of his books, al-Tirmidhi talked about wisdom in such terms as would suggest prima facie that he meant by wisdom a new category of gnosis. But a searching look will soon

(1) al-Furūq, fol. 97.

(2) Tahṣīl Nazā'ir al-Qur'ān, fol. 133.

(3) Chapter IV, v.59.

reveal clearly that what he means by 'wisdom' is esoteric knowledge. However, to clarify this point, more of his sayings will be adduced in order to confirm the conclusion drawn so far, namely that what he means by 'wisdom' is esoteric knowledge. He says: "Knowledge is twofold and wisdom is twofold, as attested by the following tradition of the Prophet: 'There is no single verse but has an outward and an inward'". The outward of the verse is knowledge, and the inward is wisdom. God says: "He will teach them the Book and wisdom".⁽¹⁾ The Book here is the outward of the Qur'ān, and wisdom is its inward, and this is what is called 'the wisdom of wisdom' and it is the supreme Wisdom.⁽²⁾ In this foregoing classification, in respect of the esoteric knowledge and wisdom, the reference is to a statement given by the Prophet to Abu-Juhaifah, invoked in many places of his books, which is: "Ask those who know and sit with those who are eminent and befriend those who are wise." When commenting on this statement, al-Tirmidhi *interpretes* *tedas il* sitting with those who are eminent as the third rank.⁽³⁾

In a further comment he alluded to such salutary

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- (1) Chapter II, v.129.
 (2) 'Ilm al-Awliyā', fol. 55, Cairo Ms.
 (3) Ibid.

consequences as would rebound to those who behaviourally adhere to this statement saying: "The questioning of those who know will render more capability towards knowing God in His true dimensions and divine orderings. The fruit and the yield of this is what you hold of it in your hand. It is great by itself and it is small beside the first.⁽¹⁾ By befriending those who are wise, you will receive the secrets of wisdom divulged to you by them; these are what they have discovered themselves about such things as knowledge of the imperfections of the carnal soul and delicate points about piety, purity or truthfulness (tawḥīd al-ʿAṭayā), and God's management.⁽²⁾ If you do not sit with them, you will not be able to befriend them, and when friendship with them is established, the heart will find a foothold (markaban) and a repository, and wisdom will find its secure place, and, sensing confidence, it will browse with abandon." The one who is questioned for knowledge does not have this, and that is why he says: "Befriend those who are wise". By sitting with those who are eminent, you will shed every latent disease off you. These are men who are proud with the pride of God, puissant through the

(1) Leipzig fol. 183B-184A.

(2) Ibid.

puissance of God, tender towards human beings through His mercy, articulate through His grace, purified by virtue of their proximity to His unimpeachability - these are the men of supreme wisdom.⁽¹⁾ In his book "Tahṣīl Naḏā'ir al-ḥur'ān"⁽²⁾, al-Tirmidhi states explicitly that wisdom is inward knowledge. There he gives a detailed account of the portion of knowledge vouchsafed to each group of the men of knowledge.

Kinds and Sources of Wisdom

Wisdom, as well as knowledge, says al-Tirmidhi, have two degrees. This division is similar to the one given before, although it is new in its form. Wisdom is of two kinds, and so is knowledge. Knowledge consists of the knowledge of God, and the knowledge of His order. Either is subordinated to its own particular kind of wisdom, knowledge being exoteric and wisdom esoteric. The highest wisdom is the wisdom of God ranking higher than the wisdom of the knowledge of His order, His arrangements and His creation. Those who are chosen to tread the path of the prophets are granted the higher wisdom, but those who set out on the way of the saints are given the lower wisdom, including the knowledge of the blemishes

(1) Leipzig fol.184 and wali al-Dīn, fol. 7.

(2) Fol. 133, Alexandria Ms.

of the soul and of the truth inherent in God's orders and gifts. (1)

In other passages of his work, al-Tirmidhi embarks on an explanation of this division, its causes and its purpose. He begins by asking the question: "What is the highest wisdom?" and replies: "It is the wisdom of wisdom". Both branches of knowledge have wisdom, thus wisdom is also of two kinds, since the knowledge of ability is the wisdom of the knowledge of qualities, and the knowledge of Lordship and of the kingdom of the realm is the wisdom of the knowledge of order, *taadbīr*. (2)

At another time, al-Tirmidhi divides wisdom not into two, but into three kinds or rather degrees, according to their origin. The first degree may resemble exoteric knowledge, for it is derived from experience, and provides guidance in worldly matters. The second degree derives from the purity which determines the relationship with God and provides guidance on the way to the hereafter. The third degree is produced by proximity and presence. This is the Truth to the men of God, and this category of wisdom can be attained by the pursuit of truth. It

(1) Leipzig fol. 184 and walī al-Dīn fol. 7.

(2) al-~~in~~Thal fol. 189 As'ad Ms.

leads to God and indicates proximity to God, His attributes and the presence near (God) the truth.⁽¹⁾

The Knowledge of Letters and Names

Al-Tirmidhi believes that the Arabic alphabet is the root of all knowledge and contains the key to the special secrets leading to divine knowledge which is accessible only to chosen saints whom God has flooded with His light. All original knowledge is contained in the letters of the Arabic alphabet. The attributes of God and His names can be composed of these letters; they contain the knowledge of divine Order from the creation of Adam until the Day of Judgment.⁽²⁾

All knowledge begins with the names of God, for the Qur'ân says: "And He taught Adam all the names."⁽³⁾ The first of God's names is Allah and all His other attributes pertain to Him. God taught Adam His names as well as the original knowledge which can be derived from the Arabic alphabet so that Adam's superiority to the angels became manifest.⁽⁴⁾

Categories of Scholars

In his treatment of scholars and scholarship,

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- (1) Ma'rifat al-Asrār fols. 216-217, Qastamūni Ms.
 (2) ʿIlm al-Awliyā' fol. 40 Cairo Ms.
 (3) Chapter II, v.31.
 (4) ʿIlm al-Awliyā' fol 39 Cairo and fol. 27B Kharagi Ughlu Ms.

al-Tirmidhi gives much room to the description of the ideal scholar. Only he is a real scholar whose behaviour, moral conduct, worship of God and understanding of all matters are determined by the influence of knowledge. Al-Tirmidhi states: "Those who seek knowledge in order to become leaders or dignitaries, and to occupy positions of authority over people, are not fit to be scholars; nor are those who amass knowledge without understanding or awareness."⁽¹⁾

It is by their success in achieving this standard of excellence that al-Tirmidhi assess the merits of contemporary groups of scholars such as the scholars of Ḥadīth, of jurisprudence (fuqahā'), those who claimed to have mastered gnosis without having in fact done so, and those in genuine possession of gnosis whom God had guided on his way.

Al-Tirmidhi states that those who know are of three kinds: al-ʿUlamā' bi Amr Allah, "Those who know the commands of God", al-ʿUlamā' bi Allah (al Hukamā'), "The wise", "Those who know God"; and al-ʿUlamā' bi Allah wa bi Amr Allah, "Those who know God and His commands."

Those are "The Eminent" (al-Kubarā') of whom the Prophet said "Sit in the company of the Eminent."

(1) Bayān al-ʿilm fols. 14B and 15A Ismā'īl Sā'ib Ms. and Anwā' al-ʿUlūm fols. 29B, 30A Wali al-Dīn Ms.

The highest knowledge of the 'Ulama' bi Amr Allah is the ability to discern what is lawful from what is forbidden. They know the nature of both and the attitudes of people towards them, but are always in great danger, for their time is so occupied with the study of these things that little opportunity is left to coerce their souls to eliminate the evil therefrom.⁽¹⁾ In consequence this evil becomes so rampant that their hearts grow dark, the best of this group lead others to Paradise by way of the Shari'ah. It is from them that one can obtain the knowledge of the lawful and the forbidden.⁽²⁾

This category of scholars is subdivided into two branches: Mu'addūn li al-akhbār, "The transmitters of traditions", and al-mutafaqqihūn fi'l-ilm, "those who have understanding of religion." The only skill the mu'addūn possess is the ability to transmit, without being capable of drawing conclusions from what they transmit, but a Ḥadīth may contain nāsikh wa mansūkh so that it may be necessary to understand what cancels and what is being cancelled, and whether it refers to the general or to the particular. That is why they are not entitled to give advice or make legal decisions

(1) Bayān al-'ilm, fol. 16, Ismā'il Sā'ib Ms.

(2) Anwā' al-'ilm fol. 125, Ismā'il Sā'ib Ms.

(fatwa). Besides, only some Hadīth are confirmed, while others are not trustworthy. People with evil aims may try to corrupt religion by relating falsehoods; this is another danger besetting the transmitters for by transmitting they bear witness to the truth of what they transmit. But to be accepted, the testimony must fulfil a number of conditions, and those who bear witness must be satisfactory and trustworthy. For God says: "From among those you chose to be witnesses",⁽¹⁾ so that transmitting from those who are not qualified as trustworthy is inadmissible. Therefore, when transmitters relate from suspect predecessors, without being qualified to distinguish between the special and the general, or between what cancels and what is being cancelled, and without perfect comprehension of the language, they are unworthy of the name of scholars. Who is ignorant of such things is even more ignorant of Qur'anic matters. They are not learned in spite of the appearances, and are only reporters, conveying information to those who come after.⁽²⁾

Al-Mutafaqqihūn fiḍ-ḍīn, having knowledge of the religion, meditate on religious matters, deliberate

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- (1) Chapter II, v.282. *وَمِنْ أُولَئِكَ مَنْ حَمَلَ الْحِمْلَ بِالْمَالِ*
 (2) Anwār al-'ilm fol.126, Ismā'īl Sa'ib Ms. and Anwār al-'Ulūm fols.28B-29A, Walī al-Dīn Ms.

and consider. They investigate the meaning of religion, can distinguish between what cancels and what is cancelled. They are also cautious in the interpretation of the wording of Hadīth, whose meaning may change with the change of a single letter. Those with insight into these matters are able to infer and draw conclusions, to compare the actual event with its traditional precedent. And they are authorized by the Qur'ān as well as the hadith to form legal decisions according to their opinion ijtihād al ra'iy. The permission in the Qur'an is contained in the verse:

" . . . as two just persons amongst you judge"⁽¹⁾, and that in the words of the Prophet: "The judge (or ruler) will obtain a tenfold reward if he pronounces the right decision according to his opinion, and will obtain but a single reward if his decision is erroneous" This is why there were such differences of opinion between the companions and their successors (al-Tābiīn) on such matters as marriage, wealth, retaliation and others.⁽²⁾

Ahl-Adā'

Both ahl al-Adā', the transmitters and ahl al-Istinbāṭ, the jurists who deduce judgments, are in a precarious position in cases where there is no clear

(1) Chapter V, v.95.
 (2) Anwā' al-'ilm fol 127 Ismā'il Sā'ib Ms. and Anwā' al-al-'Ulūm fols. 28B-29A wali al-Dīn Ms.

cut directive in the Qur'ān to guide them. If the jurists rely on their own opinion, *ijtihād al-ra'iy* they are in danger of making erroneous decisions. The transmitters on the other hand, must be very cautious lest they should deviate from the truth, or unwillingly change the wording, which might entail a change of meaning. The jurists need intelligent minds, hearts full of God's light, and souls purified from evil thoughts and contamination by worldly desire, to an extent which enables them to achieve the truth and refrain from interference between the Lord and His servants. For their legal decisions are made to be followed, and those who act upon these "fatwas" will worship God according to their words.⁽¹⁾ It is the 'ulamā' bi-Amr Allah who are referred to by the Prophet in the ḥadīth of Abu Juhāifāh which says: "Ask those who know" and al-Tirmidhi adds: "For it is they who lead you to Paradise by way of the Sharī'ah. Through asking them one can learn about the lawful and the forbidden."⁽²⁾

The second group, those who know God (al-'Ulamā' bi Allah) are the Wise (al-Ḥukamā') whom the Prophet had in mind when he said: "Make friends with those

(1) Anwā' al-'ilm fol. 127 Ismā'īl Sā'ib Ms. and Anwā' al-'Ulūm fol. 29A wali al-Dīn Ms.

(2) Leipzig Ms. fols. 157-158.

who have wisdom." Al-Tirmidhi adds that they have the ability to understand God's will, for the Qur'ān says: "He grants wisdom to whom He pleases."

"Whoever is granted wisdom is indeed possessed of a great treasure." (1) This wisdom or understanding is of such importance because God has created this world as a place of transit and the hereafter as a residence. The ulamā bi Allah know it by the light of their hearts, and are certain of it. Thus they view both their temporary and their permanent abode as they are in the sight of God, and act in this sense. That is why their hearts forsake worldly pleasures and scorn their bodies which get tired by these exertions, for their hearts are desirous of the hereafter. Whatever the Hukamā observe in this world proves the excellence of God's order. When the ignorant waver and falter, they themselves are all the more sure and pleased, for they are conscious of the real/^{purpose of this} world which will be discarded at the end. (2) They lead their followers to the places of proximity through sincerity by the way of Shari ah. It is through their friendship that one acquires wisdom and sincerity in worship until one achieves proximity. (3)

(1) Chapter II, v.269.

(2) Bayān al-ilm fol. 16 Ismā'il Ṣā'ib Ms.

(3) Leipzig Ms. fols. 157-158.

The third group whom the Prophet described as 'the eminent' are those who know God and His order. They not only know the lawful and the forbidden but also know the reason for the division of things into lawful and forbidden, and have information on the nature of the realm. Their hearts feel that magnificence of God and that is why they stand in awe of Him. Their hearts prostrate themselves before Him, long to meet Him and worship Him with certain faith, 'ilm al-Yaqīn. To the words of the Qur'ān: "Nay, would that you know with a certain knowledge, you will certainly see hell",⁽¹⁾ al-Tirmidhi adds that they will see it through their hearts. He follows the verse: "Then you will see it with the certainty of sight"⁽¹⁾ with the comment that this will be in the hereafter. Certain knowledge, 'ilm al-Yaqīn, imparts a conception of things, and certain sight, 'Ain al-Yaqīn, shows the reality of things, jihatan, or the things themselves.

In an attempt to define this group and its members, al-Tirmidhi says that they are the eminent, who feel pride of God's pride and magnificānce. God controls and plans their direction, waliya siyasta'um.

(1) Chapter CII, vv. 5,6 and 7.

Whoever sees them, immediately remembers the name of God whose signs are manifested in them, gains purity of the heart by getting close to them, and is then freed of any hidden evil desire.⁽¹⁾

As they were sincere while they struggled with their souls, prostrated themselves humbly before the Almighty until they received His mercy and were granted His acceptance, He led them by degrees to His proximity and elevated them to the position and confidential communication, najwa. Having attained this high rank, they perceived the reality of modesty in face of His magnificence, and felt proud in the light of His pride. Therefore anyone who came close to them came under the influence of the power of the awe they felt and of the glory bestowed upon them. Their words come from His glory, His magnificence, His honour, His authority, His pride, His nobility; from the knowledge of the inception of Lordship, al-rubūbiyyah, and of the manifestation of the realm. No one can join them except the one whom God wills to join them. When his mind realises this knowledge he will take pleasure in hearing it and in receiving the wisdom of "the greater" and "the wise" who speak according to the will of God of such things as how

(1) See Bayān al-ʿilm fol. 17 Ismāʿil Ṣāʿib Ms.

God planned human nature, how He created men, where they came from, what place He assigned to them and to what place He called them and showered them with favours.⁽¹⁾ They describe the human body and know where the enemy is concealed in them and what is the power of evil desires in them. They can distinguish between the deeds of the hearts and the deeds of the souls, between the deceits of the souls and the deceits of the enemy, and know that the soul's deceits are more dangerous than the deceits of the enemy. They describe the nature and arrangements of this world as well as the next world, and measure one against the other. They also describe the ways of the People of God, ahl al-irādah, and teach the novices, muridin how the soul can corrupt and impede their progress, and by their words and guidance help to promote them to higher degrees. To preserve the fear of God, taqwa, in this manner, is more difficult than to preserve taqwa by way of sharī ah. For the way of the sharī ah merely teaches how to control one's limbs, jawāriḥ, but the way of reality, ḥaqīqah, teaches how to deal with hearts⁽²⁾ and it is the action of the heart that conflicts

(1) and (2) See Anwā' al-'ulūm Leipzig fol. 157B, wali al-Dīn fol. 28 and Ismā'il Ṣā'ib fol. 125.

with the soul's desires. The action of the heart needs great protection and assistance from God to be saved from the interference of the soul's desires when it passes them on its way through the chest to the limbs. Then it can reach God pure from any wrong, and the heart itself is spared the pride which results from the contemplation of its action.⁽¹⁾

The task of "the wise" is to guide to purity of action. It is "the eminent" who show the way to the purity of the heart, and how to protect it from the effects of good actions, or from reliance on good actions. For if the heart relies on its own action it causes a veil to form between itself and God.⁽²⁾

(1) See *Anwā' al-'Ulūm* Leipzig Ms. fol. 158A, *wali al-Dīn* Ms. fol. 28 and *Ismā'īl Ṣā'ib* fol. 125.
 (2) *Ibid.*

New Names for the Grades of Knowledge

Al-Tirmidhi gives the grades of knowledge new names in his book, "Al-Akyās al-Mughtarrīn" He calls them in order: ^{ḥaqqa} truth, ^{adl} justice, ^{sidq} truthfulness..... (1)

This classification is in complete conformity with his statements in other places. (2) What reinforces this inference is the fact that, having mentioned these three grades, considered by him as the pillars of religion, he says that they are also the soldiers of gnosis. (3) The analogy is further strengthened in his statement that truth is of the organs, justice is of the hearts, and truthfulness is of the reasons. Clearly, he regards truthfulness as the highest of the three, and it corresponds to gnosis in his previous classifications. He pictures this gnosis as a ship carrying the mysteries and designation of God, and says: "gnosis is a ship whose starboard cargo is the mysteries of God and whose other cargo is the names of God." (4)

This gnosis draws from three treasuries: (a) knowledge of mysteries, (b) knowledge of designations and (c) insight or perspicacity. (5)

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- (1) Fol. 2 al-Zāhiriyyah Ms. & fol. 70A Ismā'īl Sā'ib Ms.
 (2) Bayān al-'ilm fols. 11-24A Ismā'īl Sā'ib Ms. & Anwā' al-'Uḥūm fols. 124B-129B & Anwā' al-'ilm fols. 137A-161A Leipzig Ms. & 'Ilm al-Awliyā'.
 (3) Al-Akyās wa al-Mughtarrīn fol. 2 & al-Zāhiriyyah Ms. and Ismā'īl Sā'ib fol. 70.
 (4) Nawādir al-Usūl, p. 330.
 (5) al-Ma'rifah 'Ind al-Ḥakīm al-Tirmidhi pp. 274-278.

