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AHMAD ZARRUQ

HIS LIFE AND WORKS

By

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Thesis submitted to the Faculty
of Arts in the University of
Durham for the degree of Doctor
of Philosophy.

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ABSTRACT

During the second half of the 9th/15th century Ahmad Zarrūq al-Burnusī al-Fāsī lived, a jurist and a Sufi. As an intellectual and the founder of a Sufi Order, his impact was felt in the realm of literature and among the masses. He is considered to be one of the orthodox Sufi masters whose concern was largely directed towards alleviating the misunderstanding which had occurred in Islamic thought between Jurisprudence and Sufism. This thesis deals with Zarrūq's activities and his influence as a Sufi. It is composed of an introduction and five chapters. The introduction explains the historical, social and academic circumstances in his native city, Fez, in which Zarrūq passed his early years, of which he was a part. The first chapter is concerned with his life, his education, travels, and his contact with Sufism, until he died in Misurata, far away from his own country. The second contains a catalogue of his works, such as exist in manuscripts or editions, or have been cited. There is also a brief analysis of Zarrūq the author and of aspects of his authorship, with a classification of his works and commentaries by others on them; also a table of dates of some of his works. The third traces the Order which Zarrūq founded, his position among the various Sufi Orders, and his relation to the Shādhiliyah. It also

contains a historical survey of the Zarrūqiyah and its Zāwiyahs, its branches, principles and teachings. The fourth examines the principal Sufi ideas as Zarrūq interpreted them from a sunnī point of view, in theory and in practice. The fifth chapter is concerned with him as a Sufi critic and some aspects of his criticism in regard to following the Way and the obligations of both the seeker and the master with respect to the sunnī concept of Sufism in belief and action. The thesis contains 10 illustrations.

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TRANSLITERATION

Arabic letters	Transliteration	Arabic letters	Transliteration
ا	a	د	ḍ
ب	b	ط	ṭ
ت	t	ظ	ẓ
ث	th	ع	‘
ج	j	غ	gh
ح	ḥ	ف	f
خ	kh	ق	q
د	d	ك	k
ذ	dh	ل	l
ر	r	م	m
ز	z	ن	n
س	s	ه	h
ش	sh	و	w
ص	ṣ	ي	y

’ = (hamzah)

ā = prolonged a (alif mamdūdah)

ī = prolonged i (yā’ mamdūdah). ū = prolonged u (wāw mamdūdah)

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	<u>Page</u>
Introduction	1
Chapter I : His Life	12
Chapter II : His Works	69
Chapter III : The Zarrūqiyah	155
Chapter IV : The Sufi Way according to Zarrūq	222
Chapter V : Zarrūq the Critic	310
Bibliography	372

INTRODUCTION

Fez in the middle of the Ninth/Fifteenth Century.

The ancient city, founded by Idrīs II seven hundred years ago, living the reign of the last Sultan of the Marinid dynasty, 'Abd al-Ḥaqq b. Abī Sa'īd al-Zanātī al-Marīnī whose days witnessed the decline and decay of this dynasty. As usually happens at this stage of any reign the ministers and Ḥujjābs were the real rulers of the country while the King was a mere figurehead.⁽¹⁾

Both internal and external conditions were not in favour of 'Abd al-Ḥaqq. Morocco (or al-Maghrib al-Aqṣā) was nominally under his control, while he had to deal with semi-autonomous chiefs in his kingdom and send military expeditions to crush the numerous rebellions that arose against him, or even to leave his capital himself to punish the revolting tribes of Habṭ and Shāwah.⁽²⁾

The struggle for power in Fez itself among the courtmen on one hand, and between the Sultan and his ministers on the other, was so furious that it often ended in bloodshed.⁽³⁾ Aḥmad al-Nāṣirī, the famous historian of Morocco, gives us a very gloomy picture of that period in his country. He tells us how the

1. Abū al-'Abbās Aḥmad b. Khālīd al-Nāṣirī; al-Istiḳṣā fī akhbār al-Maghrib al-Aqṣā, Vol. IV, p.95.

2. Ibid., p.99.

3. Ibid., pp.96-97.

relations between 'Abd al-Ḥaqq and his people were so tense that the Sultan chose two Jewish gentlemen and appointed them to high positions in order to spite the people of Fez. (1)

It happened, says al-Nāṣirī, when 'Abd al-Ḥaqq felt that his minister Abū Zakariyā Yaḥyā al-Waṭṭāsī, supported by his brothers and relatives, was ready to deprive him of his authority, by ignoring his orders completely and behaving independently in every matter of state. The Sultan was very anxious about his position and, following the example of Hārūn al-Rashīd of Baghdad, he pounced upon al-Waṭṭāsī and his family suddenly, killing all of them except two brothers of the minister who escaped the massacre. 'Abd al-Ḥaqq refused to appoint anyone as a minister again.

After that slaughter the Sultan heard that the people were not satisfied with what he had done to the Waṭṭāsīs and that they were inclining towards Muḥammad al-Waṭṭāsī who fled the disaster and controlled Aṣīlah. The Sultan did not hesitate to take very strong action to show his wrath and strengthen by appointing Hārūn and Shāul, two Jewish men, as mentioned above.

1. Ibid., p.98. It is obvious that the Jews, after being expelled with the Muslims from Spain during this period, had established themselves socially, economically and politically in Fez. They enjoyed great influence on some of the Marinid Sultans and penetrated in the affairs of the State. C.f. Benchakroun; Mazāhir al-thaqāfah al-Maghribiyyah, pp.38-43.

That was in the year 869 H. (1464 A.D.). In the same year 'Abd al-Ḥaqq set out from Fez at the head of an expedition to quell the revolt of al-Habṭ tribes. The people of Fez, grumbling at the severity of Hārūn and Shāul and the heavy taxes imposed upon them and annoyed at being ruled by non-Muslims, seized the opportunity and, led by Shaikh Abū Fāris al-Wiryāghlī, they revolted, deposing 'Abd al-Ḥaqq and announcing 'Abd Allāh al-Ḥafīd as Sultan. 'Abd al-Ḥaqq himself was killed by his soldiers' hands while he was on his way back to Fez, and thus the Merīnīd dynasty came to its end. (1)

The external situation was no better than the internal one. It was in that period of history that the Arabs were driven out of Spain. (2) The Muslim world in general was divided into small conflicting states and Morocco had its share of division and conflict too. The Sultans of Fez and Marākesh, the two main 'Kingdoms' there, were too busy with their own problems to give a helping hand to their cousins in Spain. Thus, we see the Portuguese, after liberating their territory from the Arabs, set upon attacking Morocco and conquering the Muslims in their own land.

In 841/1437 they beseiged Tangier, sending troops from Sabta which they captured in 818/1415. The Portuguese failed in that seige but they succeeded in holding the

1. Iṣṭiqsā, Vol. IV, p.100.

2. Ibid., pp. 102 ff.

city fifty-one years later. The cities of Qaṣr al-Majāz, Aṣīla, Aṣfā and some important spots on the Sūs coast were in their hands before the end of the 9th Hijri century.⁽¹⁾

The Arabs in Spain were trying to stand firm in the last castles remaining in their possession: Granada and Malaga. But the mistrust and quarrels among the so-called Mulūk al-ṭawāʿif (Kings of the factions) did not give them any chance to achieve a military victory against the Spaniards. So, the Iberian Peninsula fell little by little under Spanish control. And in the year 897/1491 Queen Isabella captured Granada, the last stronghold of 'Abd Allāh Ibn al-Aḥmar, and the Arabs were to be entirely expelled from Spain. In the same year Christopher Columbus discovered America as a result of the growing sea-power of Europe and the search for a new way to India which would avoid passing through Arab lands.⁽²⁾

These events, of course, necessarily affected some aspects of life in Morocco generally and particularly in Fez, the celebrated seat of the Idrisites, the Almohads, the Almoravids and the Marinids. As we have already seen,

1. For these events and their details see: Iṣṭiqṣā, pp. 109-111.

2. The impact of the Muslim exodus from Spain and the discovery of America in addition to the discovery of the sea-route round Africa was so great upon the Muslim world that it fell gradually in European hands. Those days, in fact, were the beginning of the end for the Muslims whose culture started deteriorating and who retreated from playing an effective rôle in the world's affairs.

the political situation was so disturbed and confused that the Sultans were not able to impose law and order upon their subjects or even to get rid of rebels in most parts of the country.

However, it is easy for a political situation to change, but it takes a long time before any social change may occur or be noticed, especially in past ages in which the process of cultural change was very slow indeed. It may be convenient here to have a quick look at the social and cultural environment in Fez in those days.

Many books have been composed on Fez and its famous university of al-Qarawiyyīn, its eminent scholars and the rôle it played in history. One of the best-known descriptions is that of Leo Africanus covering several aspects of the social, economic and cultural life in Fez. Leo was originally a Fezī, who lived in that city and knew it well in his youth, nearly at the same era with which we are concerned. The chapter he wrote is, in fact, a short and precise survey of the city and its inhabitants.

"A world it is to see. How huge, how populous, how well-fortified and walled this city is!" These are his words commencing to write down "a worthy description of the city of Fez." In a spirit of admiration he continues to describe its buildings, markets, hospitals, baths, inns, mills, etc. He also gives us the details of the administration of justice, manners of eating and drinking, manners of marriage, festivals and mourning for the dead, and so on.

From Leo we gain a picture of a really great city of the most striking size, not to be compared (in the whole Muslim world of those days) except with Cairo. And when Cairo is mentioned it is always associated with the al-Azhar Mosque. So is Fez with al-Qarawiyyīn. X

"The chief Muḥammadan temple in this town is called Qarawiyyīn", Leo states, "being of so incredible bigness that the circuit thereof and the buildings *longing* unto it is a good mile and a half about." And he gives many details concerning the university-mosque and its system of education. ?

Despite the exaggerated accounts and statements of Leo it is a fact that this mosque has been for centuries a great centre of knowledge and science in North Africa. Most of the famous Moroccan scholars, if we do not say all of them, had graduated or studied in al-Qarawiyyīn where "moral philosophy as well as the law of Muḥammad" were taught.

Among the seven hundred mosques, Leo mentions in Fez, there was another celebrated college, rival to al-Qarawiyyīn, although the latter is more famous than it. That is al-Madrasah al-'Ināniyyah which was built by Sultan Abū 'Inān al-Marīnī (d. 750/1349). The two colleges competed with each other continually and gave Fez a magnificent academic reputation. (1)

1. Leo Africanus; History and Description of Africa, (tr. John Pary), reprinted by Burt Franklin, New York, (undated), Vol. II, p.419 ff.

It seems that in spite of the political restlessness in the country in that age the scientific and literary activities did not fail to continue. On the contrary we notice that those activities, which began to flourish under the Almohads, were even more in evidence in this age. The Marīnīd Sultans in reality encouraged both teachers and students to devote themselves exclusively to education by every means, paying them monthly salaries and ensuring their accommodation.⁽¹⁾ Some of the Sultans themselves were poets, doctors or jurists. Libraries were established and books were brought from abroad, especially from Spain, to feed the increasing hunger for knowledge. Fez became an attractive place for scholars from every part of the Muslim world, where they found protection and care.⁽²⁾

Apart from the Qur'ān, Tradition and Jurisprudence which were taught at Fez, there were also many other subjects of study obtainable; Sufism, Theology, Poetry, Arabic grammar, History, Mathematics, Chemistry, Medicine, Geometry, Astronomy, etc. etc.⁽³⁾ Not only men were engaged in these fields of learning but women also had their share on equal terms with the men.⁽⁴⁾

1. Ibid., p.422.

2. 'Abd Allāh Gannūn; al-Nubūgh al-Maghribī fī al-fikr al-'Arabī, al-Madrasah wa dār al-kitāb, Beirut 1961, Vol. I, p.185.

3. Ibid., pp.188-203.

4. Ibid., p.202.

Thus we see that the cultural environment was suitable for big names to flourish; names like Ibn Khaldūn, Ibn al-Khaṭīb, Ibn Marzūq, al-Muqarrī, al-'Abdūsī, Ibn 'Abbād ar-Rundī and Ibn 'Adhārā.⁽¹⁾

The Shaikhs of al-Qarawiyyīn and the Qādīs of Fez were so influential in society and respected by the people that some of them led the revolution which overthrew the last Sultan of the Marinīd family, as mentioned above, and were a factor in its tragic end.

This does not mean that the community was pure and innocent. In a city like this, with all the circumstances indicated, one must expect all the disadvantages and corruption of a comparatively developed society. Leo Africanus exposes in his book some of the social diseases in Fez which he was acquainted with and witnessed with his own eyes. Apart from social ills he concentrates strongly on the misconduct of the "sects", meaning the Ṣūfīs, describing their behaviour and customs.⁽²⁾

From his account it is clear that Sufism, at that time, had deviated from its original course into a sort of superstition and nonsensical vanity. It became a tool for some people to earn their daily morsel, using

1. In order to have a wider general idea about this subject see: Muḥammad Benchakroun; Mazāhir al-thaqāfah al-Maghribiyyah min al-qarn al-thālith 'ashar ilā al-qarn al-khāmis 'ashar (Aspects of the Moroccan Culture from the Thirteenth Century to the Fifteenth Century), Rabat, without date.

2. op.cit., p.467.

it as a cover for their sins and deceit. The Ṣūfīs appear as mere "darwishes", dancing, playing music and chanting lusty songs without knowing the real meaning of Sufism and its goals. This, in fact, did not happen in Fez and Morocco only. It was a common phenomenon which dominated the whole of the Muslim world which was in a state of decline and decadence in those days.

It is of great importance and interest, then, to find out what was the attitude and the position of those "true" Ṣūfīs who tried so hard to preserve Sufism as pure as it should be, and fought on every front to protect it from the corruption which tarnished its image in the people's mind. Those Ṣūfīs who made every effort to prevent the edifice of Sufism from falling to the assaults of ignorance and misunderstanding, and attempted by every possible means to polish its mirror from all the rust and dust which had covered it and veiled its shining surface.

Aḥmad Zarrūq, in fact, was the man who experienced, in full, all the advantages and disadvantages of that period of history with all its bitterness and sweetness. His personality and works may represent the striving of the real Ṣūfīs to gain their spiritual salvation and to try to save other people through Sufism.

Zarrūq's experience is one of the most exciting experiences in the history of Sufism. As a Sunnī Ṣūfī he may be compared with Abū Ḥāmid al-Ghazālī, with differences in circumstances and details. The two men

started as fukahā' (jurists) and transferred to pure Sufism at a later stage of their lives. Both of them were strict Ash'arīs who defended Sufism against foreign influence and believed in the link, if not union, between the Sharī'ah (the Islamic Law) and the Ḥaqīqah (the Truth). Both of them wrote in the field of Law as well as that of Sufism.

Al-Ghazālī was more fortunate in that he lived in a more vivid epoch and flourished in a more active country, so that he achieved his great impact upon his contemporaries and successors, while Zarrūq lived in a darker era and the centuries which elapsed after him were so dull and stagnant that his example disappeared under the ruins of the collapsed Islamic civilisation and he was nearly forgotten except in some references among the numerous Shaikhs, not as a scholar or a contributor in several fields of knowledge, but as an ordinary founder of a Ṭarīqah (Order).

It is a sad fact that attention has always been paid to the Islamic East rather than the Islamic West in every aspect of study. Historical reasons and special factors are responsible for this. Sufism and Ṣūfīs were no exception. So, while Easterners' names, such as al-Junaid, al-Bisṭāmī, Rābi'ah, al-Ḥallāj, al-Ghazālī, Jalāl al-Dīn al-Rūmī, are so famous by virtue of the studies which were devoted to them, we find that the Westerners were less fortunate in this respect. Despite the attempts which have been made lately to throw more light upon this neglected part of the Muslim world it is still in need

of greater efforts to realise its contribution and rôle in Islamic thought.

The aim of the following pages is to introduce one of these forgotten masters whom the writer thinks has been unfairly neglected for five long centuries despite the admirable rôle he played in true Sufism and his memorable deeds and accomplishments as a jurist and a Sufi.

This study is divided into five chapters. The first chapter deals with his biography; the second is about his works; the third looks at his influence and the Order which bears his name; the fourth is intended to discuss his doctrine; while the fifth examines his rôle as a critic within Sufism.

Since it is impractical and impossible to cover all aspects of his activities, since the man was a multi-faceted scholar, the main theme of our study will be: "Zarrūq the Sufi", taking into consideration his other aspects and referring to them where necessary.

"The fragrance of our musk will not
be diffused until we have decayed
in the earth!"

Aḥmad Zarrūq

Riḥlat al-‘Ayyāshī

CHAPTER ONE

HIS LIFE.

The early days.

At sunrise, on Thursday, 22nd of Muharram, 846 H., (7th of June, 1442 A.D.) Shihāb al-Dīn Abū al-‘Abbās Aḥmad b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. ‘Īsā al-Burnusī⁽¹⁾ al-Fāsī, better known as Zarrūq, was born.

The Barānis, to which he belonged, were a Berber tribe living in the area between Fez and Tāzā. Leo Africanus says that there is a mountain called 'Baranis' standing fifteen miles north of Tāzā, and he states that "the inhabitants are rich and mighty. They possess great stores of horses. Neither do they pay any tribute at all."

1. Some references give his first surname al-Burnūsī with the letter u prolonged. Although this may be accepted in the case of the relative adjective in Arabic etymology, we can conclude from the beginning of his poem 'Urjūzah fī 'uyūb al-nafs that al-Burnusī (without prolongation) is the correct pronunciation.

At the beginning of this poem Zarrūq says:

يَمُولُ رَجُلٌ رَجِيحَةَ الْفَطَارِ :: أَحَدُ بَنِي أَحَدِ الْفَطَارِ (م) الْفَطَارِي
الْبُرْنُسِيُّ الْأَصْلُ مِمَّ الْفَاسِي :: السُّمُّ ذُرْوَةُ بَيْتِ النَّاسِ

The last word in the first line creates a problem regarding another surname which Zarrūq has, since the manuscripts differ in writing it as either al-Khaḍḍār or al-Ḥaḍḍārī. Shaikh Gannūn in his pamphlet on Zarrūq (Dhikrayāt Mashāhīr Rijāl al-Maghrib, 23) holds that al-Khaḍḍār (greengrocer) was his father's nickname, then he changes his opinion in his article (Bulletin of the Faculty of Arts, University of Libya, Vol. II, p.130) and chooses al-Ḥaḍḍārī (the man who came from the valley of al-Ḥaḍḍār), because a friend of his told him that this valley exists in the area where the Barānis tribe live). At any rate, the copyist of the manuscripts of al-Kharrūbī's Sharḥ 'uyūb al-nafs (Tunis, MS. 1037/2) writes it al-Khaḍḍārī الْفَطَارِي both with a dot on the letter ع and ī at the end of the word.

"This hill," he reports, "abounds with plenty of corn, fruits and grapes, and yet they make no wine at all. Their women are white and fat and adorn themselves with much silver."⁽¹⁾

Shaikh 'Abd Allāh Gannūn asserts that Zarrūq was born in a certain village in that region named Tiliwān.⁽²⁾ He adds that a friend of his, who lived among the tribe and knew the area very well, told him, that "There is an elegant building on his father's tomb which contains a mosque and accommodation for the Imām. It is known as the Zāwiyah of Sidī Ahmad Zarrūq and it has awqāf (endowments). The people respect this tomb very much and believe that its occupant was a walī and one of the pious."⁽³⁾

To accept the existence of the tomb at the village of Tiliwān does not confirm that Zarrūq himself was born there. On the contrary we understand from his autobiography that he, his father and his grandfather were born and grew up in Fez. All the narratives and anecdotes which he wrote on his childhood and youth seem to have taken place there.⁽⁴⁾

1. Op. cit., p.548.

2. According to Gannūn. In French it is Taliouine.

3. Gannūn; "Ahmad Zarrūq", Bulletin of the Faculty of Arts, University of Libya, Vol. II, pp.130-131. Gannūn adds that he thinks the Zāwiyah was built for Zarrūq's father after the son became famous and that if his father was a learned man his son would not neglect mentioning this in his autobiography.

4. See: Kunnāsh, MS. Tunis 1911; Rabat MS. Q 1385.

Zarrūq was not the original family name. He inherited it from his grandfather who had blue eyes (azraq al-‘ainain), a common feature in the Berber race. Although the derivation does not correspond with Arabic etymology it is obvious that the nickname has its root from the word azraq (blue).⁽¹⁾

When Zarrūq was born his father named him Muḥammad. But when his father died he was called Aḥmad, and he himself maintained this name for three reasons, he says; firstly because he became familiar with it, secondly because it has not been twisted on the tongues of the common people, as happened to the name Muḥammad, and thirdly because it was the name with which Jesus, Son of Mary, foretold the Prophet and none of the other prophets were called Aḥmad.⁽²⁾

We find no mention at all of brothers or sisters. It seems that Aḥmad was the only child his parents had. At any rate both of them died within the same week following his birth, apparently as a result of the great

1. Kunnāsh, Rabat, MS. Q. 1385, p.59.

2. Ibid., p.59. It is significant that Zarrūq was so fond of his father's name (Aḥmad) that he did not only maintain it in exchange for his former name (Muḥammad) but also he named his four sons Aḥmad giving each of them a nickname to distinguish him from his brothers. Regarding the distortion of the name Muḥammad see: Edward Westermarck; Ritual and Belief in Morocco, Macmillan, London, 1926, Vol. II, p.407. Westermarck gives nine different ways of pronunciation of the name Muḥammad, while he records three ways only for the name Aḥmad.

epidemic which afflicted Fez in that year, known as the epidemic of 'Azzūnah'.⁽¹⁾ His father's will was that he be cared for by his mother. But the child was brought up by his maternal grandmother 'Umm al-Banīn⁽²⁾ who was a learned and pious old lady. The family was poor and he never profited even from the small sum which his father left to him.

"When my father was at the point of death," Zarrūq records, "he committed me to his mother's charge. She was a very wasteful woman. He willed the third part of his small fortune to be given to the mu'azzins of al-Andalus mosque. My maternal grandmother said to him: 'What have you done, son? You willed the third and decreased this infant's third while he is still a blood clot. Was it not enough that you yeild the money to your mother, knowing that she will give it to bad people?' He replied: 'What I have willed I paid in advance for a palace in Paradise. The rest I gave to my mother. This my son I entrust to God.' He looked at me and said: 'I leave you to God, my son!' Then he died."⁽³⁾

1. Istiqṣā, op.cit., p.101.

2. Kunnāsh, op.cit., p.58. In MS. Tunis 1911 the lady's name is 'Umm al-Khair. 'Umm al-Banīn (the mother of the children) was an agnomen of Fāṭimah bint 'Abd Allāh al-Fihri, who established the Mosque of al-Qarawiyyīn in 245/859. This agnomen was widely adopted by women named Fāṭimah in Morocco. (Cf. Shajarat al-nūr, I, p.441).

3. Ibid., p.58.

Women of Fez, in that age, had the opportunity to learn and participate in the intellectual activities of the country. Some of them reached a very high degree of education so that they were standing equally to famous Shaikhs. Umm al-Banīn was one of these women beside Umm Hānī al-'Abdūsiyyah and her sister Fāṭimah whom Zarrūq was acquainted with. She was a wise and patient woman and eager to bring up her grandson as best as she could. (1)

Talking about his grandmother Zarrūq says: "She instructed me how to pray, and ordered me to do so, since I was five years old. At the same age she sent me to the kuttāb (Qur'ānic school) and started to teach me about unity, trust, faith and religion by a very curious method. One day she prepared food for me. When I came back from the kuttāb to lunch she said: 'I have got nothing for you. But provision is in the Almighty's treasury. Sit down and let us ask Him.' Both of us stretched our hands towards the sky and began praying. Then she said: 'Go and look, maybe God has put something in the corners of the house.' We began to search and how glad I was when I found the food! She said: 'Come and let us thank God before we eat, so that our Lord may give us more from His grace.' We thanked God and praised Him for an hour then we commenced eating. She used to do so many times till I grew up." (2)

1. Gannūn; al-Nubūgh, Vol. I, p.202.

2. Kunnāsh, p.59.

Umm al-Banīn's influence on her grandson was so great that he never failed to recall and record it in his autobiography. Let us quote some of what he wrote:

"She told me that one night, when I was two years old, I looked at a star and asked her who put it in the sky. She explained to me the duty of belief in that matter. She used to tell me anecdotes about the righteous and the reliant ones. When she told me stories she never told me anything except about the Prophet's miracles and the wonderful miracles of the devout. She also used to order me to pray even without performing the ablution. When my maternal aunt once blamed her for this, she said: 'Let him do so until he prays performing it.'

"Encouraging me to pray, she used to put a dirham on my pillow so that I might see it when I opened my eyes in the morning. She used to say: 'Perform the morning-prayer and then take it.' Her idea was that that dirham would help me to pray and keep me away from corruption and prevent me from looking at what is in other people's hands when I desire to buy something. She used to leave me without cutting my hair or washing my clothes for a long time and say: 'If the young one becomes clean the eyes will follow him.'

"After I had learnt some chapters of the Qur'ān by heart she began to teach me how to write and read, warning me not to read poetry, saying: 'He who neglects

science and deals with poetry is like he who exchanges wheat for barley!"⁽¹⁾

At home the boy was treated in a strict, but not cruel, way. He was looked after not only by his grandmother but also by other members of the family who were very careful to show him good behaviour and conduct according to the standards of their society.

Once he sat listening to the story-teller in the market when his grandmother's uncle came to him and said: "Nobody sits here except the idle." He never did that again in the whole of his life. And when Umm Hānī al-'Abdūsiyyah saw his hands and feet dyed with henna she blamed him for accepting a woman's mark. He never dyed himself after that. His grandmother's husband Sīdī Aḥmad al-'Ijl noticed that the boy used to go to the food before the guests. He forbade him to do so and the boy obeyed.⁽²⁾

At the Kuttāb he was a very regular attendant and such a quiet pupil that he never played or ran in the mosque yard, as other children did, except once. He never failed to learn by heart his daily quota of verses too, till he finished memorising the whole of the Qur'ān by the time he was ten years old.⁽³⁾

Umm al-Banīn used to say to her grandson: "Surely, you must learn the Qur'ān for your religion and learn a profession for your livelihood."⁽⁴⁾ Thus, when he

1. Kunnāsh, p.60.

2. Ibid., p.61.

3. Aḥmad Bābā al-Tumbuktī ; Nail al-Ḥibtihāj, Cairo, 1351 H., p.84.

4. Kunnāsh, p.60.

grew up he was sent to learn cobbling, on the advice of one of his relatives. He was not sent to learn tailoring since this trade needs cleanness and elegance, both of which he lacked. The boy used to go to the cobbler's shop three times a week after the end of the school-day in the kuttāb.⁽¹⁾

When Zarrūq was ten years old Umm al-Banīn died.⁽²⁾ It is not known under whose patronage he then came. It may be suggested that one of his relatives was looking after him, after his grandmother's death, and that he earned his expenses from working as a cobbler's assistant till he became sixteen years old.⁽³⁾

In his youth.

When he was sixteen years old, Zarrūq changed his career from an apprentice cobbler to a student of Jurisprudence and religious knowledge.⁽⁴⁾ He joined both the Qarawiyyīn mosque-university and the 'Ināniyyah college to study the essential books of the Mālikī rite, Ḥadīth (Tradition), 'Uṣūl (Principles of Religion) and Arabic grammar. It is likely that he came into contact with Ṣūfī books too, as would be expected in that environment at that time. He became a disciple of the most eminent scholars at Fez and the surrounding area, and met very

1. Kunnāsh, p.60.

2. Nail al-ibtihāj, p.84.

3. Ibid.

4. Gahnūn; "Ahmad Zarrūq", Dhikrayāt mashahīr rijāl al-Maghrib, p.6.

distinguished learned men in the country who supervised him in understanding the first basic books he started to read. The following is a list of the Shaikhs he met and the books he read at that period of his life, taken from his autobiography in his Kunnāsh and other sources. (1)

His teachers:

- 1) 'Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. Qāsim al-Qawrī (d. 872/1467).
- 2) Muḥammad b. 'Alī al-Baṣṭī al-Qalṣādī (d. 891/1486).
- 3) 'Abd Allāh al-Fakhkhār.
- 4) 'Abd Allāh al-Majāṣī.
- 5) 'Abd Allāh al-Tajībī (al-'Ustādh al-Ṣughayyir) (d. 887/1482).
- 6) 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Qawrī.
- 7) Abū Sālim Ibrāhīm al-Tāzī (d. 866/1461-2).
- 8) Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad al-Mishidhdhālī (d. 866/1461-2).
- 9) 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Tha'ālibī (d. 873/1468).
- 10) Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusain (al-Sirāj al-Ṣaghir) (d. 887/1482).
- 11) Aḥmad b. Sa'īd al-Ḥabbāk (d. 870/1465-6).
- 12) Muḥammad b. Qāsim al-Raṣṣā' (d. after 890/1485).
- 13) 'Umm Hānī al-'Abdūsiyyah (d. 860/1456).
- 14) Abū Zakariā Sāhib al-Zahr (d. after 870/1465-6).
- 15) 'Isā al-Mawāsī.
- 16) Aḥmad b. 'Abd Allāh al-Zawāwī (d. 884/1479).
- 17) Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Zakrī (d. 900/1494).
- 18) Aḥmad al-Ghumārī al-Tilimsānī (d. 874/1469).
- 19) Muḥammad b. Yūsuf al-Sanūsī (d. 899/1493).
- 20) Abū al-Ḥasan al-Maghīlī (d. 866/1461-2).
- 21) 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Wiryāghlī (d. 881/1476).
- 22) Aḥmad b. Sa'īd al-Muknāsī (d. 870/1465-6).
- 23) Aḥmad al-'Ijl al-Wizwālī.

1. Kunnāsh, p.61 ff.; Nail al-Ḥibtihāj, p.85. The dates of these men's deaths are recorded whenever it is possible.

- 24) Aḥmad al-Tūnusī (d. 878/1473).
- 25) Aḥmad b. 'Alī al-Filālī (d. 861/1456-7).
- 26) 'Abd Allāh al-'Abdūsī.
- 27) 'Alī b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Anfāsī (d. 860/1456).
- 28) 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Majdhūb.
- 29) Muḥammad Ibn Amlāl.
- 30) Muḥammad al-Zaitūnī, and many others.

In this period we notice that Zarrūq was mostly concerned with fiqh and ḥadith, with some attention to Sufism. The books he mentions that he studied at that time are:

- 1) al-Risālah of al-Qairawānī.
- 2) al-Risālat al-Qudsiyyah of al-Ghazālī.
- 3) al-'Aqā'id of al-Tūsī.
- 4) al-Saḥīḥ of al-Bukhārī.
- 5) al-Aḥkām al-Ṣughrā of 'Abd al-Ḥaqq.
- 6) al-Jāmi' of al-Tirmidhī.
- 7) The rules of reading the Qur'ān according to the epistle of Nāfi'.
- 8) al-Tanwīr of Ibn 'Aṭā' Allāh al-Iskandarī.

The last book (al-Tanwīr), which was written by a famous Ṣūfī, may indicate that Zarrūq started to contact some shaikhs of the Shādhilī Order at Fez in his early twenties. This opinion is strongly supported by the fact that he wrote his first commentary on al-Ḥikām of Ibn 'Atā' Allāh in the year 870/1465.⁽¹⁾

The foregoing list of his Shaikhs is, in fact, a mixture of fuqahā (jurists) who taught him 'ilm al-Ẓāhir

1. From the known dates of Zarrūq's compilations we find that he wrote a book entitled Tuḥfat al-murīd (see the catalogue) which is a mixture of collected sayings and abstracts from Ṣūfī and jurist works. It is clear that Zarrūq had not been entirely a Shādhilī in that period of his life, since he was recording the best of his vast reading without distinction among the Ṣūfī masters.

(exoteric science) and fugarā (the poor) who initiated him into 'ilm al-bāṭin (esoteric knowledge). This created a sort of dualism in Zarrūq's thought which continued with him for a long time until he was completely overwhelmed by Sufism in his later years.

Among the names recorded in the list, the first ('Abd Allāh al-Qawrī) and the last (Muḥammad al-Zaitūnī) represent the two sides of learning Zarrūq was looking for. Al-Qawrī was a very famous jurist. He was a professor at al-Qarawiyyīn and for sometime the Muftī of Fez. Zarrūq did not only attend his lectures but was also a close student of his. He attended him to study al-'uṣūl and gained from his wide knowledge of fiqh. He used to visit him in his house and they discussed religious issues together. (1)

Al-Zaitūnī was a Ṣūfī who, it is said, followed the Shādhilī Order⁽²⁾ and perhaps he was the head of a Zawiyah at that time in Fez. He was a blind man with a very strong character and influence. There is no

1. As it was the dominant phenomenon of the age, al-Qawrī did not lack a touch of Sufism. He and his pupil were engaged sometimes in discussing certain Ṣūfī issues. When he was asked once what he thought of Ibn 'Arabī his answer suggests acceptance of Ibn 'Arabī's teachings, opposing the general idea in those days which refuted these teachings and condemned them as a sort of heresy. (See: Kunnāsh, p.7 and Qawā'id al-Taṣawwuf, p.52). This may indicate that Zarrūq was tending towards Ibn 'Arabī at the beginning of his Ṣūfī life, as it justifies the remark of his Egyptian teacher, al-Sakhāwī, that he was so.

2. It is mentioned in al-Ta'rīf, p.283, that al-Zaitūnī was a Qādirī, although widely known as a Shādhilī.

precise date for when Zarrūq came into contact with him, but it is certain that in 870/1465, when the latter was 24 years old, he was one of al-Zaitūnī's disciples. He served the poor in the Zāwiyah and joined his master on a visit to the tomb of Sīdī 'Abd al-Raḥmān Abū Ya'zā.⁽¹⁾ That was the most crucial year of the young man's life, and it was a very depressing year too. For after accompanying al-Zaitūnī for a period and becoming an intimate novice of his some misunderstanding occurred between them which sent Zarrūq off on a "forty-days wandering".

The story which was widely circulated among Zarrūq's biographers, says that Zarrūq was "expelled" from Fez by a curse of al-Zaitūnī. While Zarrūq himself gives another cause in his autobiography. Both of the anecdotes seem unreasonable, but we have to accept Zarrūq's account, as it is since he wrote it down himself, and try to read between the lines and find out the real cause of this event.

Ibn 'Askar,⁽²⁾ who was the first to write about it, says that Zarrūq became a devoted disciple of al-Zaitūnī claiming that no one loved his master more than he did. It was the master's intention to put his follower's sincerity to the test when the latter visited him one day. He knocked on the door and received permission to enter.

1. Kunnāsh, p.68.

2. Muḥammad b. 'Alī al-Sharīf al-Ḥasanī; Dawḥat al-nāshir, (translated into French by A. Graulle), Paris 1913, pp.89-90.

When he stepped in he did not find anybody. He climbed the stairs leading to a room on the higher floor. To his surprise he saw the master sitting between two adorned women, kissing this once and turning to kiss the other. "This man is really a heretic!", said Zarrūq to himself and turned away. "Come back, O liar Aḥmad!", the master called. When he looked back he found no women. The master explained: "The woman you saw on my right was al-'Ākhirah (the Hereafter). The other on my left was al-Dunyā (this world). You are a liar in claiming that you love me. Leave al-Maghrīb and do not stay for one hour more!" And that was what Zarrūq did. The story adds that the angry master cast the suspicion of being a Jew upon his disciple until he returned to him and asked his forgiveness.

Zarrūq asserts that al-Zaitūnī once told him a secret and demanded that it should not be divulged. Then he accused him of doing so. "I swore by every oath", says Zarrūq, "that I never did. But he did not believe me. I neither dared to accuse him of lying nor could I accept his allegation for what I knew of myself. I fancied that God might have afflicted me with a devil who suggested this to the Shaikh."

He continues: "I was so desperately distress that I aimed to visit the tomb of Sīdī Abū Madyan,⁽¹⁾ wherein

1. Shu'aib Abū Madyan b. al-Ḥusain. He was born near Seville in Spain and moved as a young man to Fez. He was initiated in the Way by Abū Ya'zā Yelnawr (d.572/1176). He visited the East and returned to Morocco to die in Tlemcen in (596/1198).

I used to find the spirit of mercy and revelation.⁽¹⁾ I went to Tlemcen and arrived there on the thirty-ninth day of my departure from Fez. I said to myself: 'Today I shall visit Shaikh Abū Madyan's tomb.' But I was unable to pay the visit until the next day: the completion of the forty days mentioned in the vision."⁽²⁾

This vision to which Zarrūq refers took place during his journey. He claims that al-Zaitūnī appeared to him in a dream saying: "You will be a prisoner for forty days!"⁽³⁾

To approve such a story in general is understandable. But it would be odd to accept it in detail. It could be that Zarrūq did perform the "wandering" and payed a visit to Abū Madyan's tomb. But the question is: why did he leave Fez for Tlemcen?

First of all we have to discount Ibn 'Askar's tale since it does not correspond with what Zarrūq says, despite the fact that it points out that he was thought of as being a Jew, a matter which will be discussed later. Ibn 'Askar asserts that Zarrūq was expelled from the West as a whole and fails to notice that that journey to the East took place three years later after Zarrūq's reconciliation with al-Zaitūnī. But what about Zarrūq's account which cannot lack authenticity?

1. Literally "discourse of the State" **كَلَامُ الْمَدِينَةِ**.

2. al-Kunnāsh, p.69.

3. Ibid., p.68.

Bearing in mind that his "wandering" was in 870/1465 it is possible to conclude some connection between his leaving Fez and the events of the previous year. There are, in fact, some indications that Zarrūq, being a well-known figure at Fez in his youth, was involved in some sort of political activity, or one may say "protest". He did not support the revolt led by his former Shaikh Abū Fāris al-Wiryāghly and did not participate in overthrowing Sultan 'Abd al-Ḥaqq al-Marīnī. On the contrary he stood against the rebels and opposed them. It is significant that al-Nāsirī specifies Zarrūq, when he was relating the events of the year 869/1464, as not acknowledging al-Wiryāghly to be the Imām (leader of the prayer) and refusing to perform the prayer behind him. Zarrūq said, deploring his Shaikh's conduct and justifying his own: "I do not entrust my prayer to this gentleman any more, for what he committed against the Sultan."⁽¹⁾

Astonishingly this attitude was not for the Sultan's sake, as might be thought, but it represents a kind of non-violent nature which is a characteristic of all Ṣūfīs. It was a matter of principle for him which remained with him for the rest of his life and became an essential point in his Order. "To keep the Muslims united and strong in the face of their enemy", he states, "they have to obey their Princes and Kings."⁽²⁾ And at the same

1. Iṣṭiqṣā, p.100.

2. 'Uddat al-Murīd, p.17 ff. Where Zarrūq devotes a whole chapter deploring being engaged in politics.

time he holds that once the ruler becomes a tyrant and unjust to the people he should be avoided as far as possible, but not overthrown by violence.⁽¹⁾ This may explain why he refused to appear before the Sultan when he encountered him and his army and was asked to do so,⁽²⁾ in addition to the fact that he did not consider the latter as the legal ruler because he came to power as a result of a bloody revolution.

Taking such an attitude Zarrūq had to bear the consequences. Thus, either he was accused of being a spy or a Jew. He was so conscious of the accusation that he did not forget to record it in his Kunnāsh, never commenting on it or revealing the real reason. Here is some of what he says on this matter:

"When I left the city (Fez) one man said to another: 'This is a Jew from Fez.' The other was in doubt, but his fellow swore that I was so. A student who happened to know me heard their speech and quarrelled with them. By nightfall I entered the mosque after sunset for an overnight stay. The people who were there talked about me as a Jew, but an old man among them recognised me and said: 'This is a student from Fez. I know him.' When I arrived at Bādis I was captured to be brought before its Prince. While I was passing Bāb al-Qaṣabah two slaves came and spat on me, thinking that I was a Jew, but the people drove them away. One day, when I was walking in

1. Ibid., p.18.

2. Kunnāsh, p.73.

al-Ḥajjar, a man said to me: 'O Jew! You have cheated them today.' I chased him and he became ashamed of himself... I was walking by the Jewish houses at Dār Ibn Mish'al. As soon as they saw me they said: 'This is the son of the Rabbi of Taza', since they heard that he had escaped for fear that he would be captured. They sent their Rabbi's son to meet me. When he came nearer to me he shouted: 'No, he is not!' He left me and I passed among their houses while they were standing at the doors, male and female, old and young. They became in doubt when I entered the mosque and great confusion and dispute arose among them."⁽¹⁾

The last incident of this quotation will demolish all our suppositions concerning the relation between Zarrūq's being accused of being a Jew and his political attitude; for, if it is possible to see a link between this matter and the view the Muslims had of him, how can we explain that the Jews themselves were ready to consider him as one of themselves?

Presumably, it is possible that Zarrūq was passing through a very critical stage of his spiritual development in that period, after contacting al-Zaitūnī, and that some Ṣūfī ideas were enveloping his spirit and controlling his thinking. It is conceivable too that his master agreed with him in his attitude and told him that secretly, and was then infuriated when the secret had been divulged, in some way or another, and was

1. Kunnāsh, p.68.

afraid of the authorities. Or al-Zaitūnī did not agree with him and accused him of taking a supporting attitude towards the Jews. Both of these situations created a sort of guilt-feeling and led to a spiritual crisis in the young novice's soul. An inner struggle was inevitable. This was a convenient motive for him to take refuge at a famous saint's tomb at Tlemcen and evade a certain conflict with his master who seems to have been a great influence upon him. In the moment of distress and unease and in similar circumstances anything is to be expected. Zarrūq chose this kind of self-punishment and left the arena looking for consolation and relief, and yet he was setting his face towards his spiritual guide's help, seeing him in a dream and fulfilling his statement of forty-days in exile.

