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In the Name of God, Most Merciful, Most Compassionate

قل الروح من أمر ربي

Say, the Spirit is from the Command of my Lord

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'*amālī*—as opposed to the "theoretical," '*ilmī*) perfections of the soul, while in Sufism lengthy discussions of the spiritual stations (*maqāmāt*) play a similar role. Even politics, which describes the ideal human society and the means to achieve it, can be considered a branch of eschatology, since man's temporal good can be understood only in terms of his eternal good. In short, the ramifications of eschatological teachings are so broad that it is difficult to study anything Islamic without touching upon them. Here we can only allude to certain wider implications while dealing in some small detail with the science of the "last things" as such.

Eschatology in the Quran and the *Ḥadīth*

A number of studies on the eschatological teachings of the Quran and the *Ḥadīth* exist in English, and two of the standard *Ḥadīth* collections devoted to the subject have been translated. Here there is room only for a brief outline. A standard statement of Sunni Muslim faith, the "Creed" of Najm al-Dīn Nasafi (d. 537/1142-43), is quoted below. In the commentary that follows, a few relevant Quranic verses and *Ḥadīth* are cited; most of the *Ḥadīth* are from Shi'ite sources, which are not well known in English.

The chastisement of the grave for the infidels and some of the disobedient faithful and the bliss in the grave for the People of Obedience, as known and willed by God, and the questioning of Munkar and Nakir are established by proofs [i.e., explicit revealed texts]. The Upraising is true, the Weighing is true, the Book is true, the Questioning is true, the Pool is true, the Path is true, the Garden is true, and the Fire is true. These last two are created and exist now; they will subsist, and neither they nor their inhabitants will pass away. . . . The signs of the Hour, such as the appearance of al-Dajjal [the Antichrist], the Beast of the Earth, and Gog and Magog, the descent of Jesus from heaven, and the rising of the sun in the west, are true.¹

The Prophet called death "the only preacher you need," and its remembrance colors all of Islamic spirituality. One might say that a Muslim is not sincere until he takes to heart such Quranic verses as "What is with you is perishing, but what is with God abides" (XVI, 96); "God is better, and more abiding" (XX, 73); "Everything is perishing but His Face" (XXVIII, 88); "Every soul will taste death" (III, 185); "Oh man! Thou art laboring unto thy Lord laboriously, and thou shalt encounter Him!" (LXXXIV, 6); "Surely the death from which you are fleeing will meet you: then you will be returned to the Knower of the Unseen and the Visible, and He will tell you what you were doing" (LXII, 8). Probably the most common epitaph in the Islamic world is this verse: "Surely we belong to God, and to Him we return" (II, 156).

Eschatology

WILLIAM C. CHITTICK

THE "LAST DAY" IS A BASIC ARTICLE of Islamic faith, along with "God, His angels, His Books, and His Messengers" (Quran IV, 136; cf. II, 177). The Quran discusses what occurs after death in a detail unparalleled by other scriptures, and the *Ḥadīth* literature on the subject is voluminous. Hence, scholastic theologians, philosophers, and Sufis—not to speak of Quran commentators—all made eschatology one of their principal concerns.

The term *ma'ād* ("return" or "place of return"), used generically for discussions of eschatological realities and events, is derived from such Quranic verses as "They say, 'What, when we are bones and broken bits. . . . Who will cause us to return?' Say: 'He who created you the first time'" (XVII, 49-51). Systematic discussions of *ma'ād* are often paired with studies of a second concept, *al-mabda'* ("origin" or "place of origin"), for, as the Quran affirms, "As He originated you, so you will return" (VII, 29; cf. XXI, 104). Works on "the Origin and the Return" deal with such questions as the nature of the human being and his relationship with God, the reason for man's creation, his ultimate good and the manner in which he can achieve it, the various types of individuals that make up the human race and their respective lodging places in the next world, the ontological distinctions between this world and the next, and the interpretation of the data found in the Quran and the *Ḥadīth* concerning death, resurrection, and heaven and hell. In a wider context, the topic of "the Origin and the Return" covers everything that touches upon the manner in which man can achieve his proper place in creation or attain to human perfection, whether moral, spiritual, or intellectual. In this sense, jurisprudence (*fiqh*) can be considered a branch of eschatology, since the *Shari'ah* is the *sine qua non* in the path of human perfection. In the domain of *falsafah* or philosophy, ethics (*akhlāq*) describes the human qualities that bring about the "practical"

① *The Grave.* Death is brought about by the intervention of the "angel of death," called 'Izrā'il; giving up the soul to him is a difficult process, but it is made easy for the faithful. The dead person is aware of his body after death and observes the process of burial. On the first night in the grave, he is questioned by two angels, Munkar and Nakir, concerning his faith. According to Imam Ja'far al-Sādiq (d. 148/765), "The spirits of the faithful are in rooms of the Garden: they eat its food, drink its drinks, and visit one another. They say, 'Our Lord, bring the Hour to accomplish what Thou hast promised' . . . The spirits of the infidels are in rooms of the Fire: they eat its food, drink its drinks, and visit one another. They say, 'Our Lord, bring not the Hour to accomplish what Thou hast promised!'" According to the Prophet, "The grave is one of the plots of the Garden or one of the pits of the Fire." The period between death and the Day of Resurrection is known as the *barzakh* or "isthmus"; it is alluded to by this name in the Quranic verse, "Behind them is a *barzakh* until the day they are raised up" (XXIII, 100). The term *barzakh* gradually assumes major importance in discussion of eschatology, especially in Sufism and philosophy.

② *The Uprising.* The dead remain in their graves until the Day of Resurrection, which corresponds to the end of this world. "And the Trumpet shall be blown; then behold, they are hastening from their tombs unto their Lord" (XXXVI, 51). Al-Ghazzālī lists over one hundred names for this event, derived from Quranic verses and *hadīths*; among them are the Day of Regret (XIX, 39), the Day of Reckoning (XXXVIII, 16), the Day of the Earthquake (XXII, 1), the Day of the Terror (LVI, 1), the Day of the Clatterer (CI, 1), the Day of the Indubitable (LXIX, 1), the Day of the Encounter (XI, 15), the Day of the Gathering (XLII, 7), the Day wherein is no doubt (III, 9), the Day when no soul will avail another in aught (II, 48), the Day when eyes will stare (XIV, 42), the Day a man will flee his brother, his mother, and his father (LXXX, 34), and the Day they shall not speak (LXXVII, 35).²

③ *The Weighing.* Once the resurrection takes place, the works of people will be evaluated: "We will set up the just balance for the Resurrection Day, so that no soul will be wronged anything: even if it be the weight of a grain of mustard seed, We will produce it" (XXI, 48). According to 'Alī, "The creatures will be seized by the Balance of Justice on the Day of Resurrection: God will requite them on behalf of each other through the Balance." *The Book.* "On that day you will be exposed, not one secret of yours concealed. Then as for him who is given his book in his right hand, he will be in a pleasing life, in a lofty Garden. . . . But as for him who is given his book in his left hand, he will say, 'Would that I had not been given my book and had not known my reckoning! . . .'" (LXIX, 18-26). Concerning

the verse, "Read thy book! Thy soul suffices thee this day as a reckoner against thee" (XVII, 14), Imam Ja'far says, "The servant will remember everything he has done and is written against him, exactly as if he had done it in that hour. This is the meaning of God's words, 'And the book shall be set in place; and thou wilt see the sinners fearful of what is in it and saying, "Alas for us! How is it with this book, that it leaves nothing behind, small or great, but has counted it?"'" (XVIII, 50).

④ *The Questioning.* "We shall surely question them, every one, about what they were doing" (XV, 92-93). According to Ibn 'Abbās, the questioning will not take the form, "Did you do such and such?" but rather, "Why did you do such and such?" Asked about predestination, Imam Ja'far replied, "When God gathers His servants on the Day of Resurrection, He will ask them concerning that which he entrusted to them ('*ahada 'alayhim*), not that which He predestined for them."

⑤ *The Pond.* The Prophet often spoke of the Pond which God had bestowed upon him, as mentioned in Quran CVIII, 1: "Verily We have given thee 'al-Kawthar' [the pond]." For example, "My Pond is one month's journey wide, its water whiter than milk, its fragrance sweeter than musk, and its jugs like the stars of heaven; whosoever drinks from it will never thirst." According to 'Alī, the Prophet said, "He who does not have faith in my Pond will not be given entrance to it by God."

⑥ *The Path.* This is a bridge that stretches over hell; for the faithful it is wide, for infidels narrow and sharper than a sword. Of the thirty-eight occurrences of the word *ṣirāt* in the Quran, most refer to the "straight path" of Islam, and only one or two are said to refer to the bridge (cf. XXXVII, 23-24). Ibn 'Abbās reports that the verse "Verily thy Lord is at the Watch" (LXXXIX, 14) refers to the Path's seven stations, at each of which God questions men: at the first concerning the testimony of faith, at the second concerning the ritual prayer, etc. According to Imam Ja'far, "People will cross the Path, which is thinner than a hair and sharper than a sword, in groups: some will cross it like lightning, some like galloping horses, some crawling, some walking, and some while dangling from it."

⑦ *The Garden.* Numerous Quranic verses promise the faithful the everlasting enjoyment of paradise. Among its delights will be "gardens underneath which rivers flow" (II, 25 etc.), "purified spouses" (II, 25 etc.), "God's good pleasure" (III, 15 etc.), "a shelter of plenteous shade" (IV, 57), "forgiveness and a generous provision" (VIII, 4 etc.), "palaces" (XXV, 10), "goodly dwelling places" (IX, 27 etc.), "couches set face to face" (XV, 47 etc.), "abundant fruits" (XXXVIII, 51 etc.), "maidens restraining their glances" (XXXVII, 48 etc.), "wide-eyed houris" (XLIV, 54 etc.), "immortal youths, going round about them with goblets, ewers, and a cup from a spring" (LVI,

17-18), "platters of gold" (XLIII, 71), and "all that your souls desire" (XLI, 31 etc.).