Ilm, Hikmah and Ma'rifah /

Throughout his discussion of gnosis, al-Tirmidhi uses three abstract nouns: Ilm (knowledge) hikmah (wisdom) and Ma'rifah (gnosis), parallel with three corresponding nomina agentis: alim (the scholar), hakim (the wise man) and arif (the gnostic). The question arises what differences in meaning there are between these terms, and what they denote in the context of al-Tirmidhi's philosophy. The following is an attempt at explanation.

It seems that they are intended to designate three successive stages or degrees of understanding with ilm as the lowest, and ma'rifah the highest, hikmah being the intermediate stage, holding the balance between the two. Hikmah is simultaneously the first degree of gnosis, so that the one who possesses gnosis cannot be deprived of wisdom. But what difference is there between ilm and hikmah?

Ilm can be acquired by study but hikmah is bestowed upon the recipient by the grace of God; it cannot be achieved by application, but only through cleanliness and purity, real servanthood and true will of submission to God. One has to give up one's own will in all one's own matters, and follow the will

of God as it manifests itself in all matters, and accept it, glorifying the Almighty. Who does that is the servant to whom detachment, fear of God, true faith and the religion of Islam are attributed. Then the hakīm is granted godliness and will merit the favour of God who will give him wisdom. By its light he will be led to the ^{beginning} of the rule on the day of destiny (maqādīr)

In the light of these distinctions, the fruit of *ilm is necessarily limited, and is arrested abruptly at a certain point, while the profit of hikmah is continuous and has no end. For knowledge derives from the valley of the Shari‘ah, while wisdom derives from the sea of gnosis; that is why there is a limit to the scholar's ability to come to analogical conclusions, while the power of the hakīm is not limited. Who achieves wisdom, is fit to consider the affairs of man and measures things against one another by way of analogy, for the light of wisdom guides him, and the grace of God upon him is continuous and without limit. But who has not attained the stage of wisdom and is merely conversant with external matters, ulūr al-zāhir does not possess the guiding light of wisdom; his ability to reason

by analogy is not quite reliable and accurate, so that he confuses measure (qiyās) and similarity (mushākalah). Who attains wisdom is called al-Hakīm al-ʿAlīm and has share in the two names of God, which are both mentioned in the Qur'ān - *ʿAlīm and Hakīm. Qiyās as an instrument can only be used by those to whom God has granted both exoteric and esoteric knowledge. These deserve the attributes implied in two names of God, *ʿAlīm and Hakīm.

After this analysis of the meaning of ʿilm, hikmah and maʿrifah, as they appear in al-Tirmidhi's thought, it will be advisable to discuss the meaning of these three terms as according to the use of other Sufis. Al-Hujwiri develops his ideas in detail in his work Kashf al Mahjūb, and quotes some ideas of other Sufi Sheikhs. The following quotation from the above mentioned book will convey the trend of his reasoning:-

"Knowledge is of two kinds: Divine and Human. The latter is worthless in comparison with the former, because God's knowledge is an attribute of Himself, subsisting in Him, whose attributes are infinite; whereas our knowledge is an attribute of ourselves,

subsisting in us, whose attributes are finite. Knowledge has been defined as "comprehension and investigation of the object known", but the best definition of it is this: "A quality whereby the ignorant are made wise". God's knowledge is that by which He knows all things existent and non-existent: He does not share it with Man: it is not capable of division nor separable from Himself. The proof of it lies in the disposition of His actions (tarti b-i fi lash) since action demands knowledge in the agent as an indispensable condition. The Divine knowledge penetrates what is hidden and comprehends what is manifest. It behoves the seeker to contemplate God in every act, knowing that God sees him and all that he does."⁽¹⁾

"The object of human knowledge should be to know God and His commandments. Knowledge of 'time' ('ilm-i waqt), and of all outward and inward circumstances of which the due effect depends on 'time', is incumbent upon everyone. This is of two sorts: primary and secondary. The external division of the primary class consists in making the Muslem's profession of faith, the internal division consists

(1) Kashfal Mahjub of al-Hujwiri translated by
R. A. Nicholson pp.12-13.

in the attainment of true cognition. The external division consists in the practice of devotion, (of the secondary class), the internal division consists in rendering one's intention sincere. The outward and inward aspects cannot be divorced. The exoteric aspect of Truth without the esoteric is hypocrisy, and the esoteric without the exoteric is heresy. So, with regard to the Law, mere formality is defective, while mere spirituality is vain.

The Knowledge of the Truth (Ḥaqīqah) has three pillars -

(1) Knowledge of the Essence and Unity of God.

(2) Knowledge of the Attributes of God.

(3) Knowledge of the Actions and Wisdom of God.

The Knowledge of the Law (Shari'ah) also has three pillars -

(1) The Qur'an.

(2) The Sunna.

(3) The Consensus of the Muslim community.⁽¹⁾

Knowledge of the Divine Essence involves recognition on the part of one who is reasonable and has reached puberty, that God exists externally by His essence, that He is infinite and not bounded by space,

(1) Kashf al-Mahjūb, pp.13-14.

but that His essence is not the cause of evil, that none of His creatures is like unto Him, that He has neither wife nor child and that He is the Creator and Sustainer of all that imagination and intellect can conceive.⁽¹⁾

Knowledge of the Divine Attributes requires you to know that God has attributes existing in Himself, which are not He nor a part of Him and subsist by Him, e.g. Knowledge, Power, Life, Will, Hearing, Sight, Speech, etc.

Knowledge of the Divine Actions is your knowledge that God is the Creator of mankind and of all their actions, that He brought the non-existent universe into being, that he predestines good and evil and creates all that is beneficial and injurious.

Knowledge of the Law involves your knowing that God has sent us Apostle with miracles of an extraordinary nature; that our Apostle, Muhammad (on whom be peace!), is a true messenger, who performed many miracles, and that whatever he has told us concerning the Unseen and the Visible is entirely true."⁽²⁾

"Muhammad b. Fadl al-Balkhi says: 'Knowledge is of three kinds - from God, with God and of God.'

(1) Kashfal Mahjub p.14.

(2) Ibid, pp. 14-15.

Knowledge of God is the science of Gnosis (*‘ilm-i ma‘rifa*), whereby He is known to all His prophets and saints. It cannot be acquired by ordinary means, but is the result of Divine guidance and information. Knowledge from God is the science of the Sacred Law (*‘ilm-i shari‘a*), which He has commanded and made obligatory on us. Knowledge with God is the science of the "stations" and the "Path" and the degrees of the Saints. Gnosis is unsound without acceptance of the Law, and the Law is not practised rightly unless the "stations" are manifested. Abu ‘Ali Tha‘afi says: "Al-‘ilm hayat al-qalb min al-jahl wa -nūr al-‘ayn min al-zulmāt," Knowledge is the life of the heart which delivers it from the death of ignorance: it is the light of the eye of faith, which saves it from the darkness of infidelity." The hearts of the infidels are dead, because they are ignorant of God, and the hearts of the heedless are sick because they are ignorant of His Commandments."⁽²⁾

"Gnosis of God is of two kinds: cognitional (*‘ilmi*) and emotional (*hali*). Cognitional gnosis is the foundation of all blessings in this world and in the next, for the most important thing for a man at

(1) Kashfal Mahjūb of al-Hujwiri translated by R. A. Nicholson Chapter I, pp.16-17.

(2) Ibid.

all times and in all circumstances is knowledge of God as God hath said: 'I only created the genii and mankind that they might serve Me (Kor. li.56)', i.e. that they might know Me. But the greater part of men neglect this duty, except those whom God hath chosen and whose hearts He hath vivified with Himself. Gnosis is the life of the heart through God, and the turning away of one's inmost thoughts from all that is not God. The worth of everyone is in proportion to gnosis, and he who is without gnosis is worth nothing.⁽¹⁾ Theologians, lawyers and other classes of men give the name of gnosis (ma'rifah) to right cognition (ilm) of God, but the Sufi Sheikhs call right feeling (hal) towards God by that name. Hence they have said that gnosis (ma'rifah) is more excellent than cognition (ilm), for right feeling (hal) is the result of right cognition, but right cognition is not the same thing as right feeling, i.e. one who has not cognition of God is not a gnostic (*ārif), but one may have cognition of God without being a gnostic.⁽²⁾ Those of either class who were ignorant of this distinction engaged in useless controversy, and the one party disbelieved in the other party. Now I will explain the matter in order that both may be instructed.

(1) Kashf al-Mahjūb, p.267.

(2) Ibid.

You must know that there is a great difference of opinion touching the gnosis and right cognition of God. The ~~Mu~~stazilites assert that gnosis is intellectual and that only a reasonable person (*āqil) can possibly have it. This doctrine is disproved by the fact that madmen, within Islam, are deemed to have gnosis, and that children who are not reasonable, are deemed to have faith. Were the criterion of gnosis an intellectual one, such persons must be without gnosis, while unbelievers could be not charged with infidelity, provided only that they were reasonable beings. If reason were the cause of gnosis, it would follow that every reasonable person must know God and that all who lack reason must be ignorant of Him; which is manifestly absurd.⁽¹⁾ Others pretend that demonstration (istidlāl) is the cause of knowledge of God and that such knowledge is not gained except by those who deduce it in this manner. The futility of this doctrine is exemplified by Iblis, for he saw many evidences, such as Paradise, Hell and the Throne of God, yet they did not cause Him to have gnosis. God hath said that knowledge of Him depends on His will (Kor.bi.III). According to the view of orthodox Moslems, soundness of reason and regard to evidences

(1) Kasf al-Mahjūb, p.298.

are a means (sabab) to gnosis, but not the cause (ʿillah) thereof: the sole cause is God's will and favour, for without His favour (ʿināyah) reason is blind. Reason does not know itself even: how then can it know another? Heretics of all sorts use the demonstrative method but the majority of them do not know God. On the other hand, whenever one enjoys the favour of God, all his actions are so many tokens of gnosis; his demonstration is search (ṭalab) and his neglect of demonstration is resignation to God's will (taslīm); but in reference to perfect gnosis, resignation is no better than search, for search is a principle that cannot be neglected, while resignation is a principle that excludes the possibility of agitation (idṭirāb) and these two principles do not essentially involve gnosis. In reality Man's only guide and enlightener is God. Reason and the proofs adduced by reason are unable to direct anyone into the right way."⁽¹⁾

"Others, again, declare that gnosis is the result of inspiration (ilhām). This also is impossible, because gnosis supplies a criterion for distinguishing truth from falsehood, whereas the inspired have no such

(1) Kashfal-Mahjūb al-Hujwiri
pp.267-269.

criterion. If one says, 'I know by inspiration that God is in space,' and another says, 'I know by inspiration that He is not in space,' one of these contradictory statements must be true, but a proof is necessary in order to decide where the truth lies. Consequently, this view, which is held by the Brahmans and the inspirationists (ilhamiyan) falls to the ground. In the present age I have met a number of persons who carried it to an extreme and who connected their own position with the doctrine of religious men, but they are altogether in error, and their assertion is repugnant to all reasonable Muslims and unbelievers. If it be said that whatever conflicts with the sacred law is not inspiration, I reply that this argument is fundamentally unsound, because, if inspiration is to be judged and verified by the standard of the sacred law, then gnosis does not depend on inspiration, but on law and prophecy and Divine guidance. (1)

Others assert that knowledge of God is intuitive (darūri). This also is impossible. Everything that is known in this way must be known in common by all reasonable men, and inasmuch as we see that some

(1) Kashf al-Mahjūb p.271.

reasonable men deny the existence of God and hold the doctrines of assimilation (tashbīh) and nullification (ta'tīl), it is proved that knowledge of God is not intuitive. Moreover, if it were so, the principle of religious obligation (taklīf) would be destroyed for that principle cannot possibly be applied to objects of intuitive knowledge, such as one's self, the heaven and the earth, day and night, pleasure and pain, etc. concerning the existence of which no reasonable man can have any doubt, and which he must know even against his will. But some aspirants to Sufism, considering the absolute certainty (yaqīn) which they feel, say: "We know God intuitively," giving the name of intuition to this certainty. Substantially they are right, but their expression is erroneous, because intuitive knowledge cannot be exclusively restricted to those who are perfect; on the contrary, it belongs to all reasonable men."⁽¹⁾

‘Ilm and Ma‘rifah, and the difference between them

Theologians have made no distinction between ilm and ma‘rifah, except when they say that God may be called ‘ālim (knowing), but not ‘ārif (gnostic), inasmuch as the latter epithet lacks Divine blessing.

(1) Kashf al-Mahjūb of al-Hujwiri, translated by R.A. Nicholson, Chapter XV, pp.271-272.

But the Sufi Sheikhs give the name of ma'rifaḥ (gnosis) to every knowledge that is allied to religious practice and feeling; and the knower thereof they call *'arif. On the other hand, they give the name of ilm to every knowledge that is stripped of spiritual meaning and devoid of religious practice, and one who has such knowledge they call 'ālim. One, then, who knows the meaning and reality of a thing they call 'ārif (gnostic) and one who knows merely the verbal expression and keeps it in his memory without keeping the spiritual reality they call 'ālim. For this reason, when the Sufis wish to disparage a rival they call him danishmand (possessing knowledge). To the vulgar this seems objectionable, but the Sufis do not intend to blame the man for having acquired knowledge, they blame him for neglecting the practice of religion, because the 'ālim depends on himself, but the 'ārif depends on His Lord. This question has been discussed at length in the chapter entitled "The Removal of the Veil of Gnosis," and I need not say more now."⁽¹⁾

In his book "Ilm al-Qulub" Abu Talib al-Makki also discusses the subject and gives a number of ideas by Sufi sheikhs. A quotation from the book dealing with

(1) Kashf al-Mahjub of al-Hujwiri, translated by R.A. Nicholson, pp.382-383.

the same subject, as follows:-

Varieties of Knowledge

According to Abu-al 'Abbās al-Dinawari, Knowledge is of two kinds: (a) the knowledge of how man can align his ways to be in conformity with those of God and (b) the knowledge of God's knowledge of man, which is screened from man's perception except insofar as it is occasionally and partially adumbrated by a prophet, a saint or an exclusive favourite.⁽¹⁾

Al-Bushinji, however, says that the knowledge is of three kinds; (a) knowledge of the juristic verdicts which is the light of the body, (b) knowledge of the Unity of God, which is the light of the heart, and (c) knowledge of being, which is the light of both.⁽¹⁾

Exoteric and Esoteric

Abu-Tālib al Makki says: The exoteric and the esoteric are two cardinal varieties of knowledge, each is indispensable to the other, in the same manner as Islam and Faith, inseparably attached to each other, as is the case with the Body and the Heart, which are indissolubly bound up together.⁽²⁾

The exoteric knowledge derives from the knowledge of the realm of concrete phenomena, and it is an

(1) Abu-Tālib al-Makki 'ilm al-Qulūb, p.51.
 (2) 'Ilm al-Qulūb, p.53.

activity of the tongue which is the treasury of concrete knowledge. The esoteric knowledge, on the other hand, derives from metaphysical or spiritual knowledge, which is an activity of the heart, and the heart is the treasury of the spiritual realm.⁽¹⁾

Classes of People

Sahl b. Abdallah says: "People in the class of Virtue are at three stations: (a) pious, but neither scholarly nor wise, (b) scholarly and pious, but not wise, and (c) wise, scholarly and pious. The best of all these is the one who is scholarly, pious and wise."⁽²⁾

The scholarly man is in need of the wise man; whereas the wise man is not in need of the scholarly man.⁽³⁾

Al-Fadl says: There are two men of knowledge; the man of worldly knowledge and the man of eschatological knowledge. The former has overt knowledge. The latter has covert knowledge. Therefore seek the man of the eschatological knowledge, and shun the man of the worldly knowledge, and he should not divert you from the right path by his drunkenness." Then he quotes: "Of a truth many of the teachers and monks do devour a man's substance in vanity."⁽⁴⁾

(1) p.54.
 (2) p.50.
 (3) p.51.
 (4) p.56.

Sahl used to say: "Scholars are of three kinds: (a) a scholar who knows God; (b) a scholar whose knowledge is for God and (c) a scholar who knows God's laws. The scholar who knows God is the one who knows for certain; the scholar whose knowledge is for God is the one whose knowledge is that of sincerity, ways of dealing with people, and states; the scholar who knows the laws of God is the one who has detailed knowledge of what is lawful and what is unlawful."

He says further that scholars who know God, but not His ways or rules, are the believers; scholars who know the rules of God are those who are fully apprehensive of what is lawful and what is unlawful; and scholars who know God and know His rules are the arch-saints (Ṣiddiqūn).⁽¹⁾

Difference Between Knowledge and Wisdom

Knowledge is by education, and wisdom is by craving for knowledge. Knowledge passes from tongue to tongue; but wisdom passes from the esoteric world to the hearts.

Difference Between Knowledge and Gnosis

Gnosis is of a higher rank than knowledge, because knowledge is consistent in the religious laws,

(1) Abu-Tālib al-Makki, *ʿilm al-Qulūb*, p.66. Cairo edition.

and gnosis is consistent in the essence. The Prophets, when asked on the Day of Judgment, will say: "We have no knowledge", and they will not say: "We have no gnosis".⁽¹⁾

Knowledge is by education, understanding and intelligence; but gnosis is not circumscribed by discrimination, estimation and education. Knowledge has a limit and an aim, and gnosis has neither, and no end. Knowledge brings its possessor to the gate of heaven; reason brings him to the Throne; and gnosis brings him to the presence of the Lord. The light of gnosis is in connection with the Lord; but the light of knowledge is different. Knowledge is open to the believer and the unbeliever alike. Also knowledge is universal, but gnosis is special.

There is a saying that at the last stage in the knowledge of belief is the beginning of concrete truth; and the end of concrete truth is the beginning of certain truth; there is no limit to the certain truth, as there is no limit to the Day of Judgment.⁽²⁾

Abdallah al-Dinawari says: "The most sublime knowledge in Sufism is the knowledge of names and

(1) p.51.
(2) p.57.

and qualities, discrimination between what is lawful and what is unlawful, sincerity in outward actions, and correction of inward actions."⁽¹⁾

This quotation aptly illustrates the difference between the ideas of al-Tirmidhi and the others. Al Hujwiri believes that knowledge is of two kinds, divine and human, a distinction which al-Tirmidhi, for whom all knowledge derives from God, finds it unnecessary to make. It is the object of human knowledge to attain information about God and His commandments, while divine knowledge requires one to know that God has attributes existent in Himself which are not He, nor part of Him, but exist in Him and subsist by Him such as knowledge, power, life, will, hearing, sight, speech, etc.

(1) * Ilm al-Qulūb, pp.55-56.

CHAPTER VI.The Areas of the Interior and his Theory
of Light.