At any rate Zarrūq went back to Fez and was reconciled with al-Zaitūnī,⁽¹⁾ after facing many risks on his journey. He stayed there for three years later occupying himself with study and writing. Nothing is known about his life during this period. Unfortunately his own autobiography ceases at this point. He neglects completely to record what happened to him after that. We have to rely, then, on other sources to collect the scattered pieces of his life pattern.

1. The relation between the two men improved fundamentally and became so close that al-Zaitūnī used to praise his disciple very much and say that he was one of the Seven abdāls (substitutes). See: al-Manhal al 'adhb, p.184; Nail al-ibṭihāj, p.86.

In the East.

During the year 873/1468 Zarrūq decided to perform the Pilgrimage. As was the custom of Ṣūfī novices, he consulted one of his Shaikhs: Aḥmad Ibn Ḥasan al-Ghumārī and got his consent to do so.⁽¹⁾

In the same year he was in Cairo⁽²⁾ and at the beginning of the next year he was at Yanbū', the ancient port of the Hijāz.⁽³⁾ Then he set off for Mecca and al-Madīnah. After the completion of the Pilgrimage rites he resided at al-Madīnah as a Mujāwir (Alumnus, dwelling in the neighbourhood of the Prophet's tomb) for at least one year, where he contacted certain Ṣūfī Shaikhs.⁽⁴⁾

The Pilgrimage, at that time, was a great opportunity for students and scholars to meet each other, either in the Hijāz or in the main cultural centres like Cairo, Damascus and Baghdad, on their way to the Holy Land. Cairo was the city to which the North African people always hoped to come. It was a natural stage for the Pilgrims' caravans after crossing their long route over the Western Desert.

Cairo was, and still is, a very important centre of Muslim and Arabic studies. Containing al-Azhar Mosque with its historical rôle in the spreading of religious

1. Kunnāsh, p.82.

2. Ibid., pp73. Zarrūq says that he met Shaikh Nūr al-Dīn al-Tanasī in Cairo. al-Tanasī died 874 or 875/1469-70. Therefore Zarrūq stayed in Cairo for a certain period before he left for Mecca.

3. al-Sakhāwī; al-Ḍaw' al-lāmi', p.222.

4. Kunnāsh, p.73, where he says that he studied under the Shaikh Nūr al-Dīn al-Sanhūrī's supervision in the year 875/1470-1).

teachings and its shaikhs' wide reputation, it naturally attracted the thirsty knowledge-seeker by its dynamic and fascinating cultural environment. Zarrūq's first visit to the city on his way to Mecca was a short one, though he met some Shaikhs and profited from them. Returning from the Ḥijāz, he visited Cairo, for the second time, in 876/1471, and settled there for one year.⁽¹⁾ This year was very useful to him, since he came into contact with eminent professors in Arabic and Islamic studies, as also famous masters of the Ṣūfī orders.

During his residence in Cairo Zarrūq kept himself busy studying, attending lectures, and strengthening his ties with the Shaikhs he knew. The following is a list of his teachers in Cairo:⁽²⁾

- 1) Muḥammad al-Sakhāwī (d. 913/1507).
- 2) Shams al-Dīn al-Jawjarī (d. 896/1490-1).
- 3) Nūr al-Dīn al-Tanasī.
- 4) Aḥmad al-Shawābitī (or al-Shawāṭibī).
- 5) 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Qabbānī.
- 6) 'Abd al-Raḥmān Ibn Ḥajar.
- 7) Aḥmad Ibn Ḥajar.
- 8) Muḥyī al-Dīn al-Dimashqī.
- 9) Muḥammad al-Qurashī.
- 10) al-Tāj 'Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad al-Mu'aqqit.
- 11) Aḥmad al-Shāwī.
- 12) Abū al-Majd (or Ibn Abū al-Majd).
- 13) Abū Zakariyā b. Sa'd.
- 14) Abū Ishāq al-Tanūkhī.

1. Kunnāsh, pp.74-75.

2. Kunnāsh, p.75; Nail al-ibtihāj, p.85; Shajarat al-nūr, p.267; al-Daw al-lāmi', p.222; al-Ta'rīf, p.283; al-Manhal al'adhb, p.194.

- 15) Nūr al-Dīn al-Sanhūrī (d. 889/1484).
- 16) Shihāb al-Dīn al-Ibshihī
- 17) Ibrāhīm al-Damīrī (d. 923/1517).
- 18) Aḥmad b. 'Uqbah al-Ḥaḍramī (d. 895/1519).

According to his own records of the books he studied in Cairo it appears that Zarrūq was engaged in attending fiqh courses and also reading Ṣūfī works. But his tendency toward Sufism is apparent, judging from the increasing number of the Ṣūfī works, as is shown in the list below.⁽¹⁾

A. Works of fiqh:

- 1) al-Aḥkām al-Ṣughrā of 'Abd al-Ḥaqq.
- 2) The works of Ibn Abī Jamrah.
- 3) al-Madkhal of Ibn al-Ḥājj.
- 4) al-Ṣaḥīḥ of al-Bukhārī.

B. Ṣūfī works:

- 1) al-Iḥyā of al-Ghazālī.
- 2) al-Risālah of al-Qushairī.
- 3) The works of Ibn 'Aṭa' Allāh al-Iskandarī:
 - a. al-Ḥikam.
 - b. al-Tanwīr.
 - c. Laṭā'if al-minan.
 - d. Tāj al-'Arūs.
 - e. Miftāḥ al-falāḥ.
- 4) 'Awārif al-ma'ārif of al-Suhrawardī.
- 5) The works of al-Muḥāsibī.
- 6) Qūt al-qulūb of al-Makkī.

1. Kunnāsh, p.73 ff. These works are arranged in accordance with Zarrūq's own record.

If history really repeats itself one may say that the same thing which happened in Fez, happened again in Cairo. The Shaikhs under whose supervision Zarrūq studied may be divided into two groups; the fuqahā and the Ṣūfīs, the influence which was going to affect his future career and become a distinguishing mark in his life and thought. Zarrūq always held that fiqh and Ṣufism are connected subjects and that the study of fiqh is indispensable for the true Ṣūfī. Hence he has been called al-Jāmi' bain al-Sharī'ah wa al-Ḥakīkah (the Unifier of Law and Truth).

Incidentally, we find that at this stage also he was a close student of a faqīh; Muḥammad al-Sakhāwī, ⁽¹⁾ and an intimate novice of a Ṣūfī; Aḥmad Ibn 'Uqbah al-Ḥaḍramī. ⁽²⁾

From al-Sakhāwī, widely reputed for his learning, Zarrūq learnt al-Iṣṭilāḥ (the terminology of the Ḥadīth) and fiqh. He became associated with him in 976/1471 and was so close to him that he used to go to his house and consult him on certain questions. ⁽³⁾ Al-Sakhāwī says in his al-Ḍaw' al-Lāmi' about his student: "... He travelled to Egypt, performed the Pilgrimage and became a mujāwir at al-Madīnah. He settled in Cairo for about one year, studying constantly Arabic and 'uṣūl under al-Jawjarī and

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1. For detailed information about al-Sakhāwī see: A. J. Arberry; Sakhawiana, Chester Beatty Monographs No. I, Emery Walker Ltd., London, 1951.
 2. Abū al-'Abbās Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad b. 'Abd al-Qādir b. Muḥammad b. 'Umar b. 'Uqbah al-Ḥadramī al-Yamanī, was born in Ḥaḍramawt in 824/1421 and died in Cairo in 895/1489.
 3. Kunnāsh, p. 74.

others. He read Bulūgh al-marām under my supervision and researched in al-Iṣṭilāh (technical terminology) with me. He accompanied me in certain things and I benefited from a group of his fellow countrymen."⁽¹⁾

Between Zarrūq and al-Ḥadramī.

In the same passage al-Sakhāwī comments: "He was mostly influenced by Sufism".⁽²⁾

This sentence is of great importance, since it shows that Zarrūq had been so attracted to Sufism that it was noticed by his faqīh professor. It was in this period, in fact, that his Sufism became apparent and that his spiritual aspiration was more fervent.

The man who directed him in this field at Cairo and who exerted an immense impression upon him was called Aḥmad Ibn 'Uqbah al-Ḥaḍramī. He was a Qādirī from Yemen who had emigrated from his country and settled in Egypt.⁽³⁾ It seems that he was trying to spread his teachings and establish a sort of leadership among the Egyptians, but it is obvious that he did not succeed, at least, with the Egyptians.

Somehow the two men were in contact during the year 976/1471 in Cairo when Zarrūq was on his way back home from the Ḥijāz.⁽⁴⁾ He, with a group of his countrymen,

1. al-Sakhāwī; al-Ḍaw' al-lāmi', p.222.

2. Ibid.

3. Zarrūq; Manāqib al-Ḥaḍramī, (a private possession), p.1.

4. Ibid., p.2.

visited al-Ḥaḍramī. The first words the Shaikh uttered were: "Leave this country. Verily it extinguishes the light of faith. It is necessary for the man who enters it to leave it in order to renew his belief!"⁽¹⁾ His idea was that the Egyptians did not deserve any attention, because they were not prepared to listen to him and accept his spiritual guidance. He thought that the men of the West were the men most ready for it. Several times al-Ḥaḍramī used to say: "The soil of the Maghrib is good. If you return to it your hearts will be good too."⁽²⁾ When he was asked once: "Why have the messengers been sent to the East and not to the West?", his answer was: "Because the doctor does not go except where there is a sick man!"⁽³⁾

It is curious that Zarrūq, although he was careful to record most of al-Ḥaḍramī's sayings and comment on two of his books, did not give details of his first contact with him. Instead, he left the matter to his biographers who did not hesitate to use their imagination in inventing some kind of mystical tale and creating a legendary connection between his departure from Fez, as a result of al-Zaitūnī's wrath, and his first meeting with al-Ḥaḍramī. Their aim was to display the miraculous struggle between the two great masters over the helpless novice. This type of narrative is often to be found,

1. Ibid., p.13.

2. Ibid., p.2.

3. Ibid., p.7.

even in well-known biographers of some Ṣūfīs. No wonder then if we read it in such an obscure biography as Zarrūq's.

Ibn 'Askar, who reported the foregoing story of the misunderstanding which occurred between Zarrūq and al-Zaitūnī, continues to say that Zarrūq, banished from the Maghrib, departed at once and set out for the East full of sorrow for what had happened to him, until he reached Egypt. He found al-Ḥaḍramī's followers awaiting him on the Nile bank since their Shaikh had told them of his arrival and commanded them to receive him. After greeting and welcoming him, Zarrūq was carried to al-Ḥaḍramī. When he entered and saluted, the Shaikh said: "Aḥmad, my son! How dared you injure the blind snake?" (Referring to al-Zaitūnī). He ordered him to stay at a house of his and preserve in invocation. Three days later, while al-Ḥaḍramī was holding a meeting with his followers, a great commotion was heard. He shouted: "Allāh!" and lifted his hand, then he said: "Let us go to your companion." They went and found that the house in which Zarrūq was staying had fallen down. Al-Ḥaḍramī said: "Dig here and get him out." They did and found Zarrūq safe in a corner of the house protected from the debris by a piece of wood. Al-Ḥaḍramī said to him: "Praise be to God who saved you from al-Zaitūnī, O Aḥmad! This is his last revenge. He struck at you from the remotest part of the Maghrib and I warded it off with my hand. Here, it is broken from his blow." Al-Ḥaḍramī showed him his hand and it was really broken.

Zarrūq accompanied him till they separated. Ibn 'Askar adds that when Zarrūq planned to leave he asked his master for advice. Al-Ḥaḍramī said:

"Submit to Salmā and go wherever she goes,
Follow the wind of destiny and turn wherever
it turns." (1)

This is the story as the biographer presents it. Its fabrication is too obvious to be discussed. The only fragment of truth it has are the two "lines" of poetry at its conclusion which Zarrūq admits al-Ḥaḍramī used to recite whenever he and his companions visited him. And yet he comments: "I understand that Salmā is the Shari'ah (the Islamic Law)." (2)

We do not know much about al-Ḥaḍramī's teachings, but he seems, judging from his letters and sayings which were recorded by Zarrūq, to be a disappointed man whose main concern was to give direct advice to his followers to retreat from earthly matters and keep to invocation and spiritual aspiration. Sometimes it seems as if he did not lose hope, in spite of his failure in Egypt, of spreading his teachings among other Muslim peoples, especially in the West. (3)

1. Dawḥat al-nāshir, pp.90-91. Cf. Martin Lings; A Moslem Saint of the Twentieth Century, p.106.

2. Manāqib al-Ḥaḍramī, p.20

3. Besides the letters exchanged between al-Ḥaḍramī and Zarrūq we find many other letters written by al-Ḥaḍramī instructing his followers at Fez, Bougie, Alter and Tunis. (See: Manāqib al-Ḥaḍramī, passim).

From Western aspirants who gathered around him al-Ḥaḍramī chose two novices to carry the mission and convey it to their country: Aḥmad Zarrūq and Muḥammad al-Khaṣāṣī. Both men were close friends. But it seems that Zarrūq was nearer to al-Ḥaḍramī than his fellow and more intimate with him.

Zarrūq stayed with his new master for eight months, enjoying his guidance, assisting him in his lectures and consulting him on everything in his life. At last he was initiated by him as a Qādirī-Shādhilī sālik (traveller on the Way).

After spending about three years between Egypt and the Ḥijāz and establishing his relationship with al-Ḥaḍramī, Zarrūq set off for home in the last months of the year 877/1473.⁽¹⁾ The letters which al-Ḥaḍramī sent to him and his friend Muḥammad al-Khaṣāṣī show that this Shaikh had great influence upon Zarrūq and that he was considered his only spiritual guide.

At Tunis, in the same year,⁽²⁾ a joint message to the two men was received from al-Ḥaḍramī where he addresses him: "... to the humble poor servant who wishes to enter into the Presence of the Powerful, the Almighty, may God ease his trouble on the way to this Presence and guard him in every step and gather him into the Presence of Union. I have received your letter from Tripolitania

1. Manāqib, p.19.

2. Ibid., p.26.

and have understood what it contains. May God make you firm with firm counsel in this world and the Hereafter. I am writing this letter in great haste. Fear God in every hour, moment and breath of yours. Watch Him and remember Him. Leave aside anything else save God. Seek God and travel towards Him in every moment and with every blinking of your eyes. Have mercy on His creatures. Be with God. Ask from God. Be poor before God and you will find God."

In another message, received in Tunis also,⁽¹⁾ we read:

"... to our brother in God, lover in God, moving and resting in God, who lifts his eyes to the Folk of God hoping to gain a bestowal from God, who shows himself to be pierced by the arrows of Unity in the struggle of the warriors of Abstraction, who sold his soul for nothing. May God mortify his senses, send away his doubts, help him conquer his whisperer (Satan), and make him drink from the cup of love. May He also guard him from being remote and rejected and may He grant him the intimacy of the Folk of the First Rank... I have received your letter and understood what you have prepared for yourself and Muḥammad al-Khaṣṣāṣī, may God consider both of you among His distinguished servants. You did not mention anything concerning us. You might have been too occupied to do so... I am writing to you while I am upset and perplexed because of what is going on. If it is not inappropriate to relate my excuses and circumstances I would have done

1. Manāqib, pp.27-28.

so and returned to my former state."

The last phrase in this letter is a vague one indeed. It may indicate either that al-Ḥaḍramī was not quite happy with the atmosphere in Cairo or that the things were not going smoothly between him and Zarrūq. Both of these assumptions are possible, but the second is more probable, as we understand from another letter, especially when the master says that his disciple "did not mention anything concerning him," for he "might have been too occupied to do so."⁽¹⁾

At any rate Zarrūq was at Bougie in the next year.⁽²⁾ This town is of great importance in dispelling the uncertainty surrounding our Shaikh's life. And in spite of the fact that his residence there has not been mentioned by any of his biographers it is possible to conclude his long periods of stay there from the dates of his compositions and their locations. From this we know that he lived at Bougie for three separate unspecified periods. But writing books and commenting on others takes a reasonable number of months, if not years, of settled residence. In addition to this there were at least two men of Bougie who followed him and served him in his last settlement at Misurata. The fact that many of al-Ḥaḍramī's letters, which Zarrūq copied, were addressed to novices and fuqahā' at Bougie is worthy of our attention. The notion that Bougie was a centre of activity for Zarrūq and his companion must not be

1. Manāqib, p.27.

2. See the end of his al-Jāmi' lijumlah min al-fawā'id wa al-manāfi' where he says that he compiled it at Bougie in that year (878/1874).

excluded. All this shows, to some extent, that he had some reasons to live there and perhaps he was enjoying some influence there.

Still keeping in touch with his master in Cairo, he used to tell him about his spiritual development and how he was proceeding along the Ṣūfī Path. Al-Ḥaḍramī was very careful to show his sympathy with him and instruct him in short precise sentences to gain what he was longing for. In reply to one of Zarrūq's letters dated 879/1474, probably at Bougie, al-Ḥaḍramī says:

"... and all that you mentioned and happened to you in your outward or inward self, sleeping or waking, is the blessing of your good belief in the people or some of the people. Now the secret has knocked on your door, the illuminating light has come to you and you have plunged into the surging sea without dangerous currents. All the brothers and I were very pleased by what you met with in the Way. May God preserve you and make you fly with every bird to the open spaces of Proximity and give you the hand of help He gave to His Folk... Set your face towards God alone and leave other than Him. Bear evil from all sinners more than the obedient and take refuge always with God."⁽¹⁾

It is not known whether this advice of "bearing evil from all sinners more than the obedient" is a common one uttered by all Ṣūfīs or whether it is a significant reference to Zarrūq's complaint. He is going, however, to complain of many "evils" to come

1. Manāqib, pp.28-30.

and he had either to endure them or evade their sources by any means.

Between the years 879-80/1474-75 Zarrūq was back home at his birth-place, Fez, after seven years of travelling and study.⁽¹⁾ His reputation for intellectuality and ability in the religious sciences preceded him to Fez. The dramatic reception which took place on his return reveals that, from the first day of his arrival, he was on bad terms with the fukahā' of Fez.

"When Zarrūq returned from the East," says al-Qāḍī Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Karāsī, "the fukahā' of Fez went out to meet him. As soon as we greeted him and sat down in his tent he started asking the fukahā' about the source of their livelihood. Some of them said that most of their livelihood was obtained from mortmains. The Shaikh said: 'You feed from dead flesh?' The faqīh Ibn al-Ḥabbāk said: 'Sire! Thanks be to God who made us to hunt from dead flesh, which is allowed by the Sharī'ah by necessity, and did not make us to hunt from a live flesh, which is prohibited at all costs.' The Shaikh cried and fell unconscious. We went out and left him alone."⁽²⁾

This kind of harsh conversation between Zarrūq and the fukahā' may be considered as a sign of mutual enmity between the two sides. It is unusual to receive a man returning after seven years of absence in such a manner,

1. Manāqib, pp.28-30.

2. Dawhat al-nāshir, p.91. Telling the same story in p.45 he says that the faqīh who replied was Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Daqqūn (d. 921/1515-6).

and leave him unconscious alone after the dispute, unless there were some strong ideas about him and his attitudes. The circumstances in which he departed from Fez the first time may be one factor in his countrymen's behaviour. It may have been jealousy too, or they might have heard about his activities in Bougie and were not completely happy with him.

Whatever the cause may be, Zarrūq in this case appears as a strict Muslim who is very cautious about the source of possessions. He always insisted that it must be pure and lawful. Thus he asked the fagarā', and getting their reasonable reply he was embarrassed and aware of his error. He, however, used to warn against the adulating fagahā, the hypocritical Ṣūfīs and the deceitful fugahā' whom he attacked in many of his works.

Not much is known about his life in Fez at that time. Presumably, he led a quiet simple life. He perhaps retreated from society after being faced with difficulties and misunderstandings. The story which his friend and contemporary, Ibn Ghāzī, tells, regarding one of his miracles, signifies that Zarrūq was confronted with a sort of social boycott. Ibn Ghāzī says that he once invited Zarrūq and others to a banquet, but none came except he.⁽¹⁾ Ibn Ghāzī himself was a close friend of Zarrūq who managed, despite all difficulties, to gain some friends and disciples who later composed the core of his Order in Morocco.⁽²⁾

1. Dawḥat al-nāshir, pp.92-93.

2. See Chapter III.

After spending about four years in Fez, life became so depressing there that he decided to emigrate from his own country and seek another place in which to settle. It was a very difficult decision to take, but he took it. He left his beloved city which had denied him once and for all. Here begins his period of exile which is going to last till his death.

The natural place to which Zarrūq set off was Bougie, where he had friends and followers. He was there during the year 884 and a part of the year 885/1479-80. There a letter came to him from his master in Cairo, containing an exceedingly stinging address.⁽¹⁾ Al-Ḥaḍramī must have heard the news of what had happened to his disciple. He was not completely pleased with him, so he wrote to him rebuking and consoling at the same time. The letter speaks for itself:

"... to our brother in God, who seeks to join His Presence, Aḥmad b. Aḥmad Zarrūq, may God protect him from self-conciety, preserve him from the evils of his self and guard him against his misbehaviour. May He also lead him to every good and preserve him from every evil. You know, O brother in God, that you have been careless in your deeds and heedless in your conduct. We have written to you a letter concerning a certain purpose in which we explained everything, tempting and fearful for him who has experience and understanding. But you neglected all that and did not pay attention in word or deed.

1. Manāqib, pp.31-34.

"I was informed that you faced some disturbance from certain people. If that is true you have none to blame save your self, which is the cause of your affliction and the hurt which you have suffered, if you would but consider. Be patient at what befell you, as Luqmān said to his son... If you consider with insight you will find that whatever you encounter originates from your own self. Everything is inside you and upon you it rebounds. So, do not assign blame to anybody else. Endure time when it becomes bad. Understand the deeds rather than the words and you will be led aright.

"Know, brother, that you have misused a very useful time... Beware of yourself before you beware of other people. O brother! Be careful not to listen to evil suggestions. Your soul may be obsessed with a sort of self-suggestion which you think is light, while it is mere darkness. May God save you from evil inwardly and outwardly...

"I am writing to you because it is my duty to advise an undutiful son. You have missed the way, the fruit and the sweetness of that drink. You have been too neglectful to find any argument to support you. Keep busy with your soul and remember God every hour in the heart or on the tongue. Obey Him in everything, for this is the time of affliction and trial. Go into seclusion and practise continuous invocation and beware of observing other than Almighty God. Then you will be guided aright.

"You were exceedingly remiss. Such things are to be expected from others, but not from you. But whenever God decrees an order it is carried out."

Weary of life and oppressed Zarrūq might have received this letter with great anxiety. It would be a very strong motive for him to go to Cairo in order to allay his master's anger and revive his former good relations with him. He left Bougie in the last months of the year 884/1480.⁽¹⁾ During this year and the next he was in Cairo for the third time. He renewed his previous relations with al-Sakhāwī and got an ijāzah (certificate of qualification) from him and ad-Dīmī.⁽²⁾ The most important thing is that he was reunited with al-Ḥaḍramī and became on the best of terms with him.⁽³⁾ Ibn 'Ajībah says that Zarrūq accompanied his master this time for seven months.⁽⁴⁾ He probably performed the Pilgrimage too and became a very famous Shaikh surrounded by followers and admirers, as al-Sakhāwī says.⁽⁵⁾ The next year (886/1481) was another turning-point in our Shaikh's life which led him to a place he had never thought of before.

1. Sakhāwī; al-Ḍaw' al-lāmi', p.222.

2. Gannun; Dhikrayāt, p.8.

3. In a fragment from one of al-Ḥaḍramī's undated letters to Zarrūq there are two lines of apology which suggest that al-Ḥaḍramī was keen to maintain his good relations with his disciple. See: Manāqib, p.40.

4. Ibn 'Ajībah; Sharḥ al-nūniyah (cited by Gannun; Dhikrayāt, p.18.)

5. al-Ḍaw' al-lāmi', p.222.

In Misurata.

Misurata is considered to be the third biggest town of what is known now as Libya, after Tripoli, the capital, in the Western part of the country and Benghazi in the Eastern part. Its location is about 200 km. East of Tripoli, near the Northern coast of Africa. Its name is derived from a Berber tribe called Misrātah, a clan of Lewātah.⁽¹⁾ No date has been fixed for its foundation but ruins discovered recently suggest that some sort of urban settlement was there since the Roman rule in North Africa when the inhabitants were pure Berber. The Arabs came to the area with Islam during the conquest of 23-24 H. (643-44 A.D.), but their numbers were too few to affect it ethnically. That had been effected by the tribes of Banī Hilāl and Banī Sulaim who were expelled from Egypt and invaded North Africa in later times.

There is no mention of Misurata, in fact, in early Arab records. It is clear that there was no walled city or castle that might force the Arabs to attack it and conquer its garrison, as was the case with other places. But its port, Qaṣr Aḥmad, is mentioned in several sources as being an important station for the Pilgrims of North Africa.⁽²⁾

According to local tradition Misurata was a focal point for semi-nomadic tribes during their brief sojourn

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1. Ibn Khaldūn; al-‘Ibar, Beirut, 1967, Vol.I, p.98, Vol.II, p.701.
 2. See; René Rebuffat; "Routes d'Égypte de la Libye Intérieure", in Studi Magrebini III, Istituto Universitario Orientale, Napoli 1970, pp.1-19.

in the oasis, and a permanent community of cultivators may have existed to supply the tribesmen with food and other goods which they were unable to produce for themselves. This core of permanent population may have been located on or near a through route of growing importance.⁽¹⁾

During the 9th/15th Centuries, which we are concerned with, the town became of increasing importance as a commercial centre because of its proximity to the coast at a natural meeting of caravan routes. Under its medieval name of Thubactis, Misurata enjoyed flourishing trade relations with Venice and Genoa, as also several North African ports. Wool, olive oil and salt were exported, while silk and general merchandise were imported from as far away as Ethopia and Numidia.⁽²⁾ At the beginning of the 16th Century Leo Africanus, who visited the area not long after Zarrūq's death,⁽³⁾ says that "this province ... has many villages both upon the plain and the mountains."⁽⁴⁾ The inhabitants are rich and pay no tribute at all."⁽⁵⁾ Security of transit along the coast must have brought trade to Misurata which might otherwise have by-passed it in favour of shorter desert-routes.⁽⁶⁾

1. G. H. Blake; Misurata: A Market Town in Tripolitania, University of Durham, 1968, p.11.

2. Ibid.

3. Leo visited the area about 1518. Zarrūq died 1493. Cf. History and Description of Africa, p.XXIV.

4. Meaning the sand dunes which surround it from the North and the East, for Misurata is not in a mountainous region. Because of these sand dunes Misurata is called sometimes Thāt al-Rimāl (The sandy place).

5. Compare: Abū Sālim al-'Ayyāshī; al-Riḥlah, Fez 1316/1898-9, p.97.

6. Blake; Misurata... p.11.

Being in such a position, a halting-place for caravans and a last station for Pilgrims before they pass through the one thousand miles of the desert of Barqā (Cyrenaica) on their way to Mecca, it is almost certain that Zarrūq knew the town and some of its people during his journies to and fro. His knowledge of Tripoli, which is not far from Misurata and which has historical and cultural relations with it, is confirmed by what he himself has written in his Kunnāsh about the city and some of its eminent men whom he was acquainted with. He might have settled in Tripoli for sometime, since there are two Tripolitanian Shaikhs considered to be among his teachers; Aḥmad b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Mūsā al-Yazlītnī al-Qarawī, better known as Ḥlūlū,⁽¹⁾ and 'Alī al-Kharrūbī al-Ṭarābulṣī.⁽²⁾ Al-Kharrūbī was an intimate friend of his whose son became a sincere follower of Zarrūq. He was so close to the family that he used to intervene in its affairs either at Misurata or in Tripoli.⁽³⁾

Unfortunately none of his biographers give any details about his settlement at Misurata. We have to depend on dispersed hints here and there to compose a narrative for this important stage of our Shaikh's life.

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1. A famous Jurist who was a Qādī of Tripoli and wrote many works (d. after 875/1470). Cf. Nail al-Ibtihāj, p.83.
 2. Father of the younger Kharrūbī, the celebrated Jurist and follower of Zarrūq.
 3. Zarrūq made al-Kharrūbī get married to a Misurati lady and looked after the family after al-Kharrūbī's death.

It is al-Ḥaḍramī's influence again which led Zarrūq to this town. One sentence, sometimes, or a single word from a dear person may change all our plans and thinking. And that is what happened with Zarrūq. For, on the leave-taking day, he says, he visited his master to say goodbye. Al-Ḥaḍramī took a sheet of paper and wrote these two verses of poetry as his last advice:

"Live unknown among people and be satisfied with it,
This is safer for life and religion.
Who mingles with people, his religion will not be safe,
And he will be living between doubt and suspicion." (1)

Following his master's advice the idea of living somewhere away from the crowded cities dominated his mind. He got tired of Fez, Cairo and Tripoli. A quiet and peaceful place was what he sought, as many Ṣūfīs do when they lack tranquility and peace of mind. Misurata was an ideal place to choose. It was far enough from any big city and at the same time it was not entirely devoid of cultural amenities and activities. Thus during 886/1481 he came to Misurata and lived there for the rest of his life.

In a letter dated 22nd of Rajab in that year⁽²⁾
Zarrūq wrote to al-Ḥaḍramī:

1. Manāqib, p.19.

2. It seems that Zarrūq left Cairo directly to Misurata, because he was at Cairo in the beginning of that year (Nail al-Ibtihāj, p.209).

"You have known, Sir, that I am at Misurata because of what came into my heart that I must obey. We are unable to do anything but turn wherever the wind of our destiny turns and accept whatever emanates from it with the help of God, since each destiny has been recorded in a book. We do not care where we are as long as we are numbered among the beloved ones." (1)

Ibn Nāṣir in his Riḥlah relates that Zarrūq was asked once about his reason for choosing that town as a residence. He answered: "This is a matter beyond thought, not accompanied by any determination nor decided for any particular reason that we know. It is a mere accident whose being has appeared and whose existence has become real, obeying what God demands."

"I wish not to exchange Sulaimā for Lailā,
But necessity has its obligations!" (2)

Despite this denial of any special reason for his dwelling in Misurata, the town must have had its own attractions for Zarrūq. It might have fascinated him by that simplicity of the semi-nomadic life and an uncomplicated community. The society there, at that time, was still relatively pure and innocent. It had not yet been polluted by city morals and vices, or as a Ṣūfī biographer put it a Century later: "Is it not enough for Misurata that Zarrūq chose it for his residence and that God chose it for his burial? That is because most of its people were moulded to be self-conscious, modest, leading an

1. Al-Ta'rīf, p.280.

2. Muḥammad b. Nāṣir al-Dar'ī, al-Riḥlah, MS. Tunis 10030, p.69^B.



The tomb of SĪDĪ BŪ Shu'aifah overtops
Maghārat al-Ṣullāb (the Cave of the
Pious Ones), on the seashore.

See picture below.



abstemious life, to love righteous men and look after their followers. Their speech is not foul. They are generous and hospitable to the stranger."⁽¹⁾

Misurāta in fact, had at that time had a strictly religious feeling. The town and the area around it did not lack ascetics and Ṣūfīs whose names are still alive in local tradition and legend.⁽²⁾ They used to travel

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1. 'Abd al-Salām al-Faitūrī; al-Ishārāt limā bi Ṭarālulus min al-mazārāt, Tripoli, 1921, p.6.
 2. See for example: al-Ishārāt, p.98 ff. Besides the countless pious men whom Abū Sālim al-'Ayyāshī and Aḥmad al-Nāṣirī mention in their two Riḥlahs that they met or heard of at Misurata, and in addition to those Misurati learned men whom Zarrūq himself mentions in his Kunnāsh or who gathered around him, there is the interesting story of the cave of Sīdī Būshu'aifah which might have some significance or some connection with Zarrūq's choice of Misurata as a residence. Both al-'Ayyāshī, who passed through the area during 1076/1665 and al-Nāṣirī who crossed it forty-five years later, say that they had been led to visit a cave on the sea shore near the tomb of Sīdī Būshu'aifah about three miles to the east of Zarrūq's tomb. It is a small cave facing the sea. Any who sit there will be overwhelmed by a spiritual presence and contemplation, since he sees nothing but the sea and hears nothing except the roar of the waves glorifying the Lord of the Worlds. After long quotations from al-Futūḥāt al-Makkiyyah of Ibn 'Arabī and Lawāqih al-anwār al-quḍsiyyah of al-Sha'rānī supporting the conception that everything in the Universe glorifies God and may be heard doing so, al-Nāṣirī says that he did visit the cave on his previous Pilgrimage journey but failed to find it again on this trip, since it had disappeared from his sight. He was content to visit Sīdī Būshu'aifah's tomb and set his face towards the cave and pray to God. (al-Riḥlah al-Nāṣiriyyah, pp.74-76). Al-'Ayyāshī relates the same story and adds that the pious people of the area used to retreat in that cave and no one knew it except them. The first man who discovered it, and made it known to the others, he says, was an Algerian ascetic named Sīdī Faraj. It was completely unknown to the ordinary people before him.

[Cont'd on p.53]

They used to travel widely and many of them were able to perform the Pilgrimage at Mecca. Some of them happened to know Zarrūq, either in Cairo or the Ḥijāz, and accompanied him. They might have invited him to come to their town, during that confusing period, and asked him to live among them.

'Abd al-Salām al-Asmar (born in 880 H.), the eminent saint of Zlīten⁽¹⁾ and one of Zarrūq's disciples, says that the latter and al-Asmar's direct master, 'Abd al-Wāḥid al-Dukālī of Misallata⁽²⁾, were very close friends of the same age. "They were companions at al-Azhar and neighbours, sharing their food at lunch and dinner," he relates, "till they arrived in Tripoli. Zarrūq did not leave our Shaikh and he used to visit him at Misallata, coming from Misurata, riding a red horse and carrying a lance in his hand."⁽³⁾

[Cont'd from footnote (2), p.52]

Then the cave became a famous place visited by the people seeking the blessing of the pious who used to retreat there and pray. (Riḥlat al-'Ayyāshī, pp.100-101).

This cave is still there where the two travellers specified its site, although it has been invaded by sand and plants. The inhabitants, years ago, used to visit Sīdī Būshu'aifah's tomb and pay their respect to the cave by lighting some candles in it and hanging up coloured pieces of material. Was it possible that our Shaikh retreated there once and took his refuge from the world in this cave? A question as yet without answer.

1. An oasis with a long history of Sufis and Sufism, lies 30 miles west of Misurata.
2. A town between Tripoli and Misurata, further to the South at the Eastern end of the Atlas mountain range.
3. Al-Ṭayyib al-Miṣrātī; Fath al-'Aliy al-Akbar, Beirut, 1969, p.149. This relation between al-Dukālī and Zarrūq is possible, for both of them lived in the same period and al-Dukālī was originally from Morocco.

While 'Abd al-Karīm al-Baramūnī (born 893 H.) asserts that his father was one of Zarrūq's followers and that "he was the man who brought him from Egypt to Misurata."⁽¹⁾

Whatever the case may be it is apparent that Zarrūq gained a very honourable respect from the inhabitants of his new home owing to his scholastic and Ṣūfī reputation. He became one of them, in fact, intervening in their affairs and sharing with them in their lives. The students gathered around him and he enjoyed respect everywhere. It is not known where he gave his lectures or held meetings, since his Zāwiyah had not yet been built, but the large number of students who attended his lectures and the readers under his supervision may suggest that the mosque that was near his house, where he used to perform prayer, was the place in which these lectures were given.⁽²⁾

After his final settlement in Misurata, perhaps in order to stabilise his new social relationships, Zarrūq married a Misuratī woman named 'Amat al-Jalīl, daughter

1. Ibid., p.240. It is interesting that the inhabitants of the town used to create a link between the name of their town and Egypt. The first man who settled there and built a house, they say, was an Egyptian. The nomads gathered around him and an urban community was established. Whenever he was asked who he was he answered: "min Miṣr 'atā - from Egypt he came!" So the place was named after the only sentence he said to them!

2. Al-'Ayyāshī; al-Riḥlah, p.96.

of Aḥmad b. Zakariyā al-Ghulbānī,⁽¹⁾ who bore for him three children,⁽²⁾ in addition to his wife Fāṭimāh al-Zillā'iyah who followed him from Fez.⁽³⁾

Zarrūq travelled twice after his residence at Misurata for short periods and limited purposes. He went to Alger first in 891 or 892 (1486/1487)⁽⁴⁾ possibly to look after his interests there and perhaps to collect his family. He seems to have been very upset in those days.⁽⁵⁾ and he might have returned hurriedly to Misurata. In 894/1489 he performed the Pilgrimage for the third time.⁽⁶⁾ He probably stopped at Cairo and lectured in al-Azhar Mosque.⁽⁷⁾ The next year he was at al-Minyā,⁽⁸⁾

1. Riḥlat al-'Ayyāshī, p.98. Ibn Ghalbūn (al-Taḍkār, pp.224-225) names the tribe to which Zarrūq's wife belongs as Awlād al-Shaikh al-Ja'āfirah.

2. Riḥlat al-'Ayyāshī, p.98.

3. Ibid.

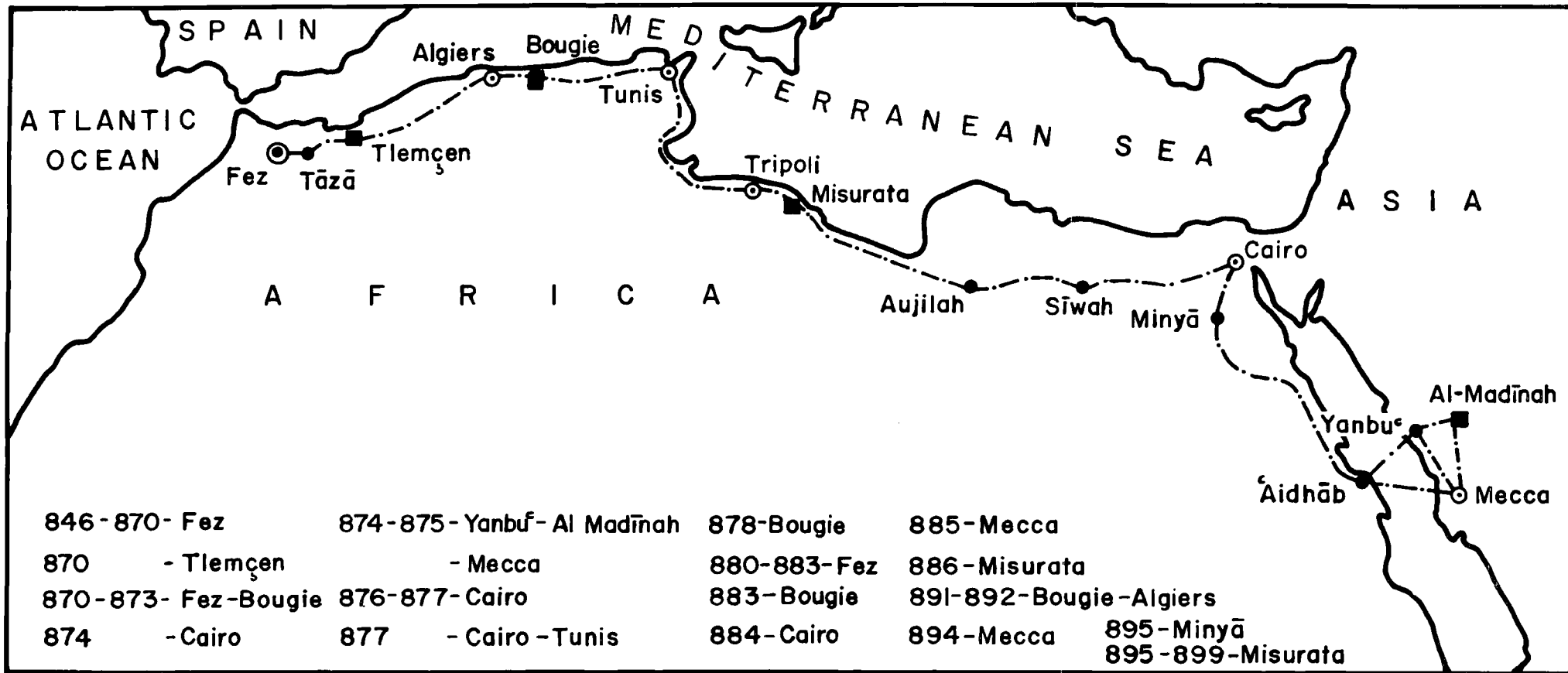
4. Both of two versions of Zarrūq's book al-Maqṣad al-Asmā fī mā yata'allaq bi al-Asmā' confirm that it was compiled at Alger, but they differ in these two dates of compilation.

5. At the end of the work mentioned above he apologizes for not completing the discussion of certain issues "because of the time is short and the mind is anxious."

6. Al-Sakhāwī (al-Daw', p.222) says that he met him at Mecca in the year 894/1489).

7. al-Ḥasan al-Kūhin; Jamī' al-Karāmāt, (cited by Gannūn; Dhikrayāt, p.21). Al-Kūhin says that "when Zarrūq came to Egypt its scholars and learned men heard of his arrival and went to him. About six thousand men from Cairo and its suburbs used to attend his lectures at al-Azhar. He became the Leader of the Mālikīs and the head of their department. They put a high, well-made chair for him to sit on during his lectures. This chair still exists nowadays in the Maghribi department at al-Azhar. He was of great power and influence before the Egyptian Princes and was always welcomed by all of them."