⁴ *The Fire.* The infidels' share of the next world is "the Fire, whose fuel is men and stones" (II, 24 etc.). Its chastisement is "tremendous" (II, 7 etc.), "painful" (II, 10 etc.), "the most terrible" (II, 85 etc.), "humbling" (II, 90 etc.), "lasting" (V, 37 etc.), "evil" (VI, 157 etc.), and "harsh" (XXIV, 17 etc.). The infidels will encounter "the curse of God, the angels, and men, altogether" (II, 206 etc.), "an evil cradling" (II, 206 etc.), "an evil homecoming" (II, 126 etc.), drinks of "boiling water" (VI, 79 etc.) and "oozing pus" (XIV, 16), "garments of fire" (XXII, 19), "hooked iron rods" (XXII, 21), "fettors and chains on their necks" (XL, 71), "burning winds and boiling water and the shadow of a smoking blaze" (LVI, 42-43), "fettors, and a furnace, and food that chokes" (LXXIII, 12-13), and "a threefold shadow, unshading and giving no relief against the flames" (LXXVII, 30-32). "When they are cast, coupled in fettors, into a narrow place of the Fire, they will call out there for destruction. 'Call not out today for one destruction—call for many!'" (XXV, 13-14).

⁵ *The Hour.* Many verses and a number of short chapters of the Quran (e.g., LXXXI, LXXXII, LXXXIV, XCIX, CI) are dedicated to describing the end of this world, which takes place immediately preceding the Resurrection: "the Day of Doom . . . when the command shall belong only to God" (LXXXII, 17). God alone knows the time of its arrival (VII, 187; XXXIII, 63), but the preparatory signs are described in detail. Gog and Magog and the Beast of the Earth are mentioned in the Quran: "When Gog and Magog are unloosed, and they slide down out of every slope, and nigh has drawn the true promise . . ." (XXI, 96); "When the Word falls on them, We shall bring forth for them out of the earth a beast that shall speak unto them" (XXVII, 82). According to 'Alī, when the beast appears, "he will carry Solomon's seal and Moses' staff. He will place the seal on the face of every believer, leaving the words, 'This is a believer in truth'; and on the face of every infidel, leaving the words, 'This is an infidel in truth.' . . . Then the Beast will raise its head, and everyone from east to west will see it, after the sun has risen from the west. When it lifts its head, repentance will no longer be accepted." Before the world's end al-Dajjāl will rule for a period, and then be killed by Jesus. (The Mahdī, a descendant of the Prophet who "resembles me more than anyone else" and is identified in Shi'ite sources with the twelfth Imam, will also appear at the end of time, and Jesus will pray behind him.) According to some *hadīths*, Jesus will establish a reign of justice; according to others, the Mahdī "will fill the earth with justice and equity as it had been filled with injustice and oppression." As the final end approaches, "God will send a cold wind from the direction of Syria, and no

one who has in his heart as much as a single grain of good shall remain in the earth without being taken." Then the trumpet will be blown, and everyone will perish.

The eschatological teachings outlined above have often been taken at face value; this was especially the case among theologians, traditionists, and Sufis before al-Ghazzālī, though the philosophers from the beginning offered interpretative views. Even in the eighth/fourteenth century, 250 years after al-Ghazzālī and 100 years after Ibn 'Arabī, a Sufi of the stature of 'Izz al-Dīn Kāshānī (d. 735/1334-35) could write as follows in his classic *Mishbāh al-bidāyah (Lamp of Guidance)*:

It is incumbent upon everyone to have faith in the World of the Unseen and the states of the next world just as they are described in the Quran and the *Hadīth*. . . . He must not begin to interpret and explain these for himself with his weak intellect and feeble understanding, nor try to understand how and in what manner they occur, for the human intellect cannot encompass the sciences of faith.³

But al-Ghazzālī had already answered such objections in a manner that the community as a whole had to accept:

You may say that these explanations and details are opposed to what the men of knowledge have discussed in their books, for they have said, "These affairs can only be known through imitation (*taqlīd*) and tradition (*sana'*); human insight cannot reach them." . . . But my words are not opposed to theirs, and everything they have said in explaining the next world is correct. However, it has not gone beyond the explanation of what will be perceived there. Either they have not known the spiritual realities, or they have not explained them, since most people cannot understand them. Whatever [in the next world] is of a corporeal nature can only be known through tradition and imitating the Prophet, but these other things are a branch of the knowledge of the spirit's reality, and there is a way to know that: spiritual insight and inward contemplation.⁴

Elsewhere al-Ghazzālī points out that the reality of death cannot be known without understanding the reality of life, and this in turn depends upon knowledge of the spirit (*rūḥ*), "which is your own self" (or "soul," *nafs*).⁵ The terms *rūḥ* and *nafs* are often used interchangeably to designate the ultimate human substance, though many authorities distinguish between them; in general theologians and Sufis prefer *rūḥ*, philosophers *nafs*. Thus, in what follows, "spirit" and "soul" are essentially synonymous.

The Origin and the Return

Islamic teachings about the nature of man revolve around the fact that, according to the Prophet, God created man "upon His own Form" or "upon

the Form of the All-Merciful." In the Quranic account God made Adam His vicegerent (*ḵalīfah*), knowing "all the names" (II, 30-31), gave him the Trust (XXXIII, 72), "honored" his children (XVII, 70), and subjected to him "everything in the heavens and the earth" (XXXI, 20). These and many other passages are interpreted to refer to the unique position of man among the creatures.

Ibn 'Arabī and his followers provide a clear commentary on such verses in harmony with Islamic teachings in general. The Divine Names mentioned in the Quran are the archetypes of all creatures; the heavens and the earth and all they contain, often referred to in the Quran as the "signs" of God, are the outward manifestations of the ontological perfections referred to by the Names. In their multiplicity the individual creatures of the cosmos reflect the multiple Names of God, and the cosmos as a whole reflects the "all-comprehensive" Name *Allāh* or its near synonym the "All-Merciful" (*al-Rahmān*). "Call upon Allah, or call upon the All-Merciful: whichever you call upon, to Him belong the Names Most Beautiful" (XVII, 110). At the same time each human being, made upon God's Form, also reflects the Name *Allāh*: microcosm and macrocosm are mirror images, and each in turn reflects God. Man's uniqueness lies in the fact that he brings together all the realities of the universe in a summarized and all-comprehensive unity; he embraces within himself—at least potentially—the ontological perfections of all things.

Existence in its total deployment can be pictured as a circle. Beginning as a single point that represents the Creative Principle, the various existents become deployed in a clockwise descent that includes spiritual entities such as angels, intermediate entities connecting the spiritual and corporeal worlds, and then the whole range of corporeal entities, from the simple (the four elements) to the complex (minerals, plants, and animals). The human embryo then represents the lowest point in the circle and the beginning of the "arc of ascent," which extends back through the corporeal, intermediate, and spiritual worlds to the Divine Presence. The full circle represents the outward manifestation of all archetypes or Divine Names, i.e., the whole cosmos, in both its unseen (or spiritual) and visible (or corporeal) dimensions. The perfect man, who traverses the circle of being and actualizes each point, then becomes the point at the center of the circle, standing equidistant from all points on the circumference. As the actualized Form of the Name *Allāh*, the perfect man manifests all other Names equally; were one of them to dominate over him, he would fall into disequilibrium and imperfection, since he would no longer be an "all-comprehensive" creature but would manifest certain realities more than others.

When a human being is born into this world, he is, as a child of Adam,

created upon the form of *Allāh*, but the infinite ontological perfections alluded to by this Name remain potentialities hidden within him. As he grows, he begins to actualize his potential perfections. Philosophical, theological, and Sufi texts on the soul often point out that man first gains the perfections of the vegetative soul, then those of the animal soul, and only then does he begin to become a true human being. But his entry into the human world around the time of puberty—when the practice of Islam becomes incumbent upon him—marks only the first step on an infinite ascent. Man, made in God's image, knows no limits.

In a formulation somewhat different from that found in Ibn 'Arabī's school, Najm al-Dīn Rāzī (d. 654/1256) speaks of five stages of man referred to in the Quran: (1) nonexistence in God's knowledge, (2) existence in the world of the spirits, (3) attachment of the spirit to the body, (4) separation from the bodily frame, (5) return to the frame. Each stage is necessary for the actualization of the perfections required by certain Divine Names. Through the first stage man perceives God as Creator; through the second he comes to know Him by such Attributes as Will, Life, Speech, Sight, and Power; through the third he knows Him as the Provider, the Forgiver, the Munificent, etc.; through the fourth he comes to know Him as the Slayer, and through the fifth as the Reviver.⁶

The goal of the passage through the worlds is the "acquisition of knowledge" or the realization of every concomitant and every concrete manifestation of the Names taught to Adam. For, in the words of the Sufi poet and philosopher Jāmī (d. 898/1492), "Man in his primordial nature (*fiṭrah*) is plain, a receptacle for all attributes."⁷ In the more philosophical language of Mullā Ṣadrā (d. 1050/1640), "Every human soul, because of its primordial nature given by God, is worthy to know the realities of all things."⁸ This conception of the human reality is often expressed by affirming an innate knowledge of universal realities that cannot be actualized until the soul learns the particular things. In Najm al-Dīn Rāzī's words,

In the beginning the spirit had knowledge of universals and not of particulars; it had knowledge of the World of the Unseen but not of the visible world. When it was joined to this world and duly trained and nurtured, it acquired knowledge of both universals and particulars, and became "knower of the Unseen and the visible" as God's vicegerent. In the world of the spirits, it had not the strength or instruments required for the tasks of the Lord's vicegerency; it was in this (lower) world that it acquired the necessary strength and instruments, and thus attained the perfection of the degree of vicegerency.⁹

Another well-known Sufi, 'Azīz al-Dīn Nasafī (d. before 700/1300), describes man's ascent to perfection in terms of spiritual light:

Every individual existent possesses in itself and of itself what it must have. The spirit does not come from anywhere nor go anywhere. The spirit is light, and the cosmos is overflowing with light, for light is its spirit, moving it toward perfection. . . . At one level this light is called "nature," at another level "spirit," at another "intellect," and at still another "Nondelimited Light." . . .