1. The breast the first.
2. The heart the second.
3. The sense the third.
4. The intellect al-Lubb the fourth.
5. The difference between al-Lubb and al- Aql.
6. Grades of mind; Aql.
7. The rational man.
8. al-Faqih; the pundit.
9. The varieties of light.
10. What proceeds from the light.
11. The reason why lights are likened to mountains.
12. The limits of mountains of light.
13. Aspects of life.

The Areas of Interiority

The word 'heart' is a comprehensive name which subsumes all the degrees of interiority. In the interior, there are areas outside the heart and others inside. The application of the name 'heart' to all these areas is like the application of the name 'eye' (Ayn). This name 'eye' covers what lies between the edges of the eyelids, consisting of the black and white of the eye, the eyeball, the vitreous humour and the light in the ball. Every one of these things has its own separate identity, and a significance different from any other significance. But some of them are subordinate and auxiliary to the others; and some of them have uses related to those of others; and anything outside serves as a background to what lies next to it inside, and the Light in its substance is maintained by the substances of all other constituent parts together. (1)

This religion has landmarks and stations, and its people have their respective ranks, and the men of knowledge of this religion are of varying grades. God says: "and above every possessor of knowledge is one who knows." (2) And God says: "and we exalt some of them above others in degrees." (3) Every branch of knowledge which is more

(1) Bayān al-Farq bain Sadr Wa al-Qalb Wa al-Fuad Wa al-Lubh, edited by Dr. Nichola Hair, published Cairo 1958 p.33.

(2) Chapter XII verse 76.

(3) Chapter XXXII verse 43.

exalted has in the heart a location which is inner, more exclusive, more invulnerable, more secluded and more concealed. But the mention of the heart can be a substitute for the mention of all other areas;⁽¹⁾ in the consideration of the general public.

The breast: the breast in relation to the heart is as the white of the eye in relation to the eye, or the courtyard in relation to the house, or like the precincts around Mecca, or like the oil in the lamp, or the outer shell of the nut which encloses the kernel.⁽²⁾

The breast is the place into which morbid suggestions and harmful thoughts enter. Anything that finds its way to the breast is not detected or sensed at the time. It is an entrance for grudge, sensual desires, wishes and needs, and it gets cheerless sometimes and cheerful some other times. It is the seat of authority for the evil soul.⁽³⁾

Nevertheless, the breast is the location for the light of Islam, and is the place for the preservation of the knowledge communicated by the word of mouth, which derives from the knowledge of principles and traditions, and of the knowledge knowable through verbal expression.

It is called Sadr (breast) because it is the front part of the heart and the first of its areas or stations,

(1) Bayān al-Farq, p.34.
 (2) Bayān al-Farq, pp.35-6.
 (3) Bayān al-Farq, p.35.

in the same way as the front part of the day is its beginning, or as the courtyard of a mansion is the first position of it. It is the source of the promptings of desires and needs, and the distracting thoughts issue from it to the heart if they get entrenched for a considerable period.⁽¹⁾

The believer suffers from the carnal soul (nafs) and its wishes. The soul has been given the power of penetration, and thus can enter the breast. Its "mine" is in the inside and in the place of proximity to the heart. It gets excited by the blood and by the influence of ungodly things. The inside becomes saturated with the darkness of its smoke and the heat of its fire, and then enters the breast, bringing with it its evil promptings and false wishes, which are visitations from God so that the servant may seek help from the genuine sense of his insufficiency and from the continuous supplication to his Lord. Then God will answer his supplication and will drive away the evils of the carnal soul. Satan also can penetrate into the breast of the Servant of God and bring in his promptings. And the breast is the last sphere in which the soul is active, because the evil soul is like Satan⁽²⁾, and the two are two Satans, as in the Quranic verse: "The Satans of mankind and jinn."⁽³⁾

(1) Bayān al-Farq, p.36.

(2) Bayān al-Farq, p.40.

(3) Qurān chapter W. Verse 112.

The breast is qualified by cheerfulness and cheerlessness, but not the heart. God says: "So let there be no constriction in thy breast."⁽¹⁾ He also says: "Haply thou art leaving part of what is revealed to thee and thy breast is constricted thereby."⁽²⁾ In a statement about Moses (Musa) God says: "My Lord! verily, I fear that they will call me a liar, and my breast will be constricted."⁽³⁾

There is no point in the breast ~~contracting~~^{contracting}, when it does. Everybody's breast ~~contracts~~^{contracts}, depending upon the degree of his ignorance and wrath. Similarly, there is no point in the breast getting expansive, if it is expanded with the guidance of God. If it is narrow for ^{the} right, it is wide for ^{the} wrong; and if it is ^{too} narrow for ^{the} wrong, it is ^{too} wide for ^{the} right. God says: "Have we not expanded for thee thy breast?"⁽⁴⁾ God, by expanding the breast of His prophet to accommodate the lights of the truths of Islam, was making it too narrow to hold wrong.⁽⁵⁾ The breast of a believer may get constricted sometimes because of the multiplicity of evil promptings, gloom, preoccupation, recurrence of desires, gravity of occurrences and tribulations.

The breast also becomes constricted if the believer hears a wrongful thing. His heart cannot stand that,

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- (1) Qurān, chapter VII, verse 2.
 (2) Qurān, chapter XI, verse 12.
 (3) Qurān, chapter XXVI, verse 13.
 (4) Qurān, chapter XCIV, verse 1.
 (5) Bayān al-Farq, p.42.

because God expanded his breast with the light of Islam, "who is in light from his Lord."⁽¹⁾ But the breast of the unbeliever or the hypocrite is replete with the darkness of unbelief, polytheism or scepticism and is sufficiently capacious for holding so much of them that no room is left there for the light of Islam and that it is too restricted to hold any of the light of right. God says: "But who expands his breast to misbelief - on them is wrath from God, and for them is mighty woe."⁽²⁾ And God also says: "Whomsoever God wishes to guide, He expands his breast to Islam; but whomsoever He wishes to lead astray, He makes his breast tight and constricted."⁽³⁾ In this, God knows that when the breast is full of the darkness and of unbelief it becomes too narrow to hold the antithetical lights.⁽⁴⁾ The Qur'an says that relief comes to breasts because they are the seat of spite which issues from the soul. God says: "and (God will) heal the breast of a people who believe"⁽⁵⁾ and also says, "There has come to you a warning from your Lord, and a balm for what is in the breasts."⁽⁶⁾

The breast is the repository of every knowledge acquired through learning, memorising, perseverance and

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- (1) See chapter XXXIX verse 22.
 (2) See chapter XVI, verse 106.
 (3) See chapter VI, verse 135.
 (4) See al-Farq, p.42.
 (5) See chapter IX, verse 14.
 (6) See chapter X, verse 57.

effort and derived from oral information sources, whether it is the Qurān, tradition or something else.⁽¹⁾ This knowledge is liable to be forgotten. God says: "Nay, but it is evident signs in the breasts of those who are endowed with knowledge."⁽²⁾ This is the knowledge which is readily attainable by virtue of its mode of expression, intelligibility, narration and explanation. But the possessor of this knowledge is liable to forget, because it is the soul which holds and preserves it, and forgetfulness is natural to the soul. The breast in this sense, is like the case or the shell of the heart, and this is what is meant when it is said that so-and-so reads off the case of his heart. It is to the heart as the mother-of-pearl is to the pearl.⁽³⁾

The Second Area: al-Tirmidhi considers that the second area of interiority is the heart, and the third is the sense. It is noted that his talk on the Cities of Light in his two books: "Al A'dā' 'Wal-Nafs"⁽⁴⁾ and "Ghour al-Umūr"⁽⁵⁾ or in his other book "Ṣifat al-Qulūb"⁽⁶⁾ is different from his talk here. There he regards the sense as the last of the Cities of Light, followed by the breast, while here he regards the heart as immediately next

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- (1) Bayān al-Farq, pp.45-6.
 (2) Bayān pterXXIX verse 149.
 (3) Bayān al-Farq, p.46.
 (4) Foil 133B As'ad Ms. No.1479.
 (5) Foil 1B As'ad Ms. No.1312.
 (6) Foil 2201 Qastmuni Ms. No.2713.

to the breast, and the sense as situated in the interior of the heart. He says: "The heart is the second area. It is inside the breast. It is like the black of the eye, which is inside the eye, like the town of Mecca which is inside the sanctuary (al-Ḥaram), like the wick in relation to the lamp, the chamber inside the house, and like the kernel of an almond inside the shell.⁽¹⁾ It is the main-spring of the light of faith and the light of piety, submission, affection, satisfaction, certitude, fear, hopefulness, fortitude and contentment. It is the source of the principles of knowledge, it is like a spring of water and the breast is like a trough. Water comes out of the spring and pours into the trough, in the same way as cognition proceeds from the heart to the breast, or from the ears. Out of the heart⁽²⁾ rise certitude, cognition and purpose and flow into the breast. Therefore the heart is the root and the breast is the branch; and it is only by the root that the branch is upheld, as indicated by the prophetic tradition: "Deeds are only according to intentions."⁽³⁾

The heart stands for the king, and the soul for the kingdom or realm as stated by the Prophet: "The hand is a wing, the two legs are a mail, the eyes are a benefit,

(1) Bayān al-Farq, pp.36-7.

(2) Bayān al-Farq, pp.36-7.

(3) Bayān al-Farq, p.37.

the ears a funnel, the liver a mercy, the spleen a cause of laughter, the two kidneys are craftiness and the lungs are breath. If the king is fit, his men will be fit; but if he is unfit, his men will be unfit." The breast for the heart is like the racing ground for the horseman. The Prophet made it clear that the fitness of the bodily organs is dependent upon the fitness of the heart, and their debasement is consequential upon the debasement of the heart. The heart, in this sense, is like a lantern which is only fit if it has light - the light of piety and certitude. Therefore if the heart is deprived of this light it will become like a lantern-stand which is without the light of its lantern.⁽¹⁾ Also, any deed done by the soul without the heart having earned anything by it is regarded as null in relation to the hereafter; and the doer will not be accountable for it if it is evil, nor will he be rewarded for it if it is good.⁽²⁾ This is in accordance with God's saying: "But He will catch you up for what your hearts have earned."⁽³⁾

The heart is the fountain of the light of faith, as is attested by God's saying: "He has written faith in their hearts"⁽⁴⁾; and by His saying: "But He has made faith beloved by you, and has made it seemly in your hearts",⁽⁵⁾

(1) Bayān al-Farq, p.37.

(2) Bayān al-Farq, p.37.

(3) Chapter II, verse 225.

(4) Chapter LVIII, verse 23.

(5) Chapter IX, verse 7.

and also by His saying: "and his heart is quiet in the faith".⁽¹⁾ The heart is also the fountain of piety, tranquillity, reserve and self-effacement, leniency, quietude, submission, purity and cleanness. Piety, in its original sense, is in the heart. It is piety against scepticism, polytheism, unbelief, dissimulation and hypocrisy.⁽²⁾

The heart has no limit to the depth of its sense, nor has the multiplicity of its rivers a count. Wise men are like divers in the seas, or like the water drawers and fishermen in the rivers. Every one of them gets and finds what is his lot as granted by God. Some of them get revealed to them the gems of knowledge by which they recognize the defects of this world, the rapidity of its mutability, the great variety of its illusions, lack of stability and the tendency to hastv vanishment, and get revealed to them ways of knowing the wiles of Satan and varieties of his evil promptings. Some others get revealed to them the knowledge of how people of piety are arranged in their proper ranks, and how the people of learning are placed in their grades, and also the people of honourable character, of goodness to mankind, of endurance under suffering, liberality in giving worldly goods, altruism,

(1) Chapter XVI, verse 106.

(2) Bayān al-Farq, p.54.

fear of hell, hostility to Satan, self-mortification, conformity to the example of the Prophet and his companions, and strong adherence to the tradition.⁽¹⁾

Others also get things revealed to them through persistence in praising the boons of God, talking about His gifts, His warding off of afflictions, His munificence, His gracious screening, prolonged indulgence, great forgiveness, extensive mercy and the rest of this.⁽²⁾

Others still get disclosures through witnessing what was known previously by them about God as regards His pre-existence and eternity, gathered from continuous discourse about Him and from properly contemplating Him, His preference, selection, favour and antecedent kindnesses.⁽³⁾

There are also others who get cognition by viewing truths of divine acts, and thus come to witness traces of God's omnipotence, gracious acts and the like.⁽⁴⁾

Others get cognition by witnessing the greatness, the majesty, and the magnanimity of God, and by contrast, the insignificance of His creatures, and by viewing the poverty of men, their misery, indigence and their dependence upon Him, as against His self-sufficiency, the plentifulness of His resources and His maintenance of them and His good care of them.

(1) Bayān al-Farq, p.30.

(2) Bayān al-Farq, p.51.

(3) Bayān al-Farq, p.51.

(4) Bayān al-Farq, p.51.

Some are enlightened by sensing instances of felicity, sweetness of cognition and love, and by experiencing God's protection from error, unbelief and predjudice.⁽¹⁾

Some others get intimations through seeing His singleness and oneness only, in such a way that they will not experience in their innermost sense any other beside Him, and consequently the status of anybody below Him recedes until it vanishes, especially when God is revealed in His majesty, when they see Him in His eternity, perfection and endlessness, and see, by contrast, the contingency of man and his ordained death.⁽²⁾

All these aspects have no limit to the depth of their seas, and no end to their gems. God says: "He bringeth wisdom unto whom He will, and he who is brought wisdom is brought so much good; but none will remember save those endowed with minds".⁽³⁾ These aspects are what comes off the tongue of the wise one, just like the foam churned by the sea, and then cast off, and man makes use of what it contains. Similarly the wise one has wisdom which runs off his tongue, in forms of expressions, by way of making it manifest to mankind. What rises in the heart is like the foam on the sea waves. As the foam is useful in treating opthalmia, so the surge in the sea of the heart is useful

(1) Bayān al-Farq, p.52.

(2) Bayān al-Farq, p.52.

(3) Chapter II, v.269.

in curing the disease of worldliness in the one whose eyes of the heart are sore, as the wise one says, and similarly in curing his heart from diseases arising from sensuality and other spiritual affections.⁽¹⁾

As expansion is predicated of the breast, so is sight and sightlessness predicated of the heart.⁽²⁾ God says: "For it is not the eyes which are blind, but blind are the hearts within the breasts."⁽³⁾

There is nothing among the things created by God better than a heart blessed with the light of unitarianism, cognition and faith, or purer, cleaner, clearer, more expansive if God purifies it from défilements, takes charge of reviving it with His light, protects and safeguards it, and increases its gains. This is the heart of the believer, whose lights have no limit.⁽⁴⁾

When the heart is irradiated with the divine light and with the light of faith, God will be in charge of protecting it, will fill it with love and awe, secure it with the lock of potency and put away the key of will in the lockers of His esoteric secrets.⁽⁵⁾

The heart is the fountain of the light of faith and the light of the Qur'ān, and both lights are the same. God says: "Thou didst not know what the book was, nor the

(1) Bayān al-Farq, p.52.

(2) Bayān al-Farq, p.47.

(3) Chapter XXII, verse 46.

(4) Bayān al-Farq, pp.55-6.

(5) Bayān al-Farq, p.58.

faith: but we made it a light ..."(1) The light of the heart is complete by itself, and it cannot be divided or broken into parts. It is one whole. When it comes, it comes in its wholeness, and when it goes away, it goes away in its wholeness.(2)

The heart is also the fountain of knowledge - the knowledge of wisdom and the knowledge of good conduct. The latter knowledge is the highway which the servant, under divine guidance, follows towards God who graciously clarifies his heart by enabling him to view His holy secrets and to see what lies behind the screens, just as if he sees all this with his own eyes; and were the screen to be removed, he will not see any more. The knowledge of the good conduct means that the heart is oriented towards the Lordship of God, His oneness, greatness, majesty, omnipotence, all His attributes, and the facts of his workmanship and action.(3)

As regards the description of the hearts of whose guidance God has taken special charge, namely the hearts of the saints, al-Tirmidhi gives us such a minute and interesting account of it that a summary will not be an adequate substitute for the whole of it. He says that the hearts of the saints of God are the treasuries of wisdom,

(1) Chapter XLIII, verse 52.

(2) Bayān al-Farq, pp.58-9.

(3) Bayān al-Farq, p.58.

locations of mercy, fountains of direct vision, treasures of knowledge, mansions of honour, points from which God bestows loving kindness on them, the cultivating ground for his clemency, the vessels of his knowledge. (1) The hiding place for His wisdom, the receptacles of belief in His transcendence, the situations of His favours, the living quarters of His bonuses and the shelters of lights derived from His light. God regards these hearts with compassion every moment, increasing in the process their lights and mending their secrets, having adorned them with the radiance of faith, grounded them on confidence in His mercy, filled them with the subtleties of gratefulness, built their walls with the benefits of charity, perfumed their ground with the light of right and of right guidance, in such a way that the soil has been cleansed of the dross of polytheism, scepticism, dissimulation and the other abominations. (2) This ground, the ground of cognition, has been irrigated by God with waters from the sea of divine favour. and thus the plants of the lights of the soul have taken root, and God has tended them with loving care as good gardeners do, who are foremost among those who fear God; and He has developed the buds of these plants with the help of the wind arising from conformity

(1) Ba... al-Farq, p.99.

(2) Ba... al-Farq, pp.99-100.

to the ways of the Master of the Prophets; and He has reared them with the divine winds: the wind of mercy, the wind of loving kindness, the wind of triumph, and other similar winds of Godhood; and He has ripened its fruits with the warmth of knowledge and increased them with the continuance of the night of the privation and the day of vainglory; and He has embellished its fruits with His colours which are the clear picture of the rules of Shari'ah and the clinging of the servant of God to the firm handle; and He has made them pleasant to the taste by adherence to the ways and traditions of His prophet.⁽¹⁾ Then He placed the throne of love on the ground of right, whose dust is perfumed with the light of the intellect, invigorated by the light of felicity, sustained with the sustenance of belief, established on the foundation of verification, and reinforced with the firmly planted pillar of God.⁽²⁾ He spread, on this throne, soft mattresses of might and main; and covered it up with the rugs of supplication and passiveness; and provided it with the couch of integrity, with dependence upon Him for confirmation in the ways of right and for conformity to the ways of the Community.⁽³⁾ Then He placed on this throne His servant and saint who was happy, sustained and strongly supported, having clothed him with the robes of

(1) Bayān al-Farq, pp.100-101.

(2) Bayān al-Farq, p.101.