8. See the end of his commentary on Ḥizb al-Baḥr of al-Shādhilī.



Zarrūq's travels, with chronological table.

(Years are in Hijrī dates)

a town in Upper Egypt, on his way back to Misurata for the last four years of his life. And on the 18th of Safar 899 H. (1493 A.D.) in the last year of the Nineth Century Aḥmad b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. 'Isā Zarrūq died in his Khalwah⁽¹⁾ when he was 54 years old. He used to pray not to live until he witnessed the Tenth Century⁽²⁾ and it seems that God responded to his prayer.

All that he left when he died were: half of a mare shared between him and Ḥājj 'Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad al-Dkērānī al-Misrātī, a white burnūs (gown), a woollen jubbah and dress, a rosary given to him by al-Ḥaḍramī and fourteen volumes on different subjects. He died indeed a very poor man as he was born.⁽³⁾ Al-'Ayyāshī, who copied the bequest-account from the original, comments: "Let us copy it here word for word for it contains many interesting features... one of them is to look at him as an exemplar for the little he possessed of this world, although he was a man with children and women in a country where the life is so hard. He did not lack the means to leave something for them if he wished to, since he was very celebrated and the world and its people were at his service."⁽⁴⁾

The women and the children to whom al-'Ayyāshī refers

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1. al-Mānālī; Bulūgh al-Marām, p.33.
 2. Tanqīḥ Rawḍat al-Azhār, p.244.
 3. Riḥlat al-'Ayyāshī, p.98.
 4. Zarrūq says in his Kunnāsh (p.58) that he married five women. Nothing is known about his other three wives.

were: Zarrūq's wife, Fāṭimah, who bore his two elder sons; Aḥmad al-Akbar and Aḥmad al-Aṣghar, and his other wife 'Amat al-Jalīl⁽¹⁾ who bore his two sons: Aḥmad Abū al-Faḥ and Aḥmad Abū al-Faḍl in addition to his only daughter 'Aisha. The last three died successively and their mother got married to one of Zarrūq's followers named Manṣūr b. Aḥmad al-Bijā'ī,⁽²⁾ while nothing is known about his other wife's fate. His two elder sons, al-Akbar and al-Aṣghar, left Misurata for the West and eventually settled at Constantine in Algeria. Their last tie with Misurata was cut when Aḥmad al-Aṣghar, called usually al-tālib (the student), was sent by his brother from Algeria to collect their mother's and their share of their father's bequest.⁽³⁾ It seems that Aḥmad al-Akbar, called al-faqīh (the learned man), inherited some of his father's prestige and enjoyed a kind of influence over his followers in Algeria.⁽⁴⁾ But nothing more is to be heard about Zarrūq's family after that.

His character and personality.

What about our Shaikh's appearance and character?
What was he like and what was his personality?

From the fragments left to us we can hardly draw a picture of him, but let us try to collect some fragments.

1. Riḥlat al-'Ayyāshī, p.98.

2. Ibid., pp.98-99.

3. Ibid.

4. Nail al-ibtihāj, p.130.

and put them in one frame and see how he looked and acted.

"He was a very handsome short man," says 'Abd al-Salām al-Asmar in his al-Waṣiyyah al-kubrā, who saw him with his master, 'Abd al-Wāhid al-Dūkālī at Misallata, and might have joined Zarrūq's lectures in Misurata.⁽¹⁾ As a Berber he was probably white-skinned, but he certainly did not inherit his grandfather's blue eyes.⁽²⁾ Nothing else is found. His health was poor and he might have suffered from a certain disease which used to attack him often for a long time. This perhaps was the cause of his death at a comparatively early age.⁽³⁾

Regarding his character our Shaikh says about himself that he was a shy person.⁽⁴⁾ Being very nervous and highly-strung, his friends used to criticize and blame him for his bad temper.⁽⁵⁾ This was perhaps before he reached his forties. But his sensitivity remained with him until his last years.

Besides the usual descriptions of modesty, piety, fear of God and so on, there are some anecdotes, related accidentally by Zarrūq's biographers, which reveal two clear aspects of his personality; that he was a jolly and sociable person. These two qualities became clear after his settlement in Misurata and marked his relations

1. Cited in Fath al-'Aliy al-Akbar, p.149.

2. 'Abd al-Rahmān al-'Ayyāshī; al-Anwār al-Saniyah, MS. Cairo, 3361 G, p.2.

3. See Kunnāsh, p.59, where he says that he fell sick in Cairo four times, every time was for four months, eating nothing save black olives only.

4. Kunnāsh, p.61.

5. Ibid., p.68. One of Zarrūq's friends, Shaikh Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Daqqūn, used to say to him: "Wait until you become forty years old and this nervousness will abate."

with its inhabitants, perhaps because he got at last the peace of mind he was looking for and the relaxation from the tensions of his previous days in other places. He used, al-'Ayyāshī says, to address his friends and followers in a cheerful way and call them by funny nicknames, as was the case with his follower Abū Za'āmah who had a funny neck and Zarrūq named him 'unuq al-ḥamāmah (the neck of the pigeon), and Abū Za'āmah was quite happy with the nickname.⁽¹⁾ Also when he once met his famous disciple Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad al-Kharrūbī at Misurata after al-Kharrūbī's father died in Tripoli, leaving behind his wife and children, he said to him: "Tell the 'hen' not to worry. I will never leave you alone alive or dead. Do not let her say that Zarrūq has separated her from her native country."⁽²⁾

This 'hen' to which Zarrūq refers was a Misurati woman whom he married to one of his friends in Tripoli, al-Kharrūbī the elder. Zarrūq used to visit her father, Muḥammad Bū Dīkī, who cooked a cock (dīk) every time the Shaikh visited him. So he nicknamed him Bū dīkī (cock) and called his daughter, Zahrah, Srādīkah (hen, in the Tripolitanian dialect).

Zarrūq's sociability enabled him to have the best relations with the people of the area, so that it was an honour for everyone to say that his mother or father got

1. Riḥlat al-'Ayyāshī, p.97.

2. Muḥammad al-Kharrūbī; Dhikr ba'd al-awliyā bi Ṭarābulus, MS. Tripoli/Awqāf, 346/§1, p.7.

the blessing of the Shaikh when he intermediated in his or her marriage. As it happened with al-Kharrūbī, so it was with 'Abd al-Karīm al-Baramūnī's father who asked for the hand of 'Aishah b. 'Abd al-Rahmān Ibn Shatwān; but her father asked too much for his daughter's bridal dowery. Al-Baramūnī went to Zarrūq and requested his intercession. The Shaikh did so and the man married her for a quarter of a dīnār only. (1)

Zarrūq as a saint.

The phenomenon of Sainthood has dominated the Muslim world for a long time. The rôle it played in the Islamic social structure is of very great importance. The Muslim saint is called walī (friend of God) in the Middle East and the Eastern Muslim countries, while he is called Marabout (2) in North and West Africa generally. The word is derived either from the root "rabaṭa" meaning to tie oneself for prayer, as often happens, or from "rābaṭa" meaning to live at a Muslim frontier site "ribāṭ" defending it against enemy attacks. When any of these famous Marabouts dies he soon becomes a hero on religious grounds and countless numbers of miracles are ascribed to him to show how near he was to God and how influential he was in His circle. These miracles are usually called karāmāt (graces) bestowed by God upon the Marabouts,

1. Tawqīḥ Rawḍ al-azhār, p.258.

2. The correct accent of this word is murābiṭ. It has been introduced into English, through French, denoting mainly the Muslim Saints of North Africa.

enabling them to perform supernatural or impossible deeds to display their spiritual ability in this field or that. The collective mind creates a long series of fabulous tales and events and attributes them to the honourable pious men of the community, weaving legends around them and their performances in this life or the Hereafter, till these legends become part of their biographies.

This phenomenon is to be found in every book written about Sufis from the very beginning of Sufism until our day. The more reputed the Sufi is the more wonderful the tales are. Some of these tales are similar, originating from the same source and repeated in slightly different ways, while some of them are of local production with all the necessary background of this locality. But all of them give the impression of supernaturality and an extraordinary power which the Marabouts possess.

The inhabitants of North Africa believe in this mysterious power of the Marabouts and in its effectiveness.⁽¹⁾ This power is called al-barakah which the Marabouts have alive or dead. It may be used to harm people or save them from trouble in accordance with the attitude of the Marabouts and his wishes. When anyone is in difficulty he usually prays and "calls" for his favourite Marabout's help, but sometimes it happens that the Marabout comes to help without "calling," just because he wants to do so.

1. For more detailed information see: Edward Westermarck; The Moorish Conception of Holiness (Baraka). Helsingfors Akademi , Bokhandeln, 1916.

Aḥmad Zarrūq was no exception. Thus, when he died many anecdotes and legends arose about him praising his spiritual wonders and karāmāt. He also became the patron of certain places and was given certain titles. In Aujilah, the ancient well-known oasis of the Libyan desert, the inhabitants consider him to be "the protector of Aujilah." They claim that when he was near to death he left Misurata and went to their oasis where he passed away. A mosque has been built after him and some of 'his' possessions are kept in a tomb supposed to be his.⁽¹⁾ Many visitors go to seek his barakah there. He is called "the Eastern gate of Tripoli" too,⁽²⁾ and many Tripolitarians believe that Zarrūq shall defend their city and protect it against any attack from the East.

Being buried on the edge of the desert, near to the coast and on the route to Mecḥa, most of Zarrūq's karāmāt deal with these three aspects, in addition to other cases. Al-'Ayyāshī says that the Pilgrims used to travel from the whole of North Africa to the Ḥijāz. When they arrived at the Shaikh's tomb they used to commit their money and lives to him. None of them was to be hurt in his property or person until he returned safely.⁽³⁾ Ibn Nāṣir adds that not only the land

1. "Cyrene", the Journal of the Faculty of Arts, University of Libya, Vol. II, p.21. The oasis of Aujilah was at that time an important caravan-stop for Pilgrims and merchants coming from North Africa to the East (Cf. Leo Africanus; History and Description of Africa, Vol. III, p.801). It is possible that Zarrūq rested there for a while during his several travels between West and East. (Cf. Qaṣīdah no.*** in his work's catalogue).

2. 'Abd al-Salām al-Faitūrī; al-Ishārāt, p.7.

3. Riḥlat al-'Ayyāshī, p.97.

travellers did so, but also the sea travellers who used to set their faces towards him, when they passed by his tomb, and started beseeching his barakah and protection. (1)

The following anecdotes are told by his biographers showing his karāmāt taken from various sources:

1) Ibn Ghalebūn relates that a certain Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Yamanī said that when he was travelling from Yemen to North Africa he was trapped in the desert without water to drink. "I was near to dying of thirst," he says, "then I remembered Sīdī Zarrūq and called desperately upon him: 'O Zarrūq! Where are you?' Suddenly something far away appeared to me coming nearer and nearer. When it was possible to distinguish it I realised that it was a man riding a mule. He greeted me and said: 'The water is beside that hill.' I looked at the hill to mark it and when I looked back to the man I discovered that he had vanished. I went to the hill and found water there." (2)

2) Muḥammad al-'Ayyāshī said that once he was travelling with a caravan from Fez to the Sudan. The caravan passed through the desert and it was very hot. Not a single drop of water was there and the people were under great strain. As soon as they had asked Almighty God through Zarrūq, a mule appeared carrying waterskins and a man behind it. When he came nearer to them he said: "Take the water. Unfortunately you were not in my vicinity, so I was a bit late!" (3)

1. al-Riḥlah al-Naṣiriyyah, p.70.

2. al-Tidhkar, p.224. al-T'arīf, p.280.

3. Ibid.

3) 'Abd Allāh Abū Bakr al-Misrātī al-Bilālī said:

"Once I travelled from Fezzan with some companions. I committed myself to the Shaikh. One night I thought it would be wise to leave my companions and sleep somewhere apart from them. I did so. At midnight highwaymen came and robbed them. I fled without food or water or experience of the road. That land is too barren to be known except by an expert guide. All night I heard a voice saying: 'Turn right, go left...' till morning. When I was able to see, I saw a short man walking before me. Whenever I attempted to catch him I found that he went far off, and whenever I missed the right way he shouted at me to follow it again, until I entered Waddān on the third day. I neither felt tired nor thirsty, although it was the summer season!" (1)

4) Sīdī Faṭḥ Allāh b. Ṭāhir once was so infuriated by his son. He was so angry that he hit him on his head and broke his skull. The doctor said that it was fatal and the boy would die next day. Sīdī Faṭḥ Allāh slept anxiously, desperate and very sorry for what he had done. In his sleep he saw Zarrūq saying: "Do not worry, Ibn Ṭāhir! Your son will live. Call the doctor tomorrow." Upon doing so, it was a surprise for the doctor to find the boy's skull knitted and the wound healed. (2)

5) 'Abd al-Samī' al-Faitūrī's daughter was crippled for many years. She left her husband and was brought to her

1. Ibid.

2. Faṭḥ al-'Alīy al-Akbar, pp.218-219.

father's house to live with him. One night she saw Zarrūq coming to her. He caught her from the arms and lifted her. She jumped up and walked at once. (1)

6) Ibn Ghāzī says that he once invited Zarrūq and others to a banquet and prepared a large quantity of food. None of the invited people came except the Shaikh. Ibn Ghāzī told him that he was worried lest the food be wasted. Zarrūq asked him to bring the food and get rid of the servants. When it was brought and the servants had gone Zarrūq started taking handfuls of food with pieces of meat and throwing it behind him. Ibn Ghāzī heard a great noise and confusion. Looking at its source he saw many people crying: "Give me Sir, give me Sir!" After Zarrūq finished distributing the food among them Ibn Ghāzī, who was very astonished, asked the Shaikh what all this meant. He answered: "Those were the poor of the city of Tunis. They became in need and crowded in the Zaytūnah Mosque yard in order to get this food." (2)

7) There was a Tripolitanian tribe whose members were highwaymen. No caravan passing through their territory could escape them. Zarrūq and his disciples passed once and were completely robbed of their possessions save what covered their private parts. One of the disciples looked at Zarrūq and was astonished at his calmness. He said to one of the robbers: "That man has got gold

1. al-Ishārāt, p.102.

2. Dawḥat al-nāshir, pp.92-93.

in his trousers." The Bedouin went to Zarrūq and said: "Take off your trousers." He replied: "Praise the Lord! It is prohibited to uncover the private parts." The Bedouin said again: "Take them off or I will kill you," while the Shaikh was admonishing him. When the Bedouin advanced to Zarrūq the Shaikh said: "O Earth, swallow them!" And all of the robbers sank in the ground. They started beseeching him saying: "We repent to God!" Zarrūq said to the Earth: "Set them free!" And it did. They got out and all of them repented. They went with the Shaikh and became servants of Zarrūq's Zāwiyah. Until now their offspring still serve the Zāwiyah and are known as the Servants of Zarrūq's Zāwiyah.⁽¹⁾

8) After Zarrūq had settled in Misurata he used to spend the early mornings and evenings sitting in a jābiyah (a square water store beside a well where the farmers keep the water they draw from the well to irrigate their fields) not far from his house. This jābiyah was owned by an orphan, a Misurati young man. When the summer came and it was time to sow the pearl millet, which used to be watered from that jābiyah, the young man went to the well carrying his tools to draw the water from the well after he had finished sowing the millet. He found the Shaikh sitting in the jābiyah as usual, and he found it too hard to ask him to leave. So he left his tools and went away looking at the crop. To his surprise he saw it lush as if it had been watered

1. Ṭabaqāt al-Shādhiliyyah al-Kubrā (Jāmi' al-karāmāt), p.125.

the night before. He knew that it was one of the Shaikh's karāmāt. Every morning he used to go and look at the crop watered and the Shaikh sitting in the jābiyah till the crop was ripe. The young man harvested it and separated the grains from the husks. Then the Shaikh spoke to him and said: "Prepare many vessels for your millet." The young man brought as many as four times the number of sacks he used to bring and filled them to the brim and yet the amount of the crop remained the same, as if nothing had been taken from it. The young man carried the full sacks to his house and emptied them and brought them back to fill them again. His mother followed him to have a look. The Shaikh said: "Here comes the she-devil from whom barakah (blessing) runs away! Hurry and fill your sacks before she arrives." The young man did so until he filled all of his sacks and the heap of the millet came to an end at his mother's arrival.⁽¹⁾

9) In some cases Zarrūq was elevated to be seen in the company of the Prophet, as Muḥammad al-Shutaibī asserts.

"On my way to North Africa," he says, "I visited Zarrūq's tomb and resolved not to leave unless divine permission came to me. For three years I stayed there seeing the Shaikh in my sleep ordering me to leave. I did not believe the vision until I saw him while I was awake during the daylight with the Prophet (Peace and blessing be upon him). He said to me: "O Muḥammad! The Prophet bids you go, otherwise you will be deprived." I said:

1. Ifādat al-'ulamā', pp.80-81.

'Yes Sir, now I will go.' When I was ready to leave he said: 'Surely, we will miss you, Muḥammad!'" (1)

10) Abū Zakarīyā al-Bijā'ī claims that he was with Zarrūq and other Pilgrims at al-Madīnah. They were so depressed because there was not any means of transport to take them back home. At midday the Shaikh came to them and said: "Prepare yourselves to set off. I have just come from the Prophet who told me to do so." They began preparing unbelievably. Suddenly a man came to them and offered them means of travel. While they were bidding their Madanī friends farewell another man came running to the she-camel of the Shaikh. He was weeping and saying, through his tears: "My lord Shihāb al-Dīn! Be my intercessor with God! I have just seen the Prophet riding his she-camel. When I asked him whether he intends to leave us he said: 'No, but I am going to say goodbye to Zarrūq!'" Everyone burst into tears, and that was his last Pilgrimage. (2)

1. Cited in al-T'arīf, p.280.

2. 'Abd al-Rahmān al-'Ayyāshī; al-Anwār al-Saniyyah 'alā al-Wazīfah al-Zarrūqiyyah, MS. Cairo 1517 - Taṣawwuf, p.3.

"On the whole his worth is beyond description.
He who devotes himself to record his experience,
counsels and letters will make a whole volume
out of them!"

Aḥmad Bābā
Nail al-ibtihāj.



Zarrūq's tomb at his Zāwiyah in Misurata.

CHAPTER TWO

HIS WORKS

The large number of works that Zarrūq has left and the variety that is evident in them indicates that he was a very active writer during his comparatively short life. We can judge from the list of his works that he was a polymath too. None of his biographers failed to notice this fact and point it out. One of them was eager enough to promise that he would write a composition dealing exclusively with Zarrūq's works.⁽¹⁾ Unfortunately he did not, otherwise we might have an invaluable source for our Shaikh's works with more details, perhaps, and more accuracy.

Tracing Zarrūq's works is not an easy task. It involved hunting in numerous libraries of different countries⁽²⁾ in the world. Since the majority of these works have not been printed yet it was thus necessary to travel to many parts of the world and make every possible effort to collect the required information about the manuscripts either from libraries or from their available catalogues, and try to obtain copies of them on microfilm or

1. Ahmad Bābā; Nail al-ibtihāj, p.86.

2. It is not allowed in al-Khizānah al-Malakiyah (The Royal Library) in Rabat, for example, to copy any manuscript, as is the case with al-Awqāf Library in Tripoli. MS. 1309 in Tunis is lost, and there was no way to examine the manuscript of Tubqah oasis in the Libyan desert. (See the Catalogue no. XCVIII).

Xerox sheets. Some of the works cited in certain references, as the reader will notice, do not exist in any accessible library while others have been mentioned in the catalogues but are not available due to a lack of facilities or because they have been lost.⁽¹⁾

Every attempt was made to copy or at least to see and examine any manuscript or relevant work in order to have a full picture of Zarrūq as an author and to be as thoroughly acquainted with his works as possible, but it must be confessed that it was not possible to see all of them for the reasons mentioned above.

The following pages contain a brief discussion and a short analysis of Zarrūq as an author. The purpose is to throw more light upon our Shaikh's writings and to look at his contribution in various fields. There are three lists given concerning his works:

- a) A classification of Zarrūq's works.
- b) An alphabetical catalogue of the works as they have been cited or exist, giving information to anyone who might be interested to pursue the subject and continue searching in more favourable circumstances. A concise description of the work's contents is given whenever it is possible with description of the works of which it was possible to obtain copies, or examine, omitting the countless versions which are not in hand at the meantime.

1. Apart from the North African and Middle Eastern libraries some of Zarrūq's works have travelled as far as the Indonesian islands like al-'Arf fī Ta'rīf al-Ḥarf whose only manuscript copy is in Jakarta.

- c) A list of some dates of compilation taken from the ends of the works themselves or from other sources.
- d) A list of commentaries written on his works.

Zarrūq started writing, as far as we know, when he was 24 years old. In 870/1465 he composed his first commentary on al-Ḥikam of Ibn 'Aṭā' Allāh al-Iskandarī (d. 709/1309) and a collection of Sufic sayings entitled Tuḥfat al-murīd. The last fixed date known to us is the year 896/1490 when he compiled his commentary on Risālat al-Qairawānī.⁽¹⁾ After that year he certainly wrote al-Kunnāsh⁽²⁾ which contains a part from his autobiography, and Manāqib al-Ḥaḍramī dealing with his master's life, sayings and correspondence, as if he felt that his life was coming shortly to end and that it would be wise to record something about himself and his master's life too.

Since the old conception of the scholar was that he ought to deal with everything, it is no wonder if we notice that our Shaikh followed this rule and that his interests were divided among many subjects of study. Beside Sufism he wrote on Theology, Jurisprudence, Medicine, Mathematics, Tradition and composed poetry too. But his major works and main contribution were in the two fields of Sufism and Jurisprudence. Comparing his productions in both of these two fields we can easily see

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1. This may be his second commentary, for some sources assert that he has written two commentaries on Risālat al-Qairawānī.
 2. That is because Zarrūq says in al-Kunnāsh that he was more than fifty years old and mentions the death of al-Ḥaḍramī in 895/1489.

that he was more creative as a Sufi writer than as a commentator on Jurisprudence.

It is noteworthy that Zarrūq did not compile any original work in Jurisprudence as he did in Sufism. He might be a good commentator on some of the famous texts of the Mālikī school, abridging them and explaining their difficult passages and simplifying them for the common Muslim reader, but we have to bear in mind that, in fact, hundreds of commentaries of this kind have been written in the course of the years by innumerable commentators. This phenomenon which dominated the Muslim world for centuries after the decline of Islamic civilization is a sign of general stagnation of mind that led, of course, to repetition after repetition without adding any new contribution to the study involved.

Nothing, actually, distinguishes Zarrūq as a Jurist or a commentator on Jurisprudence. His real originality is to be sought in his Sufi works, either in his own compositions or in his commentaries, where he feels that he is in the right place.

Most of Zarrūq's works are highly regarded and widely read not only by his followers but also by all Muslims who, in one way or another, came into contact with them,⁽¹⁾

1. Depont and Coppolani; Les Confréries Religieuses Musulmanes, Alger 1897, p.458.

and some of them were reliable sources for the writers who came after him.⁽¹⁾ There are, of course, major works and minor works too, as is the case with every author. Apart from his commentaries on al-Hikam there are four important works which have been always highly regarded and studied, and all of them are on Sufism:

a) Qawā'id al-taṣawwuf which was carefully written and is considered Zarrūq's best contribution in Sufism.

b) 'Uddat al-murīd al-ṣādiq which is usually compared with Talbīs Iblīs of Ibn al-Jawzī and regarded as better than it in some aspects.

c) al-Naṣīḥah al-kāfiyah which is accepted as the basic text for the Zarrūqiyah Order.

d) I'ānat al-mutawajjih al-miskīn which is regarded as the essence of his teachings.

Zarrūq's language is at once clear and eloquent. He rarely uses obscure expressions or rare words which certain other writers were fond of to show their ability in the language by dealing with the subject with the most difficult vocabulary. This perhaps is due to his belief that the author must use a simple style to make his work as intelligible as possible to the reader.⁽²⁾ He also

1. Ahmad Bābā al-Tumbuktī, for instance, refers frequently to al-Kunnāsh in his celebrated Nail al-ibtihāj as a source for his biographies, while Ibn 'Ajībah al-Ḥasanī depends entirely on Zarrūq's Commentaries in his 'Iqāz al-himam (see: Gannūn; Bulletin of the Faculty of Arts, Libya, Vol. II, p.136). A quick look to the list given of commentaries on Zarrūq's works shows how attentively they were consulted.

2. The Shaikh used to quote the famous Tradition: "Address the people according to their minds' ability to understand."

did not follow the Arabic habit of Saj' (Rhymed prose), which was strictly followed in his days, except in the first paragraphs of his introductions, then he continues simply and naturally without artificiality or verbosity.

Most of Zarrūq's compilations are well-presented, divided into parts, sections and chapters, usually with a preface and a conclusion. He used also to support his ideas by quotations and abstracts from other famous texts, particularly in his earlier compositions. (1)

It is significant that most of his biographers say that he always tended to write in a short concise manner and that he used to revise his work several times. (2) This is true for the most part. Because of the Shaikh's habit of revising his works and re-writing them a sort of similarity has risen between some of these works. If we compare, for example, 'Uddat al-murīd and al-Nuṣḥ al-anfa' or Qawā'id al-taṣawwuf and Ta'sīs al-qwā'id we will find that although they bear different titles and are organised in different ways the contents of each two mentioned works are nearly the same. (3) This may indicate either revision undertaken by the author or repetition of compilation which was another habit of the Shaikh.

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1. Mostly from Shādhilī masters like Abū al-Ḥasan al-Shādhilī, Ibn 'Atā' Allāh, al-Mursī, and as well as from other Sufis like al-Ghazālī and Ibn 'Arabī.
 2. See for example: Nail al-ibtihāj, p.85; Shajarat al-Nūr, p.268.
 3. This was also noticed by al-Manālī (Bulūgh al-marām, p.30) regarding al-'Uddah and al-Nuṣḥ.

When we consult our references about Zarrūq's works we find many of them saying that he had written certain works twice or even three times,⁽¹⁾ or that he has composed a book then summarised it,⁽²⁾ or that he wrote a short work then he enlarged it later on.⁽³⁾ This also was, for a long time, a common method practiced by Muslim authors, but it is an astonishing matter indeed to discover that our Shaikh was occupied with one book for about thirty years.⁽⁴⁾ Was he looking for perfection or was he completely absorbed by the subject? In both cases this habit of repetition and re-writing gives his work a good deal of value.

Beside his original works on Sufism Zarrūq was a very energetic commentator too, as is seen in the accompanying catalogue. His commentaries were sometimes taken as authoritative as the original work. Commentary seems to be employed by him not only to understand the text by simplifying it, but also as a means to express his own ideas and teachings, expounding his attitude towards the notions discussed and related issues, and displaying his own conception of the text. In short, Zarrūq was not commenting in the traditional sense, he was discussing and adding something new to the work he dealt with.

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1. Like his commentaries on Hizb al-Bahr of al-Shādhilī, Risālah of al-Qairawānī.
 2. As he did with al-Naṣīḥah al-kāfiyah.
 3. Manāqib al-Ḥaḍramī.
 4. The commentaries on al-Hikam of Ibn 'Aṭā' Allāh. See the catalogue, no. LXXXVII.

Among the works given in the catalogue there are three which may be regarded as not genuine and as having been ascribed to the Shaikh. Zarrūq was not the only author to whom certain works, for one reason or another, have been attributed and this is not the first time it has happened. Let us examine these works and put our arguments to support this claim:

(1) al-Kashf, known also as al-Şinā'ah al-kubrā and as 'Ilm al-sirr wa al-şan'ah. Although several copies of it exist and all of them are attributed to Zarrūq we are reluctant to accept it as a Zarrūq's production for the following reasons:

a) None of his biographers, except one commentator wrote on the Waḡīfah at a late date, ⁽¹⁾ mentions this work. If al-Kashf is genuine it would be odd not to be recorded in Zarrūq's early bibliographies.

b) When we read the work we cannot fail to notice that both the language and the style are not Zarrūq's.

c) This applies to some expressions which have been used in the work, like "O brothers!" which is a sort of fraternal address used generally in esoteric writings.

d) From the first phrase we feel that the writer is self-exalting because "God has revealed to him the secret of the secrets and favoured him among his creatures."⁽²⁾ The Shaikh was always too modest and humble to utter such words.

1. See the catalogue, no. XVI.

2. A literal translation.

e) The context itself suggests that we can exclude al-Kashf from Zarrūq's works since it deals in the most ambiguous language with Alchemy or the so-called Philosophers' Stone which, it was believed, transforms metals into gold. It is a well-known fact that Zarrūq always refuted this kind of occultism and that he attacked and rebuked people who aspired to this pseudo-science. (1)

It is not possible then to accept al-Kashf as one of the Shaikh's works, since its aim and subject are alien to his teachings and belief.

(2) Sharḥ al-Dimyāṭiyah, known also as Sharḥ asmā' Allāh al-ḥusnā and al-Mawāhib al-saniyah. (2)

This work also may be excluded on the same basis as al-Kashf:

- a) None of Zarrūq's biographers mention it.
- b) It is an occult work based on the belief that the verses of Nūr al-Dīn al-Dimyāṭī contain a magical power which might be exploited against enemies and opponents by writing one of its lines for every special case and used defensively or offensively by a particular method. (3)

1. See: Chapter V.

2. See the catalogue, no. LIX.

3. Zimyāṭī (the first letter of the word has been twisted from D to Z) denotes, in the Libyan colloquial, black magic and talismans. The man who reads Zimyāṭī appears in their eyes to be dealing with jinns and evil spirits and is feared by most of the people.

c) Zarrūq in his authentic works warns always against the belief that there is anything that can harm or avail save God, and even when he accepts any sort of invocation⁽¹⁾ he does so because they bear certain verses of the Qur'ān and prayers in conformity with Islamic Law and Tradition which may be used as a supplication to God and nothing more.⁽²⁾

(3) al-Qaṣīdah al-tā'iyah.⁽³⁾

From reading this ode it is obvious that Zarrūq has nothing to do with it. He was not the man who said:

"Everything has been revealed to me.
I am the exalted leader of the time.
I am in possession of all the Earth.
The West and the East are in my grasp.
I have the power to elevate and to humiliate,
To harm and benefit.
I have been given wisdom and mysteries
And have attained to the most lofty rank."⁽⁴⁾

This kind of ostentatiousness cannot be expected from Zarrūq the sincere, humble and pious Sufi whose tears were shed whenever God was mentioned.⁽⁵⁾ In addition to this we

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1. See the introduction in his commentary on Hizb al-baḥr.
 2. In fact that Zarrūq has composed a treatise on the Beautiful Names of God may suggest that a sort of confusion occurred between his own work and another anonymous work on the subject. A quick comparison between the two compilations shows that they are far from being written by the same author.
 3. A poem ending with the letter T. Many Sufi odes, in fact, were Tā'iyāt. The most famous one is the Tā'iyat of Ibn al-Fāriḍ (cf. R. A. Nicholson; Studies in Muslim Mysticism, Cambridge 1921, p.162). See the catalogue, no. XXXIII.
 4. Literal translation.
 5. al-Ta'rīf, p.270.

see that even the biographer who cited the poem for the first time⁽¹⁾ was suspicious of it and cautiously says that he found it "ascribed to him."

One of the most attractive of Sufi legacies is Poetry which was a favourite form for many Sufis to express themselves and convey to others their feelings, let it be rapture or agony, during their longing to attainment and yearning for the Beloved One.⁽²⁾ The Arabic word for Poetry is Shi'r which is derived from SH'R (feel). It has its rules which distinguish it from nathr (Prose) like wazn (measure) and qāfiyah (rhyme) among other conditions which are essential if any person is to be called a Poet. According to the Arab poetical standards the feeling and the ability to express the idea in good eloquent language without grammatical errors are the most important qualifications of the Poet. Nazm (verse in different metres) requires a linguistic ability and knowledge of the Arabic poetical metres but it does not necessarily require that spark of the spirit which is the Poet's chief characteristic.

1. Ahmad Bābā; Nail al-ibtihāj, p.86.

2. Countless examples are to be found in Sufi literature.

Judging from the poems attributed to Zarrūq he - unfortunately - was not a brilliant poet, or perhaps he did not intend to be⁽¹⁾ and found it more natural to write in prose. He might be called a Nāẓim since it seems that the only type of verse he mastered was Rajaz⁽²⁾ of which he took advantage to transform one Sufi work from prose into verse. His work was highly appreciated and considered as one of his best works.⁽³⁾

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1. There is no comparison at all, for example, between Zarrūq as a Sufi poet and al-Jāmī, the great Persian poet, who lived in the same age (d.898/1492 one year before Zarrūq died). Nicholson thinks that "the main reason lies in racial endowment. The Arab has no such passion for an ultimate principle of unity as has always distinguished the Persians and Indians," and that "the models of Arabic mystical poetry are the secular odes and songs of which this passion is the theme." (Studies in Islamic Mysticism, p.103).

Zarrūq has his own theory about "the scarcity of the great Sufis' poetry, such as al-Junaid, al-Jīlānī and al-Shādhilī." He says that poems of "flirtation, elegy, gestures and hints are an evidence of being remote from contemplation. The majesty [of contemplation] prevents the Soul from looking to its own merits, and poetry is one of its good qualities. He in whose heart the light of the Truth is manifested cannot leave room for anything else except It ... They followed the good example of the notable companions of the Prophet, who were the most cognizant of poetry and yet they did not utter it." (Qawā'id al-Taṣawwuf, pp.85-86).

2. Rajaz is a simple Arabic metre. It was the oldest metre the Arabs used before the development of the established Sixteen metres. It is nicknamed "the ass of the Poets" because of its ease and simplicity. See the Catalogue No.XCvii.
3. The transformed work is 'Uyub al-nafs of al-Sulamī. See: al-Uns fī sharh 'uyūb al-nafs of al-Kharrūbī al-Tarābulṣī.

ABBREVIATIONS

Alger	=	<u>Maktabat al-Jazā'ir al-Waṭāniyah</u> , Algiers.
Azhar	=	<u>Maktabat al-Azhar</u> , Cairo.
Bghdad	=	<u>Maktabat Dār al-Awqāf</u> , Baghdad.
Berlin	=	Königlichen Bibliothek zu Berlin.
Brit. Mus.	=	The British Museum, London.
Cairo	=	<u>Dār al-Kutub al-Qawmiyah</u> , Cairo.
Ches. Beatty	=	The Chester Beatty Library, Dublin.
Ḥusnī	=	<u>Ḥasan Ḥusnī 'Abd al-Wahhāb Library</u> , Bibliothèque Nationale, Tunis.
I.O.	=	India Office Library, London.
Leiden	=	The Library of the University of Leiden.
Madrid	=	Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid.
Malakiyah	=	<u>al-Maktabah al-Malakiyah</u> , Rabat.
Miṣrātī	=	<u>'Alī Muṣṭafā al-Miṣrātī private library</u> , Tripoli, Libya.
Paris	=	Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.
Princeton	=	Garrett Collection of Arabic Manuscripts, the Princeton University Library, Princeton.
Rabat	=	Bibliothèque Generale, Rabat.
Tripoli	=	<u>Maktabat al-Awqāf</u> , Tripoli, Libya.
Tunis	=	Bibliothèque Nationale, Tunis.
Vatican	=	Biblioteca Vaticana, The Vatican.

Note: Apart from the published catalogues⁽¹⁾ which have been consulted, in order to locate Zarrūq's works, the following libraries have not published their catalogues yet. The location of these works was a result of a personal contact: Ḥusnī, Malakiyah, Miṣrātī, Tripoli, and Tunis.

K. = Kitāb (book).

R. = Risālah (letter or treatise).

Sh. = Sharḥ (commentary).

1. See the bibliography.

A LIST OF WORKS IN WHICH ZARRUQ'S WORKS
HAVE BEEN CITED AND WHICH ARE MENTIONED
IN THE CATALOGUE:

Bulletin of the Faculty of Arts, University of Libya;
'Abd Allāh Gannūn, "Aḥmad Zarrūq dafīn Miṣrātah", Vol.II,
Benghazi, 1968.

Bulūgh al-marām bi al-riḥlah ilā bait Allāh al-ḥarām;
'Abd al-Majīd b. 'Alī al-Manālī al-Zabādī, MS. Rabat, 1808 D.

al-Bustān. Muḥammad al-Sharīf Ibn Maryam, translated
into French by F. Provenzali, Alger, 1910.

al-Ḍaw' al-lāmi' li 'ahl al-qarn al-tāsi'; Abū al-Khair
Muḥammad al-Sakhāwī, Cairo, 1353/1934.

Dawḥat al-nāshir; 'Alī b. 'Umar al-Sharīf al-Ḥasanī,
translated into French by A. Graulle, Paris, 1913.

al-Fawā'id al-laṭīfah fī sharḥ al-fāḥ al-waḥīfah;
Aḥmad b. Aḥmad al-Sijā'ī al-Shāfi'ī al-Azharī, MS. Heidelberg,
Orien.333.

Geschichte der Arabischen Litteratur; Carl Brockelmann,
Leiden, 1949. Supplement, Leiden, 1938.

'Idāḥ al-maknūn fī al-dhail 'alā kashf al-ḡunūn;
'Ismā'īl b. Muḥammad al-Baghdādī, Istanbul, 1945.

Kashf al-ḡunūn 'an 'asāmī al-kutub wa al-funūn; Ḥajjī
Khalīfah, Istanbul, 1941.

al-Manhal al-'adhb fī tārikh Ṭarābulus al-Gharb; Aḥmad
al-Nā'ib al-Ānṣārī, Beirut, 1960.

Nafḥ al-ṭīb min ghuṣn al-Andalus al-raṭīb; Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Maqqarī al-Tilimsānī, Cairo, 1949.

Nail al-ibtihāj fī taṭriz al-Daibāj; Aḥmad Bābā al-Tumbuktī, Cairo 1351/1932.

al-Nubūgh al-Maghribī fī al-fikr al-‘Arabī; ‘Abd Allāh Gannūn, Beirut, 1961.

Qatf al-thamar; Ṣāliḥ al-Fulānī al-Madanī, Ḥaidar Abād, India, 1328 H.

Riḥlat al-‘Ayyāshī; Abū Sālim b. Muḥammad b. Abū Bakr al-‘Ayyāshī, Fez, 1316/1898.

Shadharāt al-dhahab fī akhbār man dhahab; Ibn al-‘Amād al-Ḥanbalī, Cairo, 1351/1932.

Shajarat al-nūr al-zakiyah fī ṭabaqāt al-Mālikiyah; Muḥammad b. Muḥammad Makhlūf, Cairo, 1349/1930.

Sharḥ al-naṣiḥah al-kāfiyah; Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Zakrī, MS. Rabat, 991.

Ṭabaqāt al-Shādhiliyah al-kubrā (Jāmi‘ al-karāmāt al-‘aliyah fī ṭabaqāt al-sādāt al-shādhiliyah); al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad al-Kūhin al-Fāsī, Cairo, 1347/1928.

al-Ta‘rīf bi Sayyidī Aḥmad Zarrūq; Anonymous, MS. Rabat, 2100 D, fol.279-283.

al-Tadhkār fī man malaka Ṭarābulus wa mā kāna bihā
min al-akhbār; Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad Ibn Ghalbūn,
Tripoli, 1967.

al-Taryāq al-farūq fī sharḥ waḥīfat al-Zarrūq; Aḥmad
b. Qāsim al-Būnī al-Sabtī, MS. Brit. Mus. DCCCLXVII.

al-'Uns fī sharḥ 'uyūb al-nafs; Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad
b. 'Alī al-Kharrūbī al-Ṭarābulūsī, MS. Tunis, 7855.

A) CLASSIFICATION OF ZARRUQ'S WORKS:

The following list is an alphabetical classification of the works of Zarrūq with their numbers in the catalogue:

I - ALCHEMY:

1) al-Kashf; XVI.

II - AUTOBIOGRAPHY AND BIOGRAPHY:

1) Fihrist; V.

2) al-Kunnāsh; XVII.

3) Manāqib al-Ḥaḍramī; XIX and XXX.

III - CORRESPONDENCE:

1) Rasā'il li al-sālikīn; XLI.

2) R. ilā 'Abd al-Nabī al-Aṣfar; XLVII.

3) R. ilā 'Abd Allāh al-Maghrāwī; XLVIII.

4) Waṣīyah; CV.

5) 'an al-Wujūd; CVIII

IV - INVOCATION:

1) Du'ā; III.

2) Fatḥ al-maqām al-asmā; IV.

3) al-Ḥafīẓah; VI.

4) Minhāj hiẓb al-baḥr; XXII.

5) Sh. Asmā'Allāh al-ḥusnā; LIX and LX.

6) Sh. Dalā'il al-Khairāt; LXI.

7) Sh. hiẓb al-baḥr; LXVII.

8) Sh. hiẓb al-barr; LXVIII.

9) Sh. mughmaḍāt ḥizbai al-Shādhilī; LXXIII.

10) al-Waẓīfah; LXXXVI.

V - JURISPRUDENCE:

- 1) Manāsik al-ḥajj; XXI.
- 2) Sh. al-Ghāfiqiyah; LXIII.
- 3) Sh. al-Ḥakīm al-Tirmidhī; LXV.
- 4) Sh. al-ʿIrshād; LXIX.
- 5) Sh. mawāḍiʿ min Mukhtaṣar Khalīl; LXXII.
- 6) Sh. naẓm al-Riqʿī; LXXVII.
- 7) Sh. qawāʿid ʿIyāḍ; LXXIX.
- 8) Sh. al-Qurṭubiyah; LXXX.
- 9) Sh. Risālat al-Qairawānī; LXXXI.
- 10) Sh. al-Waghliṣiyah; LXXV.