At the first level, life, knowledge, will, and power [the fundamental divine Attributes] do not exist in actuality. But as the existents move up through the levels, gradually life, knowledge, will, power, hearing, sight, and speech come to exist in actuality. . . . In other words, that light which is the spirit of the cosmos and with which the cosmos is overflowing does not possess at that level knowledge, will, and power in actuality, but as the light gradually moves up the levels, life, knowledge, will, and power come to exist in actualized mode.¹⁰

Man's Infinite Potentiality

Ibn Sīnā (d. 428/1037), the "chief shaykh" of the Peripatetic philosophers, provides a clear formulation of the fundamental human nature in the language of *falsafah*:

The perfection peculiar to the rational soul is for it to become an intelligible world within which is inscribed the form of the whole, the intelligible order of the whole, and the good that is effused into the whole; it begins with [knowledge of God, i.e.] the Origin of the whole, moves on to [knowledge of] nondelimited, spiritual, noble substances; then to spiritual substances having a kind of attachment to bodies; and then to the celestial corporeal bodies with all their dispositions and faculties. The soul continues in this manner until it realizes fully within itself the disposition peculiar to existence as a whole. Hence it is transformed into an intelligible world parallel to the entire existent cosmos; it contemplates that which is Absolute Comeliness, Absolute Good, and True Beauty, and it becomes united with it.¹¹

As the form of all the Names—all the ontological possibilities—the human substance is able to achieve a total correspondence with the entire cosmos. But there is no guarantee that a person will reach such a station, and in fact the vast majority of human beings stop short before realizing their full perfection. In effect, they actualize only some of the ontological potentialities embraced by their all-comprehensive primordial nature; they cease to reflect all the Divine Names and become loci of manifestation for only some of them. They become mirrors for part of the universe instead of the whole. They leave the centrality of the human state, and, instead of being all creatures and all creation, they become this creature or that. Particularly in Sufi texts, the infinite potentiality of the human state is perceived as a kind of unlimited malleability that allows man to become anything at all.



34. "Satan in the form of a dragon," Add. 18576 (11a).

Thus 'Azīz al-Dīn Nasafī explains that the earth cannot play the role of water, nor the grape vine that of the almond tree, nor the eye that of the ear.

Have you not recognized that each thing fulfills its fixed function, but that man can necessarily fulfill the function of all? . . . Thus man is defined in the sense that he can assume the qualities of every other creature. . . . According to whether he assumes the qualities of this or that creature, it is this or that creature that he becomes, even though outwardly he may have the form of a man.¹²

Long before Nasafī, the poet Sanā'ī (d. 525/1130–31) had described man as compounded of all the worlds—material, psychic, and spiritual—and hence “molded of heart and clay.” Each existent other than man assumes a single aspect, according to its fixed place in the hierarchy of existence, but man cannot be reduced to “one color.”¹³ Rūmī (d. 672/1273) often refers to man's infinite potentiality: “God will give you what you seek. Wherever your aspiration lies, that you will become.”¹⁴ His son Sultān Walad (d. 712/1312) makes an explicit connection between this teaching and eschatology:

Man is compounded of form and meaning, of satanic and divine; every instant the hours of paradise and the devils of hell show their faces from his inward reality so that it may be seen which vein and which attribute dominate over him. His desire takes him to that form with which he has a greater affinity (*munāsabah*); it becomes his *qiblah* and beloved. Necessarily in the end he will become identical to it and be resurrected with it.¹⁵

Again in Rūmī's words,

Whatever makes you tremble—know that you are worth just that! That is why the heart of God's lover is greater than His Throne.¹⁶

According to the *ḥadīth qudsī*, “My heavens and My earth encompass Me not, but the heart of My gentle, faithful, and meek servant does encompass Me.” The servant whose heart encompasses God has become the perfect man by actualizing the Divine Form upon which he was created; having comprehended all the Divine Names, he contains within himself the form of every creature. This is the meaning of Ibn 'Arabī's famous verse, “My heart has become a receptacle for every form, a pasture for gazelles and a cloister for Christian monks.”¹⁷ In a similar vein Ibn 'Arabī alludes to a *ḥadīth* found in Muslim's authoritative collection: God will appear at the Resurrection in a multitude of forms, but His creatures will deny Him until He appears in a form that corresponds to their own belief. It is only the perfect men, whose hearts encompass all the Divine Names in perfect equilibrium, who will recognize God in whatever form He displays.

He who delimits God [according to his own belief] denies Him in everything

other than his own delimitation, acknowledging Him only when He reveals Himself within that delimitation. But he who frees Him from all delimitation never denies Him, acknowledging Him in every form in which He appears.¹⁸

Mullā Ṣadrā summarizes this discussion in philosophical terms:

The soul is the “junction of the two seas” (XVIII, 59) of corporeal and spiritual things. . . . If you consider its substance in this world, you will find it the principle of all the bodily powers, employing all the animal and vegetal forms in its service. But if you consider its substance in the world of the Intellect, you will find that at the beginning of its fundamental nature it is pure potential without any form in that world. . . . Its initial relation to the form of that world is that of the seed to the fruit, or of the embryo to the animal: just as the embryo is in actuality an embryo, and an animal only potentially, so (at first) the soul is in actuality a mere mortal man, but potentially (realized) Intellect.¹⁹

Through life in this world the soul's potentialities become actualized; death is in no way an imperfection, since, as stated in the commonly quoted *ḥadīth*, it is merely “transferal from one abode to another.” In Mullā Ṣadrā's terms, death occurs once the soul has actualized all its potentialities. Having no more need for the material body, it discards it in order to move on to the next stage of its existence.

The reason for physical death is that the soul reaches perfection and independence in existence, so it turns through its ingrained activity and effort toward another world. Thus, as its essence gains strength, little by little, until it attains a new kind of existence, it cuts off its connection [with the body] by strengthening its connection to another body, which is acquired in accordance with its moral qualities and psychic dispositions. Hence, first and in essence it takes on a second life; but as an accidental corollary, its physical life comes to an end. . . .

Attaining the degree of substantiality, actuality, and independence is shared by faithful and infidel. . . . and by many animals that have an actualized imaginal faculty. There is no contradiction between this ontological perfection and substantial independence on the one hand and wretchedness and suffering torment through the fire of hell. . . . on the other; on the contrary, these things merely confirm our conclusion. For the fact that the existence [of the individual] is strengthened and accentuated and that it departs from material coverings and veils results in an increased intensity in the perception of pains.²⁰

The Role of the Body

In the above passage, Mullā Ṣadrā speaks of the soul's discarding its body through its connection to “another body.” He, Ibn 'Arabī, and others

maintain that a body is indispensable to the soul at all stages of its existence; in fact, they are following Quranic usage, where *nafs* most often refers to the whole human reality, not just to the spiritual side of man's existence.²¹ In Ibn 'Arabī's words, "When God created the human spirit, He created it governing a natural (*tabī'ī*) sensory form, whether in this world, in the *barzakh*, or wherever."²² Like Rūmī, Ibn 'Arabī compares the individual souls of men to patches of light thrown down into separate courtyards by the "sun," that is, the "single soul" (Quran VII, 189) from which the souls were created. The individual existence of a soul thus depends upon the locus within which it becomes manifested. After death, "God desires the subsistence of these lights in keeping with the disparity they have assumed," so He creates bodies for them in the *barzakh*, through which they remain distinct from other souls.²³ Mullā Ṣadrā explains that the total potentiality of the human primordial nature cannot be actualized without bodies, since man is in need of the physical senses to actualize his imaginal faculty. "Then, on the basis of correct images, the soul is able to extract disengaged meanings, and from these it can come to understand its own world, its Origin, and its Return."²⁴

The all-comprehensive human reality has to be a potential locus of manifestation for every Divine Name, including those, like the "Outward" (*al-zāhir*), which demand a mode of existence at the outermost limit of manifestation. Otherwise, man would not encompass "all the worlds" and would cease to be man. Hence, for Mullā Ṣadrā, the resurrection of the body follows from the very definition of the human being, and he marshals his formidable powers of reasoning to prove its reality. It is impossible here even to allude to his various complicated proofs; it need be mentioned only that he maintains vehemently the fundamental identity of the resurrection body and the body man possesses in this world, in spite of certain differences. This is because bodily nature is determined solely by "form" (in the Aristotelian sense) and not by "matter," which is nonmanifest without form. Therefore the body is the same body, even though the ontological conditions of the *barzakh* and the resurrection differ in certain respects from those in this world.²⁵

A *barzakh* is an intermediate reality that both separates and comprehends what lies on either side. It is a name given to the "world of suspended images" (Suhrawardī) or the "world of imagination" (Ibn 'Arabī), the intermediate ontological realms that separate the ocean of the spirits from that of the corporeal bodies: "He let forth the two seas that meet together, between them a *barzakh* they do not overpass" (Quran LV, 20). Like the world of the spirits, the *barzakh* is immaterial, but like that of the corporeal

bodies, it possesses shape, form, and number. Without it, the spiritual beings, which are luminous and disengaged (*mujarrad*) from matter, could have no contact with beings of the corporeal world, which are material and tenebrous. Ibn 'Arabī states:

The *barzakh* is the junction of the two seas: the sea of spiritual meanings and the sea of sensory objects. The sensory things cannot be meaning (*ma'nā*), nor can the meanings be sensory. But the World of Imagination, which we have called "the junction of the two seas," gives meanings corporeal shape and makes sensory objects into subtle realities.²⁶

In the same way, without the animal soul, which is the locus of imagination in man, the human spirit or "rational soul" could not govern his body.