(3) Bayān al-Farq, p.101.

piety, divested him of the garments of pretension and affectation, endowed him with honours from the treasuries of his bounty, braced his strength with His favours and means of prosperity, crowned him with the crown of His sainthood, washed him with the water of His loving-kindness and loving care, redoubled his cleanness with water from the ocean of His right guidance, fed him with the sweetness of His love and memories, gave him to drink a pure drink with the chalice of transcendence, from the sea of oneness, mixed with the sweetness of His contingency, so much so that he became dependent upon God, with his secrets screened from others, and his self subdued at the time when his self-glorification began to show, and it relinquished affectation on seeing his succour, and took pains, like a slave under the yoke, a helpless overpowered servant, or a chained prisoner, to serve Him and do His bidding.⁽¹⁾ Then, his Lord regarded him with the eye of His mercy, and bestrewed him with good from the treasuries of Godship with exclusive honours, until he settled in the position of true servitude, and consequently God made him sufficient in this way, drew him near, called him, honoured him, designated him, was kind to him and invited him. He came to Him when he heard

(1) Bayan al-Farq, p.101.

His call,⁽¹⁾ God supported, strengthened, fenced and harboured him, and so He responded and answered his call, hailed him privily and communicated with him all the time; and he protested to his Master that he knew no Lord other than Him, and therefore he was granted his request and his wish, and God chose him for serving Him and guided him in the right path, was pleased to give him love, singled him out for giving him His gnosis, let flow before him rivers of truthfulness and clear-sightedness; divine manifestations; modesty; affection; contentment; fear; hopefulness; fortitude; loyalty; thankfulness; dutifulness; durability; confrontation; vainglory and lack of means; glorification and abandonment of free choice; insight into destinies and the witnessing of the Almighty.⁽²⁾

God endows him increasingly every time with nice gifts incapable of being described adequately, while being close to his Lord, estranged from his world, too much engrossed with God to see what will befall him. He is living in the greatest of ease with his Lord, apprehensive that his circumstances may terminate and fearful that an event may necessitate transference from the station wherein he can view the glory and the majesty, while, in this state, he

(1) Bayān al-Farq, p.102.

(2) Bayān al-Farq, p.102.

is both alienated and friendly, both settled and yet poised for departure, and both perturbed and sedate having been drowned in a shoreless sea, the sea of oneness, but unwilling to escape from it.(1)

This recluse tastes the same pleasures as the sweets of life enjoyed by the pleasure seekers. He suffers from the pain of separation more than the suffering of those afflicted with aches, diseases and distresses, those flagellated with whips or criminals in chains. He was spared by God the pangs of separation and gathered for him every bounty, and took him closer to him and gave him security.(2)

May He be praised who bestows with great liberality upon the chosen of His devotees and the intimates of His elect, lavishes his gifts on them, rendered them proof against morbid passions, granted them sound hearts and led them along the straight path. May God be praised for His warding off of trials, lavishing gifts, augmenting means of easy life, giving honours of right guidance, removing possibilities of ruin and making it successfully possible to follow in the footsteps of His chosen prophet, the religion of His close and exclusive friend, the tradition of His favoured messenger, the seal of prophets and messengers, towards the plainest path.(3)

(1) Bayān al-Farq, p.102.

(2) Bayān al-Farq, p.102..

(3) Bayān al-Farq, p.102..

Al-Fu'ad: this is the third of the areas of interiority. Its relation to the heart is like the relation of the eye-ball to the black of the eyes, the holy mosque to the inside of Mecca, the inner chamber or the cupboard to the interior of the house, the wick to the lamp, or the kernel to the nut or almond.

The sense is the location of cognition, of conceits and of vision. Whenever a man benefits from cognition, it is the sense which benefits first, and then the heart. The sense lies in the middle of the heart, just as the heart is in the middle of the breast, or the pearl in the middle of the shell. (1)

It is the fountain of vision, God says: "Al-fu'ad believes not what it saw." (2) The word fu'ad, Inner Heart, is derived from the word fā'idah benefit, because it contemplates the benefits of God's love, and the sense benefits from that by vision, and the heart finds pleasure from knowledge, and, if the sense does not behold, the heart will not benefit from knowledge. (3)

As the sense is the seat of vision, so is the heart the seat of cognition; and if cognition and vision are united, the unknown will become immediately perceived, and the servant of God will be confirmed in certainty through

(1) Bayān al-Farq, p.38.

(2) Chapter LIII, verse 11.

(3) Bayān al-Farq, p.68.

cognition, vision and the true view of faith. The Qur'ān says: "And he who sees therewith it is for himself". God confers his favour upon him by rightly guiding him and helping him to believe in Him, as God says: "But he who is blind thereto, it is against his soul". It will be an argument in favour of God to disprove him if he discredited Him.⁽¹⁾

The name fu'ad (~~قلب~~) is subtler in meaning than the name heart, but their meanings are very close, like the meanings of Rahman (compassionate) and Rahim (merciful). The guardian of the heart is the Rahman, because the heart is the fountain of faith, and the believer relies upon the compassionate God concerning the truth of his belief.⁽²⁾ God says: "Say: He is the beneficent, in Him we believe and in Him we put our trust",⁽³⁾ and also says: "And my mercy embraceth everything, and I will write it down for those who fear."⁽⁴⁾ He also says: "Thus, that we may establish thy sense therewith."⁽⁵⁾

The heart ~~learns~~; but the ~~learner~~ is in need of the ties of confirmation so that he may feel assured with regard to the presence of God, as stated in the Quranic chapter of the cave: "And we braced up their hearts, when they stood up".⁽⁶⁾ And also in the story of the mother of

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- (1) Bayān al-Farq, p.62.
 (2) Bayān al-Farq, p.69.
 (3) chapter LXVII, verse 29.
 (4) Chapter VII, verse 156.
 (5) Chapter XXV, verse 32.
 (6) Chapter XVIII, verse 14.

Moses: "had it not been that we bound up her heart..."⁽¹⁾
 This means that the heart is fastened strongly by the light of transcendence according to the interpretation of the exegetes.⁽²⁾

The sense sees and experiences, and therefore it may suffer voidness; and does not need fastening, but needs to be supplied with right guidance. God says: "And the fu'ād (sense) of Moses' mother was void on the morrow; she well-nigh disclosed him."⁽³⁾ Here the sense (fu'ād) is qualified by voidness, and is considered pre-eminent over the heart, since the heart cognizes; but to be informed is not the same as to experience directly.⁽⁴⁾

Vision may be an attribute of the heart also; but the heart sees by the light located in it, as indicated by the answer made by Abu-Jāfar Muhammad b'Ali when asked by a bedouin: "Have you seen Thy Lord?" "I would not have worshipped something I never saw", answered Abu-Jāfar. "How did you see Him?" asked the bedouin. "The eyes", Abu-Jāfar answered, "did not see Him by immediate observation, but the hearts saw Him by the truths of faith."⁽⁵⁾

The heart and the sense are sometimes covered by the word "basar", sight, because both are locations for sight.

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- (1) Chapter XXVIII, verse 10.
 (2) Bayān al-Farq, p.70.
 (3) Chapter XVIII, verse 10.
 (4) Bayān al-Farq, p.70.
 (5) Bayān al-Farq, p.63.

God says: "God interchanges the night and the day; verily in that is a lesson to those endowed with sight".⁽¹⁾
 Also God says: "Wherefore take example, O ye who are endowed with sight."⁽²⁾ Those in possession of sight are considered to be capable of perceiving in things the subtleties of God's creation.⁽³⁾

The intellect - al-Lubb: this is the fourth area of interiority. Al-Tirmidhi, in talking about the intellect, says: "It is the mightiest mountain, the safest stand and the pivot which is constant and immovable. It is the mainstay of religion and all lights are traceable to it and are enclosing it. These lights will remain incomplete and their effectiveness will not be operative unless the intellect and its mainstay are sound and fit. They cannot subsist without the subsistence of the intellect, and cannot be established unless it is established. It is the fountain of transcendence, and the light by which oneness is witnessed."⁽⁴⁾

This intellect is a joint light, a planted plant and an innate mind. It is not like the compounds; but it is a simple light like elementary, basic things. This intellect which is the mind is planted in the ground of transcendence, whose soil is that of oneness, watered by

(1) Chapter XXIV verse 44.

(2) Chapter LIX, verse 2.

(3) Bayan al-Farq, p.64.

(4) Bayan al-Farq, p.70.p.71.

the water of grace, from the sea of glorification, and thus its roots have been infused in full with the lights of certitude.⁽¹⁾ God Himself took charge of planting it, and set about doing it with His own immediate and unmediated power. He planted it in the garden of contentment, rendered it impregnable by surrounding it with the wall of preservation, and grounded it firmly in His eternity, pre-existence and priority so that the ~~vestibul~~ soul can hardly approach it with its sensual desires, ignorance or the beasts of the wilds of error, or approached by any of the beasts which are the characteristics of the soul, such as conceit, folly and other distempers. God, Himself, is the owner of this garden and the keeper of it. It is the most beautiful of all gardens, because it is the garden of faith which God was in charge of planting, watering and developing until the trees gave forth the fruits of the light of faith through help from the Raḥmān (Compassionate one), and the delicate fruits of supreme belief (Iḥsān)⁽²⁾. God says: "But God has made faith beloved by you, and had made it seemly in your heart."⁽³⁾

This is the explanation of the name Lubb (intellect). It consists of the letters Lam (l) and ba (b). It begins

(1) Bayān al-Farq, p.71.

(2) Bayān al-Farq, pp.71-2.

(3) Chapter XLIX, verse 7.

with the letter (lan), with which the word Lutf (grace) begins. The letter ba (b) is stressed; it is not doubled in writing and it is only doubled in speech.

But in fact it is two letters: the ba (b) of birr (benevolence) at the beginning, and then the ba (b) of baqā (endurance) through blessing. (1)

This light does not come into being for any cause whatever. It only does so through the grace of the Opener of Doors. Originally, God gave to his servant the benefits of the principles of religion out of His grace, without a cause; then the ramifications of religion were made conditional upon the servant's submission. The struggle of the servant against evil is contingent upon the help of Lordship and the right guidance of God. (2)

Then he shows who are the people of intellect and says: "Know that the intellect belongs only to the people of faith who are the chosen servants of the Raḥmān, and who tend towards obedience to the Master and turn away from the desires of one's self and from worldliness. In consequence, God invests them with the vestments of piety and deflects away from them all sorts of afflictions, calling them "the possessors of intellect." He addresses them especially, reproaches them in various ways, and praises them in many verses. He says: "Fear me o ye

(1) Bayān al-Farq, p.72.

(2) Bayān al-Farq, p.72.

who possess intellects",⁽¹⁾ "It is these that God hath guided, and by their guidance be them led"⁽²⁾ and he who is brought wisdom is brought much good", and "that they may consider its verses, and that those endowed with intellect may be mindful".⁽³⁾ In this way, God praises the possessors of intellects; and he determines their stations, their secret communications with their Lord, their excellences in their mastery of thought, understanding and sober-mindedness, to the extent that we have been baffled in comprehending their status, because He especially endowed them with the light of intellect to the exclusion of the others."⁽⁴⁾

The Difference Between Intellect (al-Lubb) and Reason (Mind) (al-'Aql)

The majority of the men of letters who are versed in language consider that intellect is the same as reason (mind), the only difference between them being the same as the difference between sunlight and lamplight. Both of them are light, which is obvious; but you can hardly come across two rational people whose reasons have equal proficiency and lucidity. On the contrary, they differ one from the other in an excess of cerebration enjoyed by the one over the other. How much so would the differences be considered those especially endowed by God with His

(1) Chapter V, verse 100.

(2) Chapter VI, verse 90.

(3) Chapter XXXVIII, verse 29.

(4) Bayān al-Farq, p.72.

knowledge, favoured with the boons of His loving kindness and inundated with such benefits from the seas of His goodness as nobody else has been inundated⁽¹⁾.

Grades of Reason (Mind)

Mind is one in name; its proficiency is subject to increase and decrease; it is a leader and an offshoot; it is strong with the strength of its pillars, and increases with the increase of its will (proficiency).

1. The first grade of reason is the native reason, which keeps a boy and a man out of the compass of madness, and by which he apprehends what is said to him, because he is bidden and forbidden, and he distinguishes by his reason the good from the evil, and knows by it how to tell self-respect from servility, gain from loss, the outsiders from the neighbours, the relatives from the outsiders.⁽²⁾

2. The second grade is the reason of the sense of obligation, for which the servant attains the grade when he deserves to receive obligations from God; and when he attains maturity, the light of reason, described as the light of confirmation, will be brightened; and thus the servant's reason will be confirmed and will reach the stage at which he receives God's commandments.⁽³⁾

(1) Ba al-Farq, p.74.

(2) Ba al-Farq, p.74.

(3) Bayan al-Farq, p.74.

3. There is also the reason of experience, which is the most useful of the three and superior to them. It becomes wiser through experience and capable of apprehending what what has not happened by inference from what has already happened. It is as God's Messenger said: "No man can be wise without experience, and no man can be sober-minded unless he had stumbled."⁽¹⁾

4. Then there is the inherited reason which marks a man as mature, rational, wise, learned, soberminded and gracious. If this man is afflicted with an irrational child or pupil to whom his company is void of use; and if he then dies, God by His charity, will bequeath his reason with its light, its luminosity and usefulness, his gravity, sedateness and presentableness to this irrational boy or pupil, who will thus be transformed at once, and he becomes as grave and rational as his predecessor. This cannot be witnessed except when the magnanimous and rational man dies and when the ignorant and irrational person is transformed. Only reason is inherited; but the blessings of his prayer and the light of his knowledge will accrue also, and God, through His generosity and benefaction, will complete this.⁽²⁾

These aspects of reason will be useful, according to how many of them one can acquire. Man will improve by what

(1) Bayān al-Farq, p.75.

(2) Bayān al-Farq, p.75.

he acquires of these aspects and becomes fit to befriend people who profit from him. These aspects can also be obtained by atheists like the philosophers, the wise men of India and Greece, and others, because these types of reason are only for strengthening of the self and for dealing with people in the ways of hypocrisy.⁽¹⁾

5. But the most completely useful reason is the balanced reason, which is stamped with the light of God's guidance. It is the intellect, and it is called reason. Reason is a means of expression, knowledge by way of metaphor in the ampleness of language. The possessors of intellect are those who know God; and not every rational person knows God. But everyone who knows God is rational.⁽²⁾ God says: "But none will comprehend them save those who know."⁽³⁾

There are other names for reason in Arabic. It is called Hilm, nuha, hijr and hija, as in the Qu'ran: "Verily in that are signs to those endowed with intelligence (nuha)";⁽⁴⁾ "Is there in that an oath for a man of sense (hijr)";⁽⁵⁾ and in the Prophet's tradition: "Let those of you who possess minds (Ahlām) and sense (nuha) succeed me, and then those proved by me."⁽⁶⁾

The Rational Man is the possessor of reason who under-

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- (1) Bayān al-Farq, p.75.
 (2) Bayān al-Farq, p.76.
 (3) Chapter XXIX, verse 43.
 (4) Chapter XX, verse 128.
 (5) Chapter LXXXIX, verse 5.
 (6) Bayān al-Farq, p.76.

stands from God His command, prohibition, admonition, promise and warning, and understands God's meaning according as God helps him and reveals to him how he should respect His commands and shun what He prohibits. These can only happen through God's grace and His benevolence, and thus God gives him preference over the others by endowing him with remarkable intellect and distinguished light. (1)

Al-Faqīh - the Jurist: Anybody in possession of these qualities is a master of thought; well-versed in the fundamentals of religion and the ensuing judicial details of religion. Not everyone who is well-versed in the subdivisions is necessarily well-versed in the fundamentals, because mastery of thought in the details is extensive and in this case he is a master of thought as a result of conscious study; and he is the carrier of jurisprudence and of knowledge. The word "fiqh" is the name used for knowledge to signify it; and in popular usage it is said that Mr. So-and-so studies to be wiser and learns. (2)

The mastery of thought is in fact the intuition which is in the heart, as the Prophet says, "Often the carrier of jurisprudence may have no understanding and there may

(1) Bayān al-Farq, p.77.

(2) Bayān al-Farq, p.77.

be a carrier of jurisprudence who carries it to one who has better understanding of it."⁽¹⁾

Insight into religion is the light which God infuses into the heart of His faithful and believing servant, which serves him like a lamp by which he can see. "This is not possible for the unbeliever and the hypocrite." God says, "But the hypocrites have no insight".⁽²⁾ The matter of thought whose heart is illuminated with the light of sight is the one referred to by the Prophet in his saying: "If God wishes a servant well, He will educate him in religion and reveal to him the defects of his soul, and disclose to him the ills and the remedies of the world. He in whom God joins these merits is a prodigy. The greatest savant and the precognizant intellectual."⁽³⁾ This is why the deduction of the educated pundit varies from the deduction of the wise pundit, because of the variation in the spheres belonging to them respectively. The mastery of thought of the learned man is situated in the breast, and it is liable to be forgotten;⁽⁴⁾ but the light of this knowledge can be made brighter through learning and application, and will put forth branches of the light of insight and understanding by which the possessor will be able by the guiding light

(1) Bayān al-Farq, p.77.

(2) Chapter LXIII, verse 6.

(3) Bayān al-Farq, p.78.

(4) Bayān al-Farq, p.46.

of his masterful thought to unravel unsolved questions and, by analogy, to compare what he doesn't know with what is similar and alike in his knowledge, and thus facilitate the understanding of its meaning. His deduction of laws consists in the deduction of principles to be in accordance with the tradition and in support of shari'ah(religious law).⁽¹⁾

But the deduction of the pundit in the esoteric knowledge is the deduction of the inward mental sense, which is to be in accordance with reality and with the vision of Lordship. The disparity between them can be shown by the deduction of internal and external meaning of a Qur'ānic verse which on the face of it poses a verdict because it carries in the exterior of the expression a hint leading to the inside knowledge of it. Thus, the pundit deduces what conforms to the commandment (Hujjah) of God; and the wise man deduces what is agreeable to the purpose of God; and will be led along the well-defined path through subtle indications which he glimpses to be consonant with the transcendence of God and informative about a purpose agreeable to God.⁽²⁾

Further to this, there are delicate situations, dignified places and pleasant graces. The foundation for them all is the light of the Divine Unity. This is

(1) Bayān al-Farq, p.78.

(2) Bayān al-Farq, pp.78-9.

a mystery, cognition is implicit obedience; faith is the conservation of the mystery and the witnessing of the implicit obedience; Islam is the employment of oneself in thankfulness to God, obedience to His commands and resignation of the heart to the mystery, because transcendence is a mystery only cognizable through God's guidance to the servant and His pointing it out to him. The servant is incapable of recognizing it by his unaided mind unless he is helped, supported and guided by God. Cognition is an act of charity from God, since it is God who opens up the door of blessings and favours, initiating and without the servant being deserving of this. (1)

The ~~undiscussed~~ stations beyond these stations are discerned partially only by a servant helped by God toward the recognition of such of them as indicated by known analogies. God aids him and gives him strength to understand them. These stations which lie beyond the aforesaid stations are analagous to the increase in the clarity of water if allowed to rest for some time in the vessels. By these analogies it will be possible to perceive the path leading to the undeclared mystery. (2)

(1) Bayān al-Farq, pp.38-9.