VI - MEDICINE:

- 1) fī ʿIlaāj adwāʾ al-qalb; XI.
- 2) al-Kunnāsh; XVII.
- 3) Talkhīṣ al-Durrah al-muntakhabah, XCIII.

VII - POETRY:

See under the title Qaṣīdah; XXX, XXXI, XXXII, XXXIII, XXXIV, XXXV, XXXVI, XXXVII, XXXVIII, XXXIX.

VIII - QURʿAN:

- 1) Sh. al-Fātiḥah; LXII.
- 2) Tafsīr al-Qurʿān; XCII.

IX - SCIENCE OF NUMBERS AND LETTERS:

- 1) al-ʿArf fī taʿrīf al-ḥarf; I.
- 2) R. fī al-ʿadd bi al-aṣābiʿ; XLIX.
- 3) Sh. al-Sīniyah; LXXXIII.

X - SUFISM:

- 1) al-Ham' fī sharḥ "abyāt al-jam'"; VII.
- 2) fī I'rāb "in lam ajid ilāhī"; XII.
- 3) I'ānat al-mutawajjih al-miskīn; X.
- 4) al-Jāmi'; XIII.
- 5) al-Kalām 'alā anwā' ahl al-Khuṣūṣiyah; XV.
- 6) K. al-Maḥabbah; XVIII.
- 7) Muzīl al-labs; XXIII.
- 8) al-Naṣā'ih; XXIV.
- 9) al-Naṣīḥah al-Kāfiyah; XXV.
- 10) al-Naṣīḥah wa ḥathth al-qarīḥah; XXVII.
- 11) al-Nuṣḥ al-'anfa' wa al-junnah; XXIX.
- 12) Qawā'id al-Taṣawwuf; XL.
- 13) Rawḍat al-azhār; LXXXIV.
- 14) Risālah; XLVI.
- 15) R. fī al-radd 'alā ahl al-bid'ah; LI.
- 16) K. al-Samā'; LIV.
- 17) Sh. abyāt "taṭahhar bimā' al-ghaib". LV.
- 18) Sh. al-Ajurrūmiyah; LVI.
- 19) Sh. al-Ḥaqā'iq wa al-daqā'iq; LXVI.
- 20) Sh. al-Mabāḥith al-aṣliyah; LXX.
- 21) Sh. al-Marāṣid; LXXI.
- 22) Sh. Muqatta'āt al-Shushtarī; LXXIV.
- 23) Sh. al-Naṣīḥah al-kāfiyah; LXXVI.
- 24) Sh. Nūniyyat al-Shushtarī; LXXVIII.
- 25) Sh. al-Sharīshiyah; LXXXII.
- 26) Sh. Ṣudūr al-marātib; LXXXIV.
- 27) Sh. al-Waghliṣiyah; LXXXV.

- 28) Shurūḥ al-Ḥikam; LXXXVII.
- 29) Sulūk al-tarīq idhā fuqida al-rafiq; LXXVIII.
- 30) Ta'sīs al-qawā'id wa al-uṣūl; LXXXIX, XC.
- 31) Tuḥfat al-murīd; XCIV.
- 32) 'Uddat al-murīd al-ṣādiq; XCV.
- 33) al-'Uns; XCVI.
- 34) 'Urjūzah fī 'uyūb al-nafs; XCVII.
- 35) al-Uṣūl al-badī'ah wa al-jawāmi' al-rafi'ah; XCVIII.
- 36) 'Uṣūl al-tarīq; XCIX.
- 37) 'Uṣūl al-tarīqah wa 'usus al-ḥaqīqah; C.
- 38) Waṣiyah; CI, CII, CIV, CV, CVI.

XI - THEOLOGY:

- 1) Sh. 'Aqīdat al-Ghazālī; LVII.
- 2) Sh. al-Murshidah; LXXV.

XII - TRADITION:

- 1) Ḥāshiyah 'alā Muslim; VIII.
- 2) Juz' fī 'ilm al-ḥadīth; XIV.
- 3) R. fī taḥdīd muṣṭalah al-ḥadīth; LII.
- 4) Sh. al-arba'in ḥadīthan; LVIII.
- 5) Sh. ḥadīth "al-ma'idatu baitu al-dā'";
- 6) Ta'liq 'alā al-Bukhārī; XCI.

XIII - TRAVEL:

- 1) al-Kunnāsh; XVI.
- 2) al-Riḥlah; XLV.

B) A CATALOGUE OF ZARRUQ'S WORKS

I

al-'Arf fī ta'rīf al-harf

(The Perfume in the Definition of the Letter)

Mss:

LETTERS

II

K. al-Bida'

(Book of Innovations)

See: 'Uddat al-murīd

SUFISM

III

Du'ā

(Prayer)

Mss: Tunis 341. Fol. 17

Begins: ... اللَّهُمَّ لِيَسِّرْ لَنَا أُمُورَنَا مَعَ الرَّاحَةِ لِيُغْنِيَنَا وَأَبْدَانَنَا وَالْعَافِيَةَ فِي دِينِنَا وَدُنْيَانَا

ends: ... وَإِنَّ عَلَيْنَا مِنْهُ رَهْمَةً وَالْبُيُوتَ الْوَابِعَاتِ يَا أَرْحَمَ الرَّاحِمِينَ يَا رَبَّ الْعَالَمِينَ .

Note: A litany which Zarrūq and his followers frequently recited.

INVOCATION

IV

Fath al-maqām al-'asmā fī sharh al-asmā' al-husnā

(The Revelation of the Supreme Rank in the Explanation of the Beautiful Names)

See: Sharh asma' Allāh al-husnā A

INVOCATION

V

Fihrist

(Catalogue)

Cited in: Bulletin of the Faculty of Arts, Libya,
Vol.II, p.146.

Untraceable.

Note: Fihrist usually denotes a compilation containing a list of authors and their works (Cf. the Fihrist of Ibn al-Nadīm for example). It usually deals mainly with the books the compiler read and the masters he was acquainted with. Zarrūq devoted a few pages in his Kunnāsh for this purpose. He might have enlarged them in a separate work afterwards.

BIBLIOGRAPHY
and
BIOGRAPHY

VI

al-Ḥafīzah

(The Guard)

Cited in: Sharḥ al-naṣīḥah, p.1.

Mss: Berlin 3708. Mo 240, 10. Fol. 132b-133b;
Brit. Mus. DCXLV, XXVI

Begins: ... بِسْمِ اللّٰهِ وَاللهِ وَاللهِ وَاللهِ وَاللهِ وَاللهِ وَاللهِ وَاللهِ وَاللهِ وَاللهِ وَاللهِ وَاللهِ وَاللهِ وَاللهِ وَاللهِ وَاللهِ وَاللهِ وَاللهِ

Note: An amulet against enemies and their evil.

INVOCATION

VII

al-Ham‘ fī sharḥ"abyāt al-jam‘"

(the Flow in commenting on "the verses of Union")

Cited in: 'Idāh al-maknūn, p.729.

Untraceable.

Note: "Abyāt al-jam'" are verses ascribed to Abū al-'Abbās Ahmad b. 'Alwān al-Tūnusī al-Miṣrī (d. 787/1385). He was a jurist Sufi who wrote more than forty works on Jurisprudence and Sufism (Cf. Nail al-ibtihāj, p.74 and Shajarat al-nūr, p.226). Fāṭimah al-Yashruṭiyyah in her Riḥlah ilā al-ḥaqq (p.375) mentions Shaikh 'Alwān, 'Alī b. 'Aṭiyyah b. al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥaddād al-Ḥamawī al-Shādhilī (d.936/1513), and she attributes some Sufi works to him. Among these works is al-Nafhāt al-quḍsiyyah fī sharḥ al-abyāt al-shushturiyyah "which Sayyidī Ahmad Zarrūq recorded in his Sharḥ al-Ḥikam al-aṭā'iyyah", she says.

SUFISM

VIII

Hāshiyat 'alā Muslim

(A Commentary on Muslim)

Cited in: al-Uns, p.4

Untraceable.

Note: Presumably a commentary on al-Jāmi' al-saḥīḥ of Muslim b. al-Hajjāj al-Qushairī.

TRADITION

IX

al-Ḥawādith wa al-bida'

(Novelties and Innovations)

See: 'Uddat al murīd.

SUFISM

X

I'ānat al-mutawajjih al-miskīn ilā Ṭarīq al-fathwa al-tamkīn.

(Helping the Poor Seeker into the Way of the Revelation and Firmness).

Cited in: 'Idāḥ al-maknūn, 1:97; al-Uns, p.4; Shajarat al-Nūr, 1:268; Nail al-ibtihāj, p.87; Nubūgh, p.218.

Mss: Rabat, D 1054 (1041) 26 fols.

Begins: الْحَمْدُ لِلَّهِ الْمَنَّانِ الرَّؤُوفِ الرَّحِيمِ الرَّؤُوفِ ...

Note: (See: Ta'sīs al-qawā'id wa al uṣūl.)

SUFISM

XI

Fī 'Ilāj adwā' al-qalb

(In the Treatment of the Diseases of the Heart).

Cited in: Riḥlat al-'ayyāshī, p.99; Bulletin of Faculty of Arts, Libya, Vol.II, p.146.

Note: Gannūn says that he has seen this work, but he does not specify where it exists.

Untraceable.

MEDICINE

XII

Fī I'rāb "in lam ajid ilāhī"

(In Analysing "If I do not find my God")

Cited in: G.A.L., Supp. p.362.

Mss: Tunis 1309.

Note: It was not possible to see this manuscript or to obtain a copy of it.

SUFISM

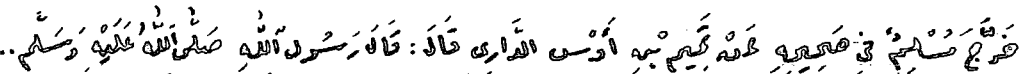
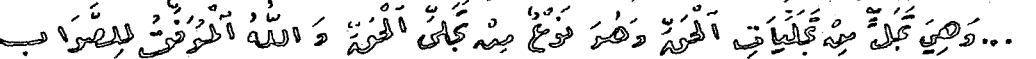
XIII

al-Jāmi' li jumal min al-fawā'id wa al-manāfi'

(The Comprehensive Collection of a Group of Benefits and Advantages.)

Cited in: Bulūgh al-marām, p.33; G.A.L., II, p.329.

Mss: Brit. Mus. 126/15; Tunis 8128; Rabat D 2207. Fol.85-101; Tunis 5246, -7398; Ḥusnī 18036; Ches. Beatty 4130(4). Fol. 122b-144a; Malakiyah 6803, 7139, 9605B - Fiqh.

Begins:...  ...
Ends:  ...

Note: A collection of instructions concerning the behaviour of the individual in his everyday life, in a concise manner, to be held as a guide to conduct in accordance with the Sunnah.

This work is known also as al-Naṣīḥah al-Ṣuḡhrā. It was written in 878/1473-4. There is a noticeable similarity between it and al-Naṣīḥah al-kāfiyah which was compiled in the previous year.

XIV

Juz' fī 'ilm al-ḥadīth

(A Section on the Science of Tradition).

Cited in: Shajarat al-nūr, 1:268; al-Manhal al-'adhb, p.183.

See: R. fī Taḥdīd muṣṭalaḥ al-ḥadīth.

XV

al-Kalam 'alā anwā' ahl al-khuṣūṣiyah

(on the Types of the Peoples of the Élite).

Cited in: Bulūgh al-marām, p.30; al-Tāryāq al-farūq, p.5.

Untraceable.

Note: Both of the two references say that Zarrūq composed a Sufic treatise about the stages of Sufism based on the Qur'ānic verse:

(Qur'an 9:112).

SUFISM

XVI

al-Kashf

(The Disclosure).

Cited in: al-Tāryāq al-farūq, p.5.

Mss: Leiden or. 8418. Fol. 41-47; Paris 2568. Fol. 209vo-213vo; Azhar 23073(8). Fol. 1-23; Malakiya 1012/Iksīr; Cairo v.387.

Begins:

Note: Other titles: al-Sinā'atu al-kubrā; 'ilm al-sirr wa al-ṣan'ah. A collection of treatises abstracted from several compilations on Alchemy and the properties of matter in addition to symbolic Astrology.

In al-Kashf (MS. Paris, 2568, fols. 209B-214A) the

manuscript begins: *أَطَابِقُ أَرْشَادِ اللَّهِ وَإِيَّاتِكَ ، طَاعَةَ اللَّهِ عَمَلِنَا*
... بِالتَّبَوُّغِ إِلَى الصَّنَاعَةِ الْكَبِيرِ وَهَمِّنَا بِهَا عِلْمًا وَفَهْرًا ...
... وَالرُّطْبُ كَيْفَ (تَمِيًا) بِهِ كُلُّ صَيْبٍ مِنَ الْأَجَادِ وَهُوَ لَيْسَ بِهِ وَثْقًا وَالنَّهْمُ وَالسَّابِ .

Note: A compilation dealing with the properties of the matter in a symbolic manner. The author says that he had abridged some of the indispensable works of the old scholars, making clear their symbols and omitting what is obscure and enigmatic. He says also that he has given his book the title of al-Kashf (The disclosure) because he has "disclosed" the vague ideas of the old savants and did not follow their modes of expression. The manuscript contains five fols. in a Moroccan hand and is incomplete at the end. Contents:

- 1) The advantages of the science (Alchemy)
- 2) Discussion of its origin supported by some Prophetic traditions and sayings of 'Alī b. 'Abū Ṭālib.
- 3) A treatise on the Stone of the Philosophers.
- 4) A treatise on the Soul and the Sulfurs (Kabārīt).

(Cf. The Works of Geber, tr. Richard Russel, 1678. A new edition by E. J. Holmyard, Dent Ee Sons, Ltd., London, 1928. There are some extracts in this work, ascribed to Jābir b. Hayyān, which bear a certain similarity to the contents of al-Kashf).

ALCHEMY

XVII

al-Kunnāsh fī 'ilm 'āsh

(The Miscellany in the science of anything).

Cited in: Nail al-ibtihāj, p.85; Shajarat al-nūr, 1:268;

al-Uns, p.5; al-Tādhkār, p.223; Sharḥ
al-Naṣīḥāh, p.1; G.A.L., II, p.329.

Mss.: Brit. Mus. 888/3; Alger 581/10; Tunis 1911;
Rabat Q 1385, fols.60-103.

Begins: كانه مولوي عند طلوع الشمس من المشرق الثاني والستين من شهر رجب سنة ١٠٠٠ واربعة وثمانين
Ends: ... فَإِنَّهُ نَافِعٌ إِنْ شَاءَ اللَّهُ تَعَالَى .

Note: al-Kunnāsh or al-Kunnāshah is a term used mostly in North Africa to envisage a collection of writings on different subjects in various periods. It is almost a record-book of the compiler where he usually includes his own ideas mixed with abstracts from his readings in addition to his comments and remarks. Rinn says that the word is a corruption of the sentence " مِنْ كُلِّ نَاشِئٍ" (min kulli nāshin = de tout receill = from everything). (Cf. Marabouts et Khouan, p.421). Zarrūq's Kunnāsh was written during the last three years of his life, since he states in it that he was over fifty years old. Its main contents are as follows: his autobiography (which composes the largest connected section of the work) - method of initiation - the precepts of the Shaikhs - amulets and medical prescriptions - Shādhilī prayers - on Tradition - blessings on the Prophet - on the Names of God - on Sufism - on purity - on manners - the obscure openings of the Qur'anic Sūrahs - principles of Sufism - on counting by fingers - an abstract on medicine from al-Taisīr of 'Abd al-Malik b. Abī al-'Ulā.

AUTOBIOGRAPHY + MISCELLANIOUS
ESSAYS + BIOGRAPHIES

XVIII

K. al-Maḥabbah

(The Book of Love)

Cited in: Sharḥ al-naṣīḥah, p.1.

Untraceable

SUFISM

XIX

Manāqib al-Ḥaḍramī A

(The Virtues of al-Ḥaḍramī A)

Mss: A private manuscript owned by Shaikh Aḥmad Zakī 'Atiyah. 44 fols.

Begins: الْحَمْدُ لِلَّهِ الَّذِي فَتَحَ بِنَاءَ الْوَالِدِ الْوَالِدِيَّةَ لِنَا صَدَقَ بِمَلَايِهِ وَقَدَسَ اسْمُهُمْ جَمَاهِ ...
 بِأَنَّ سِرَّاهُ إِلَى كَرِيمٍ جَمَاهِ ...

Ends: ... تَمَّ تَوَدُّي رَحِمَهُ اللَّهُ تَعَالَى وَرَضِيَ عَنْهُ لَيْلَةَ الْبُحْبُوحَةِ بِأَنَّ عَشْرَةَ سَوَائِلَ سَأَلْتُ ...
 عَنْهُ وَتَمَّ بِهَا ...

Note: A Biography of Zarrūq's master Aḥmad b. 'Uqbah al-Ḥaḍramī al-Yamanī (d.895/1490) containing his advice, sayings and correspondence to him and others.

BIOGRAPHY

XX

Manāqib al-Ḥaḍramī B

(The Virtues of al-Ḥaḍramī B)

Cited in: Sharḥ al-Naṣīḥah, p.1.

Mss: Rabat Q 1385. Fol. 105-109.

Begins: ... وَبَعْدَ الصَّرَاحِ مِنْهُ الْفَاظُ الْكَلْبِيُّ - وَتَقَدَّرَ بِمَا فِيهِ مِنْهُ صَوَابٌ فَلَمْ يَلِمْ لَهُ أَنْفَةً ...

Ends: ... وَبَطْنِ مَرْهَبَاءَ وَأَفْرَى سَوْدَاءَ فَتَمَّتْ إِسَارَتُهُ فِي ذَلِكَ وَالْحَمْدُ لِلَّهِ رَبِّ الْعَالَمِينَ .

Note: The similarity between this work (written 889/1484) and Zarrūq's biography of al-Ḥaḍramī (written after 895/1490) suggests that he first recorded some remarks about his master then he enlarged these remarks in a separate composition.

BIOGRAPHY

XXI

Manāsik al-Ḥajj

(The Rites of Pilgrimage)

Mss: Rabat 381/5. Fols. 129-136.

Begins: ... قَدْ صَيَّرْنَا مِنْهُ بَيْتَهُ أَسْبَابًا لِمَا أَنْكَرَ اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ مِنْ مَذْهَبِ مَالِكٍ وَتَنْفِيذِهِ

Ends: ... وَخَرُجَ مِنْهُ بَابٌ سَبِيلَةٌ ، وَهَذَا أَهْرَ الْأَمْرِ فِي الْحَجِّ ، وَبِاللَّهِ التَّوَكَّلْتُ

Note: A guide to the ritual regulations of Pilgrimage performance in accordance with Mālikī doctrine.

Other title: Aḥkām al-Ḥajj.

JURISPRUDENCE

XXII

Minhāj ḥizb al-baḥr

(The Method of the Amulet of the Sea).

Cited in: Nubūgh, p.218.

Untraceable.

Note: It may be another title of Zarrūq's Commentary on ḥizb al-baḥr of Abū al-Ḥasan al-Shādhilī, (See: Sh. ḥizb al-baḥr).

INVOCATION

XXIII

Muzīl al-labs 'an asrār al-qawā'id al-khams

(The Remover of ambiguity regarding the Five Principles)

Cited in: Nubūgh, p.218.

Untraceable.

SUFISM

XXIV

Al-Nasā'ih

(The Advice)

Cited in: G.A.L., II, p.329, Supp. p.362;

Ṭabaqāt al-Shādhiliyah, p.123

Mss. Cairo 1/II,171

Note: A collection of Zarrūq's instructions and directions to his followers concerning the Sufi Way and the appropriate manner of conduct.

SUFISM

XXV

al-Naṣīḥah al-kāfiyah liman khassahu Allāh bi al-'āfiyah

(The Sufficient Advice for he whom God has Especially Protected from Evil).

Cited in: Kashf al-Zunūn, 2:1958; Shajarat al-nūr,

1:268; G.A.L., II, 329; al-Uns, p.5;

Qatf al-Thamar, p.32; Nubūgh, p.218;

Mss: Tunis 824; Ḥusnī 17990; Baghdad 3973, 4894; Berlin 4008. PM .243.5 Fol.50a-75a, 4009. Lbg. 509; Rabat 507/2.D Fol. 1-30, 529 Fol. 21-39, D299, D1602, D182; Brit. Mus. 126/8; Leiden 2169; Malakiyah 867,981 Wa'z, B 5844/Taşawwuf, 3903/'Ulūm Dīniyah; Brit. Mus. 126/8, 461/5; Alger, 885; Alexandria Mawā'iz 41/2, 49;

Cairo 1/II, 181, 2/I, 371.

Edition: Cairo, 1281/1864.

Begins: الحمد لله على سنة النبي صلى الله عليه وآله وسلم . أما بعد فالصحيح منه عمدة الإيمان والحق منه ...
... منه فلهذا نال الدنيا ف...

Ends: ...
... حُرِّزَتْ الرَّصِيَّةُ الْجَائِلَةُ بِرِوَايَةِ الرَّابِعَةِ مِنْهُ الْجَامِعِ الَّذِي لَهُ بِالْقَاهِرَةِ عَامٌ سَبْعٌ وَسِتُّونَ ...

Note: A mixture of essays on various topics of Jurisprudence, Theology, Qur'ān and Sunnah in connection with Sufism.

SUFISM

XXVI

al-Naṣīḥah al-ṣuḡhrā

(The smaller work of counsel).

See: al-Jāmi'.

SUFISM

XXVII

al-Naṣīḥah wa ḥathth al-qarīḥah

(Counsel and Encouragement).

Cited in: 'Idāḥ al-maknūn, 5:343

Note: al-Baghdādī says that there is a copy of it in Dār al-Kutub al-Zāhiriyyah of Damascus.

SUFISM

XXVIII

al-Nubdhah fī 'ilm al-ḥadīth

(A piece on the Science of Tradition).

Cited in: Sharḥ al-naṣīḥah, p.1.

See: R. fī Tāḥdīd muṣṭalaḥ al-ḥadīth.

TRADITION

XXIX

al-Nuṣṣ al-'anfa' wa al-junnah li al-mu'taṣim min al-bida' bi al-Sunnah.

(The most Useful Instruction and Protection for him who takes refuge in the Norm from Innovation)

Cited in: Shajarat al-nūr, 1:268; 'Iḍāḥ al-muknūn, 1:137; Nubūgh, p.218.

Mss. Rabat 710 Q, fols. 160-283.

Note: Al-Nuṣṣ al-'anfa' is considered one of Zarrūq's major works on the refutation of innovation in Sufism. The manuscript mentioned above is the only one obtainable at the moment. Despite its title there is a great resemblance between it and 'Uddat al-murīd al-ṣādiq (q.v.). This was noticed by 'Abd al-Majīd al-Manālī (Bulūgh al-marām, p.32). See also: Bulletin of the Faculty of Arts, Libya, Vol.II, p.147.

SUFISM

XXX

Qaṣīdah

(Poem)

MSS: Cairo 35866. Fol. 38b-39a; Paris 5362/adab al-Shi'r

Begins: ... أَلَدَابَةُ رَبِّ الْقُرْشَةِ لِارْتِبَعَةِ . . . وَإِنَّ مُحَمَّدًا رَسُولٌ ، اقْتَرَبَ

Ends: لَتَسْمَعُنَا خَيْرَ النَّوَى وَأَنَا الَّذِي . . . لَهُ فِيكَ أَمْدٌ طَلِبُ دَعْدُبُ

Note: 28 lines of verse describing and praising the Prophet Muḥammad. In Paris manuscript it is called Qaṣīdah fī madḥ sifat khalīqihī.

POETRY

XXXI

Qaṣīdah
(Poem)

Mss: Brit. Mus. MDCXVII/II Fol. 8.

Begins: ... الْحَدِيثُ الْقِيمُ فِي الذَّلَالِ :: لَهُ الْبِنَاءُ فِي التَّوَهُُّدِ لَمْ يَزَلْ ...
Ends: ... ثُمَّ كِتَابُ الْإِدْوَابِ بِحَيْثُ حَمِدَ اللَّهُ وَهَمَّ عَرْنَهُ .
POETRY

XXXII

Qaṣīdah
(Poem)

Mss: Tunis 2246

Begins: ... يَا فَايُّهَا عَائِدٌ قَدْ عَمَّرَهُ الْأَمَلُ :: إِلَى مَعَى رُقَاةِ اللَّيْلِ تَسْتَعْلُ ...
Ends: ... ثُمَّ الصَّلَاةُ عَلَى الْخَطَايَا سَيِّئًا :: مَا دَامَتِ السَّنُ فِي الْإِفْدَاكِ مَسْفُورًا .

Note: Sixteen lines of poetry urging the neglectful to realize that life is too short to be spent in leisure and laziness. The poem says: O, heedless one, who has been deceived by hope! Wake up for work, since God is watching you. Rise for prayer like the obedient, fearing the punishment of your sins. You will sleep for a very long time when you die. So, be active and pray by day and night now.

POETRY

XXXIII

Qaṣīdah

(Poem)

Cited in: Nail al-ibtihāj, p.86; al-Ta'rīf, p.291;
Sharḥ al-naṣīḥah, p.1; al-Manhāl al-'adhb,
p.183.

Mss: Berlin 7921. 4). PM.557. Fol. 278a, 8264. We. 1547.4.
Fol. 49a; Brit. Mus. DCXLV. XXXVI. Fol. 147.

Begins: ... أَلَا قَدْ هَجَرْتُمْ أَظْلَمَ طَرًّا يَا سَرِيحُمْ :: لَعَلَّ أَرَى مَحْبُوبَ قَلْبِي بِمُطَلَقٍ ...

Ends: ... فَكَمْ كَرْبَةً تَجَاهِي بِكُنُوبِهِ لِمِزْنَا :: دَكَمُ طُرْفَةٍ تَجْنِي بِأَفْرَادِ صُحْبَتِي

Note: A Tā'iyah ascribed to Zarrūq where he seems to boast of his achievements in the spiritual realm and his ability to perform miracles and help his followers. The tone of this poem does not match with what is known about Zarrūq's manners and modesty.

POETRY

XXXIV

Qaṣīdah

(Poem)

Mss: Rabat 864 F. Fol 1.

Begins:... عَلَيْكَ بِتَقْوَى اللَّهِ يَا مَنْ كُنْتَ عَاقِلًا :: وَلَا تَزِمُ سَبِيلَ اللَّهِ تَحْتَى (تَحْتَ) بِجَائِلٍ ...

Ends: ... عَلَيْهِ صَلَاةُ اللَّهِ صَلَاحٌ بَارِعٌ :: صَحَّ الدَّلِيلُ وَالْأَصْحَابُ أَهْلُ الضَّمَائِلِ ...

Note: Seven lines of poetry on fearing God and following His ordinance.

POETRY

XXXV

Qaṣīdah

(Poem)

Mss: Tunis 1911. Fol. 91

Begins: بَكَيْتُ عَلَى نَفْسِي فَلَمْ يَنْفَعِ الْبُكَاءُ :: وَدَافَعْتُ آمَالِي فَلَمْ يَنْفَعِ الدَّفْعُ ...

Ends: ... وَهَذَا أَنَا الرُّضُوفُ وَلَا أَطْلُعُ الرَّجَاءَ :: وَلَوْ جَاءَ نِيَّ صَنْعُ فَلَمْ أَتَّسِبِ الْمَنْعُ (؟)

Note: Five lines of poetry complaining to God of his soul and begging Him to accept his repentance.

POETRY

XXXVI

Qaṣīdah

(Poem)

Mss: Tunis 1911. Fol. 91

Begins: سَوِّفِي إِكْبَتِي عَجَبٌ :: وَالصَّبْرُ بَيْنَ الْعَجَبِ ...

Ends: ... وَصَدَدْنَا لِنَايَاتِكُمْ :: حَوَا سَدَدُ الْأَطْيَبِ

Note: Fourteen lines of poetry expressing his feelings towards a friend and seeking his forgiveness for a certain offence he confessed that he had committed.

POETRY

XXXVII

Qaṣīdah

(Poem)

Mss: Tunis 5644. Fol.1.

Begins: رَجَوْتُ إِلَهَ الصَّرِيهِ يَنْفَعُنِي بِهِ :: وَ يَنْفَعُ مَنْهُ لِيُنْفِي بِهِ وَيَوْمَهُ ...

Ends: ... وَ حَسْبِي إِلَهَ الصَّرِيهِ رَبِّي وَ خَالِيَتِي :: فَمَا هَابَ زِدْوَجُهُ إِذَا هُوَ أَمَةٌ

Note: Six lines of poetry concerning his Eleventh commentary on al-Ḥikam of Ibn 'Aṭā'Allāh.

POETRY

XXXVIII

Qaṣīdah

(Poem)

Mss: Tunis 5644. Fol.1.

Begins: إِلَهِي بَدَأَتْ مِنِّي ذُنُوبٌ فَأَجْرَعَتْ :: وَ هَمَّ بِرَأْسِي قَلْبِي رَهِينًا فَرَدَعَتْ ...

Ends: ... وَ عَامِلُهُ بِإِحْسَائِهِ فَإِنِّي سَائِلٌ :: وَ لَدَاكَ رُدُّهُ كَفَى مِنِّي مَا أَشْرَعَتْ

Note: Five lines of poetry supplicating to God to help him against his opponents and to ease his distress.

POETRY

XXXIX

Qaṣīdah

(Poem)

Mss: al-Miṣrātī's private library. 1 fol.

Begins: أَوْ أَهْلَةً قَوْمٌ يَوْفُوهُ غَيْرَهُمْ :: إِلَى مِصْرَ وَالسُّودَانِ فِي طَلَبِ النَّبْرِ ...

Ends: [] ... وَ هُمْ لِقَادٍ لِيَا وَ فَضْلُهُ :: يُحِبُّونَهُ أَضَلَّ الْخَيْرِ فِي سَائِرِ النَّظْرِ

Note: 13 lines of poetry describing the inhabitants of Aujibah, the well-known oasis in the Libyan desert, and their way of life, praising their hospitality to the poor and their respect for the learned. The qaṣīdah includes some Berber words and expressions which the people of the oasis spoke.

POETRY

XL

Qawā'id al-taṣawwuf

(Principles of Sufism)

Cited in: Shajart al-nūr, 1:268; 'Idah al-maknūn, 2:242; al-Tar'if, p.279; Riḥlat al-Ayyāshī, p.99; al-Tādhkār, p.223; Shadharāt al-dhahab, 7:362; Kashf al-zunūn, p.1358; Qatf al-thamar, p.32; Tabaqāt al-shādhiliyah, p.123.

Mss: Berlin 3031, Fol. 1-329; Escorial 2741/4; Rabat Q555; Tunis 824. Fol. 1-65, 8240; Ḥusnī 1/18.

Editions: Cairo, al-'Alamiyah 1318/1900; Cairo, al-Ma'āhid, without date; Cairo, al-Kullyāt al-Azhāriyah, 1388/1968.

Begins: ... الْحَمْدُ لِلَّهِ كَمَا حَبِبَ لِعَظِيمِ مَجْدِهِ وَجَدِّهِ ... وَتَعَدُّ فَالْقَلَمُ بَرِيدًا الْخَطْمُ دَأْمُولُهُ ...
Ends: ... فَإِنَّهُ لَدِينِي بِنَا عَمَّةٍ عَافِيَةٍ ، وَهُوَ حَسْبُنَا وَنِعْمَ الْوَكِيلُ

Note: Known also under the following titles:

Qawā'id al-Taṣawwuf 'alā wajhin yajmā' baina al-sharī'ah wa al-ḥaqīqah wa yaṣil al-fiqh bi al-ṭarīqah; Qawā'id al-Ṣūfiyah; Qawā'id al-Taṣawwuf fī al-jam' baina al-sharī'ah wa al-ḥaqīqah; Qawā'id al-Taṣawwuf wa'uṣūluh; Fuṣūl Jaliyah wa'uṣūl qawā'id al-ṭarīqah al-Ṣūfiyah; Ta'līq 'ala ṭarīqat al-Taṣawwuf; al-Fuṣūl fī al'uṣūl; al-Qawā'id al-Zarrūqiyah.

One of Zarrūq's major works in the domain of Sufism where he presents its main concepts in more than 200 brief rules. The style indicates that the book was intended to be an essential guide for the novices and seekers. Most of Zarrūq's ideas that have been expressed elsewhere are condensed here. There is a noticeable difference in the expression and arrangement of the rules among the copies, especially between the Cairo edition of 1388/1968 and Ms. of Rabat Q 555, despite the fact that the beginning is the same.

SUFISM

XLI

Rasāi'l li al-sālikin

(Letters to the Travellers)

Mss: Rabat 2795 D. Fols. 104-113.

CORRESPONDENCE

XLII

al-Rasā'il al-misrāṭiyah

(The Misurati Letters or Papers)

Cited in: Sharḥ al-naṣīḥah, p.1.

Untraceable.

Note: It is not known whether these Rasā'il are a book in the form of "Treatises" or a collection of Zarrūq's letters. The only known letter written by Zarrūq from Misurata which it was possible to obtain was sent by him in 886/1481 to his

Master Aḥmad al-Ḥaḍramī in Cairo, mentioned in al-Ta'rīf
(Ms. Rabat 2100 D fol. 279-283, p.280). It begins: بِسْمِ صَلَاتِ

الذَّلَّةِ وَاللِّبْسَاءِ وَوَحْدَةِ الْمَكْنَةِ وَالْبَدْوَانِ...

and ends: وَالسَّلَامُ عَلَى صَلَاتِكُمُ الْكَرِيمِ الرَّفِيعِ وَعَلَى مَنْ لَدَيْكُمْ فِي

عَالَمِ الْفَلَكِ وَالْمَلَكُوتِ جَمَلَةً وَتَضْيِيزًا وَرَحْمَةً وَبَرَكَاتٍ.

See: Rawḍat al-azhār

CORRESPONDENCE

XLIII

Rawḍat al-azhār

(The Garden of Flowers).

Ms: Paris, Arabe, 2568, fols. 118A-119B

Begins: هَذِهِ رَدْفَةٌ الْاَذْهَابِ فِيهِ كَلَامُ الشَّيْخِ الْقَدْوَةِ أَبِي الْعَبَّاسِ اَهِدَ

ابْنِهِ اَهِدَ بِهِ مُحَمَّدُ بْنُ عَلِيِّ بْنِ نُجَيْمٍ الْفَارِسِيِّ عُزْرُفُ بَزْرُودِهِ وَ سَيِّ

(سَيِّدِي) أَبِي الْعَبَّاسِ اَهِدَ بِهِ يُوْسُفُ الرَّاشِدِيِّ نَفَعْنَا اللهُ بِبَرَكَاتِهِمْ (بِرَوَاغِيهَا).

Ends: ... وَ اعْلَمِ اَنَّ اللهَ عَزَّ وَجَلَّ اقْرَبَ اِلَيْكَ مِنْهُ هَبْلُ التَّوْبَةِ.

Note: A collection of extracts on the effect of the Divine Names and their invocation attributed to Zarrūq and his disciple Abū al-'Abbās Aḥmad b. Yūsuf al-Rāshidī in poor language and a confused style. It also makes some allusion to the meaning of the esoteric knowledge (al-ma'rifah al-baṭiniyah) and its continuity from one Sufi master to another until it reached Aḥmad b. 'Uqbah al-Ḥaḍramī the patron of Zarrūq. Incomplete at end.

SUFISM

XLIV

Al-Rawḍah

(The Garden)

Cited in: Sharḥ al-naṣīḥah, p.1; Nubūgh, p.218.

Untraceable.

Note: Ibn Zakrī says that this Rawḍah is a collection of Zarrūq's and al-Shushtarī's poems.

POETRY

XLV

al-Riḥlah

(The Journey)

Cited in: al-Tidhkār, p.223; al-Manhal al-'adhb, p.196.

Untraceable.

Note: Ibn Ghalbūn may mean by this Riḥlah Zarrūq's forty-day tour from Fez to Tlemcen and other parts of Morocco which took place in 870/1465. (See: al-Kunnāsh). al-Nā'ib mentions both al-Riḥlah and al-Kunnāsh as if they are two separate works.


TRAVEL

XLVI

Riṣalah

(A Letter or a Treatise)

Mss: India Office 1037 III Fol.98.

Begins: 

Note: A whole letter of Zarrūq on the Five Principles of Sufism.

SUFISM

XLVII

Risālah

(A letter)

Ms: al-Miṣrātī private library. 1 fol.

Begins:

Ends: ... وَ لَوْ هُوَ مَشْرُوعٌ عَلَيْهِ فَنَصَحْتُهُ . وَالسَّلَامُ عَلَيْكُمْ أَهْلِيكُمْ وَمَنْ قَطَعَهُ بِكُمْ وَالسَّلَامُ .

Note: A letter written by Zarrūq to a certain Abū al-Khair ‘Abd al-Nabī al-Aṣfar who seems to be of importance among his people. The letter contains some general advice and directions to the Sufi Way. It is without date.

CORRESPONDENCE

XLVIII

Risālah

(A Letter)

Mss: A private possession of al-Maghrāwī family in Misurata, Libya. A copy of it exists in Tunis, Ms.895.

Begins:

Ends: ... فَإِنَّهُ تَبَيَّرَ لَكُمْ فَتَعَرَّوْا بِهَا فِي زَوَالِمِهَا فَإِنَّمَا مَا هُوَ ذُوٌّ مِنْهُ أَجَادِيثُ سُبُوغِ اللَّهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ .

Note: A letter addressed to two of Zarrūq's followers in reply to their request to admit certain fugarā' affiliate to his Order. It contains some advice and instructions regarding the principles of the Order. There is some differences between the two mentioned copies, and that of Tunis is incomplete at the end. There is a third copy of this letter in Berlin, 3354 P.M., fol.75^b-77^a.

CORRESPONDENCE

XLIX

R. fī al-'add bi al-aṣābi'

(On Counting by Fingers)

Mss: Rabat 1755 D. Fol. 121b-122a, 1385 Q. Fol. 96-97.

Begins: يَا سَائِدًا عَمَّهْ جُمَّلَةَ الْأَعْدَارِ :: وَعَمَدَهَا فِي الْمَسْرِ وَالْأَحَارِ

Ends: ... ثُمَّ الصَّلَاةُ وَالسَّلَامُ الْأَيْدِي :: عَلَى نَبِيٍّ جَاءَنَا بِالرَّسَدِ

Note: A verse tract on the method of using the fingers in particular shapes to indicate the numbers from 1-100,

followed by an explanation which begins: تَفْصِيْرُ ذٰلِكَ اَللهُ

اَللّٰهَادُ تَكْتَبُ بِاَلْفِتْحَةِ وَاَلْبَيْتِ وَالْوَسْطِ ...

and ends: ... فَانْتَهَى ذٰلِكَ فَاِنَّ لَهُ مَدْعَمًا فِي الدِّيْنِ . وَاللهُ اَعْلَمُ .

ARITHMETIC

L

R. fī al-Radd 'alā ahl al-bida'

(Refutation of Innovators)

Mss: Tunis 8631. Fol. 1-120.

See: 'Uddat al-murīd

LI

R. fī al-radd 'alā ahl al-bid'ah

(Refutation of the Innovators)

Mss: Tunis 8178. Fol. 94-104.

Begins: الْحَمْدُ لِلّٰهِ وَرَحْمَتِهِ وَهُدَاهِ صِدْقًا يَرَوَانِي نَيْصَهُ وَرُكَايَا شِكْرَهُ ... اِنَّمَا لَقَدْ فَتَدَّ
سَأَلَنِي بَيْتُهُ اِنْخَوَانًا وَفَتَنَهُمُ اللهُ ...

Ends: ... وَاِذَا اِنْقَضَى النَّعْمُ وَبَيْتِي الْاَصْلُ يَرْجُوْ اَنْهُ يَحْيَا الْاَصْلُ وَلَمْ يَبْلُغْ
بَيْتًا بِاَلْفِيَّةٍ .

NOTE: A treatise on innovation in both Sufism and common life, and a defence of Islamic Law taken from other scholars' works. It was written in response to a request from some of Zarrūq's friends to record what the Prophet and the authoritative Muslim scholars had said about innovation and innovators. The treatise is divided into small chapters. Each chapter deals with an aspect of the subject by means of question-and-answer. The main points of this work are discussed more widely in 'Uddat al-murīd.'

SUFISM

LII

R. fī Taḥdīd muṣṭalah al-ḥadīth

(On the Definition of the terminology of Tradition).

Cited in: Riḥlat al-‘Ayyāshī, p.99; al-Ūns, p.4.

Mss: Tunis R. 97, Fol. 33b-39a.

TRADITION

LIII

Safīnat al-najā liman ilā Allāh iltajā

(The Ship of Safety for him who takes refuge in God).

See: al-Waḥīfah

INVOCATION

LIV

K. al-Samā‘

(On Audition)

Cited in: Sharḥ al-naṣīḥah, p.1.

Untraceable.

NOTE: al-Samā' (Audition) was a subject on which Zarrūq wrote several times in his various works. There is an abstract on Audition from Zarrūq in Riḥlat al-nāṣirī, Fol. 66b-68b.

SUFISM

LV

Sh. Abyāt "taṭahhar bi-mā'i l'ghaib" li al-Junaid

(A Commentary on the lines "Purify yourself with the water of the Unseen" of al-Junaid).

Mss: Rabat 2589, d/11.