Ibn 'Arabī distinguishes between the *barzakh* located on the descending arc of the circle of being and that on the ascending arc. The first of these *barzakhs* acts as the ontological nexus between spiritual and corporeal realities, while the second—called the "grave" in many *hadiths*—grows up from human acts and moral qualities as a fruit grows on a tree.²⁷

In the human microcosm, the world of imagination is directly reflected in the faculty of imagination, which is experienced most clearly in dreams, when we see, hear, smell, taste, and feel without any corresponding objects outside of the mind. In the view of Mullā Ṣadrā, the imagination is a faculty that creates images in our mind, whether or not these correspond to objects in the outside world. Hence, even during wakefulness, the imagination creates in the mind the image of the object that the eye has "perceived." The imagination has an infinite power of conjuration, since it can picture all that exists and all that does not exist. The ultimate source of this ability is the fact that man is the microcosm containing all things in himself, while his imagination is a locus of manifestation (*mazhar*) for the Divine Name "He who gives form" (*al-Musawwir*).

The conclusion reached by Mullā Ṣadrā is that after death man exists in the *barzakh* in an imaginal body whose very substance is produced by himself. This does not mean that the *barzakh* is "imaginary"; in fact, it is far more real than this world, since it lies at a higher point on the circle of being. In the words of the Prophet, "People are asleep, but when they die, they wake up." None of what man witnesses in the next stage of existence is outside his own soul, but the reality of the soul, as the Form of God, is ultimately without limits. So it should not be surprising when Mullā Ṣadrā calls the "imaginal" experiences of the next world "more strongly substantial, more firmly established, and more permanent in reality than material forms."²⁸

Equilibrium and Deviation: Mercy and Wrath

The goal of Islam is to guide mankind to ultimate felicity by establishing equilibrium on the individual level and on the social level. This means that the human substance, made upon the form of the all-comprehensive Names *Allāh* and All-Merciful, must be shown the way to actualize all the concomitants of the individual Divine Names. Mullā Ṣadrā summarizes the destiny and felicity of the soul in the following terms:

In respect to its intellectual essence, the felicity of the soul lies in its attaining to pure intellectual realities and becoming the locus for divine forms, for the order of existence, and for the disposition of the Whole, from God Himself down to the lowest levels of existence. As for the soul's perfection and felicity in respect to its companionship with the body . . . this lies in the attainment of "justice" . . . This means that it must achieve perfect balance among opposing moral qualities.²⁹

By employing the term "justice" (*ʿadālah*), derived from the same root as the word "equilibrium" (*iʿtidāl*), Mullā Ṣadrā is alluding to the point of contact between the ultimate perfection of the human soul—sometimes called the station of the perfect man, who stands at the point at the center of the circle—and the science of ethics, whether considered as a branch of philosophy, Sufism, or the *Sharīʿah*. In the words of perhaps the greatest Muslim authority on the philosophical study of ethics, Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī (d. 672/1274), "Among virtues, none is more perfect than the virtue of Justice, as is obvious in the discipline of Ethics, for the true mid-point is Justice, all else being peripheral to it and taking its reference therefrom."³⁰

Already al-Ghazzālī had identified justice with the straight path of Islam, "the true mean among the opposite moral qualities."³¹ He summarizes Islamic ethics in his *Iḥyāʾ* when speaking of the four basic kinds of human attributes: beastly (*bahīmī*), predatory (*ṣabʿī*), satanic (*shayṭānī*), and lordly or seigneurial (*rabbānī*). It is as if "the total in man's skin is a pig, a dog, a devil, and a wise man." The first three kinds of attributes must be put under the domination of the fourth, which is manifested most clearly in man's intellect (*ʿaql*). If the latter dominates, "the matter is in equilibrium, and justice appears in the kingdom of the body and all proceeds on the Straight Path."³² Otherwise man will be in the service of the pig, dog, or devil, and he will fail to achieve human status. This is in fact the state of most men, and it explains their lot in the next world.

The *Sharīʿah* and the *ṭarīqah* provide the framework in which the "true mean" among the moral qualities can be achieved; they allow man to follow the advice of the oft-quoted *ḥadīth*: "Assume the moral traits of Allah (*takhallaqū bi-akhlāq Allāh*"); in other words, "Actualize all the Divine

Names upon the form of which you were created." Al-Ghazzālī refers to the actualization of these Names as the station of *taʿallub* (a word derived from the same root as the Name *Allāh*), i.e., "being like unto *Allāh*" or "theomorphism."³³ Later philosophers adopted this term as a definition of human perfection; thus Mullā Ṣadrā is often referred to as the "theomorphic sage" (*al-ḥakīm al-mutaʿallib*).

Al-Farghānī (d. ca. 700/1300), a follower of Ibn ʿArabī, explains that man must follow the *Sharīʿah*, because only it can open the way toward the actualization of his theomorphic nature; only the Law can protect him from being overcome by the multiplicity and disequilibrium of the sensory world. In our present state, nature veils the spiritual world and its properties of oneness, equilibrium, and simplicity. By following the *Sharīʿah*, a person gains an actualized connection (*taʿalluq*) to certain Divine Names closely related to Unity that formerly had only been latent within himself. Thus, God is the Guide (*al-Hādī*), the Right-Guider (*al-Rashīd*), the All-Compassionate (*al-Rahīm*), the Forgiver (*al-Ghafūr*), and the Pardoner (*al-ʿAfīf*), but to benefit from these Names a person must accept the Divine Guidance and Compassion that are offered—that is, he must submit to the message from heaven.³⁴

In this discussion it is essential to recognize the distinction between the Names of Mercy and Gentleness, such as those mentioned above, and those of Wrath and Severity, such as the Vengeful, the Terrible, the Abaser, and the Almighty. According to the *ḥadīth qudsī*, "My Mercy precedes My Wrath"; so the Names of Mercy take precedence over those of Wrath. The reason for this is simply that Mercy is the very nature of God, whereas Wrath comes into play in connection with certain of His creatures. In the words of ʿAbd al-Karīm al-Jīlī (d. ca. 832/1428), "God said, 'My Mercy embraces all things,' for He created all things as a mercy from Him. . . . The secret in this is that Mercy is the Attribute of His Essence, but Wrath is not."³⁵ Moreover, since man is created upon the "Form of the All-Merciful," the equilibrium attained by the perfect men relates directly to the Attributes of the Essence, such as Unity. But disequilibrium, deviation, and multiplicity relate to those Names—the Names of Wrath—which are in one respect opposed to the Names of Mercy.

This is why theologians and jurists such as Abū Ḥanīfah (d. 150/767) often point out that evil deeds are debarred from any connection with such merciful Attributes as Good-Pleasure (*al-riḍā*) and Guidance.³⁶ In expanding on such teachings, Ibn ʿArabī draws a clear distinction between the paths of Mercy and Wrath: though all things return to God, their returns are conditioned by the particular Names to which they are connected. Hence God

calls us to follow the path of justice and equilibrium, which will lead us to the Names of Mercy: "God calls us to worship Him according to the path which connects us to our own particular felicity." As his commentator points out, all paths lead to God but each takes us to a different name.

Names are different in respect of their realities and effects. How is "He who harms" comparable to "He who benefits," or "the Bestower" comparable to "the Preventer"? How is "the Avenger" comparable to "the Forgiver," or "the Benign Benefactor" to "the Vanquisher"?³⁷

God is the Just (*al-'adl*), and thus He "puts everything in its proper place" (*al-'adl huwa wad' al-shay' fi mawadi'ih*). This means that those creatures who have actualized the Form of the All-Merciful upon which they were created enjoy Mercy, while those who have not actualized the human potential suffer Wrath, since they remain in multiplicity and disequilibrium. The Quran makes a clear connection between Wrath and the chastisement of hell (e.g., IV, 93; VIII, 16; XLII, 16; XLVIII, 6). The early Sufi al-Niffari (d. 360/971) points out the relationship between the Names of Wrath and the fire on the one hand and the Names of Mercy and the garden on the other; he declares that the fire derives from "otherness," that is, being veiled from God and from one's own primordial nature by separation and plurality. "Unveiling is the Garden of the Garden, veiling the Fire of the Fire."³⁸ In short, "to enter the garden" is to actualize the form upon which one was created and to attain to Mercy, whereas "entering the fire" means to be separated from one's theomorphic selfhood. In the words of F. Schuon:

The good reason for the sanctions beyond death is apparent once we are aware of human imperfection; being a disequilibrium that imperfection ineluctably calls forth its own repercussion. . . . The fire beyond the grave is definitely nothing but our own intellect actualized in opposition to our own falsehood. . . . Man therefore condemns himself; according to the Quran [XXIV, 24, XXVI, 64, XLI, 20-22] it is his members themselves which accuse him; once beyond the realm of lies his violations are transformed into flames.³⁹

Certain Sufis maintain that after death—as before death—God reveals Himself to man primarily in the mode of Mercy, but the infidel's corrupted nature perceives that Mercy as Wrath. In Niffari's words, "That through which He blesses in the Garden is the same as that through which He chastises in the Fire." Ibn 'Arabi is more explicit: "Chastisement occurs through the very things that causes bliss . . . , just as a man of cold temperament enjoys the heat of the sun, while a man of hot temperament is tortured by it. In the last analysis, the very thing that causes bliss causes pain."⁴⁰

In discussing the torments of hell, Muslim thinkers eventually come back to the precedence of God's Mercy over His Wrath. The Names of Mercy in

the Quran outnumber the Names of Wrath by at least five to one; the Name Vengeful does not occur as such, but only once in verbal form, whereas its opposite, the Forgiving, occurs about one hundred times. Considerations such as these explain why the view that hell cannot be everlasting has prevailed, even among esoteric theologians. For Ibn 'Arabi and his followers, the precedence of God's Mercy means that the chastisement ('*adhāb*) of the infidels will one day turn sweet ('*adhb*), even if they remain in hell forever.⁴¹

Death and the *Barzakh*

Long before Muslims began writing about an independent "world of imagination" identified with the *barzakh*, the community was well aware that "sleep is the brother of death" (a saying normally cited as a *hadith*). The Quran states, "God takes their souls at the time of death, and that which has not died in its sleep" (XXXIX, 42), and authorities such as the Quran commentator al-Zamakhshari (d. 538/1143-44) could argue that sleep and death were the same reality.⁴² The science of dream interpretation is mentioned in the Quran (e.g., XII, 44, 100) and was practiced by the Prophet. The vast literature that developed on the subject shows that it has been popular throughout Islamic history. Since the close connection between sleep and death was affirmed from the first, it is not surprising that the eschatological data came to be "interpreted" following much the same principles that were employed for dreams.