(2) Bayān al-Farq, p.40.

The Varieties of Light

Al-Tirmidhi allocated the stations of religion and the grades of the people of religion to their various places in the interior of the believer, and associated each of these stations with an area or a section in the believer's heart, taking into consideration the duties entailed by every grade in matters of active conduct, sincerity of worship and nearness to God. He called them "The Interior Stations", and named four of them in serial sequence: the Breast, the Heart, the Sense and the Intellect. And he conjoined each one of them with its correspondent in: Islam, Faith, ~~Cocosis~~ ⁽¹⁾ and Unity of God. He assigned to each area or section a special kind of light commensurate with it. Although they are various as to their names, but they are conformable and not antithetical. Each of these lights has its own advantages which flow from it independently according to its grade. Thus the light of Islam generates fear and promise; the light of Faith produces fear and promise; the light of cognition breeds fear and promise; and so is the case with the rest of the conditions which burst out of the heart and issue from the lights of the interior, such as thankfulness, fortitude, affection, bashfulness,

(1) Bayān al-Farq, pp.35-9.

truthfulness, loyalty and others.⁽¹⁾

What Proceeds from these Lights:

From the light of Islam proceeds fear of the ultimate and hopefulness for a good outcome. God says: "Do not therefore die until you have become Muslims."⁽²⁾ In another verse in the Chapter of Usuf (Joseph), God says: "Take me to Thyself as a Muslim, and join me to the righteous."⁽³⁾

From faith proceeds fear from visitations of evil; but from it also proceeds promise of windfalls of goodness any time.

From the light of cognition generates fear from failure to catch up with realities and promise of catching up with realities.

This kind has its fear traceable to the witnessing of Lordship, which means that one fears God, other than whom none deserves fear, and expects goodness from God, from none other than whom goodness can be expected.⁽⁴⁾

The Mountains of Light:

Then al-Tirmidhi links up these four stations with the grades of souls mentioned in the Qur'ān, namely: sensual soul; inspired soul; self-criticising soul; ~~tranquil~~ tranquil soul. Each one of these four lights is likened

(1) Bayān al-Farq, p.79.

(2) Chapter III, verse 132.

(3) Chapter XII, verse 101.

(4) Bayān al-Farq, pp.79-80.

to a mountain whose base occupies a part of the four parts of the heart, and each mountain has a bird which keeps on circling in the valleys appropriate to the religious status of the occupier. These birds represent the four above-mentioned souls. In this distribution, al-Tirmidhi portrays his opinion about the conduct of man at its various levels according to the man's lot of guidance, cognition and light.

Islam is a mountain and its ground is the breast; faith is a mountain and its situation is in the heart; cognition is a mountain and its source of supply is the sense; transcendence is a mountain and it rests upon the intellect.⁽¹⁾ On the top of each mountain there is a bird. The bird of the mountain of the breast is the sensual soul; the bird of the mountain of the heart is the informed soul; the bird of the mountain of the sense is the self-criticising soul; the bird of the mountain of the intellect is the reformed soul.⁽²⁾

The sensual soul does its flight in the valleys of polytheism, scepticism, hypocrisy and others. But God protects His Saints from its evil deeds, as indicated by His saying: "The soul is very urgent to evil, save what my Lord has had mercy on."⁽³⁾ The informed soul does its

(1) Bayān al-Farq, p.80.

(2) Ibid, p.80.

(3) Chapter XII, verse 53.

flight in the valleys of piety sometimes and in the valleys of wickedness some other times. God says: "and taught it its wickedness and its piety."⁽¹⁾

The self-criticising soul does its flight in the valleys of loftiness, grandeur, gazing at the honours of God, self-glorification and rejoicing at the blessings of God sometimes, and in the valleys of privation, modesty, self-disdain and vision of humbleness, objectness and indigence some other times. Nevertheless the soul is critical of its possessor in all positions. God says: "Nor need I swear by the self-criticising soul."⁽²⁾

The reformed soul does its flight in the valleys of contentment, bashfulness, settling for transcendence, enjoyment of the sweetness of the reflection of God. It has the form of the spirit, having been cleansed by God from the evil of contest.⁽³⁾ God says: "O Thou comforted soul! Return unto Thy Lord, well pleased and well pleased with."⁽⁴⁾ He also says: "Then rest and fragrance and the garden of bliss."⁽⁵⁾

The soul is an essence of which certain parts are more pleasant than others, and certain other parts are

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- (1) Chapter XCI, verse 8.
 (2) Chapter LXXV, verse 2.
 (3) Bayān al-Farq, pp. 81-2.
 (4) Chapter LXXXIX, verse 27-8.
 (5) Chapter LVI, verse 89.

more abominable, more unjust and more wicked than others. The soul is cleansed by the light of the externality of Islam from the evil of the externality of the soul. It improves and gets better through sincerity of self-abnegation, if approached by the prospering favour of God. The Prophet says in His prayer: "We seek refuge in God against the evils of our souls."⁽¹⁾

The essence of the soul is a hot wind like smoke and it is tenebrous and ill-treating. Originally, its spirit was luminous, and it increases in improvement if favoured with success and prosperity from God, together with good treatment and true supplication. But it will not increase in improvement unless the servant of God resists its temptations and passions, turns away from it, and mortifies it with hunger and distress.⁽²⁾

The self-criticising soul is nearer to truth; but it is deceitful and unctuous, and is elusive except to the initiated, prudent man.⁽³⁾

The reformed soul is that which God has purified from the mischief of darkness and rendered radiant - thus becoming similar to the spirit, willing to be submissive and obedient to God without reluctance on its part, and thus becoming obedient by being obedient to God. It is

(1) Bay'ın al-Farq, p.82.

(2) Ibid, pp. 82-3.

(3) Ibid, p.83.

the soul of the Ṣiddīq whose inward and outward have been engrossed by God.⁽¹⁾

The Reason Why Lights Are Likened to Mountains:

Lights are likened to mountains only because the light of Islam in the breast of the Muslim is too strong and firmly established to be removed by anybody, so long as it is preserved by God. It is not feasible for anyone to remove the light of Islam from the breast of the Muslim, who, although not on the straight path of submission, is nevertheless clinging hard to the firm handle of faith, but unsafe from the evil promptings of the soul. The mountain of the light of faith is greater, more firmly grounded and more securely fixed than the light of Islam, because the soul has responsibility and is under obligation to protect Islam and to enforce its laws, but is under no obligation to protect the heart because the heart is sustained by the light of the Lord.⁽²⁾ God says: "God makes fast those who believe with the sure word in this world's life and in the next."⁽³⁾ The Prophet says: "Faith in their hearts is like the firmly anchored mountains." It is the seat of useful knowledge. The light of cognition is more widespread and its light

(1) Bayān al-Farq, p.83.

(2) Ibid, p.84.

(3) Chapter XIV, verse 27.

is stronger, because it is the fountain of vision; and vision is surer than reported information, because "The reported information is not the same as direct viewing."⁽¹⁾

The light of *Tāwḥīd* is the greatest mountain. Its like among mountains is the Mountain Qaf among the rest of the mountains.⁽²⁾

The Limits of the Mountains of Light:

The mountain of the light of Islam comes to an end at self-abnegation and the good deeds of the soul. In this, the people of Islam are disparate in rank.

The mountain of the light of faith terminates at trust in God and commitment to Him. To witness is greater, unless ~~one~~ feels self-important; and what matters is what one can see; but one can see with the light of faith things which are invisible to the eyes. The people of faith are equal with regard to the substructure of faith, and to their direct visions. But they are unequal in respect of what accrues from its lights in the form of fruits and branches of faith.⁽³⁾

The mountain of the light of cognition terminates at the point of attaining knowledge of subsistence,⁽⁴⁾

(1) Bay'n al-Farq, p.84.

(2) Ibid, p.84.

(3) Ibid, pp.84-5.

(4)

و جيل نور المعرفة ينتهي حدوده إلى إحصاء العلم بالبقاء والقياد...

annihilation, and powerlessness and power. It also terminates where the loving kindness and favours of God can be witnessed.

By this light, it is possible to tell the dying and the vanishing, and their insignificance and meanness; and also to tell the enduring and ~~this~~ power and ~~His~~ loftiness, and to know the helplessness and weakness of their creation.⁽¹⁾ The one who knows these things is like the mountain of God, whose knowledge is confirmed by seeing the greatness, grandeur and power of God. His God keeps him safeguarded, so that he will not disappear when overtaken by a misfortune, and will not depart when afflicted with a crisis, because he is sustained by the power and mercy of God.⁽²⁾

The light of transcendence, which is the fourth mountain, is ~~at~~ the ~~origin~~ of the perceptive intellect. It is the mountain whose height is infinite and whose greatness is endless. It is the fountain of all goodness, and the sea from which comes out every good thing and to which goes back every good thing. No human being can describe its light by word of mouth, except insofar as he is made successful and prosperous by God.⁽³⁾

(1) See al-Farq, p.85.

(2) Ibid,

(3) Ibid, p.87.

The Unitarian is a servant of God who is alive to people but dead to himself by being close to God, submerged in the light of transcendence enjoying easy living, and pleasant life with his Lord. God says: "and we will quicken him with a goodly life,"⁽¹⁾ when he will have forgotten all sweetnesses beside the sweetness of recollection of God, obeying Him, knowing Him and loving Him. The Prophet says: "The one who savours the taste of faith is the one who is content with God His Lord." This is a servant whom God has given to drink from the sea of true guidance, and he has experienced the sweetness of these drinks. He is like a mad man to people; but God has bedecked him with the best apparel, safeguarded him from evil promptings and preferred him to many people. He has become alive in God, because He has sheltered him, taken charge of him, fortified his heart and quickened him. Thus he is able to witness by the light of God what the others cannot see.⁽²⁾

Aspects of Life:

Life, as understood by the ~~majority~~ majority of people, is of many aspects. There is the life of man by the spirit, *and* ~~there~~ is the life of beasts and brutes. There is the life

(1) Chapter XVI, verse 97.

(2) Bayn al-Farq, pp.88-94.

of the heart, without the darkness of unbelief but by the light of faith. Another aspect is the life of man by knowledge, in the sense that the man of knowledge is alive but the ignorant man is dead. There is also the life of the servant of God by the light of obedience, out of the darkness of disobedience. There is again, the life of the repentant by the light of repentance and out of the darkness of mischief, by the light of prosperity from God and out of the darkness of the vision of self-abnegation. There is the life of the servant of God by the sight of God's favours to him, and by the tender disposition of God towards him and out of the darkness which excludes the sight of deeds. There are other aspects, the mention of which is too much for the hearts of the generality of people.⁽¹⁾ God says: "Say the Spirit comes at the bidding of my Lord."⁽²⁾ He also says: "He aids them with a spirit from Him,"⁽³⁾ and says: "He throws the Spirit by this bidding upon whom He will of His servants."⁽⁴⁾ And also says: "And thus have we inspired thee by a spirit at our bidding."⁽⁵⁾

Every living being in the creation of God is called "alive" only because of the Spirit; and the Spirit is

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- (1) Bayān al-Farq, p.95.
 (2) Chapter XVII, verse 85.
 (3) Chapter LXXXV, verse 22.
 (4) Chapter XL, verse 15.
 (5) Chapter XLII, verse 52.

the light by which God breathed life into the creation. It is, as God says, "by His bidding."⁽¹⁾ The principle of the Spirit is God; and man is sustained by the Spirit. The life of the breast is sustained by the Spirit of Islam; the life of the heart is sustained by the spirit of faith; the life of sense is sustained by the spirit of cognition *gnosis and vision*; the life of the intellect by the spirit of transcendence, dissociation from power and might and association with God.⁽²⁾

(1) See chapter XVI, verse 2; chapter XVII, verse 85 and chapter XL, verse 15.

(2) Bayān al-Farq, p.96.

CHAPTER VII.THE STRUGGLE BETWEEN THE HEART AND THE
SOUL, AND FORMS OF CONDUCT.

1. The continuous struggle between the forces of good and evil.
2. The heart is the capital of the realm of Gnosis.
3. The gates of the soul.
4. Account of the struggle as given by al-Tirmidhi.
5. The auxiliaries of reason, Aql.
6. The hundred traits of the Devil.
7. The forms of conduct.
8. Basis of human conduct.

The Struggle Between the Heart and the Soul
or Between Reason and Passion

Anybody who studies the thoughts and ideas of al-Tirmidhi will find it obvious that he believes in man as being the sphere of constant struggle between the forces of good and evil, and that these forces occupy certain areas of influence in the human being wherefrom they exercise their authority, practise their assaults, engage auxiliaries and get ready for the onslaught in time. Each of these two tendencies has an overlord, a realm and collaborators or auxiliaries. The realm of good or light has gnosis for overlord and has reason for the prince and heir of the throne, assisted by a hundred auxiliaries, each one of whom has a definite assignment and a clear cut function. The domain and the seat of this realm are in the heart, which is the spring or the source of light, resplendence and right guidance. On the other side is the realm of evil or darkness, presided over by the soul and passion, assisted by a hundred auxiliaries who get ready to carry out incursions into the realm of light and good and seize the opportunity for taking the initiative in steering man along the path of passion and the lower soul.

Accordingly, al-Tirmidhi visualises the heart of man as the metropolis and capital of the realm, the suzerainty of which is contested by gnosis and reason on the one hand, and

passion on the other. But since the heart is the prince, presiding over the organs of the body, authority or sovereignty in all this realm goes of the two parties, to the one which overpowers.(1) The heart, if the heart is for gnosis and reason, its state of affairs will be straight and in good order, and consequently the organs will be fit and in good fettle. But if the heart is for the soul and passion, it will become darkened and the organs will be maladjusted, with unabated struggle between gnosis and reason on the one hand and the soul and passion on the other.

Al-Tirmidhi derives this visualisation from a tradition of the Prophet's, namely: "Verily, there is in the body a piece of flesh, when it is in good condition, the body as a whole will be in good condition; and when it is in bad condition, the body as a whole will be in a bad condition - which is the heart". We have already dealt with one aspect of al-Tirmidhi's visualisation of this constant struggle when discussing the cities of light and the realm of gnosis in the chapter entitled "The Theory of Knowledge according to al-Tirmidhi."(2)

(1) Mas'alah fi sha'n al-'Aql wa al-Hawa, fol 51b, Leipzig Ms.

(2) See Chapter "The Theory of Gnosis" of this thesis p.250.

He envisages the soul as two great cities, one inside the other, which he calls the inner soul and the outer soul. The inner one is a domain of war; and the outer is liable to submit to whoever prevails, conquers and holds sway. (1) The inner soul is unrighteous, and its substance is of the meanest, lowliest and coarsest clay because it is abstracted from the foothold, the footpath, the runway and the walkway of the Devil.(2)

The Soul has seven gates, all open onto the organs. The organs are seven villages all around it. If the king or overlord is in command of it and has dominance over it, it will remain calm, and the villages will be at ease, with their provisions coming to them comfortably from every place. But if it submits to the inner soul in obedience to it, shows no gratitude for the blessings of God, and renounces all that is lawful, God will make it suffer unrelentingly hunger and fright in consequence of its overboldness in committing deeds hateful to God.(3)

In the Soul, there is a householder, who is the sneak, the scout for obtaining secret information, the evil whisperer and the spy -- "the slinker, the evil whisperer who whispers into the hearts of men - from jinns and men".(4)

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|-----|------------------------|-----------------------------|---------|
| (1) | "Al-A' dā' wa al-Nafs" | fol.155b, & "Ghawr al-Umūr" | fol.38a |
| (2) | al-'A'dā' | fol.135b, & Ghawr | fol.5a |
| (3) | al-'A'dā' | fol.138a, & Ghawr | fol.8b |
| (4) | al-'A'dā' | fol.155a, & Ghawr | fol.38a |

Al-Tirmidhi gives a picture of the constant struggle between the soul and passion on the one hand and gnosis and reason on the other, in what he says as follows: "The Organs are villages encompassing the Soul, with an agent over each of them. If the enemy is subdued and quelled and passion is in check, the king or overlord, that is gnosis, will be in effective authority, and of sovereignty, prestige, splendour, compelling command, dignity and honour, with a brilliant light of majesty issuing from him and reaching to the farthest bounds of the city. The city, with its waters, will be a verdent garden, which is the heart, and the townships around it will be tranquil and unsuspecting, having shed the clouds of passion, the murks of heterodoxy and the smoke of lust. The agent also will be enjoying glory, honour, splendour and prominence, with the light of willingness, obedience and joy shining brightly from him and reaching to the farthest townships and villages. The townships will be calm and contented, the agents will be obedient, the slinker subdued, the evil whisperer restrained, passion closely imprisoned and the accursed evil-doer snubbed and contrite.(1)

But if the enemy seizes it, he will take it forcibly and will impose over it a ruler, and the ex-ruler with his soldiers and followers will succumb to his injustice, wickedness, desires, caprice, tricks, falsehood, deception, foulness, stench and

(1) Al-A'Dā' wa al-Nafs" fol.155c & "Ghawr al-Umūr" fol.38c

stifling clouds. The ^{carnal} Soul which is passion will revive and be strengthened, and will be released from prison and fetters. The new ruler will appoint an agent over it and agents over the villages. His suzerainty will be confirmed and will eventually entrench himself in the abode of reason and the seat of its jurisdiction. Reason will then muster its fighters and fall upon him, fighting will start, and a black cloud will develop in between, together with a dark smoke from the stench and darkness of passion. The abode of reason which is the breast, will be darkened, and the king, or overlord, with his soldiers, will be enveloped by darkness and smoke. (1)

Reason may either be victorious over these odds, or they may be victorious against it. If they are victorious, reason will be defeated and will run away with its soldiers from the intense darkness and from the stench and the smoke. It will be weakened and humiliated, and, having deserted its station, it will seek, with its soldiers, refuge in its realm, gnosis seeking relief and in great fright, abandoning posts and battlegrounds which are the area of the breast. The enemy's footsoldiers and horsemen will assault the breast, take it by storm and settle in it. The enemy will have the sole authority, and suzerainty will be his own, and his orders will be unopposed. The cities will be quiet and submissive; the villages will be contented and approved of; the subjects will be docile;

(1) "Al-A'dā' wa al-Nafs" fol.156a, & "Ghawr al-Umūr" fol.38b.

the agents will be enjoying themselves; the enemy will be joyful; and the accursed evil-doer will be cheerful and full of swagger.(1) The king and the king of the realm, which is gnosis, and their soldiers and followers, will be in seclusion, imprisoned, overpowered and humiliated, with command or authority beyond the suburb of the city, which is the heart. In these circumstances, the king will be dismayed, sad and lonely; and will recoil and recede, and the heart, to the extent of the recoiling and recession, will lose a portion of its light, and in consequence, that part of the heart suffering this loss will be void of light. The more effective the authority of the enemy is, the darker the breast will be; and the darker the breast is, the sadder and lonelier the king will be; and the sadder and lonelier the king is, the greater will his recoil and recession be; and the greater his recoil and recession is, the less intense will his light be; and the less intense his light is, the more destitute of light the heart will be. This is because the light of the heart, having been weakened and curtailed, will not penetrate far enough to reach the farther parts and nooks of the heart. It is like a lamp in a room. The stronger and more resourceful the lamp is, the brighter and more diffuse its light will be. If, on the other hand, the lamp is weak,

(1) "Al-A'dā' wa al-Nafs" fol.156a,b & "Ghawr al-Umūr" fol.39a,b

its light will not penetrate to the corners and nooks, and the room will be dark. Similarly, the heart loses much of its effective authority, if the dark smoke settles on the breast and its gateway; and if the heart is kept under these conditions, secluded imprisoned and fettered, clouded over by the gloom of the enemy's soldiers and their dark smoke, with the effect of its light in check, it will be diseased, and will become like a year of drought, with no water, when the trees will wither and lose colour. The disease and disorder will have mastery over the heart, until it withers away.(1) This is expressed in the following Quranic verse: "Nay, but that which they gained ~~is a trust~~ upon their hearts!"(2) That is to say that if the enemy has mastery over the cities, his orders will be unchallenged and the subjects will be obedient, unable to do anything but obey any of his orders. This is a charge and a burden on the heart, causing recoil and recession. If this state is prolonged, the heart will lose its light, and light is life to the heart, or like the spirit to the body, or water to the soil. When this condition is protracted, the king will complain to God of what he is suffering from, and God will ~~either~~ come to his rescue and ~~until~~ the enemy ~~will~~ be defeated and his henchmen overpowered and his soldiers vanquished, or ~~God~~ will be ~~angry~~ at

(1) "Al-'A'dâ' wa al-Nafs" fol.156b & "Ghawr al-Umûr" fol.39b

(2) Chapter LXXXIII, verse 41.