Note: A Sufic interpretation of some verses of Abū al-Qāsim al-Junaid (d.277/890) which begin:

تَلَمَّزَ مَاءَ الْغَيْبِ إِذْ كُنْتُ ذَا سُرٍّ
وَالَّذِي تَمَّزْتُ بِالْقَعِيدِ أَوْ الْقَصْبِ
وَقَدَّمَ بَأْمًا كُنْتُ أَنْتَ بِمَا صَفَى
وَمِنْ مَعَادَةِ الْفَرْقِ فِي أَوَّلِ الْفَرْقِ

See: Sharḥ al-Ḥikam (Cairo edition, 1969, p.37) where Zarrūq comments on the first two lines and explains their meaning symbolically.

SUFISM

LVI

Sh. al-'Ajurrūmiyah

(A Commentary on al-'Ajurrūmiyah)

Cited in: Sharḥ al-naṣīḥah, p.1.

Untraceable.

Note: Ibn Zakrī says that Zarrūq compiled a Sufi interpretation on the famous grammatical Arabic work of Ibn 'Ajurrūm (d. 732/1323).

SUFISM

LVII

Sh. 'Aqīdat al-Ghazālī

(A Commentary on the 'Aqīdah of al-Ghazālī)

Cited in: Shajarat al-nūr, L;268. Sharḥ al-naṣīḥah, p.1.

Mss: Brit. Mus. CXXVI/IX: Berlin 3707. Spr. 562.2 15 fols.

Madrid CDLXII 5.14 fols.; Cairo 20112. B 22 fols.;

Cairo 25B. Ḥalīm collection; Rabat 3738. 2. D;

Malakiyah 4670, 4291.

Edition: on the margin of Bidāyat al-hidāyah of 'Abd
'Abd al-Qādir al-Fākihī, Cairo, Būlāq, 1877.

Begins: ... الحمد لله الذي بدأ صنفاً آلهداً وإليه يعود كلاً مني

Ends: ... تنتهي لك الأبواب . ولا حول ولا قوة إلا بالله العلي العظيم

Note: al-'Aqīdah - al-'Aqīdah al-qudsiyah - Bidāyat al-hidāyah -
Qawā'id al-'aqā'id. It is an abstract from al-Iḥyā' of Abū
Ḥāmid al-Ghazālī which deals with the Islamic dogmas in
accordance with Sunni principles. Zarrūq's commentary on
al-'Aqīdah in its various versions bears the following titles:
Ta'līq (or Ta'līqah) 'alā 'aqīdat al-Ghazālī; Sharḥ bidāyat
al-hidāyah; Sharḥ al-'aqīdah al-qudsiyah; Ightinām al-fawā'id
fī Sharḥ qawā'id al-'aqā'id.

THEOLOGY

LVIII

Sh. al-Arba'in ḥadithan

(A commentary on the Forty Traditions)

Cited in: Sharḥ al-naṣīḥah, p.1.

Untraceable.

TRADITION

LIX

Sh. Asmā' Allāh al-ḥusnā A

(A Commentary on the Beautiful Names of God A)

Cited in: G.A.L., II, p.329.

Mss: Paris 1317. Fol. 131a-136b; Berlin 3755. Spr. 852.
2) Fol. 42b-54a; Cairo 20534. B; Vatican v. Barb. 78/4; Rabat 391 G, 1385 K, 1388 D, 11489 D; Azhar 28831, 28875, 28877; Malakiya 3046/awfāq wa Jadāwil; Brit. Mus. CLXXV II Fol.22.

Begins: الْحَمْدُ لِلَّهِ رَبِّ الْعَالَمِیَةِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ ، الْعَوَابِ الْإِرَادِیِّ إِلَى
الْقُدَّةِ وَالصُّرَابِ ، الْعَالَمِ بِالْمُزْنِیَّاتِ وَالْمُكَلِّیَّاتِ ...

Ends: ... وَعِلْمِ عَلَمِيهِ وَأَمْرِي بِتَبْلِيغِي ، وَعِلْمِ عَلَمِيهِ وَأَمْرِي
بِكِتَابِهِ ، وَعِلْمِ عَلَمِيهِ وَأَمْرِي أَنَّهُ أَسْرَبِي .

Note: A work based on the magical power of the verses of Nūr al-Dīn al-Dimyāṭī which begins:

dealing with the Ninety Nine Names of God.

It was composed for a friend who had been unjustly treated to use it against his enemies. It gives the meaning of each line, and how it is to be used on specific occasions. There are a great deal of Talismans and magical emblems supposed to be written in different kinds of amulets according to the circumstances. It is known also under the following titles: al-Mawāhib al-saniyah fī Sharḥ al-Dimyāṭiyah; Khawāṣṣ Naẓm al-Dimyāṭiyah.

Al-Dimyāṭiyah is highly regarded in many Muslim countries as a successful means of invocation and it occupies an important place in the daily prayer of the Ḥanṣaliyah Order in Algeria. (Cf. Rinn; Marabouts et Khouan, Alger, 1884, pp.395-396).

LX

Sh. Asmā' Allāh al-ḥusnā B

(A Commentary on the Beautiful Names of God B)

Cited in: 'Idāh al-maknūn, 2:246; al-Uns, p.4;
Shadharāt al-dhahab, 7:362; al-Ta'rīf, p.291;
Tabaqāt al-Shādhiliyah, p.123; Nubūgh, p.218.

Mss: Rabat 1838 D. Fol. 91-132; Berlin 2240. We. 1677.
4). Fol. 70-91; Malakiya 6339, 9372/Adhkār; Berlin
2239, PM.105. 17). Fol. 72-107; Tunis 15145;
Rabat 952D. Fol. 105-122, 1385Q. Fol. 1-51; Brit. Mus.
872:3, 99:3; Alexandria Faw. 23; Cairo 11:201, Vii.
532. Edition: Cairo, Būlāq, 1294/1877.

Begins: الْحَمْدُ لِلَّهِ الَّذِي أَوْدَعَ أَسْرَارَهُ فِي أَسْمَائِهِ - وَظَهَرَ جَلَمَتَهُ فِي أَسْمَائِهِ
Ends: ... خَضُّوْهُمَا بِالرَّحْمَةِ وَالْحُرْمَةِ وَتَعَامَمِ النَّصِيحَةِ - لَدَرْبِ عَيْزِهِ وَوَلَدِ
فَيْزِهِ بِإِلَهِ قُدْرِهِ.

Note: This work deals with the Ninety Nine Names of God and their particularities. Zarrūq explains the meaning of the Name linguistically, how it should be mentioned and its advantages in use, with an introduction discussing whether the Names are iṣṭilāhiyah (idiomatic) or tawqīfiyah (inspired), where he discusses also the four types of the Names: Asmā' al-Dhāt (Names of Essence), Asmā' al-Ṣifāt (Names of Quality), Asmā' al-Af'āl (Names of Action) and Asmā' al-Tanzīh (Names of Incomparability). There are many quotations from Ibn 'Arabī, al-Suhrawardī and others.

Other titles: Fath al-maqām al-asmā' fī mā yata'alaq bi al-asmā'; al-maqṣad al-asmā' fī dhikr shai' mimma yata'allaq bi al-asmā'; Khawāṣṣ asmā' Allāh al-ḥusnā.

INVOCATION

LXI

Sh. Dalā'il al-khairāt

(A commentary of the Indications of the good things).

Cited in: Tabaqāt al-shādhiliyyah, p.123.

Untraceable.

NOTE: Dalā'il al-khairāt is a famous collection of prayers compiled by Abū Muḥammad Sulaimān al-Jazūlī (d. 870/1464-5), the founder of the Jazūliyyah Order and one of Zarrūq's Sufi masters.

INVOCATION

LXII

Sh. al-Fātiḥah

(A Commentary on the Opening Sūrah of the Qur'ān)

Cited In; Sharḥ al-naṣīḥah, p.1.

Untraceable.

QUR'AN

LXIII

Sh. al-Ghāfiqiyah

(A Commentary on al-Ghāfiqiyah)

Cited in: Shajarat al-nūr, 1:268; Qaṭf al-thamar, p.32;
Nubūgh, p.218.

Untraceable.

JURISPRUDENCE

LXIV

Sh. Ḥadīth "al-ma'idatu baitu al-dā'"

(A Commentary on the Tradition "The stomach is the abode of illness")

Cited in: al-Fawā'id al-laṭīfah, p.5.

Untraceable.

Note: In many of his works and counsels Zarrūq concentrates on not allowing oneself to have much food. Hunger and fasting are important principles in Sufism generally, and Zarrūq considers a greedy person as incapable of reaching high stages of the Way. (See: al-Naṣīḥah al-kāfiyah, Ms. Rabat, D529, pp.29-33 and al-Jāmi', Ms. Rabat D 2207, pp.15-17).

TRADITION

LXV

Sh. al-Ḥakīm al-tirmidhī

(A Commentary on al-Ḥakīm al-Tirmidhī)

Cited in: Sharḥ al-naṣīḥah, p.1.

Untraceable.

Note: Presumably a commentary on a work of Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. 'Alī al-Ḥakīm al-Tirmidhī (d.285/898) whom Zarrūq mentions in his Sharḥ al-Ḥikam (Cairo edition, 1969, p.221) while he talks about the symbols of the ritual prayer. al-Tirmidhī has written a book entitled: al-Ṣalāh wa maqāṣiduhā (Prayer and its Aims). Ibn Zakrī in Sharḥ al-naṣīḥah does not specify the work of al-Tirmidhī which Zarrūq has commented on. For more details about al-Tirmidhī see: Othman Yahyā; "Les œvres de Tirmidī", Mélanges, III, pp.411-480.

LXVI

Sh. "al-Ḥaqa'iq wa al-daqa'iq" of al-maqqarī

X

(A Commentary on "The Subtles and the Realities" of al-Maqqarī)

Cited in: Shajarat al-Nūr, 1:268; al-Ta'rīf, p.290; Nafḥ al-tīb, 7:232;

Note: al-Ḥaqa'iq wa al-daqa'iq (or al-raqa'iq) is a Sufi masterpiece of Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Tilimsānī al-Maqqarī (d. 759/1357). A part of this work was published in Nafḥ al-Tīb, Vol.7, pp.232-249, Cairo, 1949.

SUFISM

LXVII

Sh. "Ḥizb al-baḥr" of al-Shādhilī

(A Commentary on "The Amulet of the Sea" of al-Shādhilī).

Cited in: Kashf al-ẓunūn, 2:661; 'Idāḥ al-maknūn, 2:521; Shadharāt al-dhahab, 7:362; Shajarat al-nūr, 1:268; al-Ta'rīf, p.290; al-Uns, p.4; Nubūgh, p.218; G.A.L. II, p.329.

Mss: Baghdad 9770/1; Berlin 8793. 4). PM. 188. 1. Fol.1-56; Brit. Mus. 244 II Or. 3200. Fol. 43-70, 12050. II. Or. 4371. Fol. 29-60; Cairo 19492. B, 25866. B; Rabat 1270 D. Fol. 1a-26b. Malakiya 5240, 4257, 7685/Adhkār; Madrid CCXCV. 4^o; Tunis 15139.

Begins: الْحَمْدُ لِلَّهِ الَّذِي فَتَحَ لَنَا دِينَهُ طَرِيقَهُ الْوَسَائِلَ وَأَهْرَى عَلَيَّ أَيْدِيَهُ
... الْكُرْمِيَّةَ الْوَرَاغِ الْفَضَائِلِ
Ends: ... وَقِيلَ أَتَدَّبُّ بِاللَّغَايِرِ عَلَى كَلَامِ أَوْلِيَا وَاللَّهُ وَاللَّهُ وَ لِي مِنْهُ
اعْتَدَ عَلَيْهِ وَهَبْتَهُ اسْتَدْرَلِيهِ ، وَهُوَ صَبِيٌّ وَفِيهِ التَّوَكُّلُ .

Note: A Commentary on the famous Ḥizb (Amulet) of Abū al-Ḥasan 'Alī b. 'Abd al-Jabbār al-Shādhilī, the founder of the Shādhiliyah Order (d. 656/1258), with an introduction

and a conclusion. The introduction discusses: the definition of ḥizb - why it was composed - how it may be accepted - or refused - conditions of writing a ḥizb - how it should be used - comparisons between ḥizbs of al-Shādhilī and other ḥizbs - justifying ḥizb recitation - its types - why Ḥizb al-baḥr was so called - how and when it should be recited. Then Zarrūq starts commenting on this Ḥizb. The conclusion discusses: the meaning of Belief, criticism and imitation regarding the Sufi masters, their dress, manners and behaviour - principles of Sufism - invocation and its timing - sources of good and evil-dealing with people - on the time and retreat.

Other titles: Sh. al-Ḥizb al-Ṣaghīr; Mafātīḥ al-'izz wa al-naṣr fī ba'd mā yata'allāqu bi ḥizb al-baḥr.

INVOCATION

LXVIII

Sh. "Ḥizb al-barr" of al-Shādhilī

(A Commentary on "The Amulet of the Land" of al-Shādhilī)

Cited in: Shajarat al-nūr, 1:268; Nubūgh, p.218.

Mss: Tunis 3417; Malakiya 7158B. Adhkār.

Note: Ḥizb al-barr or al-Ḥizb al-kabīr is another amulet composed by Abū al-Ḥasan al-Shādhilī to guard its reciter from the risks he faces on the land as Ḥizb al-baḥr does for the sea.

INVOCATION

LXIX

Sh. "Irshād" Ibn 'Askar

(A Commentary on "The Guidance" of Ibn 'Askar)

Cited in: Bulūgh al-marām, p.29; Nail al-ibtihāj, p.86; al-Bustān, p.377; Shajarat al-nūr, 1:268; al-Tidhkār, p.223; Riḥlat al-'Ayyāshī, p.99; Qaṭf al-thamar, p.32; Nubūgh, p.218.

Untraceable.

Note: al-Irshād is a treatise on Mālikī Jurisprudence composed by Shihāb al-Dīn 'Abd al-Raḥmān Ibn 'Askar al-Baghdādī (d. 732/1331) who was the Great Shaikh of the Mālikis and a professor at al-Mustanṣariyah School in Baghdad.

JURISPRUDENCE

LXX

Sh. al-Mabāḥith al-aṣliyah li Ibn al-Bannā.

(A Commentary on the "Original Essays" of Ibn al-Bannā)

Cited in: al-Tidhkār, p.223; al-Uns, p.4; Nubūgh, p.218.

Mss: Tunis 9890; Rabat 2284 D. Fol.134-237; Malakiya 7209, 9332/Taṣawwuf; Azhar 23122. Fol. 137-181.

Begins: ... الْحَمْدُ لِلَّهِ عَلَى مَا أَوْضَعَنَا مِنْهُ الْقَدَمَ وَالْبَيَّاتِ وَكَتَفَ مِنْهُ الْجَبَةَ وَالْبُرْهَانِ ...
Ends: ... وَأَعْتَرْنَا مَا رَكِبْنَا فِي هَذَا الْكِتَابِ وَغَيْرِهِ مَا أَنْتَ أَهْلُهُ يَا أَرْحَمَ الرَّاحِمِينَ ...

Note: A Commentary on the verses of Abū al-'Abbās Ibn al-Bannā al-Sarqustī (d. 649/1251) which begins:

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ فِي الدُّرِّ ابْتَدَأُ : لِذَهْوِ عَائِدَةٍ لَهَا وَبَدَأُ ...

and ends: ... وَالْحَمْدُ لِلَّهِ الَّذِي فَتَنَنَا : بِحَمْدِهِ كَلَّابٌ بَدَأْنَا .

Its main subject is the principles of Sufism and the manners

of Sufis. Zarrūq displays his own conceptions throughout his commentary and introduces many quotations, particularly from Shādhilī masters, to support his ideas and interpretation of the verses.

Other titles: al-Lawā'ih al-fāsiyah fī sharḥ al-mabāḥith al-aṣliyah 'alā jumlat al-ṭarīqah al-Sūfiyah.

SUFISM

LXXI

Sh. Marāṣid Ibn 'Uqbah

(A Commentary on "The Observations" of Ibn 'Uqbah)

Cited in: Shajarat al-nūr, 1:268; Nubūgh, p.218.

Untraceable.

SUFISM

LXXII

Sh. Mawāḍi' min "Mukhtaṣar" Khalīl

(A Commentary on some parts of "The Synopsis" of Khalīl)

Cited in: Shajarat al-nūr, 1:268; al-Manhal al-'adhb, p.183; Qaṭf al-thamar, p.32.

Mss: Madrid CDIX. 2. 56 Fols.

Begins:

Note: A Commentary on al-Mukhtaṣar of Khalīl b. Ishāq b. Mūsā b. Shu'aib al-Jundī Abū al-Mawaddah (d. 776/1374-5) on Jurisprudence according to the Mālikī school.

JURISPRUDENCE

LXXIII

Sh. Mughmadāt hizbai al-Shādhilī

(A Commentary on the obscure expressions of the two amulets of al-Shādhilī).

Cited in: Shajarat al-nūr, 1:268; Nubūgh, p.218.

Mss: Azhar 1032/al-Jawharī Collection. Rabat 1385.

Fols. 111-119.

Begins: الْحَمْدُ لِلَّهِ وَالْفِرُّ، وَتَدَمُّ عَلَى عِبَادِهِ الَّذِينَ أَنْهَلْنِي. أَمَا بَعْدُ

Ends: ... وَقَلْبُ آيِسٍ، تَدَمُّ قَوْلًا "فَاغْرَفَ ذَلِكَ وَأَطْلَقَ" فَتَدَمُّ طَاهِرَةً الزَّمَانِ

Note: In this treatise Zarrūq attempts to solve the problem of the hidden meaning in the Qur'anic openings of certain sūrahs which Abū al-Ḥasan al-Shādhilī included in his hizbs such as etc. Zarrūq also tries to remove any misinterpretation or suspicion of any kind of comparability regarding God by explaining the obscure phrases of al-Shādhilī in his two hizbs in accordance with the Sunnī creed.

INVOCATION

LXXIV

Sh. Muqaṭṭa'āt al-Shushtarī

(A Commentary on the Poems of al-Shushtarī)

Cited in: Shajarat al-nūr, 1:268; Sharḥ al-naṣīḥan, p.1; al-Manhal al-'adhb, p.183; Nubūgh, p.218.

Untraceable.

SUFISM

LXXV

Sh. al-Murshidah

(A Commentary on "The Guide")

Cited in: al-Fawā'id al-laṭīfah, p.5.

Untraceable.

Note: At the end of 'Uddat al-murīd (Ms. Rabat 864 G) there are five pages of commentary on some parts of a certain

"Murshidah" not naming the author. It begins: إِنَّمَا أَرْسَدَنَا
... اللَّهُ وَإِنِّي لَأَتَّبِعُ

and ends: ... وَتَمَّ يَوْمَ أَكَلْتُمُ فَطَّرَ أُوْتِي فَمِنَّا كَثِيرًا.

These pages were written by the same copyist at the same date.

al-Murshidah is a famous text on the dogmas of Islam, written by Muḥammad b. Tūmart (d. 525/1131). There is another well-known Murshidah written by Abū 'Alī Muḥammad b. 'Umar al-Sanūsī, one of Zarrūq's teachers, (d. 892/1487) (Cf. G.A.L., II, p.325). It is more conceivable that Zarrūq commented on the second one.

THEOLOGY

LXXVI

Sh. al-Naṣīhah al-kāfiyah!

(A Commentary on "al-Naṣīhah al-kāfiyah")

Cited in: Shajarat al-nūr, 1:268; Nail al-ibtihāj, p.86; Sharḥ al-naṣīhah, p.1; al-Fawā'id al-laṭīfah, p.5; Qaṭf al-thamar, p.32.

Ms. Rabat 747 Q, 141 fols. missing at the beginning and the end.

Note: A commentary by Zarrūq on his own al-Naṣīhah al-kāfiyah liman Khaṣṣahu Allāh bi al-'āfiyah.

LXXVII

Sh. Naẓm al-Riq'ī

(A Commentary on the Verses of al-Riq'ī)

Cited in: Sharḥ al-naṣīḥah, p.1.

Untraceable.

Note: 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Riq'ī al-Mālikī (d. after 853/1449) was a jurist who wrote Manẓūmah fī al Fiqh (a metrical work on Jurisprudence) Cf. G.A.L. C.II: 176.

JURISPRUDENCE

LXXVIII

Sh. Nūniyat al-Shushtarī

(A Commentary on the "Nūniyah" of al-Shushtarī)

Cited in: al-Manhal al-'adhb, p.183; Sharḥ al-naṣīḥah, p.1; Nafḥ al-ṭīb, 2:386.

Mss: Madrid 4956. 8 Fols.; Malakiyah 5693.

Begins: ... الْحَمْدُ لِلَّهِ كَمَا تَصَرَّفَ بِتَرْبِيَّتِهِ، صَمَدٌ عَلَيْهِمْ فِي جَمِيعِ أُمُورِهِ ...

Ends: ... فَلَيْسَ مِنْهُ مَطْلُوعٌ وَرَبُّهُ
التَّوْفِيقِ .

Note: A commentary on al-Qaṣīdah al-Nūniyah (verses whose lines end with the letter N) of Abū al-Ḥasan 'Alī b. 'Abd Allāh al-Numairī al-Shushtarī (d. 708/1308-9) where Zarrūq discusses the subtle Sufic terms like: Contemplation, Being, non-Being, Subsistence and Extinction, Symbolism of Letters, Spiritual Ascent, Unity, Incarnation etc.

SUFISM

LXXIX

Sh. Qawā'id 'Iyāḍ

(A Commentary on the "Principles" of 'Iyāḍ)

Cited in: Sharḥ al-naṣīḥah, p.1.

Untraceable.

Note: al-Qādī 'Iyāḍ; Abū al-Faḍl Mūsā b. 'Iyāḍ al-Yaḥsubī (d. 544/1149-50) was a very famous jurist in al-Andalus (Spain). Among his works is a book entitled al-'I'lām bi-Ḥudūd Qawā'id al-Islām known commonly as Qawā'id 'Iyāḍ.

JURISPRUDENCE

LXXX

Sh. al-Qurṭubiyah

(A Commentary on "al-Qurṭubiyah")

Cited in: Shadharāt al-dhahab, 7:362; Shajarat al-nūr, 1:268; al-Ta'rīf, p.290; al-Uns, p.4; al-Daw' al-lāmi', p.222; Qaṭf al-thamar, p.32; Ṭabaqāt al-Shādhiliyah, p.123, Nubūgh, p.218; G.A.L., II, p.330.

Mss: Brit. Mus. CXXVI. III, DCCCLXII: Berlin 1871 Lbg.665; Tunis 9780, 2390; Malakiyah 653, 6625, 883, 9590/Fiqh.

Begins: ... الْحَمْدُ لِلَّهِ الَّذِي أَوْجَبَ عَلَيَّ عِبَادَةَ لِرُؤُوسِ الْعِبَادِيَّةِ ...
Ends: ... وَصَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيَّ سَيِّدِنَا مُحَمَّدٍ وَآلِهِ وَصَحْبِهِ وَسَلَّمَ ...

Note: A commentary on a metrical tract on the dogmas of Islam, written by Sābiq al-Dīn Abū Bakr Yaḥyā b. 'Umar al-Azdī al-Qurṭubī (d. 567/1171) known as 'Urjūzat al-Wildān.

Other titles: Sharḥ al-Qurṭubiyah fī Fiqh al-Mālikiyah; Sharḥ Urjūzat al-wildān; Sharḥ al-Manzūmah al-Qurṭubiyah; Sharḥ al-Muqaddimah al-Qurṭubiyah; Sharḥ al-tadhkirah al-Qurṭubiyah.

JURISPRUDENCE

LXXXI

Sh. Risālat al-Qairawānī

(A Commentary on the "Risālah" of al-Qairawānī)

Cited in: Bulūgh al-marām, p.31; Shajarat al-nūr, 1:268;
al-Tidhkār, p.223; al-Ta'rīf, p.290.
al-Uns, p.4; Tabaqāt al-Shādhiliyah, p.123;
Nubūgh, p.218.

Mss: Tunis 1845; Malakiyah 3480/Fiqh.

Edition: Cairo, 1332/1914.

Begins:

الحمد لله الذي ابتدأ الوجود بإمانيه ...
Ends: ... والحمد لله رب العالمين ، وصلى الله على سيدنا محمد وآله .

Note: A commentary on "al-Risālah fī Umūr al-Diyānah" of 'Abd Allāh Ibn Abī Zaid al-Qairawānī (d. 389/999). Most of Zarrūq's biographers say that he wrote two commentaries on the Risālah of al-Qairawānī; a big one and a smaller one.

JURISPRUDENCE

LXXXII

Sh. al-Sharīshiyah

(A Commentary on "al-Sharīshiyah")

Cited in: Sharḥ al-naṣīḥah, p.1.

Untraceable.

Note: al-Sharīshiyah is a Sufi poem ending with the letter R, written by a certain Tāj al-Dīn al-Bakrī al-Sharīshī (d. 641/1243). It is known also as Anwār al-Sarā'ir. (Nubūgh, p.159).

SUFISM

LXXXIII

Sh. al-Sīniyah

(A Commentary on "al-Sīniyah")

Cited in: Sharḥ al-naṣīḥah, p.1.

Untraceable.

Note: Zarrūq mentions in his Kunnāsh a certain Shaikh Aḥmad al-Tujaibī al-Bijāwī (who lived in Tripoli for a long time and died at Ḥamāh, in Syria, in 638/1240) as a man to whom the Science of the Letters was revealed within twelve days. Among his works, he says, is Kitāb Sīn (The Book of the Letter S) which, perhaps, was known as al-Sīniyah.

LETTERS

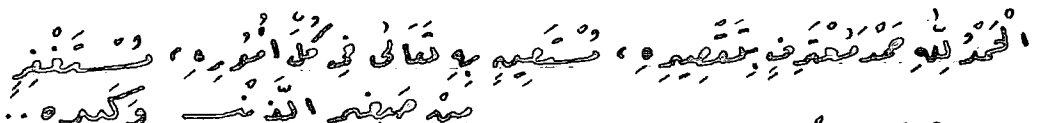
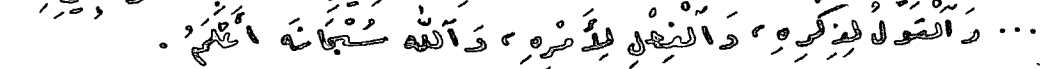
LXXXIV

Sh. Ṣudūr al-Marātib

(A Commentary on "Ṣudūr al-Marātib")

Cited in: Shadharāt al-dhahab, 7:362; 'Idāḥ al-maknūn, 2:175; al-Ta'rīf, p.290; Sharḥ al-mabāḥith al-aṣliyah (Ms. Rabat 2284 D, p.232).

Mss: al-Miṣrātī's private library, 59 fols.

Begins: 
Ends: 

Note: On the second page of this manuscript it is mentioned that it was copied from the author's own handwriting. Two different Maghribi pens. Very clear and readable. On the first page the copyist apologises that there was no time to compare it with the original copy. The full title of this

work is: Faṭḥ al-mawāhib wa kanz al-maṭālib fī al-tanbīh
'alā ba'ḍ mā yata'allaq bi ṣudūr al-marātib wa nail al-
marāghib of the Shaikh Aḥmad b. 'Uqbah al-Ḥaḍramī. It is
 divided into ten chapters, each chapter dealing with an
 aspect of the Sufi concepts, from the beginning of holding
maqām al-iḥṣān to the stage of Revelation. It was composed
 as first draft in 23, Ṣafar, 887 (1482) and made in a new
 copy in 30, Jumādā II of the same year.

LXXXV

Sh. al-Waghliṣiyah

(A Commentary on "al-Waghliṣiyah")

Cited in: Shajarat al-nūr, 1:268; al-Tidhkār, p.223;
al-Uns, p.5; Qaṭf al-thamar, p.32;
G.A.L., II, p.329.

Mss: Tunis 8749. Fols. 1-114, 7398; Rabat 1424 D.
 Fols. 131a-205b; Malakiyah 5011, 6319, 8789/Fiqh.

Begins: الْحَمْدُ لِلَّهِ عَزَّ وَجَلَّ عَمَّا جَزَعَهُ صَمِيحُهُ بِاللَّهِ تَجَمُّدُهُ وَالشُّكْرُ لَهُ عَلَى عَمَلِهِ نَبِيهِ

Ends: ... وَلَا يَرُدُّ الْمُنْتَلِقِينَ بِجَنَابِهِمْ سَبَّ الْقَلْبِ بِكَرَمِ اللَّهِ فِي مَا أَظْهَرَ عَلَيْهِمْ
 وَهُوَ آتُونِي بِإِيْمَانٍ طَائِعٍ لَدَيْهِمْ .

Note: . A commentary on al-Muqaddimah of Abū Zaid 'Abd
 al-Raḥmān b. Aḥmad al-Waghliṣī (d. 786/1384). It is divided
 into two parts: the first deals with fiqh and 'Ibādāt
 (Practices) such as the prohibited as well as the recommended
 deeds, prayer, purity and fasting etc. The second part is
 concerned with Sufism, its manners and practice.

JURISPRUDENCE
 and
 SUFISM

LXXXVI

Sh. al-Waḡīfah

(A Commentary on "al-Waḡīfah")

Cited in: al-Tidhkār, p.223; al-Anwār al-Saniyah, p.6.

Note: Both Ibn Ghalbūn and al-‘Ayyāshī say that Zarrūq started writing a commentary on his Waḡīfah but did not finish it. al-‘Ayyāshī recorded a fragment of it which begins:

الْحَمْدُ لِلَّهِ عَلَى الْإِيمَانِ وَالشُّكْرِ لَهُ عَلَى الْكِتَابِ وَالْحَقِّ...

and ends: ... فَيَا نَبِيَّ الْخَافِرِ فِي مَحَلِّ وَاحِدٍ قَدْ لَيْسَ عَلَى الْمَاءِ بِنَدٍ فِي مَتْنِهِ بَلْ كُنَّا نَعْتَرُ وَلَا نَنْزِعُ ...

(See: al-Anwār al-Saniyah, pp.6-8).

INVOCATION

LXXXVII

Shurūḡ al-Ḥikam

(The Commentaries on "al-Ḥikam")

Cited in: Bulūgh al-marām, p.29; Shajarat al-nūr, 1:268; Shadharāt al-Dhahab, 7:362; Nail al-ibtihāj, p.86; Sharḡ al-naṣīḥah, p.1; al-Manhal al-‘adhb, p.183; al-Daw’ al-lāmi’, p.222; ‘Iḏāḡ al-maknūn, 2:526; al-Ta‘rīf, p.290; al-Uns, p.4; Tabaqāt al-Shādhiliyah, p.123; Nubūgh, p.218; G.A.L., II, 143, 329.

Note: Al-Ḥikam is a famous Sufi masterpiece written by the Shādhilī master Tāj al-Dīn Ibn ‘Aṭā’ Allāh al-Iskandarī (d. 709/1309). Many scholars were interested in this work and a large number of commentaries have been written on it. For Zarrūq it was a book which he was acquainted with since the very beginning of his contact with Sufism. It is noticeable that everywhere Zarrūq travelled he carried al-Ḥikam with him and composed a commentary on it. The number of his

commentaries differ from one reference to another. Some of his biographers claim that they are more than thirty commentaries. But none of them say that he has seen any commentary after the Seventeenth.

Zarrūq himself gives two lists of his commentaries on al-Ḥikam. The first is found in the last page of his Eleventh Commentary written in 881/1476 (Cairo, 2665-Taṣawwuf) where he says:

"The number of our commentaries on al-Ḥikam is seventeen of which eleven are complete. The First was composed in Fez in the year 870. It was stolen before I was able to revise it. The Second I finished in Tunis during the year 874. Our master al-Zawāwī named it Tanbīh dhawī al-himam 'alā ma'ānī : alfāz al-Ḥikam. The Third in Tunis entitled al-Turur wa al-ḥawāshī. The Fourth in Tunis of which I carried my copy to Tripoli. The Fifth in al-Madīnah entitled al-Lāmi'ah al-raṣmiyah 'alā al-kalimāt al-Ḥikmiyah. The Sixth in Cairo. It was a short one. The Seventh in Cairo which I called al-Nuktāt al-fahmiyah 'alā al-kalimāt al-Ḥikmiyah. The Eighth I wrote in Bougie during the year 878. The Ninth in Fez during the year 880. The Tenth in Fez during the year 881. The Eleventh is this which you read, written in the same year. The six commentaries which have not been completed yet are: The First in Cairo. The Second in Misurata. The Third in Tripoli. The Fourth in Bougie. The Fifth in Fez and The Sixth in Fez also. I considered as commentaries those which may be of use and benefit, since those with beginnings only are countless."

The Second list is found in the introduction of his Seventeenth Commentary on al-Hikam where he says:

"We have written several times on al-Hikam. Seventeen of them are complete. The First in Fez in the year 870. It was stolen. The Second I commenced in Fez and finished in Tunis. The Third in Tunis. The Fourth in Cairo. The Fifth in al-Madīnah. The Sixth in Cairo. The Seventh in Tripoli. The Eighth in Tunis, The Ninth in Bougie, The Tenth in Fez. So are the Eleventh, the Twelveth, the Thirteenth and the Fourteenth. The Fifteenth in Bougie. The Sixteenth in Cairo, and the Seventeenth is this which you read." (See the introduction of the Seventeenth Commentary in its various manuscript versions and editions).

From these two lists we can conclude that Zarrūq wrote not more than seventeen complete commentaries on al-Hikam. The rest are merely commencements. In order to fill the gap between the two lists it is possible to assume that he finished writing eleven commentaries by the year 881/1476, then he completed the other six commentaries he mentions in the first list after that.

With slight re-arranging of the two lists and comparing them with each other it is easy to find out that they correspond in the names of places and the number of times he composed his commentaries, assuming that he wrote his last (the Seventeenth) commentary in Misurata where he spent his last years. Thus we see from both of the two lists that he wrote six commentaries in Fez, three in Cairo, two in Bougie, two in Tunis, one between Fez and Tunis, one in al-Madīnah, one in Tripoli and one in Misurata.

The following list is of the various known commentaries in their versions:

1)

Tanbīh dhawī al-himam 'alā ma'āni alfāz al-Ḥikam

(Rousing the high-aspirants with the meanings of the words of al-Ḥikam)

Mss: Tunis, 5644 fols. 1-95; Malakiya, 2116 Tasawwuf; Cairo, 2665 Tasawwuf; Escorial, 758.

Begins: الحمد لله الأحمدي ذاته ، التواهد في صفاته ، الطلبي في سياقه ، التظهير

Ends: ... هامة بمباح القرويين عمرة الله بدوام ذكره ، آمنة آمنة آمنة نازت العالم

Note: This is the Eleventh Commentary written in Fez during 881/14.

2)

al-Sharḥ al-khāmis 'ashar.

(The Fifteenth Commentary)

Cited in: Ibn 'Abbād de Ronda (Paul Nwyia, Imprimerie Catholique, Beirut, 1956, p.23)

Mss: Escorial 738; Qarawiyyīn 461.

Note: 'Alī b. Ḥusām al-Dīn al-Muttaqī al-Hindī (d.975/1157) had commented on this work (Cf. MS. Berlin 869. We. 1757 2) Fol. 37a-50b.

3)

al-Futūḥat al-rahmāniyah fī ḥall alfāz al-'Atā'iyah.

(The Revelations of the Merciful in explaining the words of al-Ḥikam)

Ms. Escorial, DCCXXXIV.

Begins: أما قبل كل شيء ...

Ends: ... ظاهراً وباطناً .

4)

Miftāḥ al-faḍā'il wa al-ni'am 'alā ba'd mā yata'allaq bi al-Ḥikam.

(The Key of Virtues and Graces on some of what is related to al-Ḥikam)

Cited in: 'Iḍāḥ al-maknūn, 2:526.

Mss: Escorial, DCCLXXII: Brit. Mus. DCCLV, VII;
Brit. Mus. DCCLV, III.

Begins: ... الحمد لله حمده وتعرفه بالعبادة أيضا حمده

Note: The Escorial catalogue says that this Commentary was written in Tripoli. It might be the Seventh Commentary according to Zarrūq's own list.

5)

Sirāj al-Ḥikam

(The Lamp of al-Ḥikam)

Cited in: G.A.L., p.329.

Ms: Cambridge, P.2.

Note: The word Sirāj might be a corruption of the word Sharḥ.

6)

Sharḥ al-Ḥikam

(A Commentary on al-Ḥikam)

Cited in: Ibn 'Abbad de Ronda, (Paul Nwyia, Imprimerie Catholique, Beirut, 1956, p.25).

Mss: Escorial, 776 and 741; 3^o; Munich, 139.

Note: Undated and unserialized Commentary.

7)

al-Sharḥ al-sābi‘ ‘ashar

(The Seventeenth Commentary)

Ms: Berlin, 8692, 8693, 4) We. 1690, We. 1687 fols. 3-216;
Azhar, 6150(106); Tripoli, Awqaf, 161 vol. 1, 53.
Cairo,

Editions: ‘Abd al-Ḥalīm Maḥmūd, Cairo 1969; Aḥmad Zakī
‘Aṭiyah, Cairo 1971.

Begins: الْحَمْدُ لِلَّهِ الَّذِي فَجَّرَنَا بِسَمْعِ الْهَكَمَةِ مِنْهُ قُلُوبِ الْقَمِيصِيِّينَ وَفَقَّحَ لَنَا أَسْمَاعَ
الْمَوْهَبِيِّينَ ...

Ends: ... وَاللَّهُ سُبْحَانَهُ الْوَضْعُ لِلْمَعْلُومِ بِهَذَا الْكِتَابِ وَالْجَرِيُّ يَلْتَمِسُ مَا فِيهِ مِنْ
عَمَلَةٍ وَصَوَابٍ

Note: This commentary is the most celebrated one. It was regarded as an indispensable companion to the text of al-Ḥikam. Most of Zarrūq's biographers say that they have read it. (See: al-Manālī, Bulūgh al-marām, p.33; Ibn Ghalbūn, al-Tidhkār, p.223; al-Nā'ib, al-Manhal al-'adhb, p.183). It is the only published commentary in two editions.

LXXXVIII

Sulūk al-ṭarīq idhā fuqida al-rafiq

(Following the way when the companion is lost)

Cited in: 'Idāḥ al-maknūn, (without naming the author)

Untraceable.

Note: al-Azhar Catalogue 5446 (Collections 216) says that there is a commentary by 'Alī 'Alā' al-Dīn al-Muttaqī al-Hindī (d.975/1567-8) on سَانَةَ سَيِّدِي أَحْمَدَ زُرَّادَ الْمُرَدَّةِ فِي سُلُوكِ الطَّرِيقِ (the treatise of Sayyidī Aḥmad Zarrūq known as Sulūk al-ṭarīq idhā fuqida al-rafiq) under the title: هَدَايَةُ رَبِّكَ إِذَا فَقَدَ الرَّبَّ (Hidāyatu Rabbī 'Inda faqd al-Murabbī).

LXXXIX

Ta'sīs al-Qawā'id A

(Establishing the Principles [of Sufism] A)

Cited in: Kashf al-Zunūn 1:333

Mss: Rabat 2750K, 555Q; Paris 1380.112,329.3, 361.11

Begins: ... أَمَّا قَبْلُ كُلِّ شَيْءٍ وَصَمَةٌ وَبَقْدَةٌ ، فَفِيهِ عَلَى الْحَقِيقَةِ إِلَّا اللَّهُ ...

Ends: ... وَسَدَّمَ عَلَى عِبَادِهِ الْفَسِيحَ الْهَظْفَ .

Note: The full title is:

Tas'īs al-Qawā'id wa al-Uṣūl wa taḥsīl al-fawā'id li dhawī al-wusūl (Establishing the Principles and the Rules and Obtaining Benefits for the People of Attainment).

A treatise on Repentance, Piety and Righteousness. Each one of these three notions is preceded and followed by a full discussion of other Sufi terms like: Heart, Trust and Dependence (on God), Contemplation, Invocation, Seeking forgiveness, Prayer and Poverty. Zarrūq also explains at length the meaning of injustice towards oneself and the others. He suggests the way to straightness and its benefits and discusses the meaning of knowledge in addition to a comparison between fiqh and Sufism and dealings with people. This work is the same I'ānat al-mutawajjih al-miskīn (q.v.) bearing a different title.

SUFISM

XC

Ta'sīs al-Qawā'id B

(Establishing the Principles [of Sufism] B)

Ms: Paris, Arabe 5479, fols. 258-262.

Begins: الْحَمْدُ لِلَّهِ كَمَا حَبِبَ لِعَظِيمِ عَبْدِهِ وَهَدَاهُ، وَالصَّلَاةَ وَالسَّلَامَ
عَلَى سَيِّدِنَا مُحَمَّدٍ وَآلِهِ. وَقَبْلَهُ فَالْقَدَمُ بِهَذَا التَّحْقِيقِ تَمْرِيذُ
قَوَائِدِ الصُّوفِ وَأُصُولِهِ عَلَى وَجْهِ يَجْمَعُ بَيْنَ الشَّرِيعَةِ
وَالْحَقِيقَةِ وَيُجَلِّدُ النَّيْتَ وَالْأُصُولَ بِالطَّرِيقَةِ ...

Ends: ... وَرَزَقَنَا اللَّهُ ذَلِكَ وَأَعَانَنَا عَلَيْهِ، وَرَفَعَنَا إِلَيْهِ،
وَصَحَّبَنَا بِالنَّاصِيَةِ فِيهِ، فَإِنَّهُ لَا غَيْرَ بِنَاغَمَةِ كَافِيَتِهِ، وَهُوَ مَسْبُوعًا
وَنَقَمَ التَّوَكُّلِ.

Note: The contents of this work are the same as Qawā'id al-Taṣawwuf (q.v.) bearing a different title.