In dreams the imaginal faculty displays ideas in forms that possess a "correspondence" or "affinity" (*munāsabah*) with the underlying meaning or content. The task of the interpreter is to understand the original meaning behind the form. His task is made easier, of course, if the dream is "true" (*sādiq*) and derives therefore not only from the dreaming subject but also from the objective world of imagination outside and beyond him. The Prophet himself said that a true dream is "one-forty-sixth part of prophecy." Al-Ghazzālī points out that since sleep is the twin brother of death, through it "we have gained an aptitude for understanding certain states which we could not understand through wakefulness." He explains that the works of men have "spirits" (*arwāḥ*) and "realities" (*ḥaqā'iq*) that cannot be perceived in this world but that appear after death, for in the next world "Forms are subordinate to spirits and realities, so everything seen there will be seen in a form appropriate to its reality."⁴³ In the same way, the forms we see in dreams correspond closely to their meanings, as can be understood from an account of the famous dream interpreter Ibn Sirīn (d. early second/eighth century). When asked about a man who had dreamed he was

sealing the mouths and private parts of people with a seal ring, he explained, correctly, that the man must be a muezzin who calls people to prayer in the early morning of Ramadān (thus announcing to them that they must commence the fast). Al-Ghazzālī explains:

When this man became separated somewhat from the world of corporeal sensation, the spirit of his work was unveiled to him. But since he was still in the world of imagination (*'alam al-takhyul*)—for a dreamer never ceases to imagine things—his imaginal faculty veiled the spirit [of his work] in an imaginal likeness (*mithāl mutakhywil*), i.e., the seal-ring and the sealing. This likeness reveals the spirit of his work more clearly than the call to prayer itself, since the World of Dreams is nearer than this lower world to the next world.⁴⁴

"What is really strange," remarks al-Ghazzālī, "is that you have been shown so many examples of the Resurrection in sleep, yet you remain totally oblivious of its reality."⁴⁵ So dreams provide a key to understanding the Islamic teachings concerning the next world. For example, the Prophet describes the reality of the present world by saying that on the Day of Resurrection it will be brought in the form of an ugly old woman, and everyone who sees her will say: "We seek refuge from you in God." Then they will be told, "This is the world that you spent so much effort in trying to acquire."⁴⁶ Again, the Prophet speaks of the infidel in his grave being tormented by ninety-nine *tinnin*, each of which is ninety-nine serpents with nine heads. These represent the infidel's evil qualities, such as pride, hypocrisy, envy, and greed, while the exact numbers refer to the fact that such qualities can be divided into a limited number of general principles possessing subdivisions (as can be observed, for example, in the science of ethics). "It is these qualities which are the mortal sins; they themselves are transformed into scorpions and serpents."⁴⁷

Al-Ghazzālī's conclusion is clear, especially since it is repeated in numerous texts on eschatology over the centuries: In death, man finds nothing but his own attributes, no longer veiled by the corporeal body but revealing themselves to him in forms appropriate to his new abode. "The soul's connection to the body veils it from the perception of the realities of things, while death removes the veil: 'We have now removed from thee thy covering, so thy sight today is piercing' (Quran I, 22)."⁴⁸ Man awakens to the realities of his own words, acts, and moral qualities; his moral substance, whether good or evil, assumes corporeal shape. Everything that had been hidden in the lower world becomes outwardly manifest. This is why, in the words of al-Tūsī, "Whoever is afraid of natural death is afraid of the concomitant of his own essence and the completion of his own quiddity."⁴⁹ Rūmī makes the same point:

If you fear and flee from death, you fear yourself, Oh friend! Take heed! It is your own ugly face, not the face of death. Your spirit is like a tree, and death its leaves.⁵⁰

According to al-Qūnawī (d. 673/1274), the *barzakh* is a world where the outward becomes inward and the inward outward. It is referred to a follow:

"The day every soul shall find what it has done of good brought forward, and what it has done of evil; it will wish there were a far space between it and that day" (III, 30). Every attribute that dominated over man in this world will manifest itself to him in the *barzakh* in an appropriate form. . . . This is the meaning of the Prophet's words, "Men will be mustered on the Day of Resurrection in keeping with their intentions."⁵¹

The Persian poet Sanā'ī expresses these ideas as follows:

When they lift the veil of sensory perception from your eyes, if you are an infidel you will find scorching hell,
if a man of faith the Garden.
Your heaven and hell are within yourself: Look inside!
See furnaces in your liver, gardens in your heart.⁵²

Rūmī asks:

How many children of your thoughts will you see in the grave,
all surrounding your soul crying, "Papa!"
Your good thoughts give birth to youths and hours;
your ugly thoughts give birth to great demons.⁵³

Such ideas explain the eschatological significance of these famous lines of Rūmī:

You are your thought, brother, the rest of you is bones and fiber.
If you think of roses, you are a rosegarden; if you think of thorns, you are fuel for the furnace.⁵⁴

'Ayn al-Qudāt Hamadānī (d. 525/1131) explains that all vision of the spiritual world or of the next world is based on *tamathbul*, "the display of images (*mithāl*)."⁵⁵ Thus, according to the Quran, Gabriel appeared to Mary as "a man without fault" through *tamathbul* (XIX, 17). On this basis we can understand the questioning of the dead by the angels Munkar and Nakir:

It takes place within yourself. Those of our contemporaries who are veiled from the truth have come up with this problem: How can two angels, in one instant, visit a thousand different individuals? [They conclude that] one must accept this as an article of faith [since it contradicts reason]. But in this

connection Ibn Sīnā—God have mercy on him—provided a world of explanation in two sentences: “Munkar is his evil deeds, and Nakir his good deeds.” . . . The ego is the mirror of blameworthy qualities, and the intellect and heart are the mirror of praiseworthy qualities. When a man looks, he sees his own attributes revealing themselves in images (*amaththal-gart kamaḥ*). His own existence is his torment, though he thinks someone else is tormenting him. . . . If you want to hear the Prophet himself say this, listen when he speaks of the chastisements of the grave: “They are only your works given back to you.”⁵⁵

The Lesser Resurrection

The experience of death for the microcosm corresponds to the coming of the Hour for the macrocosm. Hence the Qurānic accounts of the end of the world can also be understood as referring to the death of the individual. Many Qurānic commentators, such as ‘Abd al-Razzāq Kāshānī (d. 730/1330) in his famous *ta’wīl*, or “esoteric interpretation,” understand verses referring to the resurrection in such terms. Al-Ghazzālī had already brought this type of commentary under the protective wing of mainstream Islam in his *Ihyā’*: “I mean by ‘Lesser Resurrection’ the state of death, for the Prophet—God bless him and give him peace—said, ‘He who has died has undergone his resurrection.’” He explains that all the terms that refer to the Greater Resurrection have their equal (*nazīr*) in the Lesser Resurrection. Thus, the earth corresponds to the body, mountains to bones, the sky to the head, the sun to the heart, the stars to the senses, grass to hair, trees to limbs, etc.

So when the elements of your body are destroyed through death, “The earth will be shaken with a mighty shaking” (XCIX, 1); when the bones are separated from the flesh, “The earth and the mountains will be lifted up and crushed with a single blow” (LXIX, 14); when the bones decay, “The mountains will be scattered like ashes” (LXXVII, 10); when your heart is darkened through death, “The sun will be darkened” (LXXXI, 1); when your hearing, sight, and other senses cease to work, “The stars will be thrown down” (LXXXI, 2); when your brain is split, “The sky will be split asunder” (LV, 37). . . . The instant you die, the Lesser Resurrection will take place for you; nevertheless, you will not miss anything of the Greater Resurrection.⁵⁶

Bābā Tāhir of Hamadān (fifth/eleventh century) employs a similar method of interpretation to explain the events that follow the resurrection:

People are now standing on the Path though they are unaware, for in the eyes of the Sufis, this world is the next world. In the hereafter there will be a Path, a Balance, a Garden, and a Fire. The Path of the Sufis in this world is their way, which is “sharper than a sword.” Their Balances are their hearts,



35. “The Mirāj of the Prophet,” *Khamsab Nizami*.

which are the best of all balances; their Garden is the turning of their hearts toward God], and their Fire is the turning of their hearts away [from Him].⁵⁷