He King

and will be accursed.(1) In this case, there will be four possible courses of action: (a) He may dispossess him of gnosis and lock up his heart, (b) He may set a stamp on his heart, (c) He may put a wrapping around it, or (d) seal it.(2) This is as God says; "Or are there locks upon their hearts", (3) and "He sets a stamp on their hearts", (4) and "Our hearts are enwrapped"(5), "Sealing is the most drastic act. If dispossessed of gnosis, he will become blind, deaf and dumb; and that is because the heart is the vessel of gnosis, in the same way as the body is the vessel of the spirit; and the body is capable of speech, hearing and vision so long as the spirit is in residence in it. If the spirit goes out of the body, the body will become blind, deaf and dumb.(7) Similarly, if the heart is void of gnosis, it is blind, deaf and dumb. This is the same idea in the verse: "Deaf, dumb and blind, and they shall not understand."(8)

Through this understanding, Al-Tirmidhi tries to portray for us the struggle between reason and gnosis on the one hand and the lower-soul and passion on the other. In various places of his books, he spoke about the nature of the soul and its

(1) "Al-A'dā' wa al-Nafs" fol.157a & "Ghawr al-Umūr" fol.40a

(2) Ibid. fol.157b & Ibid. fol.40b

(3) Chapter XLVII, verse 24.

(4) Chapter VII, verse 100.

(5) Chapter II, verse 88.

(6) Chapter II, verse 7.

(7) "Al-A'dā' wa al-Nafs" fol.157b & "Ghawr al-Umūr" fol.40b

(8) Chapter II, verse 171.

desires and allurements. Previously, we saw how he described the realm of gnosis, reason and its hundred auxiliaries and the functions carried out by them, when he surveyed the theory of knowledge and the idea of light. The auxiliaries, or the helpers, were again discussed in his book "Reason and Passion" — "Al-'Aql Wa'l-Hawā." (1) There, however, he stated that reason had fifty auxiliaries. It may appear, at first sight, that Al-Tirmidhi does not have a firm estimate for these intellectual forces, in view of his uncertainty as to whether they are fifty or a hundred. But a little reflection will show that the auxiliaries here also are a hundred because Al-Tirmidhi talks about the idea and its counterpart, and thus the auxiliaries will make up a hundred here as in his other books. We know the names of these auxiliaries, their functions, and their positions in the realm of gnosis. (2) As to the hundred auxiliaries of passion, we should know them, for they were called by Al-Tirmidhi "the hundred traits of Iblis (The Devil)", because he believes that God gave Adam a hundred traits to use against the guile and cunning of the Devil, and to utilise in repelling the Devil's craftiness away from him and from his offspring; and that God gave the Devil a hundred evil traits to use in achieving his schemes, crafty designs and tricks against mankind. (3) These

(1) Paris Ms. fol.136b-139b, and As ad Ms. fol.169b-173a

(2) See Chapter on Gnosis of this thesis.

(3) "Al-A'dā' wa al-Nafs" fol.155a, & "Ghawr al-Umūr" fol.37a.

were considered by Al-Tirmidhi as the soldiers and auxiliaries of passion. These are:—

Unbelief,	Ignorance,	Haughtiness;	Grudge,
Cunning,	Deceit,	Insincerity,	Guile,
Dishonesty,	Enmity,	Falsehood,	Fabrication,
Scandal,	Stinginess,	Evil-doing,	Calumniation,
Back-biting,	Anger,	Cowardice,	Flattery,
Hypocrisy,	Reputation,	Doubt,	Polytheism,
Bias,	Innovation,	Heterodoxy,	Wrong-doing,
Enticement,	Conceit,	Iniquity,	Injustice,
Oppression,	Apathy,	Light-mindedness,	Thoughtlessness
Sport,	Frivolity,	Diversion,	Inadvertence,
Unawareness,	Worldly pleasure,	Worldly joy,	Haste,
Rudeness,	Roughness,	Coarseness,	Violence,
Disdainfulness,	Vain-glory,	Worldly glory,	Vanity,
High-mindedness,	Perplexity,	Indolence,	Sloth,
Inability,	Dilatoriness,	Ennui,	Error,
Oblivion,	Desire,	Fancy,	Suspicion
Uncertainty,	Hope,	Wrong,	Elation,
Sauciness,	Laughter,	Folly,	Dismay,
Ingratitude,	Self-aggrandisement.	Worldliness,	Extravagance,
Popularity,	Taboo,	Ornament,	Greed,
Ribaldry,	Harshness,	Avidity,	Wilfulness,
Wantonness,	Despondency,	Roughness,	Imagination,

Vaunting,	Slyness,	Praise,	Wishfulness,
Zeal,	Spying,	Cheating,	Misgiving,
Complaint,	Swearing,	Superciliousness,	(1)

These are the hundred soldiers pressed into the service of passion, as traits of it, and as enemies of the hundred traits of Adam. The enemy of knowledge is ignorance; the enemy of activity is indolence; the enemy of gentleness is coarseness; the enemy of leisureliness is haste the enemy of certainty is doubt; the enemy of piety is impiety; the enemy of gratitude is ingratitude, the enemy of truthfulness is lying; the enemy of fortitude is dismay; the enemy of leniency is violence; the enemy of accuracy is error; the enemy of remembrance is oblivion, and so on.

Before we conclude our discussion of Al-Tirmidhi's picture of this strife between gnosis and reason on the one hand and the lower-soul and passion on the other, along the lines we have just detailed, and as clearly shown in the numerous writings of al-Tirmidhi generally, especially where he talks about the soul and its wiles and cunning used to lead astray people going along the right path, eager to draw very close to God and to be exposed to the emanations of this divine light -- (the picture based on the premise that the heart is the seat

(1) "Al-A'dá' wa al-Nafs" fol.155a,b & "Ghawr al-Umūr" fol.37a.b.

or metropolis of the realm where, inside and outside, there are seven cities of light, and there are also the soul, the organs and the villages all around) - we would like to say that this picture is the foundation line followed by al-Ghazāli in his book "The Alchemy of Happiness" - "Kimiya' al-Sa'adah" - where he talks about the soul and its energies and how it is divided into external and internal, with the organs around it, like al-Tirmidhi's villages, except that al-Ghazāli called the organs "estates" - "diyā" - instead of "villages" - "qura" - which is only a variation in name. The influence of al-Tirmidhi is also visible in al-Ghazāli's discourse on the heart and its soldiers in the same book. (1)

The forms of conduct

Al-Tirmidhi draws for human conduct a remarkable and fascinating picture, with a muster of noble qualities and characteristics which must inevitably be realised in the person, as visualised by al-Tirmidhi, for him to be a concrete example of a living ideal, embodying supreme moral values advocated and sought after by al-Tirmidhi. These values are grounded on a triple basis; a) right, b) equity, and c) truthfulness. They share the various human energies, and canalise them into the proper channels for the achievement and sound conduct and orthodox way of life.

(1) "Kimiya' al-Sa'adah" pp.74-86 ed. by Sheikh M. Jābir.

Al-Tirmidhi delimits the extent of the area reserved for each of the three bases and the scope of its function in the human existence. He says: "We have found that the religion of God is based on three pillars; right, equity and truthfulness. Right exercises authority over the organs (of the body politic); equity over the hearts; truthfulness over the minds. On the Day of Judgement, when every man must have his deeds measured and weighed, good deeds will be put in the pan of right, the misdeeds in the pan of equity, and truthfulness will act as the pivot of the balance, by which it will be determined whether the good deeds outweigh the misdeeds and by how much.(1) The highest degree of God's favour can be achieved only when a person is in possession of these three at the same time. If right is lacking, it is substituted by wrong; if equity is lacking, inequity takes its place; and if truthfulness is wanting, falsehood superseded. These are the soldiers of gnosis; and their three antitheses are the soldiers of passion.(2) This is because the manifestations of human conduct are restricted to these three: organs, hearts and minds. The organs have functions and actions; the hearts have feelings and sympathies; the minds have direction and motivation.

(1) "K. al-Akyās wa al-Muhtarrin" fol.1 al-Zahiriyyah Ms. and fol.70a, Ismā'il Sā'ib Ms.

(2) Ibid.

The three principles exhaust all manner of human activity and conduct. Whenever activity and conduct are judiciously controlled by right, equity and truthfulness, they will lead the human being towards the ideal goal, sought after by preachers, reformers, philosophers and pedagogues for the betterment of man in this life. This goal will not be open, in its highest and noblest ideal, except to the possessor of gnosis, of whom al-Tirmidhi gave a glowing account, shrouded in a halo of sanctity and transcendence, only attainable by a very few select number of people. The picture, or the ideal, for that matter, is not a figment of al-Tirmidhi's fancy, and it is not found, if searched for, in the writings of philosophers and moralists. He derives all that from the significance of the Qudsi (holy) tradition: "My servant can never seek my favour in any way better than by doing what I laid upon him; but he does not cease from seeking my favour by doing works of supererogation, until I love him; and if I love him I shall become his hand with which he strikes, and his leg with which he walks, and his eye with which he sees, and his ear with which he hears." Thus he becomes a servant, whom God puts under his charge, to educate and patronise.

Al-Tirmidhi, on these grounds, places gnosis at the top of the human virtues, normally vouchsafed to such of His servants as are fit to be patronised, and relegates the

other virtues to the status of helpers and auxiliaries, to work for the entrenchment of gnosis and be rewarded in the process with gifts from its light.

On this aspect, al-Tirmidhi wrote two books, considered to be the most entertaining and enjoyable of all his books, which he devoted to the description of the lines of human conduct and the manifestations of its actualisation. These are: "Kitāb al-Furūq wa Man' al-Tarādūf"(1) - "The Book of Differences and Prevention of Synonymity", and "Kitab al-Aql wa al-Hawā" - "The Book of Reason and Passion"(2).

In the first book, he marshals a large number of noble qualities in characteristics and of manifestations of orthodox human conduct. He then proceeds to explain their ideals and the ways of achieving them, with examples. At the same time, he gives the opposite side and analyses illustrative examples, warning against adopting them and enumerating their evils and dangers. On the whole, the book follows this procedure, and previously we had occasion to detail its various parts, while reviewing the works of al-Tirmidhi.

In his book "Al- Aql wa al-Hawā" - "Reason and Passion", he mentions the aids of reason and discusses each quality in detail - how it could be attained; the distinctive mark of the one in possession of it; the functions expected of

(1) Fols.55-100 Paris Ms. and Fols.1-73 As'ad Ms. and Fols. 1-102 Ayaşufic Ms.

(2) Fols.136-140 Paris Ms. and Fols.168-173 As'ad Ms.

him. There is also full explanation of the way in which each quality could be achieved, as for instance in the case of the quality of forbearance (Hilm). He says: "Forbearance from a forbearing man lies in three things: reason, knowledge, and diffidence from a tyrannical king. The form of forbearance is composure, and the contrast of it is sharpness of temper. The forbearing man has three things to do; first, he should be of good manners; secondly, he should speak gently and softly; and thirdly, he should always be, when he meets his fellow men, in good cheer.

No man can ever gain forbearance until he is ashamed before God; and once he becomes ashamed before God he will never favour anybody to the extent of concealing the truth. What a boon forbearance is, and blessed is he who has been favoured with forbearance by God!(1)

This is the way which al-Firmidhi pursues in expounding every one of the qualities which he considers as aids to reason in its endeavour to promote human conduct and lead it towards the sought-after goal.

(1) Fol.170 As ed Ms. and Fols.137b-138a, Paris Ms.

CHAPTER VIII.THE INFLUENCE OF AL-TIRMIDHI ON SUFI
THINKING.

1. Between al-Tirmidhi and al-Malamatiyyah.
2. al-Hakimiyyah followers of al-Hakim
al-Tirmidhi.
3. Al-Tirmidhi's influence on al-Ghazali.
4. Al-Tirmidhi's influence on Ibn Arabi.
5. Al-Tirmidhi's influence on Ibn al-Qayyim.
6. al-Tirmidhi as seen by biographers and historians.
7. His distinctive approach and method of
treatment.

Conclusion. _____

The Influence of Al-Tirmidhi on the Sufi Thought
of his Contemporaries and Followers

From the previous study of the life and thought of al-Tirmidhi, we have seen that he held a clear idea and a definite plan in portraying an ideal picture of human advancement which the true believer can attain so that he becomes a living example of goodness among people. This highest advancement can be achieved; when such a person reaches the rank of sainthood (to which theme al-Tirmidhi devoted a considerable proportion of his books and treatises, explaining therein its properties, grades, sources and the shares of enlightenment and wisdom, which fall to the lot of the holder of this rank through the grace of God); by the attainment of a lofty grade of gnosis, the acme of human perfection, accessible to such of God's servants as are endowed by God's grace, with divine knowledge and ability to comprehend Him; by achieving complete control of one's tendencies and passions through a struggle between reason and passion, in which reason overwhelms passion; by following a disciplined conduct, for the illustration of which he marshalled a number of remarkable ideals of honourable characteristics and noble qualities which make life an embodiment of goodness and peace.

These ideals, which al-Tirmidhi explained, analysed

and examined, scattered as they are in his books and treatises, attracted people's attention towards him and induced many scholars to bend their energies to the careful study and discussion of his thoughts, with the result that they came out either approving or rejecting them, and either adopting or denying them, in his life and after his death.

During his lifetime, as has already been explained⁽¹⁾ the effects of the attacks on his ideas and concepts were very clear, as a result of the inconveniences he was made to suffer through malicious accusations, the restriction of his freedom and obstruction of his social connections and association. This was the custom of the vengeful and envious people who used to rouse the community and incite the authorities against him in the service of their own ends. By contrast, the scholars and exponents of ideas and intellectual systems behaved differently, acting as they did at the dispassionate survey of thought, concerned only with searching after truth and with the appropriate research methods. The discussions which these scholars and exponents had with al-Tirridhi, conducted with consummate propriety and gentleness of manner, were supplemented by letters exchanged between them. Unfortunately, we are uninformed as to the exact contents of these letters

(1) See the first Chapter of this thesis, p.

which were lost over the years; but al-Tirmidhi's replies to them, which are extant, may shed light on the contents and on the intellectual tendencies of the writers. In a collection of al-Tirmidhi's manuscripts there are five letters which he wrote in reply to certain queries received from contemporary scholars. Two of those letters were sent to Muhammad b. al-Fadl al-Balkhi⁽¹⁾ as replies to letters from him.⁽²⁾ Another was sent to Abu-Uthman Sa'id b. Isma'il al-Nisaburi,⁽³⁾ in reply to his repeated letters.⁽⁴⁾ Both were leaders of Al-Malamatiyyah. One of the remaining two letters was sent to a friend who had consulted him as to what he should do in order to make up for what he had lost as a result of the misplaced confidence in a sheikh who had deceived him into believing that he would eventually lead him to God.⁽⁵⁾ The other was in reply to a letter from al-Rayy.⁽⁶⁾ Apart from all this, there were questions sent to him from all quarters. These are incorporated in his manuscripts entitled "Questions Posed by the People of Sarkhai".⁽⁷⁾

But what we are concerned with here in the first

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- (1) Died in Samarqand 319 A.H. *Tabaqat al-Sufiyyah* p 212 and *al-Risalah*, vol I p 118, and *al-Alam* vol VII p221
 (2) Fols 15b-17b *al-Mas'ail al-Maknūnah*, Leipzig Ms, and fol 66, Leipzig Ms.
 (3) Died 298 A.H. *Tabaqat.* p.170, and *al-Risalah* Vol II p 109.
 (4) Fols 140b-141b, Leipzig Ms.
 (5) Fols 19b-20b, Leipzig Ms.
 (6) Fols 129a-130b, Leipzig Ms.
 (7) Fols 69a-88a, Leipzig Ms.

instance are the conclusions we draw from his letters to ^{Abu} Muhammad b al-Faḍl al-Balkhī and Uthman Sa'īd al-Nisābūrī, where he discusses the fundamental idea underlying the teachings of al-Malāmatīyya, which is "concentration on the defects of the carnal soul and its cunning and affliction, rejects the idea of concentration on those defects and knowledge of them would lead to involvement in them and to a continuous struggle all life long for disengagement. Thus occupied, the man involved in this will find very little time to spend for engagement in the pursuit of the knowledge of God and divine enlightenment. Al-Tirmidhī therefore, believes that to be engaged in work towards the knowledge of God will bring one nearer to God and cure oneself of spiritual maladjustments.