SUFISM

XCI

Ta'liq 'alā al-Bukhārī

(A Commentary on al-Bukhārī)

Cited in: Shajarat al-nūr, 1:268; al-Manhal al-'adhb,
p.183; Qatf al-thamar, p.32; al-Uns, p.4.

Mss: Rabat 1888K. 74 foll.

Begins: ... رَضِيهِ إِنَّهُ شَاءَ اللَّهُ تَعَالَى نَلَيْتُ عَقِيدَةً حُسْبِيَّةً عَلَى بَيْتِهِ
بَيْتِهِ الْبَيْتِ مِمَّا يَسْقُلُهُ بِالْجَائِزِ الْقَصِيمِ ...

Ends: ... وَقَدَرِ اللَّهُ عَلَيْنَا، وَبِاللَّهِ التَّوَكُّلُ. بَابُ التَّكْوِينِ.

Note: An explanation of the meaning of difficult words in the famous al-Jāmi' al-ṣaḥīh of Abū Muḥammad Isma'il al-Bukhārī (d. 256/870). Zarrūq also traces the Isnād (warrant), paying a great deal of attention to historical events and persons related to each hadīth (tradition)

TRADITION

XCII

Tafsīr al-Qur'ān

(A Commentary on the Qur'ān)

Cited in: Riḥlat al-'Ayyāshī, p.99; Ṭabaqāt al-Shādhīliyah, p.123.

Untraceable.

QUR'AN

XCIII

Talkhīs al-durrah al-muntakhabah fī al-adwiyah al-mujarrabah
(A Summary of the "Selected Pearls in the tested Medicines")

Cited in: 'Idāḥ al-maknūn, 2, p.461; G.A.L., II, p.329.

Mss: Azhar 43114 (477). Fols. 50-87; Alger 1322.2; Cairo VI.14, VII.33; Alexandria 17. Tibb.

Begins:... " هَذِهِ فَوَائِدُ نَسَبًا مِمَّا " الدَّرِّ الْمُنْتَخَبَةِ فِي الْأَدْوِيَةِ الْمَجْرِبَةِ "

Note: al-Durrah (al-Durar) al-Muntakhabah was written by Naṣr b. Naṣr for Dawūd b. al-Mālik al-Manṣūr on medicine based on spiritual and physical treatment. It is divided into twelve sections dealing with the diseases of the body from the top of the head to the bottom of the foot and

begins:... الحمد لله الذي فضّلنا نوحاً ابناً له بنظره اللطيف

'Idāḥ al-Maknūn ascribes the work wrongly to Zarrūq and so does Princeton University Catalogue, while Kashf al-zunūn ascribes al-Durrah to its real author. Zarrūq's genuine summary (Talkhīs al-Durrah) exists in the above-mentioned libraries.

MEDICINE

XCIV

Tuhfat al-murīd

(The Gem of the Seeker)

Cited in: Bulūgh al-marām, p.29; al-Bustān, p.51;
Nubūgh, p.218.

Mss: Rabat 2587.3 D; Madrid 5317. 16 Foll.

Begins: الْحَمْدُ لِلَّهِ الظَّاهِرِ بِلِلَالِهِ الْبَاطِنِ بِجَمَالِهِ ، الصَّالِحِ فِي دُنُوهِ ،

... وَالْقَرِيبِ فِي عُقُوبِهِ ...
Ends: ... وَأَسْأَلُهُ الْخَافِيَةَ مِنْهُ مَوَارِدَ السَّرِّ فِي التَّوَلِّ وَالتَّطَلُّقِ وَهُوَ
مَنْبَغُنَا وَنَيْمُ التَّكْلِيبِ .

Note: A collection of abstracts and sayings from famous Sufi masters such as al-Ghazālī, Ibn al-‘Irrīf, Ibn ‘Arabī, al-Suhrawardī, al-Shādhilī and Ibn ‘Aṭā’ Allāh al-Iskandarī, in respect of subjects like: Science, Knowledge, Truth, Reason, God's Names and Attributes, Faith, Vision, Prophet-hood, Presence at Prayer, Symbolism in Prayer, Fasting, Pilgrimage and Almsgiving etc. These subjects and their details are arranged in short sections under the sub-title Mas’alah. The treatise was written in response to a request from one of Zarrūq's friends to write down what he had admired in his readings. The full title is: Tuhfat al-murīd wa rawdat al-farīd wa fawā'id li ahl al-fahm al-sadīd wa al-naẓar al-madīd.

SUFISM

XCV

‘Uddat al-murīd al-ṣādiq

Cited in: ‘Idāh al-maknūn, 1:370; Shajarat al-nūr, 1:268;
al-Uns, p.4; al-Tidkhār, p.223; Nubūgh, p.218;
G.A.L., Supp. II, p.362.

Mss: Escorial Cod.1566, MDLXI: Rabat 1157 D, 864 G;
Malakiyah 5999, 5416, 992, 925. Taşawwuf; Tunis 8631,
Qar. Fez, 1534.

Begins: الْحَمْدُ لِلَّهِ الَّذِي رَفَعَ مُحَمَّدًا السُّنَّةَ وَأَعْلَىٰ صُنَايَهَا وَجَبَّ وَهُوَ رَأْسُ الْبِدْعَةِ

Ends: ... بِأَنَّ صُنْعَكُمْ كَرِيمٌ وَلَا صَوْلَ وَلَا صَوْلَةَ إِلَّا بِاللَّهِ الْعَلِيِّ الْعَظِيمِ .
وَكَيْفَ أَنْتَوَا بِهَا ...

Note: One of Zarrūq's most important works. Its main theme is al-Bid'ah (Innovation) where he displays in 100 short chapters his attitude towards it, explaining its meaning and types and what the novice must follow or avoid. Many of Zarrūq's teachings which have been presented in other works are to be found here. Some sources (like 'Idāḥ al-maknūn and Shajarat al-nūr for example) write 'Umdat instead of 'Uddat. The full title of the work is: 'Uddat al-murīd al-ṣādiq min asbāb al-maqt fī bayān al-Ṭarīq wa dhikr ḥawādith al-waqt. This work is known also under the titles: Kitāb al-bida'; al-Bida' wa al-ḥawādith.

al-Nuṣṣ al-anfa' wa al-junnah li al-mu'taṣim min al-bida' li al-sunnah (Rabat 710 Q) is another composition of Zarrūq's which is very similar to al-'Uddah. This was noticed by al-Manālī who almost considers them one work (Cf. Bulūgh al-marām, p.32)

SUFISM

XCVI

al-Uns fī sharḥ 'Uyūb al-nafs
(Intimacy in commenting on "the Vices of the Soul")

Cited in: Nubūgh, p.218.

Mss: al-Miṣrātī's private library, 42 fols.

Begins: نَحَدَّثُ بِأَمْرِهِ لَمَّا لَأَهْلُ الْهُنُورِ مِنْهُ بِنَادٍ مَا خَلَّتْ ...

Ends: ... وَهَذَا أَفْرَاقُ الشَّرْحِ الْمُبَارَكِ، وَصَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَى سَيِّدِنَا مُحَمَّدٍ وَآلِهِ وَصَلِّهِ وَسَلَّمَ.

Note: A commentary on 'Uyūb al-nafs of Abū 'Abd al-Raḥman al-Sulamī which Zarrūq put into verse. (See: Urjūzah fī 'Uyūb al-Nafs).

SUFISM

XCVII

'Urjūzah fī 'Uyūb al-Nafs

(Rajaz verses on the Vices of the Soul)

Cited in: al-Ḍaw' al-lāmi', p.222; Shadharāt al-dhahab;
'Idāh al-maknūn, 2:274; al-Uns, p.4.

Mss: Tunis 785, 6725. Taṣawwuf; Malakiya 5136B, 6647.
Taṣawwuf.

Begins: يَتَوَلَّى رَاحَةَ رَحْمَةِ الْفَضْلِ .. أَحْمَدُ نَجْمُ أَحْمَدِ الْفَضْلِ الْمَضْلِيِّ،
Ends: ... فَإِنَّهُ زُوِّجَ الْجُودِ وَالْإِلْتِمَامِ . : وَالنَّظْرُ وَالْبِقْمَاءُ وَالْبَيْطَامِ .

Note: The verses of Abū 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Sulamī (d. 412/917) on the vices of the soul in Rajaz metre. Each vice is put in one or two lines followed by its cause and how to get rid of it. Other title: Naẓm fuṣūl al-Sulamī.

SUFISM

XCVIII

al-Uṣūl al-badī'ah wa al-jawāmi' al-rafi'ah

(The Splendid Principles and the Sublime Syntheses)

Cited in: Bulletin of the Faculty of Arts, Libya,
Vol.II, p.142.

Mss: Rabat, 3612 D, fols. 424-436; Library of the Sanūsiyah Zāwiyah in Ṭubqah oasis in Libya. The writer was informed of the existence of this manuscript in Ṭubqah by Dr. 'Amr al-Nāmī, University of Libya, who visited the library there and saw the manuscript. He says that it contains 11 fols.

Begins: فَصَلٌ فِي أَصْلَاتِ مَا يَبْنِي عَلَيْهِ الْمُرِيدُ فِي هَذِهِ الْأُزَيْنَةِ ...

Ends: ... وَذَلِكَ صَمْعُ الرَّبُّوبِيَّةِ ، وَهُوَ مَقْفَلُ النَّفْسِ فِي بَطْنِ الْعَبُودِيَّةِ ،
فَكَلَّمْتُ مَعَ الشَّرِيفَةِ عَلَى نَفْسِي دَمْعَ الْخَيْفَةِ بِالْحَمْدِ لِذِي بَنَفْسِي .

Note: A collection of Zarrūq's sayings, and a miscellany taken from some of his famous works such as 'Uddat al-murīd al-Ṣādiq and Qawā'id al-Taṣawwuf, in addition to some of his advice to his disciples abstracted from his letters to them.

SUFISM

XCIX

'Uṣūl al-ṭarīq

(The Principles of the Way)

Cited in: al-Nubūgh, Vol. II, p.634.

Begins: أَسْوَاطُ طَرَفَيْتِنَا الَّتِي تَبْنِي عَلَيْهَا عَشْرَةَ أَشْيَاءٍ ؛ حَمْدٌ ظَاهِرَةٌ وَخَفِيَّةٌ
بِالْحَمْدِ ...

Ends: ... وَهُوَ صَدَاقُ الْأَمْرِكَلَةِ وَجَمَلِهِ ، وَبِإِذْنِ اللَّهِ التَّوَفِيقِ .

Note: Gannūn has published this treatise of Zarrūq in his Nubūgh, without referring to its source, where Zarrūq gives Ten principles of his Order, five of them are external and the other five are internal.

SUFISM

C

'Uṣūl al-ṭarīqah wa'usus al-ḥaqīqah

(The Principles of the Way and the Foundations of the Truth)

Cited in: al-Uns, p.4.

Mss: Baghdad 4894.3; Paris 3971.1 Fols. 1-39;

Malakiyah 5035, 8832. Taṣawwuf.

Begins: أُصُولٌ لِمُرَيْصَتِنَا ضَمَّةٌ : فَتَعَوَى اللهُ فِي السُّرِّ وَالْمَلَامَةِ ...

Ends: ... وَإِلَهُ وَجْهَهُ نَا قِصَا حَمْدِ سُرُّهُ الْخَيْرِ الْمُتَمِّدِ فِي مَا كَلَّلَ فِيهِ وَمُحْمِلِ
بِالْأُصُولِ فِي الْبَابِ الْخَبَرِ .

Note: A treatise on the Five Principles of Zarrūqiyah-Shādhilyah Order where Zarrūq presents why and how these principles must be held in addition to their subordinate notions.

SUFISM

CI

Waṣīyyah

(Advice)

Mss: Berlin 3354. Pm. 243. 6). Fols. 75b-77a.

Begins: الْحَمْدُ لِلَّهِ الَّذِي جَعَلَ الْأَوْلِيَاءَ صَهْوَةً خَلِقَ ...

SUFISM

CII

Waṣīyyah

(Advice)

Mss: Rabat 1280 D. Fols. 164a-166a; Tunis 895.

Begins: الْحَمْدُ لِلَّهِ وَلَا حَوْلَ وَلَا قُوَّةَ إِلَّا بِاللَّهِ ...

SUFISM

CIII

Waṣiyyah
(Advice)

Mss: Tunis 4388M; Cairo 550/Taṣawwuf.

Begins: عَلَيْنُم بِتَوَكُّلِ اللَّهِ الَّذِي لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا هُوَ ...

Ends: ... وَعَلِمَ الْخَالِقَةَ إِلَّا فِي مَا حَرَّمَ بِاتِّفَاقٍ .

CORRESPONDENCE

CIV

Waṣiyyah
(Advice)

Mss: Tunis 2327; Tlemcen 80.

Begins: هَلْ يَخْتَلِفُ عَلَى الْحَرِيدِ الَّذِي سَطَا بِدَوْلَةِ إِلَّا اللَّهُ أَمَّ لَا ...

Ends: ... بِحَمْدِ اللَّهِ وَهُوَ عَزُوزٌ وَسَمِيُّ اللَّهِ لِمَا سَبَّحْنَا بِحَمْدِهِ وَسَلَّمَ

SUFISM

CV

Waṣiyyah
(Advice)

Mss: Cairo 550/Taṣawwuf

Begins: الْحَمْدُ لِلَّهِ جَامِعِ الْمَصْرِفَاتِ ...

Ends: ... بِحَمْدِهِ وَكَرِيمِهِ وَهُوَ أَرْحَمُ الرَّاحِمِينَ .

SUFISM

CVI

Waṣiyyah
(Advice)

Mss: Rabat 2750.1

On Travelling and Initiation.

SUFISM

CVII.

al-Waḏīfah
(The Office)

Cited in: Sharḥ al-naṣīḥah, p.1; 'Idāḥ al-maknūn
2:18; Qatf al-thamar, p.32; G.A.L. II, p.329.

Mss: Berlin 3708. We.1667. 2). Fols. 219a-222a, 3886. Mo. 240.
9). Fols. 131a-132a, 3886. Spr.299. Fols. 8b;
Malakiyah 3048, 7579, 9480/Adhkār; Tlemçen 91;
Rabat 1060 D. Fols. 122-125; Azhar 28939/al-Saqqā
Collection (607). Fols. 2-4; Brit. Mus. 867.

Edition: on the margin of Tanwīr al-af'idah al-zakiyah fī
adillat adhkār al-Waḏīfah al Zarrūqiyah, of Aḥmad b.
'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Sā'atī, Cairo, Būlāq, 1294/1877.

Begins: أَعُوذُ بِاللَّهِ مِنَ الشَّيْطَانِ الرَّجِيمِ . بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ . وَإِلَهُكُمْ إِلَهٌُ وَاحِدٌ ...
Ends: ... وَكَذَلِكَ نَعْلَمُ الْكُرْسِيِّ ، وَالْحَمْدُ لِلَّهِ رَبِّ الْعَالَمِينَ .

Note: al-Waḏīfah is a composition of prayers and Qur'ānic
verses to be recited by Zarrūq's followers as a daily
invocation. It is highly esteemed and a large number of
commentaries have been written on it. al-Waḏīfah is known
also as: Safīnat al-Najā liman ilā Allāh itajā and as
al-Farīḏah.

INVOCATION

CVIII

'An al-Wujūd
(On Existence)

Mss: India Office 1037 IV B.396 Fol. 155a.

Begins: وَكَلِمَةٌ حَقَّقْنَا اللَّهَ وَإِيَّاكُمْ بِمَعْنِيَةِ الْوُجُودِ ...

Ends: ... وَبِهَذَا يُقِيمُ هُدًى "أَنَا جَلِيسُ تَعَدُّ ذِكْرِي" هَذَا فَزَمُّهُ .

Note: A fragment of a letter written by Zarrūq to a certain friend regarding the meaning of the tradition "I sit with him who mentions Me".

CORRESPONDENCE

C) DATES OF COMPILATION OF SOME OF ZARRUQ'S WORKS

<u>Title of Work</u>	<u>Year of Compilation</u>
<u>Tuḥfat al-Murīd</u>	870/1465
The first commentary on <u>al-Ḥikam</u>	870/1465
The second commentary on <u>al-Ḥikam</u>	874/1469-70
<u>Al-Naṣīḥah al-Kāfiyah</u>	877/1472-73
The fifth commentary on <u>al-Ḥikam</u>	877/1472-73
<u>Al-Jāmi'</u>	878/1473-74
The eighth commentary on <u>al-Ḥikam</u>	878/1473-74
The ninth commentary on <u>al-Ḥikam</u>	880/1475-76
The tenth commentary on <u>al-Ḥikam</u>	881/1476-77
The eleventh commentary on <u>al-Ḥikam</u>	881/1476-77
<u>Sharḥ al-Mabāḥith al-Aṣliyah</u>	881/1476-77
<u>Juz' fī 'Ilm al-Ḥadīth</u>	881/1476-77
<u>Qawā'id al-Taṣawwuf</u>	882/1477-78
<u>Ta'sīs al-Qawā'id</u>	883/1478
<u>'Uddat al-Murīd al-Ṣādiq</u>	886/1481-82
<u>Sharḥ Ṣudūr al-Marātib</u>	887/1482-83
<u>Sharḥ 'Aqīdat al-Ghazālī</u>	887/1482-83
<u>'Urjūzah fī 'Uyub al-nafs</u>	888/1483-84
An unspecified commentary on <u>al-Ḥikam</u>	889/1484
<u>Sharḥ Asmā' Allāh al-Ḥusnā</u>	891 or 892/ 1486 or 87
<u>Sharḥ Ḥizb al-Baḥr</u>	895/1491
<u>Sharḥ Risālat al-Qairawānī</u>	896/1490-91
<u>Al-Kunnāsh</u>	after 896/1490-91
<u>Manāqib al-Ḥaḍramī</u>	after 896/1490-91

D) COMMENTARIES ON ZARRUQ'S WORKS

I

al-Anwār al-qudsiyah fī sharḥ al-Waḥīfah al-Zarrūqiyah
(The Divine Lights in explaining the Waḥīfah of Zarrūq)

Commentator: Muṣṭafā b. Kamāl al-Dīn al-Bakrī (d.1162/1749).

Cited in: G.A.L., Vol. II, p.329.

II

al-Anwār al-saniyah 'alā al-Waḥīfah al-Zarrūqiyah
(The Illuminating Lights on the Waḥīfah of Zarrūq).

Commentator: Abū Zaid 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad b. 'Abd
Allāh al-'Ayyāshī.

Mss: Rabat 952 D, 1638D, 1680D; Cairo 3361 G.

Editions: Cairo, 1324 H.; Cairo 1388 H. attached to
Tanqīḥ Rawd al-azhār of Muḥammad Makhlūf.

III

al-Durrah al-sharīfah fī al-kalām 'alā 'uṣūl al-ṭarīqah.
(The Honourable Pearl on the Principles of Sufism).

Commentator: Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. 'Alī al-Kharrūbī
al-Ṭarābulṣī (d. 963/1555).

Mss: Tunis Z.III, 172/1884; Rabat D 2201/3 fols. 33-59;
Cairo 22724 B; Madrid CCCXCIV.

Other title: al-Nubdhah al-sharīfah fī sharḥ 'uṣūl al-ṭarīqah.



بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم
 الذي ارشدنا الى القامة وظائف الامانة ونحسنا
 على تكثير ذكره في القدر والاصال
 الى الله سبحانه للفقير باذبال اوليائه عبد الرحمن بن محمد بن
 عبد الرحمن بن محمد بن زكريا العاصمي فوالله قلبي
 وسر عيني وختم بكلمي الشهادة قوله وفعل بانه سيدنا
 محمد صله قدامنا خارج قلبنا وضع مقيدا ليكون كالشرح
 على الوظيفة الزرقية الجامعة لخير الدنيا والاخرى التي
 سارت مسير الشمس الباد وانفع بالجميع الاقطار
 ايمان مطورا على تفسير عزيمتها ومحورها على فضيلة اذكارها
 اذ بالله تقوي الرغبات ويحصل النشاط ليلها ونهارها

في جميع

في جميع الحالات فقلت قدوم رجاء ولتخزي واستخبر الله
 في ذلك سرا وتفضل حتى شرح الله صدري لذلك ورايت
 خيرا لها اله فشرعت فيه مستعينا بالله وهو حسبي وحسبي
 الوكيل
 وانا ارجى الى الله في عزم النفع بكل طالب وان يجعله
 منافع الفتح لكل قاصدا وراغب واقدم ولا التعريف بالوقت
 رحمه الله وهو الامام العالم العارفة البحر الطاهرة الجامعة بين
 الشريعة والحقيقة صاحب الضمان الفريدة سيدي ابا
 العباس احمد بن محمد بن عيسى لم يوسى الشاذلي عرف ويرتد
 سون مضمومة هسبة العرب بالمغرب واما زروق فيا زراي
 المقضية ثم راء مسددة ثم واو ثم قاف وانحاده ذلك من
 قبل اجل جلداه وكان ازرق الغيبين فون على صفا به ولم
 يكن الشيخ ازرق الغيبين كالمقناني ونص الشيخ صاحب
 الترمذي رحمه الله على انم جده كانت شريفة قال ولا يجي اسم
 الحق نسبة الموت اليه في منادى انشأه وشرف لموا انما هو
 في سدنة دينه ولا شرفي اكبر من تقوي الله ان اكرم عند الله
 انفاك وان مولده عند طلوع الشمس وروايت عن ثامن عشر لحي
 سنة ستة اربعين وثمانا يوا وان امه توفيت الثالث
 من تاريخ ولادته واوله عند ذلك خمسة ايام وعده بقرب

IV

Faṣl fī dhikri shai'in qalīlin jiddan min al-Waḏīfah.

(A chapter on mentioning very little about al-Waḏīfah).

Commentator: Aḥmad b. Abī Ghālib al-Qusaṭīnī.

Mss: Brit. Mus. Add. 9484.

V

Faḥ dhī al-ṣifāt al-saniyah bi sharḥ al-Waḏīfah
al-Zarrūqiyah.

(The Revelation of the Sublime [God] by explaining the
Waḏīfah of Zarrūq).

Commentator: Nāṣir al-Dīn Aḥmad al-Nashartī al-Mālikī
al-Burhānī (d. 1120/1708).

Ms. Mingana 723 (229A).

VI

Faḥ dhī al-ṣifāt al-saniyah bi sharḥ al-Waḏīfah
al-Zarrūqiyah

(The Revelation of the Sublime [God] by explaining the
Waḏīfah of Zarrūq).

Commentator: 'Alī b. Sa'd al-Baisūsī al-Suṭūḥī al-Shāfi'ī
(the 12th Century).

Cited in: G.A.L., Vol.II, p.329.

Mss: Azhar 42057. al-Jawharī collection 1038;
12 Jahrh.ef.Fun.91/2.

VII

al-Fawā'id al-laṭīfah fī sharḥ alfāz al-Waḥīfah

(The Subtle Benefits of explaining the words of the Waḥīfah).

Commentator: Aḥmad b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Sijā'ī al-Shāfi'ī
al-Azharī (d. 1197/1783).

Mss: Azhar 8485 140 19 fol.; cod. Heidelberg orient 333.

Edition: al-Najāh press, Damanhūr, Egypt, 1330/1912.

VIII

Hidāyatu rabbī 'inda faqd al-murabbī

(My Lord's Guidance when a preceptor is lacking).

Commentator: 'Alī b. Ḥusām al-Dīn al-Muttaqī al-Hindī
(d. 977/1569).

Mss: Azhar 5446[216].

Note: Supposed to be a commentary on an untraceable
treatise of Zarrūq's entitled (Sulūk al-ṭarīq idhā fuqida
al-ṣadīq).

IX

Ikhtiṣār sharḥ al-Naṣīḥah al-Zarrūqiyah

(Abridged commentary on Zarrūq's Advice).

Abridger: Abū Madyan b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Fāsī
(d. 1181/1767-8).

Cited in: al-Nubūgh, p.303.

X

Kāshif al-dujā fī sharḥ Safīnat al-Najā

(The Darkness' Remover in explaining the Ship of Safety "al-Waḏīfah").

Commentator: Muḥammad Nūrī b. 'Umar al-Nawāwī.

Cited in: 'Idāḥ al-maknūn, p. 18

XI

Lawāmi' al-Burūq 'alā Waḏīfat al-Shaikh al-Zarrūq

(The Flashes of lightnings on the Waḏīfah of Shaikh Zarrūq).

Commentator: Muḥammad al-Waṭnāsi.

Mss: Brit. Mus. Add. 9484.

XII

al-Lawāqih al-qudsiyah fī sharḥ al-Waḏīfah al-Zarrūqiyah

(The Divine Lights in explaining the Waḏīfah of Zarrūq).

Commentator: Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Ajībah al-Ḥasanī
(d. 1196/1782).

Cited in: G.A.L., II, p.329; Arabica, Vol.XV, p.252.

Mss: Alexandria, Faw.19; Bibliotheque Generale, Tetouan,
260 pages, written in 1195/1782.

XIII

al-Mawārid al-Ṣāfiyah fī sharḥ al-Naṣīḥah al-Kāfiyah.

(The Pure watering-places in explaining the Sufficient Advice).

Commentator: Abū Madyan b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Fāsī.

Mss: Tunis, Zaitūnah III, 158, 517a.

XIV

al-Minaḥ al-dhawqiyah fī ḥall alfāz al-Waḥīfah al-Zarrūqiyah
(The Bestowed Taste in explaining the words of the Waḥīfah
of Zarrūq).

Commentator: Badr al-Dīn al-Ḥammūni (d. 1266/1850).

Mss: Rabat 2865D.

XV

Naẓm kayfiyyat ma'rifat al-sanat al-mujdibah
(Versifying how to know the barren year).

Composer: Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad Sa'ādah.

Mss. Tunis 507. (See: al-Kunnāsh, Ms. Tunis 1911, fol. 98b.)

XVI

Naẓm'uṣūl al-Taṣawwuf.
(Versifying the Principles of Sufism).

Composer: Abū Sālim al-'Ayyāshī (d. 1090/1679).

Cited in: al-Nubūgh, p.302.

XVII

Sharḥ al-Naṣīḥah al-kāfiyah.
(A Commentary on the Sufficient Advice).

Commentator: Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān Ibn Zakrī
(d. 1144/1731).

Mss: Rabat, 991,992.

XVIII

Sh. 'Uṣūl al-ṭarīqah

(A Commentary on "The Principles of the Way").

Commentator: Aḥmad b. 'Abd al-Ṣādiq al-Ṭarābulṣī (d.1190/1776).

Ms: Tunis 785.

XIX

Sharḥ qawā'id al-ṭarīqah

(A Commentary on "the Principles of the Way").

Commentator: 'Alī b. Ḥusām al-Dīn al-Muttaqī al-Hindī.

Mss: Berlin, 3031.Pm.547.1) fols. 1-32a; Escorial, 2741,4.

XX

Ta'liq 'alā sharḥ al-Ḥikam al-khāmis 'āshar

(A Commentary on the Fifteenth commentary on al-Ḥikam)

Commentator: 'Alī b. Ḥusām al-Dīn al-Muttaqī al-Hindī.

Mss: Berlin 869. 6. We. 1757 2) fols. 37a-50b.

XXI

al-Taryāq al-fārūq fī sharḥ Waḥīfah al-Zarrūq

(The Reliable Antidote in explaining the Waḥīfah of Zarrūq)

Commentator: Aḥmad b. Qāsim b. Muḥammad Sāsī al-Būnī
al-Tamīmī al-Sabtī.

Mss. Brit. Mus. DCCCLXVII

XXII

al-'Uns fī sharḥ 'uyūb al-nafs.

(The Intimacy in explaining the Vices of the Soul).

Commentator: Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. 'Alī al-Kharrūbī
al-Ṭarābulṣī.

Mss. Brit. Mus. DCXXIV: Tunis 7855.

XXIII

Tanwīr al-af'idah al-zakiyah fī adillat adhkār al-Waḥīfah
al-Zarrūqiyah.

(Illumination of the good hearts in the proofs of the
Waḥīfah of Zarrūq).

Commentator: Aḥmad b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Sā'ātī.

Editions: Cairo, Būlāq, 1294/1877; Tripoli, al-Nūr Library,
1968.

"Anyone in whose heart there is no
love for Shaikh Zarrūq is not a
sincere believer!"

'Abd al-Salām al-Faitūrī
al-Ishārāt

- 155 -

CHAPTER THREE

THE ZARRUQIYAH

Since the very beginning of Sufism we find that the great Sufi masters were centres of large or small circles where their followers and disciples gathered around them, composing distinguished groups in Muslim Society, living in accordance with the teachings of the masters and their ideas of the pure spiritual life.

These groups developed in the course of the time into various fraternities known as ṭuruq Ṣūfiyah (Sufi Orders) and were, with their ideas and practices, a characteristic phenomenon in the history of Islam and an important facet of its society. After being limited in number in the Third/Ninth century, these groups became of so great an importance that they extended over the whole of the Muslim world during the following centuries with countless followers in every part of this world.

Looking at the noticeable variety of these Orders we can trace the reason to the fact that they were established as a result of the differences which occurred among the Sufi masters themselves in their interpretation of spiritual experience and their approach to the ultimate goal which they all seek to attain and agree to be their aim. Thus came the very famous expression: "The ways to God are as numerous as the souls of the creatures,"⁽¹⁾ as an apology

1. Muhammad b. 'Alī al-Sanūsī; al-Salsabil al-mu'īn fī al-ṭarā'iq al-arba'in, Beirut, 1968, p.6.

offered by the Sufis whenever they were aware of this disunity amongst them. And as it is said "all roads lead to Rome", thus all the Sufi Turuq lead to the Truth. What differs, actually, is not the object but the means to approach this object.

When a Sufi master 'discovers' the Truth and reaches the last stage of his spiritual development he thinks that the path he has followed assures attainment for others also. He starts to preach it and guide his followers through it, as he starts to express his own spiritual experience, and here also differences emerge. How to convey to others what is in itself incommunicable and how to explain that unique feeling of spiritual sublimity is the problem. That is why we can see from the beginning of Sufism that it was divided into many Ways, or Orders, according to the mode of expression their founders gave in explaining their experiences.

It is not our intention to discuss here the origin of Sufism in Islam, since there are many opinions suggesting many reasons for it and enumerating the foreign factors which - they say - influenced the Muslims during their contact with other civilisations to adopt the mystical way of life and allow its teachings to penetrate their religious practice and belief. But despite the fact that it is obvious that Sufism is not alien to the Qur'ān and that the seeds of spiritual aspiration and behaviour are

to be found in many of its verses,⁽¹⁾ it is difficult to deny those strange influences which formed certain Sufi ideas and teachings and oriented some Sufi masters into certain directions, and it is not easy to defend them without either interpreting their utterances, or distorting the Islamic dogmas themselves.⁽²⁾ These ideas,⁽³⁾ in fact, were not able to survive the overflowing tide of the dogmatic Sunnah which encompassed them vigourously since Abū Ḥāmid al-Ghazālī was 'converted' to Sufism and made it an acceptable and inseparable part of Islam. Most of the long-lasting and successful Sufi Orders were Sunnī.

However, besides the ideological importance of the Sufi Orders and the social rôle they played through the ages, there is also their political aspect which tremendously influenced Islam and its spread and was the kernel of many states established on Sufi basis.⁽⁴⁾ It might

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1. See the Qur'ān; 50:16, 6:103, 8:24, 28:13, 29:45, 39:23, 33:35, 24:35, 2:165, 5:54. These verses, and many others, were continually quoted by the Sufis as a source of their doctrine's terminology. (Cf. Martin Ling; "Sufism", Encyclopaedia Britannica, 1970 edition, p.373, and Lewis Massingnon; Essay sur les Origines du Lexique Technique de la Mystique Musulmane, Paris, 1954. There are two good articles on "The Qur'ān and the Sufi Dictionary" by Shaikh 'Abd al-'Azīz Bin-'abdallah in al-Lisān al-'Arabī, Vol.IV, Rabat, 1966, pp.5-7 and pp.209-214).
 2. Like Abū Manṣūr al-Ḥallāj and Abū Yazīd al-Bisṭānī for example.
 3. See al-Sanūsī; al-Salsabīl al-mu'īn, pp.6-7.
 4. Such as Almoravids in Morocco, the Sanūsīyah in Libya, the Māhdiyah in the Sudan and the Tijāniyah in West Africa.

seem surprising that this should happen despite the fact that Sufism is supposed to be a retreat from worldly affairs, the leading of a life full of spiritual aspiration, essentially opposed to this temporary life, seeking its fulfillment in the lasting and sublime goal. But it seems that historical circumstances were responsible for certain Sufi Orders being concerned with political issues and social problems. Neither should we forget that the Sufi notion of "following the best"⁽¹⁾ was another motive which drew some Sufi masters out of their retreat and impelled them to work for society as a whole, since this "following the best" is not a private or an individual aim confined to the Sufis alone, but also a general aim which they sought to attain for the benefit of society by means of preaching or by seizing power and implementing their concept of the best.⁽²⁾

Regarding the origin and development of the Sufi Orders, there are two matters which must be taken into consideration. The first is that not all of the orders

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1. 'Ittibā' al-aḥsan. Zarrūq always emphasised this tenet, in accordance with the Qur'ānic verse: "Who hear advice and follow the best thereof. Such are those whom God guides and such are men of understanding." (Qur'ān; 39:18). See: Qawā'id al-Taṣawwuf, pp.34-35.
 2. A modern example may be given here: Aḥmad b. Idrīs (d. 1253/1837), the famous Sufi leader in the Ḥijāz. "His concern was not confined to teaching awrād and adhkār, to urging people to go into retreat and insulate themselves from mankind. Such practices might be of advantage for the personal development of the individual disciple, but they were not suitable for the higher purpose at which he was aiming, that is, the unity of the endeavour of Muslims united in the bond of Islam." The Sufi Orders in Islam, p.115.

had political ambitions, and the second is that not all which had these ambitions succeeded in fulfilling them. Thus we may divide them into two sections: the spiritual Orders and the spiritual-political Orders. The former are known to be completely concerned with the individual's spiritual evolution guided by certain regulations to be followed by the aspirant, while the latter mix this spiritual aspiration with secular concerns.

In addition to this division it is noteworthy that as the Muslim world was usually separated into two parts: al-Mashriq (the East) and al-Maghrib (the West), the Sufi Orders were distinguished also in accordance with this division.⁽¹⁾ So we see that there are Eastern Orders as well as Western Orders, Although we might find the followers of a certain Order spread throughout the world it is noticeable that there has always been a greater degree of concentration in particular areas. This is due to the nature of the Order itself and the measure of the acceptance of its teachings by the people concerned, since some ideas are widely accepted in certain regions, because they find a suitable soil in which to grow, while they are rejected in other regions because they lack the necessary background which supports their existence and survival.⁽²⁾

1. See: J. S. Trimingham; The Sufi Orders in Islam, Oxford, 1971, pp.4-16.

2. Regarding this point we quote here what J. S. Trimingham says in his book The Sufi Orders in Islam". "The response of regional groups to Sufism in its different manifestation varied considerably... It would be easy to contrast

The beginnings of all the Sufi Orders are similar; a master emerges and becomes famous for his virtues. A group of admirers gathers around him, receiving his teachings, obeying his precepts and considering him as the leader who shows them the way to their spiritual salvation. In the course of time the master and his teaching become sacred and venerated by his followers, either during his life-time or after his death, and an Order is created. This Order usually bears its founder's name and agrees in its main principles with a major earlier Order from which it sprang, but it keeps its own identity by adapting some of these principles or adding new rules to it. (1)

(Footnote (1) cont'd from p.159).

an Iranian world as primarily manifesting an intellectual and poetical response to Sufism with an Arab world whose reaction has been anti-intellectual and conformist. But the reaction of the peoples of the Indian subcontinent could offer no one the opportunity for precise definition, since their heterogeneous range covers every variety of Sufi expression in a way inconceivable elsewhere... Furthermore, these cultural differences in response and adaptation exist within the Arabic-speaking world... These differences condition the response of the various peoples and occupational groups to Sufism." pp.219-220.

This was noticed by Zarrūq five centuries ago. In his 'Uddat al-murīd al-ṣādiq (Ms. Rabat, D 1157) he classifies six types of response to Sufism; al-Maghrib (North Africa), al-Mashriq (Egypt, Iraq and Iran) al-Shamāl (the North; Syria) al-Janūb (the South; India), Yemen and the Ḥijāz, and al-Andalus (the Muslim Spain), pp.70-71. In a general classification he divides the types of Sufism unto three regions: the Maghrabī, the Persian and the Yemeni. Ibid., pp.60-62.

1. See Martin Ling's introduction to Titus Burckhardt's translation of the letters of the Shaikh al-'Arabī al-Darqāwī. Letters of a Sufi Master, London, 1969, p.vii.

In all cases, almost, there is a thread connecting the founder of the new Order with an eminent Sufi master, or masters, who lived before him and linking him with the source of the spiritual life in Islam, the Prophet Muḥammad, through one or more of his companions. This thread is called al-silsilah (the chain) and it is so important that every founder of an Order must have his own chain as a sort of authorisation which enables him to exert his influence over his disciples and gives him the right to their full obedience and respect.

Having this chain and establishing himself as a distinguished personality, by displaying his virtues and ability in a certain manner, the founder of the Order becomes a recognised master deserving to be followed. He is going to be regarded as a milestone on the way along which he has passed. His Order will be considered as a branch of the mother-Order, and other branches will grow from his own.

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The Zarrūqiyah Order, which our Shaikh founded, is regarded as one of the Western Sunnī Orders mentioned above.

In the foregoing pages we have traced his life and seen him as a seeker and a traveller in the Sufi Way. In the following pages we will see him as a master and the founder of an Order which bears his name.

The Chain:

All historians of the Sufi Orders are agreed that the Zarrūqiyah is a branch of the Shādhiliyah and that Aḥmad Zarrūq was a true Shādhilī.⁽¹⁾ This may be true to some extent, for he was known as a great defender of this Order and a celebrated commentator on its important texts.⁽²⁾ He himself used to praise the Shādhiliyah and regard it as the most effective way to God.⁽³⁾ At the same time we would suggest that he was not as true a Shādhilī as he was thought to be until now. This is because to be a devoted adherent of a certain Order one has to adhere strictly to its principles and keep to its regulations and formulas. And this Zarrūq did not do.

It is well-known that the Shādhiliyah - in its simplest form - is based on Five famous principles which are:

1. Fear of God in secret and openly.
2. Adherence to the Sunnah in word and deed.
3. Contempt of mankind in prosperity and adversity.
4. Resignation to the Will of God in all things, great and small.
5. Having recourse to God in joy and sorrow. ⁽⁴⁾

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1. See for example: Louis Rinn; Marabouts et Khouan, Alger, 1884, p.270 and Depont & Cappolani; Les Confreries Religieuses Musulmanes, Alger, 1897, p.457.
 2. Like al-Ḥikam of Ibn 'Atā' Allāh al-Iskandarī and the ḥizbs of al-Shādhilī. See the Catalogue.
 3. Sharḥ ḥizb al-baḥr, Ms. Cairo 25866, fol.13.
 4. Aḥmad al-Kumushānawī; Jāmi' 'uṣūl al-awliyā' Cairo, 1298/1881, p.14.

These principles are certainly included in Zarrūq's teachings. But there are also another five principles which, together with the Shādhilī principles, compose the Zarrūqiyah and are originally Qādirī.⁽¹⁾ They are:

1. Having a high aspiration of the Soul.
2. The preservation of reverence of God.
3. The goodly service of God.
4. Strong resolution.
5. Glorification of the favour of God. ⁽²⁾

This Qādirī influence becomes quite clear when we consider that the Shaikh has written two accounts of his principles both of them called 'Uṣūl al-Ṭarīqah (The Principles of the Way);⁽³⁾ the first is composed of five principles which are Shādhilī, while the second is composed of ten principles which are Shādhilī-Qādirī.⁽⁴⁾

In addition to this we find that Zarrūq in his Sufi Chain has two sanads (warrants or ascriptions), one links him with Abū al Ḥasan al-Shādhilī and the other connects him with 'Abd al-Qādir al-Jīlānī. Astonishingly we find his master Ahmad b. 'Uqbah al-Ḥaḍramī at the head of each of them. This may be explained by the fact that the sanad comes through two channels; the silsilah (chain) and the khirqah (mantle).⁽⁵⁾ We must not forget that al-Ḥaḍramī

1. al-Kumushānawī; Jāmi' 'uṣūl al-awliyā', op. cit. p.14.