In discussing the Lesser and Greater Resurrections, al-Qūnawī adds the Greatest Resurrection (*qiyāmat-i 'uzmā*), which he defines as "the Arrival (*wusūl*) achieved by the gnostic, the moment when the two created worlds are erased and obliterated by the light of Unity, so that nothing remains but the Living, the Self-Subsistent."⁵⁸ 'Azīz al-Dīn Nasafī speaks of lesser, intermediate, greater, and greatest resurrections and identifies them with four stages of human life: birth, the acquisition of faith, perfection in knowledge, and perfection in sanctity.⁵⁹ Sayyid Haydar Amulī (d. after 787/1385), a follower of Ibn 'Arabī who is careful to support his views with the sayings of the Shi'ite Imams, details several kinds of resurrection, as indicated in the accompanying table.⁶⁰

KINDS OF RESURRECTION
according to Sayyid Haydar Amulī

macrocosmic		microcosmic			
		supraformal (<i>ma'navī</i>)	formal (<i>sūri</i>)	greater	
supraformal	another view	destruction of the world through the return of compound things to the domain of simple elemental bodies	physical death	the period in the grave (the <i>barzakh</i>)	the gathering on the Day of Resurrection
	one view		"voluntary death" or spiritual awakening	transmutation of moral qualities	annihilation of self and subsistence in God
formal	the appearance of the Mahdī	return of simple things to the <i>materia prima</i>	transformation of the sensory world into the <i>barzakh</i>	return of the souls and spirits to the First Substance	the bodily resurrection
	return of particular souls to the Universal Soul	return of particular spirits to the Greatest Spirit	return of intellects to the First Intellect		

Al-Jīfī interprets the events that take place at the end of time in terms of the voluntary death or Greatest Resurrection experienced by the spiritual traveler. According to a *hadīth*, Gog and Magog will appear on the earth, eating its fruits and drinking its seas; once they are slain, the earth will revive. In the same way, the ego's agitation and corrupt thoughts take possession of the earth of man's heart, eat its fruits, and drink its seas, so that no trace of spiritual knowledge can appear. Then God's angels annihilate these satanic whisperings with sciences from God: the earth is revived and it gives abundant harvest. This is a mark of man's gaining proximity to God. As for the beast of the earth, it will come to tell the earth's inhabitants about the truth of the promises concerning the resurrection. In the same way, the traveler reaches a stage of unveiling where he comes to understand the inward mysteries of religion; this is a favor from God, so that "the troops of his faith will not retreat before the armies of the continuing veil." Just as the people will not be convinced of the coming of the Hour until the appearance of the beast, so the gnostic will not understand all the requisites of Divinity until the spirit appears from out of the earth of his bodily nature. The conflict between al-Dajjal and Jesus refers to the battle between the ego and the spirit, while the appearance of the Mahdī alludes to man's becoming "the Possessor of Equilibrium at the pinnacle of every perfection." Finally, the rising of the sun from the west marks the realization of the ultimate human perfection.⁶¹

The Greater Resurrection

In discussing Quran L, 22, the commentator Rashīd al-Dīn Maybudī (early sixth/twelfth century) points out that the world of the *barzakh* has been compared to the womb. Ibn 'Arabī expands on this idea, explaining that after death man begins to reap the fruit of his life in this world; "having undergone various stages of development, he is born on the Day of Resurrection."⁶² The imaginal bodies that men possess in the *barzakh* are like lamps within which the spirit is lit. Then "the Trumpet shall be blown, and whosoever is in the heavens and whosoever is in the earth shall swoon, save whom God wills" (XXXXIX, 68). At this first blast on the trumpet, the lamps will be extinguished and transferred into resurrection bodies. "Then it shall be blown again, and lo, they shall stand beholding" (XXXXIX, 68); that is, once again the lamps will be lit. Some of those newly awakened will ask, "Who roused us out of our sleeping place?" (XXXVI, 52). People will gradually forget their situation in the *barzakh* and imagine that it had been a dream, even though, when they first entered the *barzakh*, that had been an awakening compared with their life in the world.⁶³ The resurrection is far more real

and intense than the *barraketh*, just as the latter is more real than the world. This is why, after death, the people of Pharaoh are "exposed morning and evening" to the fire (XL, 45), but they do not enter into it, since they are still in the *barraketh*. But "on the day when the Hour is come: 'Admit the people of Pharaoh into the more intense chastisement'" (XL, 46).⁶⁴

Although most theologians maintained that the resurrection body would be the same body as that which existed in the world, al-Ghazzālī among others points out that even this earthly body does not stay the same, since it constantly changes throughout life. The truth of the matter is that "the body is only a mount; though the horse should change, the rider stays the same."⁶⁵ Najm al-Dīn Rāzī suggests that the difference between the earthly body and the resurrection body lies in its degree of "subtlety" (*latāfah*). In both cases the body belongs to the realm of nature and is therefore compounded of the four elements; but in this world earth and water predominate, whereas in the next world fire and air predominate. Then, "when the form is subtle and luminous, it no longer interferes with the spirit." So on that day people will display outwardly the realities that are today latent in their hearts.⁶⁶

As already indicated, Mullā Ṣadrā holds that the resurrection body is identical with the earthly body in "form." Ibn 'Arabī and his followers speak of a "sensory" resurrection at the level of "nature," that is, within the domain of the four elements, but the ontological level of hell will correspond to that of this lower world, with its multiplicity and disequilibrium. Al-Qūnawī explains that the people of wretchedness will meet all their thoughts, knowledge, states, and works in forms appropriate to their debased ontological level, while the spiritual dimensions of these things will depart from them. In contrast, the thoughts, states, and works of the people of felicity will be transformed into spiritual entities, while their resurrection bodies will subsist inside themselves. In this world, a person's inward reality is infinitely malleable and "nondelimited" (*muḥlaq*), whereas his outward form and acts are defined and determined. In paradise, "the property of nondelimitation will pertain to the outward dimension, while the property of delimitation will belong to the inward."⁶⁷

If it is true that the inward state of man is revealed at the Lesser Resurrection, this is even more true at the Greater Resurrection, the day when "that which is in the breasts is brought out" (C, 10) and "secrets are divulged" (LXXXVI, 9). In the words of Sanā'ī,

If you die with an ugly character, you will be resurrected in the form
of a beast. . . .

When meaning comes out of the house into the street, your face will be
impressed with what is in your heart.

For the sake of display, the Originator of Qualities will put potentiality on the inside and actuality on the outside.⁶⁸

The result of not having realized "justice" and "equilibrium" in this world becomes manifest in the very form in which the resurrection body appears. Al-Ghazzālī had spoken of the "pig" and the "dog" within man, that is, the faculties of beastliness or "concupiscence" (*shahwah*) and predatoriness or "irascibility" (*ghabah*), which must be overcome by the intellect. Al-Qūnawī among others states that man will assume corporeal shape in the *barraketh* according to the character that dominated over him in this world. Thus, "if concupiscence dominated, he will appear in the form of a pig, and if irascibility dominated, he will appear as a dog."⁶⁹

According to Rūmī,

There are thousands of wolves and pigs in our existence, good and evil,
fair and foul.

Man's properties are determined by the trait that predominates:

If gold is more than copper, then he is gold.

Of necessity you will be given form at the Resurrection in accordance with
the character that predominates in your existence.⁷⁰

Among the philosophers, al-Fārābī (d. 339/950) had interpreted certain teachings of Plato in similar terms, and Shi'ite thinkers like Ibn Abī Jumhūr (d. 901/1494) and especially Mullā Ṣadrā develop this mode of interpretation in detail, citing many Qurānic verses and *hadīths* in support of their arguments. Mullā Ṣadrā holds that the very essences of human souls will diverge in the hereafter and that they will become many species, falling into four main genera (corresponding to al-Ghazzālī's pig, dog, devil, and wise man). This is not transmigration (*tanāsukh*), say our authors, since it does not take place in this world, but on another plane of existence.⁷¹

Though the theologians and most Sufis did not question the reality of the bodily resurrection, the early philosophers were inclined to be skeptical, since they could find no rational proofs outside revelation to support it. Nonetheless, they considered the survival of the soul a foregone conclusion, since it belongs by nature to the domain of disengaged and incorruptible spiritual substances; then its bliss is for it to contemplate the highest realities and God Himself. According to Ibn Sīnā, if the soul attains to perfection, after death it will become connected to the Divine and be plunged into true pleasure. Imperfect souls experience various degrees of pleasure or pain, according to the degree to which they have become detached from the body or remained immersed in the world. Concerning bodily resurrection, Ibn Sīnā anticipates later developments in Islamic thought by suggesting

that certain souls may experience the events described in the Quran and the *Hadith* because these descriptions had shaped their imaginal faculties; they will then perceive what they had believed they would perceive. After all, he says, imaginal forms are stronger than sensory forms, as can be observed in dreams. But the images contemplated in the next world are more stable than those seen in dreams because the body no longer interferes with perception.⁷²

Ibn Sīnā also suggests that the Islamic teachings about bodily resurrection should be interpreted allegorically. Islam is addressed to all men, not just philosophers and sages, so it has to speak a language understood by everyone, that of corporeal realities. "Our Prophet—God bless him and give him peace—perfected this mode of explanation such that nothing can be added to it." Ibn Sīnā then turns the tables on those Christian missionaries who were later to criticize Islam for its "sensual" descriptions of paradise. He says that the Christians accept the bodily resurrection but fail to describe the various forms of corporeal ease and punishment; instead they suggest that men will be like angels. But "most people think—though they do not dare say so because of their fear [of the religious law]—that angels are miserable creatures who have no ease or joy. They do not eat, drink, or have sexual intercourse, and they occupy themselves constantly with unrequited worship. The common people think this way since they cannot begin to understand the nature of true felicity and spiritual joy."⁷³

Many Sufis agreed that the Quranic data need not be taken literally. Sulṭān Walad writes:

The true nature of meanings (*ma'ānī*) cannot be expressed in words; they do not resemble anything, nor are they opposed to anything. But something has to be said in keeping with the understandings of people so that they will strive to reach those meanings. In the same way, one explains to a child the pleasure of kissing by comparing a woman's lips to sugar. . . . But in fact, what is the relationship between lips and sugar? There is no resemblance at all. Likewise God explains the Garden in terms of hours, castles, trees, and rivers in order that it may be understood in these terms. But in fact, how should the Garden resemble such things? For they are transitory, while it is eternal. What relation is there between the transitory and the eternal?⁷⁴

Al-Ghazzālī displays the concern of the theologian to affirm the bodily nature of the resurrection, but he reminds us that the soul will also be resurrected, so spiritual delights and torments must also be taken into account. The Quran refers to them in such verses as, "What shall teach you about the Crusher? The kindled Fire of God, roaring over the hearts" (CIV, 5-7). Al-Ghazzālī divides this spiritual fire into three kinds: (1) the fire of separation from worldly desires, which is particularly strong at death and in the

barzakhs, (2) the fire of shame and disgrace, which overcomes man at the resurrection when all his deeds are displayed; (3) the fire of regret over being deprived of the vision of God, which is the lasting torment of hell.⁷⁵

All the inhabitants of the garden will possess "bodies," but their spirits will dwell in different degrees of proximity to God. Already at the time of the Prophet, there are references to eight levels and one hundred degrees of paradise; many authorities rank the levels in accordance with different names employed in the Quran.⁷⁶ The Quran distinguishes between the companions of the right (as opposed to the companions of the left in hell) and the Foremost or "Those Brought Nigh" (LVI, 8-10). In al-Qūnawī's words, "The Garden, hours, castles, fowl, and sweetmeats belong to the Companions of the Right; theophany (*taẓāllif*), true knowledge, and Encounter belong to Those Brought Nigh."⁷⁷ According to some accounts, the vision of God guaranteed to the faithful in several *hadiths* and alluded to in the Quran (e.g., LXXV, 23) will take place at the Dune of White Musk; Ibn 'Arabī states that all of the people of the garden will take stations there, "in keeping with their degrees of knowledge of God, not the degree of their works; for works pertain to the bliss of the Garden, not to the contemplation of the All-Merciful."⁷⁸ In this context many authorities cite the *hadith* "I have prepared for My righteous servants what eye has not seen, nor ear has heard, nor has entered the heart of any man. . . . No soul knows what is laid up for them secretly" (Quran XXXII, 17); or again, "God has a Garden in which are no hours, castles, milk, or honey; our Lord shows Himself in theophany, laughing (*dāhik*)."

According to Bāyazīd Bastāmī (d. ca. 261/874), all the faithful will see God once in the garden, but after that only the elect will continue to see Him. For, according to the well-known *hadith*, "in the Garden is a market where there is no buying or selling, only the forms of men and women; when a man desires a form, he enters into it." Those who enter a form, says Bāyazīd, will never again go to visit God: "God misleads you in this life as to the market, and also in the next; you will always be enslaved to the market."⁷⁹ Ibn 'Arabī and his followers explain the market of the garden as a branch of the world of nondelimited imagination: from it the forms of the felicitous will be constantly renewed.⁸⁰

The various realities that will be observed after the resurrection, such as the balance, the path, the Book, and the pool, are interpreted in many ways. Imam Ja'far had already explained that the balance is in fact the prophets and their appointed heirs (i.e., the Imams). Al-Ghazzālī points out that a "balance" is "that which distinguishes more from less"; even in this world balances take many forms, so there is no reason to suppose that the balance

in the next world will necessarily resemble anything we know here. 'Ayn al-Qudāt says that the balance is the human intellect; al-Qūnawī that it is the personification in imaginal form of the Divine Attribute of Justice; and 'Azīz al-Dīn Nasafī that it is man's very existence, the two pans being his receptivity toward good and evil.⁸¹ Analogous explanations of other eschatological realities can be found in the works of these and many other figures. In his *Wisdom of the Throne* Mullā Ṣadrā makes use of the whole tradition of Islamic eschatology in offering several interpretations for each symbol.⁸²

To sum up the Islamic teachings, one can recall that man, through the very fact that he was created upon the Form of the All-Merciful, has been given God's Trust: "We offered the Trust to the heavens and the earth and the mountains, but they refused to carry it and were afraid of it; and man carried it" (XXXIII, 72). The role of Islam is to guide man on the straight path of justice and equilibrium, so that he can carry the Trust and fulfill his rightful function as God's vicegerent. But, the above verse continues, man is "sinful, very foolish" to the extent that he fails to live up to his Divine Form. Hence, through the very majesty of his freedom and responsibility, he is able to cut himself off from the effusion of Mercy and Light that fills the universe. Whether he experiences God's Mercy or Wrath, the next stages of his existence depend upon his own choice.

Notes

1. Sa'ad al-Dīn Tafāzānī, *Sharḥ al-'aqa'id al-masfūyah* (Delhi: Kurubkhāna-yi Rashīdiyyah, n.d.) 76-82, 123; see the translation in E. E. Elder, *A Commentary on the Creed of Islam* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1950) 99, 165.
2. Al-Ghazzālī, *Iḥyā' 'ulūm al-dīn* IV.8.2 (Cairo: Matba'at al-'Amīrat al-Sharāfiyyah, 1326/1908) 4:370.
3. Kāshānī, *Mishbāḥ al-hidāyah*, ed. J. Humā'ī (Tehran: Chapkhāna-yi Majlis, 1325/1946) 49.
4. Al-Ghazzālī, *Kimīyā-yi sa'ādat*, ed. A. Ārām (Tehran: Markazī, 1319/1940) 98.
5. Al-Ghazzālī, *Al-'Avdā'in*, ed. M. M. Abu'l-'Alā' (Cairo: Maktabat al-Jundī, 1970) 275.
6. Rāzī, *Mirṣād ad-'ibād*, trans. H. Algar, *The Path of God's Bondsmen from Origin to Return* (Delmar, NY: Caravan Books, 1982) 387-93.
7. Jāmī, *Hafī awrang*, ed. M. Mudarrisi Gilānī (Tehran: Kirābfurūshī-yi Sa'dī, 1337/1958) 109.
8. Mullā Ṣadrā, *Al-'Asfār* (Tehran, 1282/1865-66) 857.13.
9. Rāzī, *Path*, p. 363, with minor changes.
10. Nasafī, *Zubdat al-huqā'iq*, appended to Jāmī, *Ashī'at al-lama'āt*, ed. H. Rabbānī (Tehran: Kirābhkhāna-yi 'Ilmiyya-yi Hāmidī, 1352/1973) 325-27.
11. Ibn Sīnā, *Al-Najāḥ* (Cairo: Matba'at al-Sa'ādah, 1938) 293; cf. A. J. Arberry's translation of this passage in Avicenna, *On Theology* (London: John Murray, 1951) 67.

12. F. Meier, "The Problem of Nature in the Esoteric Monism of Islam," in *Spirit and Nature: Papers from the Eranos Yearbooks*, trans. R. Manheim (Bollingen Series 30.1; Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1954) 195.
13. Sanā'ī, *Hādīqat al-huqā'iq*, ed. Mudarris Radawī (Tehran: Sipihr, 1329/1950) 382.
14. Rūmī, *Fīhi mā fīhi*, ed. B. Furūzānfar (Tehran: Amīr Kabīr, 1348/1969) 79; cf. A. J. Arberry, trans., *Discourses of Rumi* (London: John Murray, 1961) 89; see also W. C. Chittick, *The Sūfi Path of Love: The Spiritual Teachings of Rumi* (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 1983) 206-12.
15. Sulḥān Walad, *Walad-nāmah*, ed. J. Humā'ī (Tehran: Iqbāl, 1316/1937) 261.
16. Rūmī, *Kulliyāt-i Shams yā dīwān-i kabīr*, ed. B. Furūzānfar (Tehran: University of Tehran, 1336-46/1957-67) verse 6400.
17. Ibn 'Arabī, *Tarjuman al-asrā'iq*, trans. R. A. Nicholson (London: Oriental Translation Fund, 1911) 67.
18. Ibn 'Arabī, *Fuṣūṣ al-ḥikam*, ed. A. 'Afīf (Beirut: Dār al-Kitāb al-'Arabī, 1946) 121; cf. *The Bezels of Wisdom*, trans. R. W. J. Austin (Ramsey, NJ: Paulist Press, 1980) 149.
19. Mullā Ṣadrā, *The Wisdom of the Throne*, trans. J. W. Morris (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1981) 148-49.
20. S. J. Ashiyānī, *Sharḥ bar zād al-musāfir-i Mullā Ṣadrā: Ma'ād-i ismā'ī (2nd ed.; Tehran: Imperial Iranian Academy of Philosophy, 1359/1980) 218, 244.*
21. F. Rahman, *Major Themes of the Qur'ān* (Minneapolis and Chicago: Bibliotheca Islamica, 1980) 17, 112.
22. Ibn 'Arabī, *Al-Futūḥāt al-makkiyyah* (Beirut: Dār Ṣadr, n.d.) vol. 2, 627-27.
23. *Ibid.*, vol. 3, 187-88; cf. Chittick, *Sūfi Path*, 71-72.
24. *Al-'Asfār*, 853.15.
25. See Mullā Ṣadrā, *Wisdom of the Throne*, 161ff.
26. Ibn 'Arabī, *Al-Futūḥāt*, vol. 3, 361.5.
27. Cf. Jāmī, *Naqd al-musūṣ*, ed. W. C. Chittick (Tehran: Imperial Iranian Academy of Philosophy, 1977) 56-57.
28. Mullā Ṣadrā, *Wisdom of the Throne*, 163.
29. Mullā Ṣadrā, *Al-'Asfār*, 853.23.
30. Al-Tūsī, *The Nasirean Ethics*, trans. G. M. Wickens (London: Allen & Unwin, 1964) 95; cf. Avicenna, *On Theology*, 72; al-Ghazzālī, *Iḥyā' III.2.2*, 3, 39-40.
31. Al-Ghazzālī, *Al-Madhūn bihi 'alā ghuṣr ablihi*, in *Al-Qusūr al-'awālī min rasā'il al-Imām al-Ghazzālī* (Cairo: Maktabat al-Jundī, 1970) 2:160.
32. R. J. McCarthy, *Freedom and Fulfillment: An Annotated Translation of al-Ghazzālī's al-Munqidh min al-Dalāl and other Relevant Works of al-Ghazzālī* (Boston: Twayne, 1980) 377; cf. Mullā Ṣadrā, *Wisdom of the Throne*, 146.
33. McCarthy, *Freedom*, 349; *Ninety-nine Names of God*, trans. R. Stade (Ibadan: Daystar Press, 1970) 12.
34. Al-Farghānī, *Muntaha'l-madārīk* (Cairo: 'Abd al-Rahīm al-Bukhārī, 1293/1876) 2:82; idem, *Mashariq al-darārī*, ed. S. J. Ashiyānī (Tehran: Imperial Iranian Academy of Philosophy, 1357/1978) 467-68. Concerning the name *al-Rahīm*, note the Qurānic distinction, pointed out by Ibn 'Arabī, between the "mercy of gratuitous gift," given to all creatures, and the "mercy of prescription," given to the faithful; see W. C. Chittick, "Ibn 'Arabī's Own Summary of the *Fuṣūṣ*," *Journal of the Muhyiddin Ibn 'Arabi Society* 1 (1982) 62.
35. Al-Jīlī, *Al-Ḥisn al-kāmilī*, chap. 58 (Cairo: Muḥammad 'Alī Ṣabīḥ, 1963) 2:30.
36. Abū Hanīfah, *Wasayyah*, article 7; cf. A. J. Wensinck, *The Muslim Creed* (London: Frank Cass, 1932) 126, 142ff.
37. Chittick, "Ibn 'Arabī's Own Summary," 61.