On the point in particular, he says: "We have found that knowledge is of two kinds; knowledge of soul (Nafs), and its defects and pitfalls, and knowledge of God. If the servant keeps himself engaged in trying to know the defects, he will get involved throughout his life and will all the time be busy attempting to get free. But if he occupies himself in the pursuit of knowledge of God, he will find this to be his cure, because this knowledge will revitalise his heart and mortify his carnal soul.⁽¹⁾ If the soul is mortified through the suffusing divine brilliance, the heart will receive direct revivification (Ḥaya al-Qalbu)

(1) Fol. 141a Leipzig Ms, and Fol. 61b, Ismā'īl Sa'ib Ms.

from God; and what defect could possibly remain attached to him? Your letter, my brother, has reached me. This follows an earlier letter, in which you stressed statements about the defects of the soul in the section on gnosis. If you, my brother, can manage to avoid engagement in the discussion of the defects of the soul to such an extent, do it. For, among the servants of God, there are those who have known Him in truth and disapproved of everything other than Him.⁽¹⁾ These have guarded against the mere mention of the carnal soul and dreaded it, to such an extent that, when one of them has to mention it, one's stomach would be upset, as though on the point of vomiting. For how could one who is accustomed to rove in the gardens of flowers, jasmine and musk roses, enjoy the path of thorns? Or how could one who feeds on the sweet names of God ever listen to any other name? Knowledge of God, knowledge for God, and comprehension of God's ways:— anybody who happens to be in possession of these three will have his heart revived by God, would enjoy God's blessings, would have his spirit in good form, his servitude pure and valid, would gain liberty from the bondage of his soul, would have his rank exalted and his position made prominent, and would surpass his compeers and become honoured in the eyes of his Lord."⁽²⁾

(1) Risalah Ilāhīyah 'Uthmān Sa'īd al-Nāisaburi, Leipzig Fol 141, and Ismā'īl Sā'ib Fol 61b

(2) Ibid.

Then al-Tirmidhi tackles the same concept from another angle in his reply to Muhammad b. al-Fadl al-Balkhi, when he compares the afflictions of the carnal soul with those of the heart, and says that they are insignificant beside those of the heart. He writes to him as follows:—

"What you (may God honour you) have mentioned of the afflictions of the carnal soul is a fact, but it is inconsiderable when compared with those of the heart, the grossest of them all is the exclusion of the heart from God."⁽¹⁾ Here one may discern an intellectual link between al-Tirmidhi and the Malamatiyya leaders and the degree of interaction between them. Apparently, the frequent emphasis by al-Tirmidhi, in various places of his books and treatises, on the tricks and craftiness of the carnal soul, reveals a connection with what was prevailing among the Malamatiyya leaders in his time and in the area where he was living.

Al-Hakimiyyah

This is the name of a group of Sufis who were influenced by the thoughts of al-Tirmidhi on Sainthood and Saints. Al-Tirmidhi's views on this trend of thought and investigation were adopted by them as the basis and foundation for their

(1) Al-Masô'il al-Maknûnah Fol. 15a Leipzig Ms, and Fol 14 Alexandria Ms.

ideas. But we know none of them, although al-Hujuwiri⁽¹⁾ reckons them among the ten Sufi groups approved by him, and regards them as belonging to the "People of the Right Way" - "Ahl al-Jaddah", and as disciples and followers of Muhammad b. Ali al-Tirmidhi. We may therefore consider that al-Tirmidhi's stance vis-a-vis sainthood and saints, as already set forth in our detailed survey⁽²⁾ is identical with that of this group. Of the leading disciples of al-Tirmidhi, we know only two, namely: Abu-Bakr b. al-Warraq⁽³⁾ and al-Hasan b. Ali al-Jawzajani.⁽⁴⁾ Each one of these two disciples followed his own individual way and committed his thoughts to books and treatises which, according to biographies, were numerous. One of them, Ibn al-Warraq, used to be designated as "The Tutor of the Saints".

These are the most prominent influences of al-Tirmidhi on the Sufi thought and thinkers of his time. But his influence on the later thinkers was wider and more pronounced, notwithstanding the fact that biographies treated the subject sparingly. Nevertheless, the influence is clearly displayed in the ideas of leading Sufis and leading intellectuals generally, for generations afterwards, as shown by the number of his books and treatises

(1) Kashf al-Mahjub, trans. Hich Isen, pp. 210-211, 1910 & 1967, London
 (2) See Al-Wilayah wa al-Awliya, p. of this thesis
 (3) See Tabaqat, p 221, and al-Risalah, Vol I p 128
 (4) See Tabaqat, p 246, and al-Hilyah, Vol

which have been in constant use and have been copied continuously up to the last century. Of those intellectuals whom we shall now discuss, al-Ghazali and Ibn-Arabi are the most prominent, and also Ibn-Qayyim al-Jawziyyah, particularly in his book *al-Rūnā*.

Between al-Tirmidhi and al-Ghazali.

There is no doubt that after his death al-Tirmidhi exercised a far-reaching influence on the Sufi Thought. This influence was conveyed through his many books and treatises, in which he laid out his views in great detail, and not without undue repetition of every thought, in various places of his works. But to uncover the full extent of this influence in the thoughts of the later Sufis is not an easy task, because such an endeavour would necessitate an exhaustive scrutiny of all the works of the later Sufis which is well nigh impossible. Therefore, we are going to take two leading Sufi successors, namely al-Ghazali and Ibn-Arabi, and give an account of al-Tirmidhi's influence on their systems of thought, as illustrated in their works which have received a great deal of attention and study from investigators and intellectuals, now as well as in the past, especially during the two present and previous centuries.

Al-Ghazali

Hardly any book on Islamic thought has received as much attention and enjoyed as much fame as al-Ghazali's ^I ² ^u Kitab Ihya' Ulum al-Din². In this work, the most comprehensive and exhaustive among his many books, the influence of al-Tirmidhi is clearly tangible in two principal subjects: (1) The Book of Knowledge, and⁽¹⁾ (2) The Book of Ruinations.⁽²⁾ In the former, the influence is manifest, particularly when al-Ghazali speaks about the science of dealings which is the knowledge of the states of hearts. There he copies al-Tirmidhi's classification and sub-division. Nay, he even repeats the same classes enumerated by al-Tirmidhi. Also in his discussion of the exoteric and esoteric knowledge and in dealing with the various classes of 'ulamā (scholars), contrasting the temporal with the apocalyptic, and in his mordant criticism of the phenomenalists who are engaged in constant scramble for worldly gains, he reveals his indebtedness to him. This is also evident in his discourse on intellect, its honoured status and its aspects. It does not require an undue effort on the part of the reader to put his finger on the places where the stamp of his mode of thinking is readily recognised, as, for instance, in his

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- (1) See Kitab al-Ilm, Book of knowledge, Ihya' Ulum al-Din, vol I, edition, committee of Islamic Culture, Cairo, and translation of Kitab al-Ilm by Dr Nabih Faris, Printed in Lahore.
- (2) Vols. 8,9,10, and pp 1-139, vol 11, Ihya' Ulum al-Din.

"Book of Knowledge."⁽¹⁾ But in the ^{Rub al-Muhlikat}Quarter about Ruinations, the roots of his ideas there can easily be traced to the "Book of the Prudent and the Illusionists" Kitāb al-Akyās wa al-Muhtarrin⁽²⁾ by al-Tirmidhi.⁽³⁾ In this book, al-Tirmidhi marshalled a great variety of behaviour, disposition and worship, which are apt to be corrupted by passion and dissimulation, and drew attention to the indissoluble link between all this and the mainspring, the heart, which is the repository of gnosis, to which right, equity and truthfulness are aids; and these three are made by al-Tirmidhi to act as controls over human conduct, whether it is consequent upon acts proceeding from organs, from emotions and feelings which rise in the heart, or from judgement, determination or volition as sanctioned by the mind and channelled into the right way by its decisions, guided as they are by right, equity and truthfulness.⁽⁴⁾ A cursory glance at one quarter of the book on Ruinations, Rub al-Muhlikat, will reveal clearly the extent of al-Ghazali's dependence in this respect on al-Tirmidhi's thought. Similarly, al-Ghazali's imagination of the conflicting forces in the human soul shows clear signs of al-Tirmidhi's influence.

(1) Ihyā' Ulum al-Din v.I, and the translation by Dr N. Paris.

(2) See al-Ihyā', vols. 8,9,10 and 11.

(3) K. al-Akyās wa al-Muhtarrin, Fols 70-115, Isma'il Scrib Ms, and Fols 1-114 al-Zahiriyah Ms.

(4) See al-Akyās wa al-Muhtarrin

In talking about these forces and about the soul and the heart and his vision of their forms and aids, ⁽¹⁾ al-Ghazali bases his ideas in this respect on al-Tirmidhi's thesis about the heart and its aids and as evidence in the chapter on the strife between reason and passion. The root idea of al-Tirmidhi's is the one which al-Ghazali copied in his book "The Alchemy of Happiness" - "Kimiya' al-Sa'adah", ⁽²⁾ when he spoke about the soul and its forces, and the heart and its soldiers, saying "know that it is said, in the well-known proverb, that the soul is like a city; the two hands and the two feet and the organs are the villages; the sensual potency is the overlord; the force of temperance is the police force; the heart is the king and the mind is the manager. The king organises them all, until the realm and its state of affairs are stable, because the overlord, which is the sensual desire, is a liar, a parasite and an anarchist, and the police force, which is temperance, could be mischievous, subversive and murderous, and if he leaves them alone, the city will go to rack and ruin. Therefore, he must consult the vizier, and subordinate the overlord and the police force to him; and if he does that, the city will flourish and the realm will live in peace and stability. ⁽³⁾

(1) See Vols 8, 9, 10 and 11 of al-Ihya'.

(2) See p 80, 81, edited by Sheikh Muhammad Jabir.

(3) *Ibid.*

Between al-Tirmidhi and Ibn-ʿArabi

Ibn-ʿArabi holds a pre-eminent position among the Sufi Sheikhs, and is especially noted for the extensive use he made of al-Tirmidhi's ideas, particularly on sainthood, saints, and the seal of saints. This great indebtedness is apparent in the fact that he wrote a separate book, called "Al-Qistās al-Mustaqīm Fīna Sa'ala 'Anhu al-Tirmidhi al-Hakīm" - "The Right Balance for the Queries of al-Tirmidhi al-Hakīm";⁽¹⁾ in answering the fifty five questions posed by al-Tirmidhi in his book "Khatm al-Awliyā" - "The Seal of Saints"⁽²⁾ and also in answering them in greater detail in more than a hundred pages in the second volume of his "Al-Futūḥāt al-Makkiyyah".⁽¹⁾

This is in addition to his indebtedness to him in the subjects of sainthood, prophethood and their relationship, and in the discussion of the seal of saints and of the ranks of saints, where he talks repeatedly about them in parts I, II and III of his "Futūḥāt"⁽²⁾ and also in "Fuṣūṣ al-Hikam" - "Gems of Wisdom"⁽³⁾ We are too familiar with Ibn-ʿArabi's method in dealing with an idea by way of explanation. He puts the idea into a new form and gives it a modified content, with amplifications and ramifications, so much so that the idea seems to be unprecedented and

(1) Vol II pp. 10-139

(2)

(3) p. edited by Dr Abu al-ʿIla Afifi, Cairo 1961.

original. However, the subjects of sainthood and saints are especially marked by the prominent traces of al-Tirmidhi's influence.

This influence is also discernible in the book "Al-Tadbirāt al-Ilāhiyyah fi Islāh al-Mamlakah al-Insāniyyah" — "Divine Dispositions for the Reformation of Human Polity". Where Ibn-Arabi imagines the heart to be the metropolis of the polity and the mind the vizier,⁽¹⁾ who should be possessed of a number of qualities and characteristics suitable for the management of the polity with firmness and competence.⁽²⁾ Such qualities and characteristics are called by al-Tirmidhi as aids to the mind in spreading his authority throughout the various regions of the realm.

The influence is again manifest in the diametrical opposition between passion and reason and in the struggle for mastery over the realm of the body.⁽³⁾

In general, we may say that everyone who dealt with the ideas about sainthood and saints in Islamic thought after al-Tirmidhi, whether in supporting or rejecting al-Tirmidhi's standpoint, fell under his guiding influence, especially in the matter of the seal of saints, which was never discussed in Islam before al-Tirmidhi. In a previous

(1) p. 157, edited by Dr Nyberg, printed in Leiden.

(2) al-Tadbirāt al-Ilāhiyyah p.161.

(3) Ibil. p.138

discussion we gave an idea about that when we dealt with Ibn-Taimiyya's point of view in the chapter on sainthood, and also when we quoted from "Kashf al-Mahjūb" - "The Uncovering of the Unseen", by al-Hujwiri.⁽¹⁾

Between al-Tirmidhi and Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyyah

Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyyah, as evidenced in his book "Al Rūh" (The Spirit), benefited to a considerable extent from the thoughts of al-Tirmidhi on the Soul; and its classification into Reformed, Self-Reproaching, Evil-Minded, Exoteric and Esoteric, as expansively set out in his book "Ghour al-Umūr wa'l A'dā' wal Nafs"⁽²⁾ But the use that Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyyah made of the thoughts of al-Tirmidhi is more plainly evident in his discourse on the differences he put forward in his book, already referred to, following his discussion of the states (ḥalāt) of the soul, as he called them. In accounting for the fact that certain acts are similar in their exterior, but different in the interior, he only reiterates the views on this score, already formulated by al-Tirmidhi. Nevertheless, he traces the reason for the differences to the fact that some acts proceed from the Reformed Soul and some other proceed from the Evil-Minded Soul, and this explains why they are truly

(1) See Sainthood and Saints, p.

(2) Ghawr al-Umūr, Fol. . . . As ad Ms, and al-A dā' wa al-Nafs, Fol. . . . As ad Ms.

different, but outwardly alike. These are his words: "It is that acts proceed from wills, and appear as proceeding either from the Evil-Minded soul, or the Reformed Soul. Thus the two acts are disparate intrinsically, but similar extrinsically."⁽¹⁾ There are instances of this, such as appeasement and unctuousness. Al-Tirmidhi makes his view still clearer in his book of "Differences", where he says: "Now you have asked me the reason why acts are similar and how the dissimilarities can be explained. Know that the reason for that is that acts proceed to the pillar (arkan) from a breast split into two: a healthy soul and a morbid soul, and whichever of the two gets the upper hand, the act will proceed from it, and that is why the two acts are disparate in the interior and similar in the exterior. This is like appeasement and unctuousness"⁽²⁾ And more than that. When Ibn -Qayyim al-Jawziyyah wanted to give an analogy to elucidate the action of appeasement, he found before him nothing better than what al-Tirmidhi had written about the same subject; He says: "A pertinent analogy is urged in this context, and that is the condition of a man suffering from a painful boil, and started to make it softer and softer until it

(1) Kitāb al-Rūh, p.280

(2) al-Buruq, Fol.1, Ayasufca and As ad Mss.

was ripe for surgical treatment. Then he lanced it with care and ease, and drained out what was in it, applying after that the requisite medicine and ointment to prevent it from going bad again and to do away with suppuration. Then he followed that up with special ointments which would help the flesh to grow again, and after the flesh had grown over, sprinkled it with something which would dry up its humidity".⁽¹⁾ But these are more or less the words of al-Tirmidhi in his book of Differences, al Furuq, though more exact in expression and more accurate in the description of the condition.⁽²⁾

Moreover, the differences detailed and discussed by Ibn-Qayyim al-Jawziyya in his book al-Ruh (The Spirit) were taken from the above-mentioned book of al-Tirmidhi. On the whole, anybody going through the book of al Ruh from page 267 to page 317 will learn the extent to which the writer of al-Ruh is dependent upon the ideas of al-Tirmidhi. It is strange that the writer failed to acknowledge that, although he acknowledged his debt to others in other matters.

(1) Al-Ruh, p. 281

(2) Al-Furuq, Vol. 3 Ayasufia Ms..

Al-Tirmidhi as seen by Biographers and Historians

Although there is no full biography of al-Hakim al-Tirmidhi to be found in any of the biographical dictionaries of eminent men or in other sources, the scanty biographical notes available in these books give an impression that the man was highly respected, and was esteemed for his knowledge and piety, and for his lofty status among the Sufi sheikhs as the founder of Sufi philosophy. Many of these sheikhs defended him and resented the disparaging reports which were spread about him. The following survey of what was written about him, provides a clear idea of the man as the centre of a great deal of respect and esteem.

Al-Kulābādhi, for instance, mentions him in the fourth chapter of his book and says that he was one of the authors on human conduct according to the Sufis (al-Mu'āmalāt)⁽¹⁾ He regards him as one of the eminent persons, highly reputed for their encyclopaedic knowledge, and says: "These are the illuminati, widely known for their excellence, who gathered the sciences of inborn intelligence to the acquired sciences. They learned the traditions, gathered up jurisprudence,

(1) al-Ta'arruf li madhhab Ahl al-Tasawwuf, p.32, edited by Dr. Abd ul-Halim Mahmud and Mr T A B Srūr.

scholasticism, linguistics, and the sciences of the Qur'an, as attested by their books. (1)

In his book "Classes of the Sufis", (2) ^{Tabaqat al-Sufiyyah} al-Sulami says about him, "He is one of the foremost Sheikhs of Khurāsān, and he has written many famous works. He recorded and transmitted numerous traditions". Al-Sulami reported many of his sayings.

In his book "al-Hilyah" (3) Abu-Nu'aim al-Isfahāni writes of him "He has written many works and also books on traditions. He had an upright character; he attacked and criticised the Murjiites and other dissenters; and was a follower in the precepts of the traditions".

Al-Qushayri, in his book al-Risalah, (4) describes him as one of the foremost sheikhs, and states that he has written works on Sufi sciences.

Above all, Ibn-Hajar al-Asqalāni praises him highly in his book "Lisān al-Mizān" - and rejects what was imputed to him by al-Qadi Kamāl al-Din b al Adīm in his book on the history of Aleppo. He considers that there is a shortage in biographical writings about him, which was unfair to him. He quotes Ibn al-Najjār in an appendix to the history of Baghdād as saying about al-Tirmidhi:

(1) Al-Ta'arruf li Maḥbab Ahl al-Tasawwuf, p.32-33

(2) See p.217, edited by Mr Nūr al-Din Shirībah

(3) Hilāt al-Awliyā' Vol X, p.233

(4) Al-Risalah, Vol I, p 127, edited by Dr A H Mahmūd and Mr M b. Sharīf.

"He was a leader among the leaders of the Muslims; he has written great works on the principles of religion and the meaning of the traditions; has associated with the leading men of learning, and his teachers were many". He then quotes the statements of al-Qadi Kamāl al-Dīn b. al-Adīm as saying: "This al-Hakīm al-Tirmidhi was not among the scholars of tradition, nor was he a transmitter of them, and I know nothing of any independent views on scholarship or hadith of his own. In his writing he dealt only with sufi terms, sufi ways, and their claim to clairvoyance and to the discovery of truth, so much so that he transgressed the rules of jurists and thus deserved attack and disrespect. Leaders of jurisprudence and sufism found fault with him, and thus they shut him out of the pale of ethical life. They also claimed that he introduced into the science of the law what caused him to be alienated from the orthodox community, and filled "his horrible books", according to them, "with spurious traditions; and stuffed them with chronicles which were neither reported by successive narrators nor currently heard among orthodox people; and explained there all questions of law, whose meaning is too deep for human intelligence, by weak and inept explanation". Here ends the statement of Ibn al-Adīm.