2. Ibid.

3. See the Catalogue, No. XCIX.

4. See the Catalogue, No. C.

5. Sanūsi; al-Manhal al-rawī al-rā'iq fī asānīd al-'ulūm wa 'uṣūl al-ṭarā'iq, Beirut, 1968, pp.74-75.

See also: al-Ta'rīf, op.cit., p.283

was not only a Shādhilī. He was, perhaps, a Qādirī muqaddam⁽¹⁾ initiated by Abū Zakariā' Yaḥyā al-Qādirī (d. 561/1165-6). His only link with the Shādhiliyah was his connection with 'Alī b. Muḥammad b. Wafā al-Qurashī (d. 709-10/1310) the founder of the Wafā'iyah.⁽²⁾ And yet this link was through Abū Zakariyā' al-Qādirī. When Zarrūq asked al-Ḥadramī what Order he belonged to he did not receive an accurate reply from him.⁽³⁾ The hints which were recorded by Zarrūq about al-Ḥadramī regarding this point suggest that our Shaikh was not entirely satisfied with his master's attitude and that he was trying to make a Shādhilī of him and discover the relationship between him and the Shādhiliyah.⁽⁴⁾

When we look at the names of the direct Sufi masters of Zarrūq usually mentioned in the sanads we find two other Qādīrīs; Abū Muḥammad 'Abd Allāh al-Zaitūnī,⁽⁵⁾ Zarrūq's patron in Fez, and Aḥmad Ibn Zimām.⁽⁶⁾

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1. L. Rinn; Marabouts et Khouan, p.268.
 2. A branch of the Shādhiliyah. See: Marabouts et Khouan, p.267.
 3. Manāqib al-Ḥadramī, p.14. "I asked him to which Ṭarīqah he belonged," says Zarrūq, "and he answered me:" "We know nothing of these things. However, my mother is descended from Shaikh Abū Madyan. The Prophet named me Rifā'ī when a man saw him in his sleep saying: Say to Aḥmad b. 'Uqbah al-Rifā'ī." It is noteworthy that Shu'aib Abū Madyan was the link between the Qādiriyah and the Shādhiliyah (see the Table). Zarrūq comments on al-Ḥadramī being named al-Rifā'ī by saying that that was either because he was upgraded in his State (Rafī' al-qadr fī ḥālihi), or because his ṭarīqah was in conformity with the Rifā'iyah. Zarrūq himself does not know!
 4. Ibid., p.22, where Zarrūq tries to compare some of al-Ḥadramī's utterances with those of Ibn 'Atā' Allāh al-Iskandarī and traces their meaning to al-Ḥikam of Ibn 'Atā' Allāh.
 5. al-Ta'rīf, op.cit., p.283. Cf. al-Mahdī al-Fāsī. Tuḥfat ahl al-ṣiddiqiyah fī asānīd al-ṭarīqah al-Jazūliyah wa al-Zarrūqiyah, Ms. Rabat, K 2242, p.108.
 6. Ibid., See also: al-Kunnāsh, op.cit., pp.64-65.

How did it then come about that our Shaikh was regarded as a Shādhilī and that the Zarrūqiyah was counted among the branches of the Shādhiliyah?

To answer this question we have to note that, despite the fact that the Qādiriyah and the Shādhiliyah are considered independent Orders. They are not completely separated from each other either in their teachings or their historical development.⁽¹⁾ If we look at the Shādhiliyah chain we find that it has a connection with the Qādiriyah through Shu'aib Abū Madyan (d. 594/1196), who was initiated by 'Abd al-Qādir al-Jīlānī (d. 561/1165-6) himself,⁽²⁾ and with whom Abū al-Ḥasan al-Shādhilī (d. 656/1258) was related through 'Abd al-Salām Ibn Mashīsh (d. 625/1228) and 'Abd al-Rahmān al-'Aṭṭār al-Zayyāt al-Madanī (d. on the one hand and Muḥammad Ibn Ḥarazhum (d. 634/1236) and Abū Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ Baisār (d. 631/1234) on the other.

The Shādhiliyah, in fact, are very careful to maintain their relationship with the Qādiriyah in their chain to the Prophet. Thus it came about that the Shādhiliyah has two sanads in its chain both leading to the Prophet through 'Alī b. Abū Ṭālib and his two sons; al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusain. One is called Tarīq al-'irādah (the channel of aspiration) which links al-Shādhilī, through Ibn Mashīsh, with al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī b. Abū Ṭālib, without 'Abd al-Qādir al-Jīlānī, and the other is called

1. al-Sanūsī; al-Manhal al-rawī, p.77.

2. Ibid.

ṭarīq al-tabarruk (the channel of blessing) which links al-Shādhilī with al-Ḥusain b. 'Alī b. Abū Ṭālib through Ibn Mashīsh, al-Zayyāt, Abū Madyan and 'Abd al-Qādir al-Jīlānī. (1)

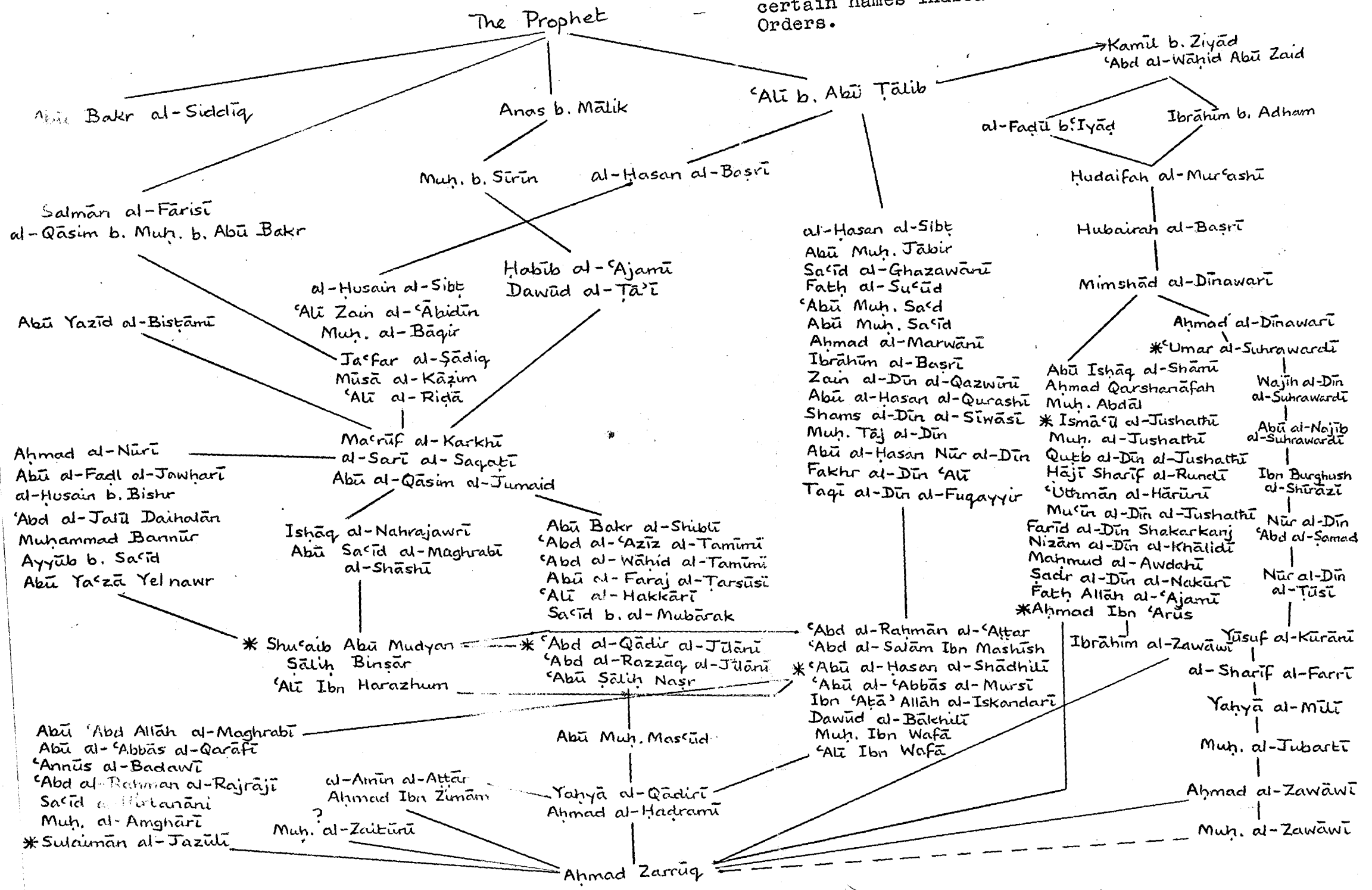
Nevertheless, just as al-Shādhilī was initiated through two channels (al-'irādah and al-tabarruk) so Zarrūq was initiated through two channels: ṭarīq al-aqtāb (the channel of the Poles) which is equivalent to ṭarīq al-irādah, and ṭarīq al-Khirqah (the channel of the mantle) which is equivalent to ṭarīq al-tabarruk. (2)

The ṭarīq al-aqtāb, linking him with al-Shādhilī, goes as follows: Aḥmad Zarrūq, Aḥmad b. 'Uqbah al-Ḥaḍramī, Abū Zakariyā' Yaḥyā al-Qādirī, 'Alī Ibn Wafā al-Qurashī, Muḥammad Ibn Wafā al-Qurashī, Dawūd al-Bākhilī, Ibn 'Aṭā' Allāh al-Iskandarī, Abū al-'Abbās al-Mursī, Abū al-Ḥasan al-Shādhilī, 'Abd al-Salām Ibn Mashīsh, 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Zayyāt al-Madanī, Taqī al-Dīn al-Fuqayyir, Fakhr al-Dīn 'Alī, Abū al-Ḥasan Nūr al-Dīn, Shams al-Dīn al-Sīwāsī, Abū al-Ḥasan al-Qurashī, Zain al-Dīn al-Qazwīnī, Ibrāhīm al-Baṣrī, Aḥmad al-Marwānī, Abū Muḥammad Sa'īd, Abū Muḥammad Sa'd, Faṭḥ al-Su'ūd, Sa'īd al Ghazawānī, Abū Muḥammad Jābir, al-Ḥasan al-Sibṭ, 'Alī b. Abū Ṭālib, the Prophet. (3)

The Ṭarīq al-khirqah, linking him with 'Abd al-Qādir al-Jīlāmī, goes as follows:

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1. al-Mahdī al-Fāsī; Tuḥfat ahl al-Ṣiddīqiyah, Ms. Rabat, K 2242, p.99.
 2. Ibid., pp.98-99 and pp. 104-105.
 3. Ibid., pp.98-99. Cf. al-Sanūsī; al-Salsabīl al-mu'īn, pp.108-109.

Table showing the chain of Zarruq and his connections with other Orders. Stars preceding certain names indicate the founders of the Orders.



Aḥmad Zarrūq, Aḥmad b. 'Uqbah al-Ḥaḍramī, Abū Zakariyā' Yaḥya al-Qādirī, Abū Mas'ūd Aḥmad, Abū Ṣāliḥ Naṣr, 'Abd al-Razzāq al-Jīlānī, 'Abd al-Qādir al-Jīlānī, Sa'īd b. al-Mubārak al-Mukharramī, 'Alī al-Hakkārī, Abū al-Faraj al-Ṭarsūsī, 'Abd al-Wāḥid al-Tamīmī, 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Tamīmī, Abū Bakr al-Shiblī, Abū al-Qāsim al-Junaid, al-Sarī al-Saqatī, Ma'rūf al-Karkhī, 'Alī al-Riḍā, Mūsā al-Kāẓim, Ja'far al-Ṣādiq, Muḥammad al-Bāqir, 'Alī Zain al-'Ābidīn, al-Ḥusain al-Sibt, 'Alī b. Abū Ṭālib, The Prophet. (1)

Is it possible now, according to the foregoing account, to say that our Shaikh was not a Shādhilī? The answer must be in the negative, simply because of his own Sufi heritage in which he was mainly influenced by the teachings of this Order, as represented in the works of Ibn 'Aṭā' Allāh al-Iskandarī and Abū al-Ḥasan al-Shādhilī himself. But it is possible to assert that he was also influenced, laterally at least, by other Sufi Orders as well, and the result was a mixture of many Orders in which the Shādhiliyah was the dominant influence. (2)

Bearing in mind that the Shādhilīs generally were not fanatics for their own Order and that they were on the contrary more tolerant than many other Orders, it is not difficult to see how Zarrūq managed to adapt the principles of other Orders, and even practices,

1. al-Fāsī; Tuḥfat ahl al-Ṣiddīqiyah, pp.104-105.

2. See: al-Kunnāsh, pp.62-65 and pp.74-76.

and still be considered a Shādhilī. (1)

Apart from the Shādhiliyah and the Qādiriyah, Zarrūq was attached to five other famous Orders of which two are branches of the Shādhilī Order, while three of them have no connection with the Shādhiliyah at all. The first two are: al-Wafā'iyah through Aḥmad b. 'Uqbah al-Ḥaḍramī and Abū Zakaryiā' al-Qādirī, and al-Jazūliyah through its founder Abū Muḥammad Sulaimān al-Jazūlī. The other three are: al-Suhrawardiyah through Muḥammad al-Zawāwī al-Madanī, al-Jushathiyah through Aḥmad Ibn 'Arūs, and al-'Arūsiyah through its founder Ibn 'Arūs and Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm al-Zawāwī. (2)

As we have seen in the case of Zarrūq's master, Aḥmad al-Ḥaḍramī, and his refusal to declare which Order he followed, it is significant that our Shaikh does not declare it either. The only chain of an order he records is found in his Kunnāsh, that of the Suhrawardiyah of which, surprisingly enough, he adopts the procedure of initiation and method of invocation. (3) The conclusion might be drawn from this fact is that he perhaps aimed to do so as an indication of his "independence" of any other specified Order. This gives him the chance to establish his own Order and spread his own teachings, supported by different sources of blessing and connected to various spiritual guides. ()

1. See: G. Colin; "Sayyidī Ahmad Zarrūq", Revista di Tripolitania, year II, vol.I, p.32.

2. See in all these: al-Fāsī; Tuḥfat ahl al-Ṣiddīqiyah, pp.98-99 and pp.104-105, al-Sanūsī; al-Manḥal al-rawī, p.79, Zarrūq; al-Kunnāsh, pp.74-76.

This conclusion might be acceptable when we read in one of Zarrūq's waṣāyā his warm defence of a variety of ways to God and how it is allowed to any who finds it difficult to bear the requirements of certain Order, to turn to another which he thinks less difficult and leading to his goal, according to his aptitude and capacity.⁽¹⁾

Such an attitude is not unusual in the case of any Sufi master who plans to found an Order bearing his name and carrying out his teachings and precepts, and many examples can be given of this idea.⁽²⁾

At any rate, and in spite of all that has been said above, Aḥmad Zarrūq was considered always a link in the Shādhilī chain, and it is perhaps on this basis that his Order was established and gained its prestige.

The establishment and development of the Zarrūqiyah:

Did Zarrūq intend to found an Order? And if so, what steps did he take in this direction?

His refusal to build a Zāwiyah when he was requested to do so may indicate that he was not willing to follow the example of other Sufi masters and that consequently he did not intend to found an Order. But from his very reply it is clear that he regarded himself as an important figure who was denied his right place of recognition and who preferred to leave it to coming generations to

1. Waṣīyah, Ms. Cairo, 550/Taṣawwuf, p.3.

2. Muḥammad b. 'Alī al-Sanūsī, or the Grand Sanūsī as he was called, the founder of the Sanūsiyah Order, relates his sanads (ascriptions) to almost all of the known orders in the history of Sufism. See his al-Salsabīl al-mu'īn fī al-ṭarā'iq al-arba'īn and his al-Manḥal al-rawī al-rā'iq fī asānīd al-'ulūm wa 'uṣūl al-ṭarā'iq, both of them published in Beirut, 1968, in one volume.

appreciate him, as it is apparent that he enjoyed, in fact, prestige and fame among the people who knew him, otherwise he would not have been asked to build a Zāwiyah.⁽¹⁾

Also, we can conclude from the fragments of his waṣāyā and the few remaining letters which he wrote to his disciples and friends that he did not rule out the idea of founding his own Order, although he approached this goal in a very hesitant manner. Unfortunately the lack of information and the loss of the majority of his letters to his followers force us to rely on conjecture rather than making any precise judgement regarding the establishing of the Zarrūqiyah and its development. We have to add that the real task of founding the Order was carried out, in fact, by Zarrūq's adherents more than himself, because of his early death, perhaps, or because of the difficulties he encountered during his life. It has still to be said, however, that the seeds of the Zarrūqiyah are to be found scattered in his numerous compilations, especially his Kunnāsh and Waṣīfah, and the elements of the Order are in his letters and waṣāyā.

Before we start tracing the history of the Zarrūqiyah Order it is necessary to recall how it began and the activities of its founder.

In his early twenties Aḥmad Zarrūq came into contact with Sufism and the Sufi Orders in Morocco. He served

1. Riḥlat al-‘Ayyāshī, op.cit., p.97.

the "poor" at the Zāwiyah of Buqattūt in Fez under al-Zaitūnī's patronage and met other Sufi masters too. At the age of twenty-eight he performed the Pilgrimage and stayed in Cairo for a while. In Mecca, as well as in Cairo, he accompanied Sufi masters from different Orders as he did in Bougie, Tunis and Tripoli on his way to the Holy Land. The man with the most influence upon him was Aḥmad b. 'Uqbah al-Ḥaḍramī who used Zarrūq as a missionary in North Africa until his death in 895/1489, while Zarrūq was living at Misurata in his last settlement.

From this brief account we can omit a large proportion of our Shaikh's life, since he was, throughout all this period, under the influence of al-Ḥaḍramī, and concern ourselves only with the last ten years or so, when he was functioning independently of him,⁽¹⁾ and when he became a famous figure and a well-known Sufi master. In this period, probably, it has been said that he initiated disciples in the vast area extending from Mecca in the East to Bougie in the West, spreading his Order by means of personal contact or correspondence. Let us now start to trace our Shaikh's movements and try to ascertain his impact in the places he visited and on the people he met.

1. The only known letter Zarrūq wrote to al-Ḥaḍramī was in 886/1481 after his settlement at Misurata, where it is obvious that he was still considered himself a disciple of al-Ḥaḍramī (Cf. al-Ta'rīf pp.280-281). He presumably lost contact with his master afterwards since there is no mention at all of their meeting again. It is significant that Zarrūq passed through Cairo during 894/1489 and did not see al-Ḥaḍramī who was still alive at that time.

In Cairo:

Al-Azhar mosque was the place on which all Muslim students and scholars used to converge whenever they visited Cairo. Here they learned or taught. To make it easier for the people who came from every part of the Muslim world to live in comfort, a sort of group-accommodation was arranged for them which were called riwāqs (living quarters) and these were divided into and named after different territories.⁽¹⁾ Riwāq al-Maghāribah (the Westerners' quarter) was always one of the busiest riwāqs in the mosque. There it seems Zarrūq lived since the first day he arrived in Cairo and during his frequent visits afterwards, since there is no mention at all of his living anywhere except at al-Azhar mosque.⁽²⁾

During his first and second visits to Cairo our Shaikh was occupied with study and learning and he had not yet become an eminent figure. But it seems that he was highly regarded as a scholar and a Sufi master during his third visit which took place in 884/1479 and his fourth visit which was in 894/1489, while performing his last

1. Such as riwāq al-Atrāk, riwāq al-Yamaniyah, etc.

2. See the last page of his al-Naṣīḥah al-kāfiyah liman khaṣṣahu Allāh bi al-‘āfiyah, Ms. Rabat, 507/2 D, where Zarrūq states that he has written this work in Riwāq al-Maghāribah in al-Azhar, during 877/1472. It seems that al-Azhar in those days was a vivid centre of Sufism. Al-Maqrīzī (d. 846/1442) says in his Khiṭāṭ that al-Azhar was open to Sufis and dhikrs were performed there. He also refers to riwāq as equivalent to ribāt. See: The Sufi Orders in Islam, p.21.

Pilgrimage. The author of Ṭabaqāt al-Shādhiliyat al-kubrā describes how Zarrūq was received in Cairo on one of these two visits, saying:

"When the scholars and learned men of Egypt heard of his arrival they came to him and attended his lectures. He started teaching at al-Azhar mosque. About six thousand men used to attend his lectures from Cairo and its suburbs... A high well-made chair was specially placed for him on which he used to sit and dictate his lessons. This chair still exists at the Western quarter until now."⁽¹⁾

This account of Zarrūq's prestige in Cairo is supported by what his jurist master, Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Sakhāwī, says about him that he "he had followers and admirers",⁽²⁾ and what Zarrūq mentions about himself as having commented on al-Ḥikam of Ibn 'Atā' Allāh al-Iskandarī in Cairo and how his commentary was studied under his supervision.⁽³⁾

1. Ṭabaqāt al-Shādhiliyah, p.123. When the writer visited riwāq al-Maghāribah looking for this chair he found no trace of it. In the summer of 1965 a big dispute occurred in al-Azhar circles when some of Zarrūq's relics were discovered in this riwāq; a big 99 bead rosary and a copy of the Qur'ān written in old Kūfī, said to be one of the original six copies which the Caliph 'Uthmān sent to the various Muslim regions in the first quarter of the first Hijrī century as the formal copies. (See: al-Akhabār newspaper, Cairo, 16 July, 1965). The head of the riwāq at that time, Shaikh Muḥammad al-Kumaishī showed the writer both the rosary and the copy of the Qur'ān. This copy was given by Shaikh al-Kumaishī to ex-King Idrīs of Libya who gave it back to the late President Gamāl 'Abd al-Nāṣir of Egypt as a gesture of good will after criticism and complaint of the "robbery" arose in the Egyptian circles.

2. al-Daw' al-lāmi', op.cit., p.222.

3. The Eleventh Commentary on al-Ḥikam, Ms. Cairo 2665/ Taṣawwuf, p.200.

At any rate, it is quite possible that the Shaikh, while lecturing at al-Azhar, mainly on Jurisprudence, was in touch with many Sufi adherents whom he initiated in Cairo. Among famous Egyptians said to have studied under his supervision or been initiated by him we know of: 'Abd al-Wahhāb al-Sha'rānī,⁽¹⁾ Shihāb al-Dīn Abū al-'Abbās al-Qastalānī,⁽²⁾ Shams al-Dīn al-Laqqānī (d. 935/1529) and his brother Nāṣir al-Dīn (d. 958/1551).⁽³⁾ Zarrūq's influence upon the Laqqānī brothers was so great that they left their native country and followed him to Misurata where they stayed until his death.

In Mecca:

Nothing is known about Zarrūq's activity in Mecca except that he met Abū al-Ḥasan al-Bakrī there and initiated him, probably in the year 894/1489 during his last Pilgrimage. Al-Bakrī was an Egyptian and in Egypt he founded the Bakriyah-Zarrūqiyah Order.⁽⁴⁾

In Algeria and Morocco:

As it has been pointed out before, Bougie, in Algeria, was the headquarters of Zarrūq's activities when he was a

1. Muḥammad Makhlūf; Shajarat al-nūr al-Zakiyah, op.cit. p.267.

2. al-Fāsī; Tuḥfat ahl al-ṣiddīqiyah, p.46.

3. Aḥmad Bābā; Nail al-ibtihāj, p.335 and p.337.

4. See: Tawfīq al-Ṭawīl; al-Taṣawwuf fī Miṣr, Cairo, 1946, pp.90-97.

missionary of al-Ḥaḍramī in his thirties and forties. It was to Bougie again he went back as a Sufi master establishing his own Order. In that town, presumably during the year 891/1486 or 892/1487,⁽¹⁾ he managed to gather his adherents and initiate them either in Bougie itself or in the proximity. He certainly visited Algiers and a place called Tammūgar⁽²⁾ also. There he initiated, among others, Abd al-'Azīz al-Qusanṭīnī, Ṭāhir b. Zayyān al-Qusanṭīnī and the eminent Sufi, Abū al-'Abbās Aḥmad b. Yūsuf al-Rāshidī.⁽³⁾ The last one was a close disciple of Zarrūq and through him the Zarrūqiyah found its way to many other Sufis and influenced many Sufi Orders.

In Morocco, and despite the fact that Zarrūq was forced to leave his native city, Fez, and seek to live elsewhere, he was able to attract Moroccan followers who spread the Zarrūqiyah and preserved its teachings within their own orders.

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1. Zarrūq; al-Maqṣad al-asmā fī sharḥ asmā' Allāh al-ḥusnā, Ms. Rabat 952D, p.122 and Ms. Rabat 1385 Q, p.51.
 2. A place in the region of Banī 'Abdel within Bougie province, where Zarrūq wrote his al-Jāmi' lijumlah min al-fawā'id wa al-manāfi' at the mosque of Sayyidī Yaḥya b. Muḥammad al-'Abdalī. See the end of al-Jāmi', Ms. Ḥusnī, Tunis, 18036.
 3. al-Fāsī; Tuḥfat ahl al-Ṣiddīqiyah, pp.45-46. Aḥmad Bābā; Nail al-ibtihāj, p.130.
 4. G. Colin; "Sayyidī Ahmad Zarrūq", op.cit., p.33. He cites that "Whilst al-Rāshidī was with his master at Bougie, a mysterious person brought to Zarrūq from his wife, who was still at Fez with his son, four loaves which were still smoking as though straight from the oven. The master gave three and a quarter of these loaves to his favourite disciple in order to pass on to him his barakah."

Al-Mahdī al-Fāsī in his Tuḥfat ahl al-Ṣiddīqiyah mentions among them: Abū al-Qāsim al-Zarhūnī, Ibrāhīm al-Zarhūnī, ‘Abd al-Malik b. Sa‘īd, ‘Abd Allāh al-Maghrāwī, Muḥammad Mūsā b. Ayyūb, Muḥammad al-Sarsūrī, Muḥammad al-Salāwī, Abū Muḥammad ‘Abd al-‘Azīz, ‘Abd Allāh al-Midgharī and Ibrāhīm al-Faḥḥām (or al-Ḥajjām).⁽¹⁾

In Tripoli:

Before Zarrūq came to Misurata and during his stay there he was acquainted with some Tripolitanians whose respect and trust he had gained, like Abū Muḥammad ‘Alī al-Kharrūbī al-Ṭarābulṣī whose son, Abū ‘Abd Allāh Muḥammad al-Kharrūbī was a loyal adherent of Zarrūq. There is also Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Ḥaṭṭāb al-Ru‘ainī and his son Abū al-Barakāt. Both of them were initiated by the Shaikh and considered among his immediate disciples.⁽²⁾

In Misurata:

It was to Misurata that Zarrūq resorted at last, as was pointed out in the previous pages. Since 886/1481 the Shaikh lived there on a well-chosen spot which not only helped in spreading his Order through the potentialities of its people, but also enabled him to be on the Pilgrimage caravan-route as the last populous halting-place before the vast dangerous desert of Cyrenaica. There pious men used to come to him, seeking

1. Al-Mahdī al-Fāsī; Tuḥfat ahl al-ṣiddīqiyah, p.45 ff.

2. Ibid.

3. Colin; "Sayyidī Aḥmad Zarrūq"; Revista di Tripolitania, year II, vol.I, p.30.

his barakah whenever they were on their way to Mecca and they, perhaps, were initiated by him as well. (1)

During the Shaikh's life the Zarrūqiyah flourished at Misurata and the circle around him was continuously growing. That atmosphere of respect and admiration Zarrūq found suitable for him to preach his teachings and practice his Way. But here also we stand helpless because of the scarcity of information, since the Shaikh's biographers do not supply us with any details apart from some names of his followers. Among these names there are his intimate friend Abū Za'āmah, his servant Aḥmad b. 'Abd al-Raḥīm, Muḥammad al-Baramūnī and Abū al-'Abbās Aḥmad b. Ghalbūn. (2)

Our Shaikh's contact with his more distant adherents did not cease after his settlement at Misurata. He kept in touch with them during his visits to their areas and also by correspondence. Thus we read in a letter he sent to Morocco in reply to two of his deputies who had consulted him about a certain novice's admittance into the Order:

"From the faqīr (3) Aḥmad b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. 'Isā al-Burnusī, known as Zarrūq, God make him more

1. Ibid. See also: Riḥlat al-'Ayyāshī, p.98.

2. Riḥlat al-'Ayyāshī, p.97. Cf. Tuḥfat ahl al-ṣiddīqiyah, p.45 ff.

3. The poor one (in need of God). Plural; fugarā'. A term used in Islam in the sense of spiritual poverty to denote the members of a Sufi order. (Cf. Martin Lings; A Moslem Saint of the Twentieth Century, London, 1961, p.16).

correct, to the esteemed masters, Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Maghrāwī, God be with him in this world and Hereafter, and his friend in Almighty God 'Abd al-Malik b. Sa'īd, God make him happy with His satisfaction, illuminate his heart and preserve him from the evils of his soul. Then to all the brothers who wish to join the circle of the friends and the beloved ones... We have received a letter from you, containing all amity and good faith, in which you have expressed your longing for us and your leaning towards us... You have asked me for permission for so-and-so to join the circle, while this is not my right or at the discretion of my disobedient soul to do. But tell them that I say to them: 'Take refuge always with God...'(1)

"What I have mentioned is my way which was the way that the Messenger of God (the peace and blessing of God be upon him) practiced till he met God. I do not wish or approve any excess or any deficiency [in the practices of the Order]... I have written for you the wazīfah which I use. Read it at your Zāwiyahs, if possible, since it is taken from the Prophet's sayings."(2)

1. The omitted paragraph of the letter contains some advice and instructions.

2. Mss. Tunis 2327 fols. 4-6, 895; Ḥusnī, 1/18. Al-Maghrāwī family at Misurata still keeps a copy of this letter, written about five centuries ago, as a source of blessing handed down within the family from one generation to another. They claim that it is the original letter written by Zarrūq himself. (See a photocopy of this letter in the Catalogue).

In another letter our Shaikh wrote in reply to a certain Abū al-Khair 'Abd al-Nabī⁽¹⁾, who apparently was of social importance among his people, saying:

"We have received your letter and understand what is in it. May God reward you for us. Know, brother, that this world is God's world. The creatures in it are destined for whatsoever the Divine decree wills and the Lord's decision requires... God, praise be to Him, has put your veneration in the peoples' hearts and has compelled them to respect you. Thank Him for this and beg Him to make it perfect and always seek help in your affairs from God."⁽²⁾

As a result of Zarrūq's contact with his more remote followers some of them preferred to leave their own countries and come to Misurata to live near him. From Bougie came Abū 'Alī Manṣūr b. Aḥmad al-Bijā'ī who accompanied the Shaikh and married one of his two wives after his death.⁽³⁾ When he died he was buried beside the Shaikh's grave and he is the only one buried at his tomb. From Morocco came Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad al-Maghṛāwī who was mentioned above and whose descendents are still living in Misurata, constituting one of its tribes; al-Maghārwah. From Egypt came the Laqqānī

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1. The 'Abd al-Nabī Abū al-Khair family was, and still is, one of the leading families in Warfallah, about fifty miles South-West of Misurata. It played a decisive rôle during the Italian-Libyan war in the early part of this Century. It is not known whether Zarrūq's correspondent was the ancestor of this family.
 2. A private possession in Mr. 'Alī al-Miṣrātī's library, Tripoli.
 3. Riḥlat al-'Ayyāshī, p.98.

brothers, Nāṣir al-Dīn and Shams al-Dīn. It was Shams al-Dīn al-Laqqānī who took the Shaikh's place after his death and became his Khalīfah (successor) in leading the Order and directing its affairs.⁽¹⁾ After a while Shams al-Dīn left Misurata for good and went back to his native village, Laqqānah, in Egypt where he was contacted sometimes by Misurati disciples.⁽²⁾ But nothing more is known about the Zarrūqiyah as an organized Order in Misurata save the reading of the Wazīfah by some pious men in his Zāwiyah, which was built two decades after his death because of his prestige and wide reputation. It might be that Aḥmad 'Abd al-Raḥīm, who built the Zāwiyah, conducted the Order as a Khalīfah after al-Laqqānī's departure. But this is not supported by any confirming evidence.

All the same, a group of the fugarā' gathered around Zarrūq's tomb and Zāwiyah afterwards, maintaining it and receiving pilgrims either on their way to Mecca or visiting the tomb itself. They were called Khuddām al-Zarrūq (the Servants of Zarrūq)⁽³⁾ and their descendants composed a large tribe at the Eastern part of Misurata. Some of them went to Banghazi, the capital of the Eastern provinces of Libya, where they settled as a group famed for blessing and sanctity.⁽⁴⁾

1. Muḥammad b. Makhlūf; Tanqīh rawḍ al-azhār wa munyat al-sādāt al-abrār, Cairo, 1966, p.244.

2. Aḥmad Bābā; Nail al-ibtihāj, p.226.

3. Al-Ḥasan al-Kuḥin; Ṭabaqāt al-Shādhiliyah, op.cit. p.124.

4. Muḥammad Muṣṭafā Bāzāmah; Benghāzī 'abr al-tārīkh, Beirut, 1968, p.255.

The question which might be asked now is why did the Zarrūqiyah fail to attract as many people as the other Orders? Why was it confined, as an independent Order, to such small areas and restricted to such small numbers?

It is a fact that the Zarrūqiyah, as an established organised Order, was not known in large-scale groups of fraternity, and it was often considered a link either in the chains of other Orders or as merely a Mother-Order for the Orders which sprang from it. That is why it is rather difficult to trace the development of the Zarrūqiyah and examine its impact on Islamic society in the various parts of the Muslim world.

Apart from what has been mentioned above we completely loose the thread in our search of the Zarrūqiyah history until we reach the middle of the Nineteenth Century when Muḥammad b. 'Alī al-Sanūsī mentions it as an independent Order.⁽¹⁾ But he does not give any details concerning its development except some of Zarrūq's sanads and that it was considered one of the Western Orders.⁽²⁾ By the end of the same Century remains of the Zarrūqiyah existed in Algeria, around Algiers and Constantine at the sites of Berruaghia, Tablat, Aumale and Meskiane.⁽³⁾ At the

1. al-Sanūsī; al-Manhal al-rawī al-rā'iq fī asānīd al-ulūm wa 'uṣūl al-ṭarā'iq, Beirut, 1968, p.78.

2. Ibid., p.104.

3. Depont & Cappolani; Les Confréries ... op.cit., p.213 and p.459. The number of the Zarrūqī Khouans in 1897 was 2,734 in total.

same period, and thirty years later, the tribes of Zakkārah and Hawwārah were regarded as Khuddām Zarrūq in Morocco.⁽¹⁾

In order to answer our question it is appropriate to quote the relevant remark of Depont and Cappolani about our Shaikh. They say:

"Despite his renown for saintliness and great knowledge, the followers who put themselves under Zarrūq's patronage were only the beginning of other organisations. His teachings have remained in the domain of literature and they could never influence the common people who have only retained a vague memory of their author."⁽²⁾

The same thing was noticed by G. Colin in his article on Zarrūq when he says that "The Sufi teachings of Aḥmad Zarrūq were too lofty and perhaps also too pure to meet with great success amongst the masses. His Sufi teachings hardly passed beyond the narrow circle of his immediate disciples during his lifetime."⁽³⁾

This remark is certainly true, since our Shaikh was not of the type of the Marabouts who usually attract the common people by their karamāt and miracles. On the contrary he was mostly against those pseudo-Sufis whom he always considered as corrupted men and the cause of Sufism's deterioration and decay. Because of his high education and thorough understanding of the Sufi teaching

1. Ibid., p.459.

2. Ibid., pp.458-459.

3. G. Colin; "Sayyidī Aḥmad Zarrūq", Revista della Tripolitania, year II, vol.I, p.33.

and message, his compilations were far from being properly understood by lay-men, in spite of his attempts to simplify his teachings, as well as Sufi concepts in general. In that dark age of ignorance which wrapped the Muslim world in the early days of the collapse of Islamic civilisation, it was too difficult for any enlightened Order to survive in its pure state, and the Zarrūqiyah was an Order which might be followed by the élite rather than the common man.

Regarding this point, there are two examples, very close to our Shaikh, which may be cited here. The first is 'Abd al-Salām al-Asmar al-Faitūrī and the second is Aḥmad b. Yūsuf al-Rāshidī.

'Abd al-Salām al-Asmar was originally from al-Fawātīr, a tribe at an oasis in Tripolitania called Zlīten and with a long history of maraboutism. Born in 880/1475 he joined Zarrūq for a while and then turned to other Sufi masters and was initiated as an 'Arūsī. Under the cover of the 'Arūsīyah he established his own Order called al-Sulamiyah which flourished during his life and enjoyed absolute supremacy over other Orders in the area and a considerable power in certain other territories. Al-Asmar became the new "Jupiter Ammon" of Libya, as Depont and Cappolani put it, and his tremendous influence over his followers was beyond imagination.⁽¹⁾ All this was because al-Asmar

1. Depont & Cappolani; Les Confréries... p.340.

practiced Sufism as the vulgar people understood it. He turned its sublime spiritual aspirations into a sort of spiritual acrobatics by "performing" miracles and stimulating his followers' feelings with music and dancing. In short, he was a charlatan more than a real Sufi.⁽¹⁾ And yet he overshadowed all other Sufi masters during his lifetime and after his death, including Zarrūq himself. It is probable that the appearance of 'Abd al-Salām al-Asmar on the stage at the time of the establishing of the Zarrūqiyah affected its development and was a decisive factor in hindering its growth.

Abū al-'Abbās Aḥmad b. Yūsuf al-Rāshidī was, as it has been stated before, an adherent of Zarrūq. After their meeting at Bougie, Zarrūq departed for Misurata while al-Rāshidī moved into the West of Algeria and delivered his popular teachings, introducing, whilst there, various ecstatic and thaumaturgic practices which would meet with favour amongst the common folk.⁽²⁾ The success which al-Rāshidī achieved among the masses in Algeria and Morocco was equal to that which al-Asmar had met with in Libya and Tunisia. It is significant

1. For more detailed information about 'Abd al-Salām al-Asmar see: Depont & Cappolani; Les Confréries... pp. 339-349; Muḥammad b. Makhlūf; Tanqīh rawḍat al-azhār, Cairo, 1969; al-Ṭayyib al-Miṣrātī; Fatḥ al-'aliy al-akbar, Beirut, 1969; 'Abd al-Salām b. 'Uthmān al-Faitūrī; Fatḥ al-'Alīm fī manāqib Ibn Salīm, Ms. Tunis 550, and al-Asmar's compilations found mainly in the National Library of Tunis and in al-Awqāf Library of Tripoli.

2. G. Colin; "Sayyidī Aḥmad Zarrūq", op.cit., p.33.

here to notice that al-Rāshidī, although initiated by Zarrūq, did not follow his master's example or keep to his teachings and instructions. He had apparently deviated from them during his endeavour for the popular support and acceptance. Thus we see that al-Rāshidī was working in two directions; one was for the élite and the learned, spreading Zarrūq's principles, and the other was for the common laymen, preaching his own concepts and practicing his own method of mass communication. This may explain why he was considered as the head of two Orders; the Zarrūqiyah-Rāshidiyah and the Rāshidiyah or the Yūsufiyah.⁽¹⁾

Branches of Zarrūqiyah:

Taking into consideration the foregoing remark to the effect that the Zarrūqiyah, as an independent Order, did not survive, because of the social and historical circumstances, except on a small scale in limited areas, and that the burden of spreading its principles lay mainly on the immediate disciples of Zarrūq, it is time now to trace the branch orders of the Zarrūqiya and see how its influence infiltrated into the Orders founded after it. By 'branches' we mean not only those orders which emerged directly from the Mother-Order, but also those orders related to it through their sanads. The 'infiltration' does not indicate the complete dominance of Zarrūqiyah principles, since if this were so, those

1. Al-Sanūsī; al-Manhal al rawī al-rā'iq, pp.77-78.

Ahmad Zarrūq

Muhammad b. Ghalbūn
 Muhammad Ibn Ayyūb
 Muhammad al-Sarsūrī
 Muhammad al-Salāwī
 Abū Muhammad 'Abd al-'Azīz
 Shihāb al-Dīn al-Qastalārū
 'Abd Allāh b. 'Umar al-Mudgharī

Abū al-Qāsim al-Zarhūrī
 Abū Marwān 'Abad al-Malik Ibn Sa'īd
 'Abd Allāh al-Maghrāwī
 Bū Za'amah
 Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Kharrūbī
 'Abd al-Wahhāb al-Sha'arāwī
 Ibrāhīm al-Zarhūrī

'Abd al-'Azīz al-Qusanṭīnī

Tāhir al-Qusālīnī

Ibrāhīm al-Faḥḥām

Ahmad al-Rāshidī

Ahmad al-Hārithī

RASHIDIYAH-ZARRUQIYAH

Abū Sālim al-Tāzī
 Abū al-Qāsim al-Ghāzī

GHĀZIYAH

Ahmad al-Dar'ī
 'Alī Ibn 'Abd Allāh

'Abd Allāh Ibn Ḥasan
 Muḥ. Ibn Nāsir al-Dar'ī

NĀSIRIYAH

Ahmad Ibn Naṣīr al-Dar'ī
 Muḥ. b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Maghrabī al-Sindī

Abū al-'Abbās al-'Arā'ishī

ZARRUQIYAH

Muḥ. Ibn 'Isā
'ISĀWIYAH

al-Khayyāt al-Zarhūrī
 Abū al-Tayyīb al-Yahyāwī
 'Abd al-'Azīz Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥalīm
 Abū al-Ḥasan al-Kūmī
 Ahmad Ibn 'Abd al-Sādiq
 Abū al-Barakāt al-Fāsi

'Alī al-Sanhājī al-Dawwār
 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Majdhūb
 Abū al-Maḥāsīn al-Fāsi
 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Fāsi
 Qāsim al-Khaṣāṣī
 Ahmad Ibn 'Abd Allāh al-'Arabī Ibn 'Abd Allāh
 'Alī al-Jamal al-'Arabī al-Darqāwī
DARQĀWIYAH

Muhammad Zāfir al-Madawī
MADANIYAH

'Alī al-Yashrutī
YASHRUTIYAH

BAKRIYAH-ZARRUQIYAH

Abū al-Ḥasan al-Bakrī
 Zain al-'Abidīn al-Bakrī

SUHAILIYAH

Ahmad al-Suhailī
 Ahmad Ibn Mūsā

KERZAZIYAH

Ahmad Adfāl 'Abd Allāh Ibn Ḥasan
 Abū Bakr al-'Ayyāshī Muḥ. Ibn Nāsir al-Dar'ī
 Abū Sālim al-'Ayyāshī

SHAIKHIYAH

Sheikh 'Abd al-Qādir Ibn Muhammad

ZIYYĀNIYAH

'Abd al-'Azīz al-Sijilmāsi
 Muhammad Ibn Mubarak
 Muhammad Ibn Bū Ziyān

Muḥ. Ibn 'Alī al-Sanūsī

SANUSIYAH

Table showing the branches of the Zarrūqiyah Order and their sanads to Zarrūq.

orders would be a mere continuation of the Zarrūqiyah, which they were not. This affiliation, in fact, more often took the shape of adhering to some Zarrūqiyah principles, or following its procedure of invocation, or considering the Wazīfah of Zarrūq to be a part of the daily portion of prayer. It is noteworthy also to mention that all these branches of the Zarrūqiyah, without exception, are regarded also as Shādhilī Orders, related to Abū al-Ḥasan al-Shādhilī, the founder of the original Order, through Aḥmad Zarrūq.