38. Al-Niffarī, *The Maswāqif and Mukhābātān*, ed. A. J. Arberry (London: Luzac, 1935); *Mukhābātān* 27.10; *Maswāqif* 67.65-70, 17.6.
39. F. Schuon, *Understanding Islam*, trans. D. M. Matheson (London: Allen & Unwin, 1979) 71, 73.
40. Al-Niffarī, *Maswāqif* 1.21; Ibn 'Arabī, *Al-Futūḥāt al-makkiyyah*, ed. 'U. Yahyā (Cairo: al-Hay' at al-Misriyyat al-ʿĀmmaat li'l-Kitāb, 1975) 4:389.
41. J. I. Smith and Y. Y. Haddad, *The Islamic Understanding of Death and Resurrection* (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 1981) 95; Ibn 'Arabī, *Fusūs al-ḥikām*, chap. 7; *Al-Futūḥāt*, ed. Yahyā, 3:67; Beirut ed., vol. 3, 315-3, 328-9, 389-14.
42. J. I. Smith, "The Understanding of *Nafs* and *Rūḥ* in Contemporary Muslim Considerations of the Nature of Sleep and Death," *The Muslim World* 69 (1979) 153-54.
43. Al-Ghazzālī, *Al-Madḥūn*, 166 (cf. Ibn 'Arabī, *Al-Futūḥāt*, Beirut ed., vol. 3, 198.23); idem, *Kimīyā*, 93 (cf. *Al-Arbaʿīn*, 291).
44. Al-Ghazzālī, *Al-Arbaʿīn*, 290; cf. *Kimīyā*, 93-94; *Iḥyāʾ* IV.10.8, 4, 362.
45. Al-Ghazzālī, *Kimīyā*, 94.
46. Ibid., 94; *Al-Arbaʿīn*, 291.
47. Al-Ghazzālī, *Iḥyāʾ* IV.10.7, 4, 358-59; *Kimīyā*, 85; *Al-Arbaʿīn*, 282.
48. Al-Ghazzālī, *Al-Madḥūn*, 158.
49. Al-Tūsī, *Nasrān Ethics*, 138.
50. Rūmī, *Mathnawī*, ed. R. A. Nicholson (London: Luzac, 1925-40) book 3, vv. 3441-42.
51. Al-Qunawī, *Tabsirat al-mubtadī*, 3.3, trans. W. C. Chittick, forthcoming.
52. Sanāʾī, *Dīwān*, ed. Mudarris Radawī (Tehran: Ibn Sīnā, 1341/1962) 708.
53. Rūmī, *Kullīyyāt*, vv. 20435-36; cf. W. C. Chittick, *Safī Path*, 101-7.
54. Rūmī, *Mathnawī*, book 2, vv. 277-78.
55. 'Ayn al-Qudāt, *Tamhīdāt*, ed. 'A. 'Usayrān in *Muṣannafāt-i 'Ayn al-Qudāt Hamadāni* (Tehran: Tehran University, 1341/1962) 287, 289. For a good summary of this whole discussion, see Lāhūjī (d. 912/1506-7), *Sharḥ-i Gulshan-i rāz*, ed. K. Samīʿī (Tehran: Kitābkhurūshī-yi Mahmūdī, 1337/1958) 521-27.
56. Al-Ghazzālī, *Iḥyāʾ* IV.2.1, 4, 46-47.
57. J. Magzūd, *Sharḥ-i abwāl wa āthār wa dir-beh-yūzbā-yi Bābā Ṭāḥir 'Uryān* (Tehran: Anjuman-i Athār-i Millī, 1354/1975) 403.
58. Al-Qunawī, *Tabsirat al-mubtadī*, 3.3.
59. Nasafī, *Kasf al-ḥaqāʾiq*, ed. A. Mahdawī Dāmghānī (Tehran: Bungāh-i Tarjamaḥ wa Nashr-i Kitāb, 1344/1965) 211.
60. Amulī, *Asrār al-sharīʿah wa arwāʾ al-tarīqah wa arwāʾ al-ḥaqāʾiq*, ed. M. Khawājwī (Tehran: Muʾassasa-yi Muṭālaʿat wa Taḥqīqāt-i Farhangī, 1362/1983) 104-36.
61. Al-Jīlī, *Al-Insān al-kāmil*, chap. 61; 2:49-52.
62. Ibn 'Arabī, *Al-Futūḥāt*, Beirut ed., vol. 3, 250.19.
63. Ibn 'Arabī, *Al-Futūḥāt*, ed. Yahyā, 4:456-67.
64. Ibid., 4:424.
65. Al-Ghazzālī, *Kimīyā*, 80.
66. Kāzī, *Path*, 391-92.
67. Al-Qunawī, *Al-Nafahāt al-ilāhiyyah* (Tehran: Ahmad Shīrāzī, 1316/1898-99) 115.
68. Sanāʾī, *Hadīqah*, 380.
69. Al-Qunawī, *Tabsirat al-mubtadī*, 3.3.
70. Rūmī, *Mathnawī*, book 2, vv. 277-78.
71. M. Mahdi, *Alfarabi's Philosophy of Plato and Aristotle* (New York: Free Press of

- Glencoe, 1962) 64; Ibn Abī Jumhūr, *Al-Mujīb* (Tehran: Ahmad Shīrāzī, 1329/1911) 506-7; Mullā Sadra, *Wisdom of the Throne*, 145-47; al-Qunawī, *Al-Nafahāt*, 116; Ashburānī, *Sharḥ bar zād al-musāfir*, 56, 122-23, 128.
72. Ibn Sīnā, *On Theology*, 69ff.; quotations from 75; cf. Suhrawardī, *Ḥikmat al-ishraq*, in *Oeuvres philosophiques et mystiques*, ed. H. Corbin (Tehran and Paris: Institut Franco-Iranien, 1952) 229ff.
73. Ibn Sīnā, *Risālah adhwāʾiyah fī amr al-maʿād*, ed. S. Dunyā (Cairo: Dār al-Fikr al-ʿArabī, 1949) 60-62; cf. Averroes' *Tahāfut al-tahāfut*, trans. S. van den Bergh (London: Luzac, 1969) 1:361.
74. Sulḥān Walad, *Walad-nāmāh*, 298.
75. Al-Ghazzālī, *Kimīyā*, 98, 91-96; *al-Arbaʿīn*, 288-97.
76. See the *ḥadīth* in *Mishkāt al-masābīḥ*, trans. J. Robson (Lahore: M. Ashraf, 1963-65) 1197, 1200; cf. Al-Kisāʾī's account in *A Reader on Islam*, ed. A. Jeffery (The Hague: Mouton, 1962) 172.
77. Al-Qunawī, *Tabsirat al-mubtadī*, 3.3.
78. Ibn 'Arabī, *Al-Futūḥāt*, ed. Yahyā, 5:77.
79. L. Massignon, *The Passion of al-Ḥallāj: Mystic and Martyr of Islam*, trans. H. Mason (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1982) 3:166-67.
80. Ibn 'Arabī, *Al-Futūḥāt*, Beirut ed., vol. 2, 628.3; al-Qunawī, *Al-Nusūs*, appended to al-Kāshānī, *Sharḥ mamāzīl al-sāʾirīn* (Tehran: Ebrāhīm Larjānī, 1315/1897-98) 292.
81. Majlisī, *Bihār al-anwār* (2nd ed.); Beirut: Muʾassasat al-Wafāʾ, 1983) 7:249; al-Ghazzālī, *Al-Madḥūn*, 159; 'Ayn al-Qudāt, *Tamhīdāt*, 290; al-Qunawī, letter to a disciple, ms 1633 in the Konya Mevlana Müzesi, fol. 115; Nasafī, *Kasf al-ḥaqāʾiq*, 184; cf. Mullā Sadra, *Wisdom of the Throne*, 212-14.
82. Mullā Sadra, *Wisdom of the Throne*, 180ff.