Ibn-Hajar follows it up with the following comment:
 "Surely Ibn-Adim has exaggerated in (saying) that; and if it were not for the fact that his statement implied that he was only repeating what leaders of religious thought were saying, and impugning him, I would not mention him. I myself have not come across a satisfactory biography for this man, great as he is".⁽¹⁾

Al-Dhahabi counts him in the tenth class of the bearers of the science of prophetic traditions, and describes him as "ascetic, traditionalist, mu'adhdhin and the writer of several works." He also says about him that "he concerned himself with traditions and travelled in their quest".⁽²⁾

Al-Subki classes him among the Shafi'is, and describes him as "a scholar in the science of traditions (traditionalist), ascetic, and author of several works, who learned a great deal of the Prophetic tradition listening to the scholars and narrators in Khurāsān and Irāq".⁽³⁾

In the exposition of the Qushayri treatise by Sheikh al-Islām, Zakariya al-Ansāri, and in its exposition by Sheikh al-Arusi known as "Nata'ij al-Afkār al-

(1) Lisān al-Mizān. vol. V p.308-310

(2) Tadhkirat al-Huffāz, II 197.

(3) Tabaqat al-Shafi'iyyah, Vol II, p 20.

Qushairiyyah"; he is spoken of as: "the sufic Shafi'i, and author of several well-known works; famous for his persistence in devotion among devotees; unique among the Sufis for the great number of hadith which he learned and for the superior authenticity of the sources of his transmissions; an ascetic, a treader of the orthodox path, who was constantly wakeful at night for his worship, and who renounced sleep; he travelled in quest of knowledge and traditions; wrapped himself in the garb of piety and forbearance; associated with great men; learned from writers and scholars; nevertheless an esteemed principal, a Sufi, a dignified scholar of tradition, endowed with much tact and kindness, and profuse knowledge, which permeate his manner and envelop his body; he was an ornament of his age, and his learning illuminated his time; he learned a great deal of traditions by listening to transmitters in Iraq and elsewhere; he was a peer of al-Bukhāri". Then he quotes Ibn-Atā' Allah on him as follows: "Al-Shadhili and al-Mursi used to respect him greatly, and treated his words with complete deference. They say that he was one of the four "pillars"⁽¹⁾, and that one should not pay heed to the fables of some inconsiderate people who denigrate

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him". (1)

In his "Ṣifat al-Ṣafwah", Ibn al-Jawzi says of him that he is one of the great sheikhs of Khurāsān, and the author of several well-known works. (2)

Al-Sharīf Muhammad b. Ja'far al-Kittāni says repeatedly in his book "al-Risalah al-Mustatrafah" that he is one of the four "pillars", and the author of several works. (3)

The author of "Al-A'lām" says that he is a Sufi scholar, well-versed in traditions and principles of religion (Theology). (4)

The author of "Miftāḥ al-Sa'ādah" talks about him and repeats what has already been said about him. (5)

Ibn-Taymiyyah in discussing the subject of the seal of the saints, refers to al-Tirmidhi, and expresses disapproval of his idea about the seal of the saints, and regards it as wrong and mistaken. (6)

Ibn-Arabi, on the other hand, in talking about al-Tirmidhi, links his name with "Al-Imām" - the leader. This esteem or veneration is glimpsed through much of

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- (1) Vol I, p 164.
 - (2) Vol IV, p 141.
 - (3) Al-Risalah al-Mustatrafah, p 56.
 - (4) Vol VII, p 156, edition II.
 - (5) Vol II, p 171, 1st edition, Haiderabad.
 - (6) Haqiqat madhhab al-Itthadiyyin, p 59-60.

what Ibn 'Arabi wrote. It will be sufficient here to refer to Chapter IV of this work, where Ibn Arabi's "al-Futūhāt" and "al-Qistās al-Mustaqīm fi ma sa'ala anhu al-Tirmidhi al-Ḥakīm" were discussed, and where the extent of al-Tirmidhi's influence on Ibn 'Arabi is made clear in the first part of this chapter.

Al-Hujwiri also talks about him in his book "Kashf al-Mahjūb", in glowing terms, with unbound admiration, and he reports his sheikh as having said that al-Tirmidhi was of no equal in the world. This is what he says about him: "He is the author of many excellent books which, by their eloquence, declare the miracles vouchsafed to him. I hold him in great veneration and am entirely devoted to him. My Sheikh said: 'Muhammad is. . . a pearl that has no like in the whole world'. He has also written works on the formal sciences and is a trustworthy authority for the traditions of the Prophet which he related. He began a commentary on the Qur'ān, but did not live long enough to finish it. The completed portion is widely circulated among theologians. He studied jurisprudence with an intimate friend of Abu Hanīfah. The inhabitants of Tirmidh call him Muhammad Ḥakīm, and the Ḥakīms, a sufi sect in that region, are his followers." (1)

(1) The Kashf al-Mahjūb, translated by Nicholson, p.141.

Al-'Attār wrote about him in his "Tadhkirat al-Awliya" in terms halood with reverence, admiration and deference, describing him as: "correct in his ways; great among his co-religionists; the painstaking one among the saint; unique among the elite; he is holiness in his sanctuary; the sheikh of the day, Muhammad b. Ali al-Tirmidhi; blessed be his memory; the reserved one among the sheikhs; the respected one among the people of saint-hood; the speaker in all languages; the expositor of the meanings of traditions and verses; a marvel in the explication of meanings; an authority on traditions and the narration of chronicles; a wonder in the unfolding of knowledge and facts; perfect in his pious deeds; great in pity, marvellous in forbearance; sublime in character; the performer of self-imposed devotions, perfect in all branches of knowledge, self-sacrificing in matters of law and godly practice; imitated as a model by a group of people in Tirmidh; his line is that of a theologian; the wise man of this nation; the imitator of no one, for he possesses esoteric knowledge and arcana, the limit in wisdom, and therefore called "the wise one of the Saints". (1)

The author of "Kunūz al-Awilyā' wa Rumūz al-Asfiyā'" speaks of him as: "One of the leading sheikhs; self-

(1) Tadhkirat al-Awliyā', Vol. I, p.91.

sacrificing in matters of law and godly practice,
with works on both; imitator of no one; the marvel
of his day in the ways of the world; spoke only on
matters of wisdom, and therefore, known by the name
of "the wise one of the saints"⁽¹⁾

They all speak of him in similar glowing terms
and in language of hyperbole.

(1) Al-Zahiriyah Ms. Fol. 84.

HIS DISTINCTIVE MERITS AND WAYS:

Anybody inquiring into the books and tracts of al-Tirmidhi will be struck by the natural way in which he approaches his subject with complete lack of inhibition. He does not repeat himself several times, if a single statement serves the purpose of elucidating the view under discussion, and does not resort as was usual with his compeers among the Sufi Sheikhs, to ambiguity, symbolism or allusion. On the contrary, when arriving at a point which he thinks too deep to be easily explained or comprehended, he would refrain from elaborating it for fear that nobody could understand it or be able to sustain the effort for understanding it. Also, when asked a question by somebody who was not fit to receive the answer, he used to tell the questioner candidly that the matter was beyond him and that he should know his limits and not over-reach himself. Pervading all the writings of Al-Tirmidhi is his method of quoting proverbs for explanation, sometimes offering more than one proverb for each idea, for the purpose of making his thoughts perfectly clear and free from ambiguity and vagueness, as in the case of his interpretation of the status of the heart and the

stations of occult knowledge, which he embodied in his book "Bayan al-Farq bain al-Sadr wal-Qalb wal-Fu'ad wal-Lubb". The inquirer will also be attracted by his felicity in expressing himself fluently, with ease and wealth of language.

In setting forth his ideas and explaining them, al-Tirmidhi derived support and confirmation, to a great degree, from the Qur'an and the prophetic tradition. Thanks to his profound and comprehensive grasp of the Qur'an and of its sciences and institutions, coupled with extensive familiarity, as a result of constant study and all-embracing inquiry, with the Prophet's traditions, ~~so much so that~~ a large number of traditionists, especially from Nishapur, had the benefit of learning from him as attested by various biographies.

Beside his total reliance on the Qur'an and the Traditions, al-Tirmidhi also relies upon discursive reason which he exalts very highly, as indicated by the large number of traditions which he invokes on reason and its merits. He regards reason as a boon from God, bestowed upon such of His servants as have their hearts and perception flooded with celestial light. This is why he arranges reason into grades with sub-divisions, as is set out in his book "Buyan al-Farq bain al-Sadr wal-Qalb wal-Fu'ad wal-Lubb".

In this connection, we cannot help remembering his words about reason and its seriously important position in the realm of Knowledge, where reason is made the regent, and the manager and conductor of its affairs, as set out in his book, "Ghawr al-Umur wa al A'da wa al-Nafs".

His method in most of his books is that of a catechism, by way of question and answer, in conformity with the fashion of authors at the time. But it seems that the questioner was not imaginary, but a real one who apparently used to pose questions for al-Tirmidhi to explain them. This is most prominently exemplified in his book "Khatm al-Awliya". He also used to receive questions from various parts of the land, from persons seeking his guidance and opinion, such as the questions from the people of Sarkhas. Similarly he received letters containing queries of his views or offering other opinions, to which he always replied. Numerous disciples used to attend his lectures and his instruction gatherings to which he referred in his tract "Budu al-Shan", although we know no more about this Tract. In the libraries of Leipzig, al-Zahiriya, Waliy al-Din, Isma'il Sa'ib and Calcutta, are found many manuscript collections of al-Tirmidhi's questions and answers. The frequent

repetition noticed in his works and which would seem to be indicated by the multiplicity of the question-and-answer collections may be explained by the need to answer the same question more than once and explain the same point on more than one occasion.

To sum up, it can be said that the writings of al-Tirmidhi are predominantly characterised by expansiveness, clarity, repetition, proverbial analogy, avoidance of ambiguity and vagueness, in contrast with the common run of the Sufi Sheikhs; by reliance on the Qur'an and Traditions to corroborate his views and thoughts; and by the glorification of reason and its value in understanding mankind.

SUMMARY

and

CONCLUSION

Summary

The preceding pages of this inquiry give a survey of the life ~~of~~ al-Tirmidhi, of the cultural influences in his period, the special features of the milieu in which he lived and grew up, and the effect of all this on his thoughts and intellectual attitude. They also give a survey of the persecution, ostracism, the popular outcry, and the machinations of some rival religious leaders to which he was subjected. Attempts to poison the minds of some rulers against him caused him a lot of torment, and he found himself voluntarily incarcerated in his home, and subsequently forced to leave for Balkh and Nishapur.

One part of this inquiry is devoted to an account of the books and writings of al-Tirmidhi and to a summary of the important contents of them, ~~to serve as a summary of the important contents of them,~~ to serve as a guide to those who may not have the opportunity of availing themselves of those books because they are still in manuscript. References are made to the libraries and places where these manuscripts are found, in the East or in the West, together with a classification according to their subjects which comprise Exegesis, Tradition, Kalam, Jurisprudence, Principles of Jurisprudence or Philosophy of Juristic Rules, History of Sufism and Sufi thought.

From this, the discussion proceeds to deal with al-Tirmidhi's system in Exegesis, Tradition, Jurisprudence and Kalam, with an account of his distinctive merits and ways and of the manner in which he looks into various points raised in the course of these subjects.

The inquiry deals with al-Tirmidhi from the Sufi point of view, which is the main characteristic of him and of his thought. Therefore, the major part in this inquiry is devoted to a survey of his views on Saints and Sainthood, their categories, qualities, and grades, ranging from **Budala**, Siddiqīn, Muhaddathīn to the Seal of the Saints, the highest in the System. There is also a discussion of the extent to which the saints are able to know what is unknown, their fitness for final good recompense, working of miracles, for the receiving of good tidings, and immunity against evil whisperings of the soul and the cunning of the Devil, together with the requisite qualifications of insight, intuition, inspiration and divine afflatus; the relation between sainthood and prophethood is explained, with reference to various views of many leaders of thought, especially Sufi ones, on these matters, and an account of the science of sainthood

as viewed by al-Tirmidhi and of his portion in Sainthood as revealed in his writings. This is followed by a discussion of the views of Ibn-'Aim-iyya on Saints, Sainthood and the Seal of the Saints, and of his inquiry into a variety of ideas given currency by Sufis, supplemented by the views of Ibn-Arabi on Sainthood and Saints, with special emphasis on such points as are at variance with those of al-Tirmidhi.

Subsequently, the theory of gnosis according to al-Hakim al-Tirmidhi is dealt with, and the relation between gnosis and the idea of illumination as thrown into high relief by al-Tirmidhi, is next discussed, together with his ideas about the kinds of illumination, which all emanate from God, and his assertion that the light of gnosis is the most supreme among those illuminations, basing his idea as he does on his understanding of the Quranic verses: "God is the light of the Heavens and the Earth". Then the discussion turns to speak about the cities of light, the realms of gnosis, with ~~the~~ fortifications, preparations and maintenance, and about reason, its function in this realm, and its auxiliaries.

Then the question of knowledge is considered, with its division into Exterior and Interior, and the various sub-divisions, with their interrelationships and the means for their attainment. The leaders of thought are then dealt with, setting forth their categories and their responsibilities, and the hallmark of their genuineness, when they are the true custodians of knowledge and the solicitous protectors of its sanctuaries. These are then given further elucidation by quotations for sayings by Sufi Sheikhs, as stated in the book "~~K~~ashf al-Mahjub" by al-Hujwiri and in the book "Ilm al-Qulub" by Abu-Talib al-Makki.

Then the inquiry turns to the subject of the localities of the Interior, as portrayed by Al-Tirmidhi in his books. These localities are in one way connected with the stations of faith, expressed as: Muslim, Mu'min, Aarif and Muwahhid. Each one of these has a locality inside the human body, where it is lodged. For instance:

Islam	is	located	in	the	breast
Iman (faith)	"	"	"	heart	
Gnosis	is	"	"	sense	
Tauhid	"	"	"	kernel, intellect.	

Each one of these is represented by a mountain with

cont.....

its own bird hovering in the valley. Islam is a mountain with the Evil-Inspiring Soul as its bird; Iman or Faith is a mountain, with the Self-Criticising Soul as its bird; gnosis is a mountain and the Inspired Soul as its bird; Unity is a mountain with the Self-Assured Soul as its bird. These have their own lights, and the light of Unity is the brightest, and it is the secret of life, out of which proceed all aspects and forms of life.

Then comes the constant struggle between the heart and the Soul, or between reason and passion as al-Tirmidhi likes to describe it. Reason has one hundred auxiliaries and soldiers, with whose help it can impose the authority of gnosis and firmly establish the pillars of the Kingdom of goodness. Similarly, passion has the same number of auxiliaries and soldiers, and it tries to overcome the Kingdom of light and undermine it. This conflict continues unabated.

The lines of human conduct are then discussed from the standpoint of al-Tirmidhi, as unfolded in his books, especially in these two books: 1) Al-Furuq wa Man'al-Traduf and al-Agl wal-Hawa.

Towards the end, the inquiry deals with the influence of al-Tirmidhi on the Sufi thought,

during his life and subsequently, with especial attention to the effect on the Malamatiyyah sect of Sufism, and also on the Hakimiyyah sect which copied, as its own principles on Sainthood, the ideas of al-Tirmidhi in that respect, and those of al-Ghazali, Ibn-Arabi and Ibn-al-Qayyim are also studied in so far as al-Tirmidhi influenced their sufi systems.

The inquiry concludes first with an appreciation of al-Tirmidhi, based upon the verdicts of historians and biographers, and secondly with an account of al-Tirmidhi's merits and special features of his personality, derived from his writings.

CONCLUSIONS

It was the intention of this study to establish the paramount importance of al Tirmidhi's life-work for the development of Sufi ideology and consequently for the history of Islamic thought. His horizon was wide, his ideas novel and independent, and his understanding of the Holy Qur'an so deep that it gave him insight into the workings of the human mind. His comprehensive study of the traditions of the Prophet helped him to keep to the straight road, and to point out the right conduct for the Muslim to follow, to avoid pitfalls and achieve happiness and peace in this life and in the hereafter.

That he was a pioneer in his field is indisputable. As has been shown in Chapter IV, he was the first Muslim scholar to write a whole and detailed disquisition of the subject of sainthood, and the first scholar to establish the famous doctrine of Khatm al-Waliya which aroused even more controversy after his death than in his life time, for all those who dealt with this subject later on could not but discuss his ideas, whether they accepted or rejected them; this has been seen in the case of Ibn Arabi, Ibu Taymiyya and al-Hujwayri. Equally

revolutionary is his theory of the areas of interiority propounded in Bayan al Farq Bayna al Sadr wa al Qalb wa al-Fwad wa al-Lubb which connects Abstract religious ideas such as Islam, Iman, Marifa and Tawhid to locations within the human body and which, together with the attempt to symbolize the road to Sanctity by the struggle of the heart and the carnal soul, represents the attempt to provide a psychological explanation of human behaviour by pointing to the hidden motive power behind human actions. Hence the symbols and images he uses such as the conception of Islam and Iman, Marifa and Tawhid as mountains located in the body, with birds on them representing aspects of the human soul, carnal, whispering evil, critical and self-assured.

He was also the first to interpret the Qur'anic verse: "God is the light of the Heavens and the earth" in a way so original that it resulted in a profound and complex gnostic theory of light which explained the secret of life.

Also his theory of gnosis, with its central concept of Marifa as a sovereign to whom the mind, assisted by a hundred helpers, is subordinate and subservient, and whose only function and concern is to

keep the light flooding on mankind, is, to say the least, unusual in the Islamic context. It is perhaps the very novelty of his ideas that accounts for his huge following through which he exercised such an immense influence on contemporaries as well as posterity. All later Sufis are beholden to him.

As regards sources, his reliance on the Qu'ran and the traditions is exclusive; what else is found in his work has emerged entirely from his own independent and fertile mind. His creativity is enhanced by his staunch conviction that the right understanding of the secret of life is a grace of God, granted to man. What distinguishes him from other Sufi Sheikhs is that he never turns to men for guidance, as is illustrated by the Khadr episode in his biography. This is why he attached little importance to a large following of disciples, but preferred to transmit his ideas in writing.

Despite the profundity and intricacy of his ideas, he expresses himself in a clear and easily comprehensible style. However, he is often so anxious to establish his meaning, that he does not recoil from repetition, and even resorts to a multiplicity of illustrations to establish a single point with clarity and lucidity.

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