The following is a list of the various branches of the Zarrūqiyah with brief details about their founders, their connection with Zarrūq and the location of the Order: (1)

1. Bakriyah-Zarrūqiyah:

Founded by Abū al-Ḥasan al-Bakrī (d. 909/1503-4) who was initiated by Zarrūq at Mecca. This Order was established in Egypt and continued to flourish and play an important rôle there, especially during the French invasion of Egypt. After Napoleon Bonaparte's conquest the French administration adapted a policy of reformation among the Sufi orders of Egypt and al-Bakriyah was considered chief of them all.

Chain: Abū al-Ḥasan al-Bakrī, Aḥmad Zarrūq.

Location: Egypt.

1. The references for these branches are: al-Mahdī al-Fāsī; Tuhfat ahl al-ṣiddīqiyah, al-Sanūsī; al-Salsabīl al-mu'in and al-Manḥal al-rawī al-rā'iq, Depont and Cappolani; Les Confréries Religieuses, Trimmingham; The Sufi Orders in Islam, Fāṭimah al-Yashruṭiyah; Riḥlah ilā al-ḥaqq; Martin Lings; A Moslem Saint of the Twentieth Century, Rinn; Marabout et Khouan.

2. 'Isāwiyah:

Founded by Muḥammad b. 'Isā of Meknes (d. 930/1525).

Chain: Muḥammad b. 'Isā, Aḥmad al-Ḥārithī, Aḥmad
Zarrūq.

Location: Algeria, Morocco, Tunis, Libya.

3. Rāshidiyah-Zarrūqiyah:

Founded by Aḥmad b. Yūsuf al-Milyānī al-Rāshidī
(d. 931/1524-5), who was initiated by Zarrūq at Bougie.
This Order is the sister-order of the Rāshidiyah-
Yūsufiyah founded by the same Sufi master.

Chain: Aḥmad al-Rāshidī, Aḥmad Zarrūq.

Location: Algeria, Morocco.

4. Ghāziyah:

Founded by Abū al-Ḥasan Qāsim (or Abū al-Qāsim)
al-Ghāzī (d. 932-3/1526).

Chain: Qāsim al-Ghāzī, Abū Sālim al-Ṭāzī and
'Alī al-Filālī, Aḥmad al-Rāshidī,
Aḥmad Zarrūq.

Location: Algeria, Morocco.

5. Suhailiyah:

Founded by Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Suhailī
(d. 936-7/1530) who was, according to some traditions,
originally from Yanbu' on the Red Sea and came to Morocco
where he met al-Rāshidī and then retreated to a mountain
called Jabal Suhail and was thus named al-Suhailī.

Chain: Muḥammad al-Suhailī, Aḥmad al-Rāshidī,
Aḥmad Zarrūq.

Location: Algeria, Morocco.

6. Karzāziyah:

Founded by Aḥmad b. Mūsā (d. 1018/1610) who was born at Karzāz in Morocco and was called Karzāz too. This Order is named Aḥmadiyah sometimes.

Chain: Aḥmad b. Mūsā, Muḥammad al-Suhailī, Aḥmad al-Rāshidī, Aḥmad Zarrūq.

Location: Algeria, Morocco.

7. Shaikhiyah:

Founded by Shaikh 'Abd al-Qādir b. Muḥammad (d.1022/1615).

Chain: Shaikh 'Abd al-Qādir b. Muḥammad, Muḥammad al-Suhailī, Aḥmad al-Rāshidī, Aḥmad Zarrūq.

Location: Algeria, Morocco.

8. Nāsiriyah:

Founded by Muḥammad b. Nāṣir al-Dar'ī (d. 1079/1669).

Centred at Tamghūt in Wādī Dar'ah.

Chain: Muḥammad b. Nāṣir, 'Abd Allāh b. Ḥasan, 'Alī b. 'Abd Allāh, Aḥmad al-Dar'ī, Qāsim al-Ghāzī, Abū Sālim al-Tāzī, Aḥmad al-Rāshidī, Aḥmad Zarrūq.

Location: Algeria, Morocco.

9. Zayyāniyah:

Founded by Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Abū Zayyān (d. 1145-6/1733).

Chain: Muḥammad b. Abū Zayyān, Muḥammad b. Mubārak, 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Sijilmāsī, Muḥammad b. Nāṣir al-Dar'ī, 'Abd Allāh b. Ḥasan, 'Alī b. 'Abd Allāh, Aḥmad al-Dar'ī, Qāsim al-Ghāzī, Abū Sālim al-Tāzī, Aḥmad al-Rāshidī, Aḥmad Zarrūq.

Location: Algeria, Morocco.

10. Derqāwiyah:

Founded by al-‘Arabī Aḥmad al-Derqāwī (d. 1239/1823).

Chain: al-‘Arabī al-Derqāwī, ‘Alī al-Jamal, al-‘Arabī b. ‘Abd Allāh, Aḥmad b. ‘Abd Allāh, Qāsīm al-Khaṣāṣī, ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Fāsī, Abū al-Maḥāsīn al-Fāsī, ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Majdhūb, ‘Alī al-Ṣanhājī al-Dawwār, Ibrāhīm al-Faḥḥām (or al-Ḥajjām) Ṭāhir al-Qusanṭīnī, Aḥmad Zarrūq.

Centred at Bū Berīḥ, north of Fez. This Order enjoyed a great influence in North Africa. Its founder was a contemporary of Aḥmad al-Tijānī, the founder of the Tijānīyah, but he differed from him in many aspects. Many branches emerged from the Darqāwiyah in Morocco and Algeria. (1)

Location: Morocco, Algeria.

11. Madaniyah:

Founded by Muḥammad Ḥasan Ḍāfir al-Madanī (d. 1363/1846).

Chain: Ḍāfir al-Madanī, al-‘Arabī al-Derqāwī... to Zarrūq.

Al-Madanī was born in al-Madīnah and became a disciple of al-Darqāwī in Bū Berīḥ. He returned to al-Madīnah where he initiated many Khalīfahs. After al-Darqāwī's death he settled in Tripolitania and died in Misurata. Under al-Madanī's son and successor, Muḥammad Ḍāfir, this branch became a new and distinctive Order and muquddam were

1. The Sufi Orders in Islam, p.110-113. See: M. Lings: A Saint of the Twentieth Century, passim.

widely dispersed in North Africa, the Ḥijaz and Turkey, where it played a Pan-Islamic rôle during the days of Sultan 'Abd al-Ḥamīd. (1)

Location: Morocco, Algeria, Tunis, Libya, Egypt, the Ḥijāz.

12. Yashruṭiyah:

Founded by 'Alī Nūr al-Dīn al-Yashruṭī (d. 1309/1891).

Chain: Nūr al-Dīn al-Yashruṭī, Zāfir al-Madanī, al-'Arabī al-Derqāwī ... to Zarrūq.

Al-Yashrutī was born in Bezerta in Tunisia and joined al-Madanī at his Zāwiyah in Misurata. He settled in Acre and spread his teachings throughout Lebanon and the surrounding area. (2)

Location: Lebanon, Rhodes.

13. Sanūsiyah:

Founded by Muḥammad b. 'Alī al-Sanūsī al-Khaṭṭābī al-Ḥasanī (d. 1276/1859).

Chain: Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Nāṣirī, Muḥammad al-Nāṣirī, Jassūs, Yusūf al-Nāṣirī, Muḥammad al-Bannānī, Abū al-Barakāt al-Fāsī, Aḥmad b. 'Abd al-Ṣādiq, Abū al-Ḥasan al-Kūnī, 'Abd al-'Azīz b. 'Abd al-Ḥalīm, Abū al-Ṭayyib al-Yaḥyāwī, al-Khayyāt al-Zarhūnī, Ibrāhīm al-Faḥḥām (or al-Ḥajjām) and Aḥmad al-Rāshidī, Aḥmad Zarrūq.

Al-Sanūsī was a disciple of Aḥmad b. Idrīs. Born in Mustghanem in 1203/1787. He went to the Ḥijāz where he

1. Ibid., p.113.

2. See his daughter's book on his life and teaching; Riḥlah ilā al-ḥaqq, Beirut, 1954.

was engaged in scholastic and political disputes. After several travels to and fro North Africa he settled in Cyrenaica and built a Zāwiyah in al-Baiḍā. Later on he moved to Jaghbūb in the Libyan desert and spread his teachings from there. The leadership of the Sanūsīyah Order remained within the family after al-Sanūsī's death. Its last leader, Muḥammad al-Mahdī, became King of Libya until he was overthrown by the Revolution in the 1st of September, 1969.⁽¹⁾

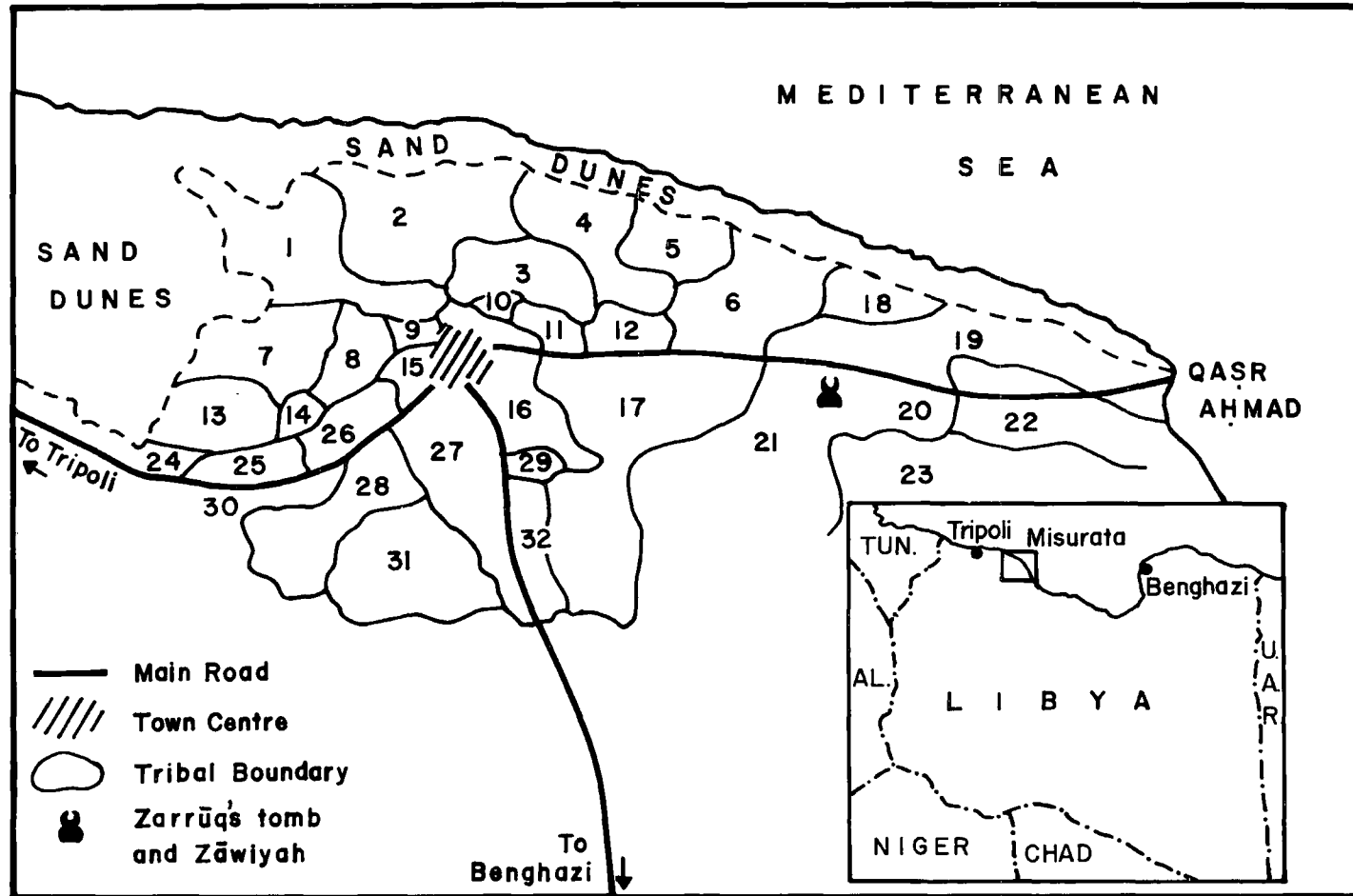
Location: Libya, North Africa, Chad, Niger, Egypt, the Ḥijāz, Yemen.

The Zāwiyah.

Having reached this stage of our historical survey of the history of the Zarrūqīyah Order it would be incomplete without saying something about the Zarrūqīyah Zāwiyah.

'Zāwiyah' literally means 'corner' in Arabic. When this word was adapted as a Sufi term it was first used to mean the 'retreat' to which the Sufis usually withdrew and kept themselves in isolation for prayer and contemplation. In the course of time the term developed to mean a sacred institution devoted completely to learning the Qur'ān and religious studies. It also became a temporary home for the poor and Sufi travellers. A Zāwiyah is often built by a Sufi leader, during his

1. See: Evans Breachard; Sanūsī of Cyrenaica, and Nicola Ziadeh; The Sanūsīyah, Leiden, 1958.



The site of Zarrūq's tomb and Zāwiyah among the tribes of Misurata. (Based on G.H. Blake: "The form and function of Misurata's commercial centre", Bulletin of Faculty of Arts, University of Libya, Vol II, 1968 pp 9-40).

KEY ON OPPOSITE PAGE.



The Rawḍah, where Zarrūq is buried, together
with his disciple Maṣṣūr al-Bijā'ī.

A mosque built recently on the site of Zarrūq's
khalwah at Dkērān in Misurata.



lifetime, or by his followers, after he has died, to be the centre of the Order he founded. In some cases more than one Zāwiyah is built, in more than one place, according to the number of followers and the extent of the Order.

In the case of our Shaikh we find that he did not try to erect a Zāwiyah himself. Instead he left it to his followers, or Khuddām, to build after his death. In this way his Zāwiyah in Misurata and the two other Zāwiyahs of Taliouine in Morocco and of Awlād Ṭrīf in Algeria were founded.

The Zāwiyah of Misurata:

"The creation of Zāwiyahs and similar buildings," notes Margoliouth, "does not seem to have been contemplated by Abū al-Ḥasan al-Shādhilī or his successor Abū al-'Abbās al-Mursī who is praised by his biographer for never placing a stone on a stone."⁽¹⁾ This perhaps was the idea of Zarrūq when he was asked by his Servant, Aḥmad 'Abd al-Raḥīm at Misurata: "Why do not we build a Zāwiyah and obtain some endowments (awqāf) for it?" The Shaikh replied negatively: "O Aḥmad ! The fragrance of our musk will not diffuse till we have decayed in the earth!"⁽²⁾ The loyal servant kept silent and the Zāwiyah was never built during the master's lifetime.

Let us go back to the day when Zarrūq arrived at Misurata. Choosing that area to live in he founded a

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1. Margoliouth; "Shādhiliyah", Encyclopaedia of Islam.
 2. Rihlat al-'Ayyāshī, p.97.

Khalwah (retreat-place), not far from the mosque in which he used to perform the prayer with the inhabitants. Here he kept his books and contemplated. He also built a house for his family on top of a small hill, near the village of al-Ḥuwairah, about one thousand cubits⁽¹⁾ to the South-East of the above-mentioned mosque. In recognition of one of his Karamāt, a young man presented him with a piece of land containing a well and a jābiyah (a water-reservoir). When the Shaikh died a dispute occurred among the people of the area concerning his burial place. The inhabitants of al-Ḥuwairah claimed that he ought to be buried in his house on their land, while his khuddām insisted on his burial in the jābiyah. The khuddām won the case at last and he was buried where his Rawḍah (tomb) was erected.⁽²⁾

On the site of his house a mosque was built for al-Ḥuwairah village, apparently after his son's departure to Constantine, and it became an essential point of interest for those who came to visit the Shaikh's tomb, probably as a compensation for the inhabitants of al-Ḥuwairah for not having him buried in their territory.⁽³⁾ The ruins of his Khalwah remained there until recently.⁽⁴⁾ The Libyan Government built a small mosque on its side during 1970.

1. About 500 metres.

2. Muḥammad Garrīn: Ifādat al-'ulamā' bi anbā' abnā' Miṣrātah al-gudamā', Cairo, 1970, p.81.

3. Ibid.

4. Ibid.

Twenty years after Zarrūq's death, says al-'Ayyāshī, when a large number of visitors came to his tomb, owing to his wide reputation for barakah, Aḥmad 'Abd al-Raḥīm built a mosque beside the tomb and lived in it.⁽¹⁾ This mosque, in the course of time, became what is known as the Zāwiyah of Sīdī Zarrūq. It was, and still is, one of the most important features in the area and a famous religious institute in Libya. It was a tradition, until recently, that any student who had finished learning the Qur'ān by heart in one of the countless surrounding kuttābs had to join the Zāwiyah for a certain period in order to study Arabic grammar and receive religious instruction. Some of these students might carry on their studies and become teachers at the same place. The students used to come not only from Misurata but also from other parts of Libya, especially from Tripolitania province.

Being built more than four and a half centuries ago, this most ancient religious institute in the whole of Libya, the Zāwiyah suffered the ravages of time. Aḥmad 'Abd Raḥīm, its founder, was originally from Sirt, about two hundred miles South-East of Misurata, on the coast of Gulf of Sidrah (Syrtes). He had followed the Shaikh and became his faithful servant.⁽²⁾ When he died his family inherited the post of custodian for about 150 years. During this period the Zāwiyah flourished and enjoyed a high reputation as an educational institute

1. Riḥlat al-'Ayyāshī, p.98.

2. Ibn Ghalbūn; al-Tadhkār, p.225.

and a refuge for the poor. The inhabitants who lived around it were exempted from paying any tribute to the State who honoured them because they were living in the vicinity of Zarrūq.⁽¹⁾

Thereafter, however, a quarrel over the awqāf confined to the Zāwiyah broke out among them.⁽²⁾ This struggle affected the Zāwiyah very much. It lost its prestige and was close to decline. When Abū Sālim al-'Ayyāshī visited it during 1035/1626 he was shocked by its condition. "We performed the Friday-prayer in the mosque", he says, "and the leader of the prayer gave the sermon by reading it from a sheet of paper. He was not able to read it well either, since he was committing mistakes even in reciting verses of the Holy Qur'ān. I felt sorry for that place, honourable as it is, in the vicinity of the Shaikh in the midst of the country, and yet its affairs are directed by the undeserving and handled by the unsuitable people."⁽³⁾ The custody at that time was still held by 'Abd al-Raḥīm's family.⁽⁴⁾

During 1121/1709 Aḥmad b. Nāṣir passed through the area, on his way to Mecca, and paid a visit to the Zāwiyah. There is no mention at all of 'Abd al-Raḥīm's family in his Riḥlah. He talks instead about other Khuddām of Zarrūq who received him there and praises, in particular, the sons of Ibn Ghalbūn who were looking

1. Riḥlat al-'Ayyāshī, p.97.

2. Ibn Ghalbūn; al-Tadhkār, p.225.

3. Riḥlat al-'Ayyāshī, p.96.

4. Ibid., p.97.

after the poor at the Zāwiyah and feeding the Pilgrims.⁽¹⁾
'Abd al-Raḥīm's family was formally dismissed from the custody by the ruler of Tripolitania at that time, Aḥmad Pāshā b. Yūsuf al-Qaramānlī (d. 1158/1745) who intervened personally in the matter and replaced them with Ibn Ghalbūn's brothers; Aḥmad and Dakhīl.⁽²⁾

Thus the Zāwiyah returned to its former state and revived again. In addition to its own scholars it became a goal for many famous learned men who used to visit it from other parts of the Muslim world and enjoy its hospitality.⁽³⁾ The Ibn Ghalbūn's family held the post until 1923. The Italian administration, after their successful operation in December of the same year and after restoring Misurata to the pacified zone, formed a collective custody-board composed of the eminent men of the region to look after the awqāf and run the Zāwiyah and its dependents.⁽⁴⁾ This system has been followed until the present day.

The Zāwiyah lies in a central position between the town-centre of Misurata and its port, Qaṣr Aḥmad, in a populous area called Dkērān,⁽⁵⁾ surrounded by a considerable number of villages and tribes. It is now

1. Riḥlat al-Nāṣirī, p.13.

2. Ibn Ghalbūn; al-Tadhkār, p.225.

3. See what al-'Ayyāshī and al-Nāṣirī say in their Riḥlahs. Cf. L. Rinn; Marabouts et Khouan, p.486.

4. Colin; "Sayyidī Aḥmad Zarrūq", p.31.

5. As it is pronounced today. It is sometimes written Tikerān, Takerīn or Atakerān. The letter T at the beginning of the word suggests its Berber origin.

composed of a mosque, the tomb of the Shaikh, a school and a library. It is comparatively rich from the revenue of the awqāf, but it is clear that the curators are rather careless. Its present situation does not indicate its glorious past in any way. The Libyan Government has attached its educational rôle recently to the Islamic University of Muḥammad b. Alī al-Sanūsī⁽¹⁾ as an attempt at modernisation to satisfy the people of the area on the one hand, and try to solve its accumulating problems on the other. But nothing really has been done to improve its condition.

When the writer visited the Zāwiyah he found its building in a very bad state, its decrepit furniture hardly worth the name. Most amazing of all was to discover that none of its Shaikh's numerous works, scattered in every part of the world, is available in the library there!⁽²⁾

The Zāwiyah of Taliouine:

"The Zāwiyah of Aḥmad Zarrūq among the tribe of Barānis to the west of Tāzā", says G. Colin, "is situated among the Tā'ifah in the part of Ahl Tiliwān, three miles to South-West of the post of Bāb al-Murūj. The people of the country actually pretend that it was raised upon the tomb of the Shaikh and they have not

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1. That was a few years before the Libyan Revolution in September, 1969. In January 1971, the Islamic University was abolished as an independent University and incorporated with the University of Libya as the Department of the Arabic Language and Islamic Studies.
 2. The excuse given by the custodians for this sad fact is that when the Italians were near to occupying Misurata all the manuscripts of the Zāwiyah were smuggled out by the refugees and carried to Egypt and Tunisia. They never came back again.



The Zāwiyah of Misurata as it looks from the North. On the right is the entrance of the Rawḍah, while the left entrance leads to the mosque behind it.



The Zāwiyah from inside, where some of its teachers and students are gathering. The door of the library is in the centre of the right picture, behind the man in national dress.

the slightest knowledge of the Zāwiyah of Takīran (Misurata) with which contacts had been broken since the Pilgrimage to Mecca had come to be made more often by sea than by land." He continues: "The question remains, however, as to who founded it and for what reason? Was it founded by Aḥmad Zarrūq himself, or by one of his disciples, perhaps to commemorate the Shaikh's birth-place or the site at which he had taught? For it certainly seems that Aḥmad Zarrūq spent some time amongst his native tribe and local tradition still points to the ruins of the Qur'ānic school (Jāmi') where the Shaikh taught not far from Sūq al-Sabt of Warbah."⁽¹⁾

Colin, unfortunately, does not give the source of his statement that Zarrūq "spent some time amongst his native tribe", and the materials to hand do not help in clarifying this point. Even if our Shaikh did settle at Taliouine⁽²⁾ for a while, it is unlikely that he founded a Zāwiyah there, simply because he did not intend to build any at all. One must assume that either one of his unknown disciples built it or that his own tribe, proud of him as it should be and in an attempt to take advantage of his prestige and reputation, founded that Zāwiyah in his name.⁽³⁾

1. G. Colin; "Sayyidī Aḥmad Zarrūq", Revista di Tripolitania, op.cit. pp.31-32.

2. According to the French accent and spelling (See: Rom Landau; The Kasbas of Southern Morocco, London, 1969, p.61). According to Gannūn it is: Tiliwān.

3. It might be of some interest to recall here what 'Abd al-Majīd al-Manhālī, who visited Zarrūq's tomb at Misurata during 1158/1745 relates in his Riḥlah, "... I entered the Khalwah in which the Shaikh died. I found a grey-haired man from Morocco, from the Barānis. He was living in Fez, he abandoned the world and he had recently come to the Khalwah. His name was Aḥmad Zarrūq after the Shaikh's name!" (Cf. 'Abd al-Majīd al-Manālī al-Zabādī; Bulūgh al-marām bi al-riḥlah ilā bait Allāh al-harām, Ms. Rabat, 1808D, p.29. Who knows? Perhaps it was this man who built the Zāwiyah of Taliouine.

From Colin also we learn that "the political and economic importance which the Zāwiyah of the Barānis enjoyed, as a halting-place on one of the commercial routes joining Melilla with Fez, has largely diminished since 1914, at which time the French conquered the area. However, its importance as the main religious and intellectual centre of the region has remained undiminished. Its Shaikh is considered as the guardian of the country and the chief of its Seven Saints. It is upon his tomb that judicial oaths are taken, written attestations are provided by the muqaddam. It is to him that farmers and cattle-breeders make wishes that they may obtain an abundant harvest and fine produce. Again, it is to his intercession that parents turn in the hope that they will have male children. Several teachers, who are attached to the Zāwiyah give instruction to about twenty students.⁽¹⁾ They all live on the produce of the offerings brought by the pilgrims, which is added to the income derived from bequests of lands and olive trees which have been made over to the Sanctuary."⁽²⁾

The Zāwiyah of Taliouine, as is the case of the Zāwiyah of Misurata, is not in the hands of the Shaikh's descendants. It is controlled and exploited by the descendants of Sayyidī Aḥmad al-Ḥājj, who is buried in the territory of Banī Bū Ya'lā and who would have been a fellow-student of Aḥmad Zarrūq.⁽³⁾

1. That was during 1925, when Colin wrote his article.

2. G. Colin; "Sayyidī Aḥmad Zarrūq", op.cit., p.32.

3. Ibid.

The Zāwiyah of Awlād Ṭrīf:

This third and last Zāwiyah known to be connected to Zarrūq was founded in Algeria at Berroughia, in the territory of Algiers, and called the Zāwiyah of Awlād Ṭrīf, where a group of Shādhilis seems to have perpetuated the Shaikh's memory and preserved his traditions. (1)

Nothing, in fact, is known about the establishment of this Zāwiyah, although it is probable that it might have some connection with Zarrūq's two adherents in Algeria; Ṭāhir b. Zayyān al-Qusanṭīnī and Abū Fāris 'Abd al-'Azīs al-Qusanṭīnī, for whom no later sanad can be traced. Or, perhaps, it has something to do with Zarrūq's son, Aḥmad al-Akbar, who departed from Misurata after his father's death and lived in Algeria where he inherited the Shaikh's prestige and was celebrated as a Sufi master. (2)

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1. Depont & Cappolani: Les Confréries ... op.cit., p.459. The writers give a total of 112 Khouan (brethren) composing this Zāwiyah by the end of the last century.
 2. Aḥmad Bābā; Nail al-ibtihāj, p.130.

The Principles of the Zarrūqiyah
in Theory and Practice.

To complete the picture of the Zarrūqiyah Order and examine the framework in which it existed, we must look at its principles as its founder preached them and the theoretical basis on which it was established. Then we will examine its practical aspects, i.e., the steps taken by any novice wishing to join the Order, how he was initiated and the obligations he had to fulfill in order to become one of its community.

In his al-Manhal al-rawī Shaikh al-Sanūsī is cautious, as one would expect, not to differentiate between the Sufi Orders "as although they are various, they are one in fact, since their goal is one."⁽¹⁾ But at the same time he distinguishes some Orders from others on the ground that this order or that holds such and such principles more than another does. Thus, we see that, while the Shādhiliyah, the Mother-Order, is founded - as he says - on the notion that the servant has to entirely eradicate his will and volition and submit completely to God's destiny and become absolutely free from worldly aspirations, the Bakriyah is based on sincerity, piety and communication of the heart (al-ittiṣāl al-qalbī). The Wāf'aiyah seek complete extinction in God's will, he says, and the Jazūliyah hold whatsoever makes the servant

1. Al-Sanūsī; al-Manhal al-rawī al-rā'iq ... op.cit., p.104.

nearer to God and the longing of the spirit to contemplate His Beauty and Majesty. "The Zarrūqiyah is founded on: piety, following the Sunnah, ignoring the creatures, satisfaction with God and recourse to Him."⁽¹⁾

These tenets, one might say, are very common and held generally by all Sufis, regardless of what Order they belong to. This is true to a certain extent. But al-Sanūsī's distinction between the above-mentioned and other Orders,⁽²⁾ and his specification of each Order's main principle indicates the fact that these Orders, though united in their main theme, are varied in the aspects of the way they emphasise. And this is what is meant by the principles of the Order.

Regarding the principles of the Zarrūqiyah we find that al-Sanūsī has summarized all that Ahmad Zarrūq taught and preached during his life and through his works. These Five Principles are, actually, the core of his Order, or one may say the nucleus around which the rest of his teachings revolve. It is not difficult to trace in all that he has written his constant reference to these principles. The important thing to point out is that these principles are Shādhilī in origin. The rôle Zarrūq played in this work is that he was able, perhaps more than many others, to clarify them⁽³⁾ and introduce them to the ordinary reader in a categorised form as a

1. Ibid.

2. See: al-Kumshakhānawī; Jāmi' usūl al-awliyā', p.14.

3. Cf. Margoliouth; "Shādhiliya", Encyclopaedia of Islam.

formula of his Order's principles to be held by his followers. Not only this, but he also included the principles of other orders, e.g. the Qādiriyyah, in his formula, besides his own principles. Thus he included all the necessary elements which connect him with preceeding Sufi masters and left himself free - at the same time - to compose his own principles, upon which his Order is founded, without being detached from the natural sources of his belief in the Sufi Way.

In order to avoid repetition there follows a full translation of Zarrūq's authorized 'Uṣūl al-Ṭariqah (the Principles of the Way) despite its comparative length, as taken from one of his disciple's commentaries on it.⁽¹⁾

It reads:

"The principles of our way are five: Fear of God in secret and in public, adherence to the Sunnah in word and deed, contempt for mankind in prosperity and adversity, satisfaction with God in all things great or small, and having recourse to God in joy and sorrow.⁽²⁾ Fear of God is realised by piety and righteousness, the Sunnah by caution and good manners, contempt of mankind by patience and trust, satisfaction with God by contentment and submission, and having recourse to Almighty God by gratitude and thankfulness.

1. Muḥammad b. 'Alī al-Kharrūbī; al-Durrah al-sharīfah fī al-kalām 'alā' uṣūl al-ṭariqah, Ms. Cairo, 22724 B.

2. Shādhilī principles. Compare: Jāmi' 'uṣūl al-awliyā', p.14.

The origins of all these are five: He who preserves reverence for God, his honour will be preserved by God. He who serves Him sincerely will be rewarded by God. He who has strong resolution will have a lasting relationship with God. He who glorifies His grace must thank Him. And he who thanks Him deserves that more grace should be bestowed upon him according to His truthful promise.⁽¹⁾

The rules of conduct are five: Seeking knowledge to fulfill God's command. Accompanying the brethren and the masters for the sake of reflection (tabaṣṣur). Renouncing the dispensations and interpretations. Observing strictly (the times of) litanies to practice the presence of God. Accusing the soul in everything to escape from capricious desire and to become safe from wrong doing and defects.

Deficiency in knowledge is brought about by association with the immature in age, mind, or religion, without having a good reason to do so. Deficiency in companionship is from self-deception and idle curiosity. Deficiency in renouncing dispensations and interpretations is from self-pity. Deficiency in observing the times is from thinking that there is still enough time for good deeds. Deficiency in self-accusation is from believing that the Soul is good and right.

The methods of the Soul's treatment are five: Easing the stomach by eating little food. Recourse to God in

1. Qādirī principles. Compare: Jāmi' 'uṣūl al-awliyā', p.14.

whatever afflicts one, and whenever it happens. Shunning what is potentially harmful. Asking forgiveness continuously and blessing the Prophet (the peace and blessing of God be upon him), either alone or together with others. Keeping company with him who directs you to God or His Commandments.

Do not choose as a companion save him by whom your certainty becomes the firmer, since he who directs you towards this world is deceiving you, he who directs you to toil outwardly is exhausting you, while he who leads you to God is a sincere adviser.

I have seen the "Poor" (fuqarā) of this time afflicted by five things: Preferring ignorance to knowledge, being deceived by every ranter, negligence in important issues, being over zealous for the Orders they follow, over-eagerness to receive Revelation, without fulfilling its conditions.

They have been tempted by five things: To prefer innovation more than the Sunnah. To adhere to vain people rather than truthful men. To act according to desire in every issue, or at least most of them. To believe in lies more than the truth, and to make claims without sincerity.

They have acquired five things: Over-scrupulousness in warship. Indulgence in harmful habits. Congregation at any time. Trying to win over noteables as much as is possible. And they have been misled by what is related of the Folk's performances and their states.

If they would give the matter thorough consideration, they will realise that causes (asbāb) are excuses for the weak, and not to be indulged; that audition is for one who is overwhelmed or for the perfect only; that scrupulousness is an innovation, deriving either from ignorance of the Sunnah or from mental confusion, and it is a decline with regard to the Truth; that hoping for the acceptance of one's fellows is a drawing back from Almighty God, and that association with the immature is a cause of shame in this world and the Hereafter, and admitting them to one's company is an even greater shame. Shaikh Abū Madyan has said: 'The immature person is he who does not agree with you in your way, even if he be seventy year old.' You find this mostly in the Folk of the Way, I mean the followers of the orders and the students. Therefore, do your best to avoid them.

Anyone who claims that he has attained to a certain stage with Almighty God while one of the following five things is practiced by him, is either a liar or a madman:
To allow his members freedom in the disobedience of God. To pretend that he obeys God. To expect anything from mankind. To backbite against the Folk of God, and to show disrespect for Muslims.

Pure states and the exalted stations do not apply except to a sincere aspirant, an aware faithful traveller, guided by a sure gnostic master who possesses all the qualifications of a master.

The qualifications of the master to whom the novice entrusts himself are: true knowledge, obvious spiritual experience, a high aspiration, a satisfactory state and acute perspicacity.

Whoever has the following qualities, must not be accepted as a master: ignorance in religion, disrespect for Muslims, interference in what does not concern him, following desire in everything and being unashamedly bad-mannered.

The etiquette of the novice and his brethren towards the master consists of five things: obedience to the master's orders, avoiding what he forbids, respecting him in his presence and absence, alive or dead, being dutiful to him as far as possible and directing his knowledge, mind and practice to what pleases his master. If the novice does not find a guiding master he must take advice from one of the brethren. If he finds him lacking in some of these five qualifications he relies on what the master has of them and deals with him as a brother for the rest."

In practice:

Now, when an aspirant considers these principles as the right rules by which he ought to travel on the Way, he may join the other brothers in the Order and be affiliated to it. This affiliation is effected according to a certain procedure known as talqīn (initiation) which includes al-'ahd (covenant), dhikr (invocation) and khalwah (retreat).⁽¹⁾ Then the aspirant becomes a fully admitted

1. Cf. Trimmingham; The Sufi Orders in Islam, pp.29-30. The method of initiation in the Zarrūqiyah is quite different from that of both the Shādhīliyah and the Qādiriyah. (Ibid., pp.186-187).

member of the Order and continues to undertake its obligations, as a traveller in the Way, and to fulfill its duties.

The Covenant (al-'ahd):

The procedure of the covenant is as follows: the Master mentions the meaning of repentance and how to repent. Then he puts his right hand on the repenters' right hand and tells him that both of them are partners in the Covenant of repentance. Then the master closes his eyes and keeps silent, absorbed in the thought that God it is Who causes people to repent and that he himself is a mere instrument in guiding them. He then raises his voice saying: "I take refuge in God from Satan, the accursed. In the name of God, the most Merciful, the most Compassionate. I seek forgiveness from God, the Great (three times) and repent to Him and beseech Him to lead me to what He desires and what pleases Him." Then he blesses the Prophet and says: "Praise be to God!". The novice must follow the master in all he utters. After that the master relates the names of his previous masters, if he wishes, and his sanad (ascription) to the Prophet.⁽¹⁾

The same procedure is followed in giving the mantle (khirqah) and instructions for the invocation (dhikr) also.⁽²⁾

The Invocation (dhikr):

In instructing the novice how to invoke the master has to explain the meaning and conditions of Invocation

1. Kunnāsh, pp.75-76.

2. Ibid., p.75. It is noteworthy that Zarrūq adopts the procedure of the Suhrawardī Order in the Covenant, as he states. Cf. 'Uddat al-murīd al-Ṣādiq, Ms. Rabat 864 G, p.46.

in the initiation. Then he says to him: "Say, for me to hear, 'There is no god but God' three times," after saying this himself three times, while the novice listens.

After taking the oath and completing the Covenant the novice is given particular formula of istighfār (seeking forgiveness from God), which is the first stage in Invocation. These are introduced to him gradually. First he is required to repeat all the time: "I seek forgiveness from God, with Whom there is no other god, the Living, the Eternal, and ask Him to accept my repentance." When this formula is well-established in his heart he should be required to bless the Prophet. He must not neglect to say "our master Muḥammad" until the blessing is deeply rooted in himself. Then he may say: "Your beloved one" instead. In any case the novice should not be transferred from one step to another unless the fruits of the first step are evident in him whether asleep or awake, or even in both of them together. The complete formula of blessing on the Prophet is better for the common laymen. The learned man should repeat it eleven times after performing each prayer. (1)

During Invocation the novice sits in a special way, putting his head between his knees, ignoring all sensory things, absorbed in the thought that he is in the Presence of God. Then he continues, saying: "I seek refuge in God from the accursed Devil. In the name of God. O God, bless our master Muḥammad." Then he names

1. Kunnāsh, p.76.

the number of blessings he intends to utter. When he has finished them he repeats the sentence mentioned above. If the Invocation takes place before sunrise the novice has to add: "God bears witness that there is no god but He - and the angels, and men possessed of knowledge - upholding equity; there is no god but He, the All-mighty, the All-wise."⁽¹⁾ Then he says: "I confess that God has testified of Himself what His angels and His learned creatures have testified of Him. I entrust this testimony to God until my death, my entry into the grave, my rising forth from it and the meeting with my Lord, for God is He Who does not betray His trust." He says this three or seven times. If the result of his blessing on the Prophet is evident in him the novice passes on to invoke the Two Testimonies. If he is in a good state he may increase the number of his invocations; but if he is not he must certainly not do so. The weak novice has to invoke the Two Testimonies consistently as they are; the first (There is no god save God) then the second (Muḥammad is the messenger of God), lest his state worsen and he cease to advance.⁽²⁾

When the result of the first stages of Invocation appears, by contemplating all beings as non-being because of the Sole Being of the Truth, the traveller can change the previous formula to: "Glory be to God and praise! Glory be to God, the Great! O God, bless our master Muḥammad and his family," until he finds the fruit of the

1. Qur'ān; e:18.

2. Kunnāsh, p.77 and 'Uddat al-murīd al-ṣādiq, p.46.

Invocation evident in him. At this stage he occupies himself with uttering "Allāh!" alone. At the same time, however, he must not neglect to bless the Prophet from time to time.

The traveller has to adapt a litany after the morning-prayer and another after the sunset-prayer. However, he must not be quick to change the formula of the Invocation before its result is perfectly evident in himself.⁽¹⁾

The retreat (Khalwah):

As soon as the novice has been initiated a short period of retreat is desirable. He can go to any place he chooses, to remain in complete solitude, occupying himself with the invocation and contemplation.⁽²⁾ This retreat is, in fact, a sort of quarantine where the novice purifies himself from worldly pre-occupations and devotedly aspires to the spiritual life.

Although Zarrūq holds that "the more the novice abandons the world, the more he attains to the Truth",⁽³⁾ he does not give details of the tasks required of the novice in his retreat. Instead he advises his followers to adapt the Shādhilī method in this respect. He realises that the novice must not live in absolute isolation for too long a time, lest he loose contact with the outside world which is a necessary element in this life. A period

1. Ibid.

2. Kunnāsh, p.77.

3. Ibid.

of ten days, or one month at the most, is deemed sufficient.⁽¹⁾ Then he returns to carry on his duties in society, and as a member of the Order's community life.

The Wazīfah

None of Zarrūq's works has met with such success as his Wazīfah enjoyed through the ages.⁽²⁾ It has been the subject for more than twenty commentaries, in the East and the West, recited every day at dawn by thousands of the followers of the Zarrūqiyah and other Orders,⁽³⁾ and hung around the necks of queens to protect them from evil.⁽⁴⁾ Its effective mysterious power is able to guard whoever recites it in the morning, with sincere intention and a devoted and pure heart, for the rest of the day.⁽⁵⁾ It therefore deserves our interest and is worthy to be mentioned here.

The Wazīfah is a term used for a daily office, or a portion from the Qur'ān, which is read by devout Muslims.⁽⁶⁾ The Wazīfah of Shaikh Zarrūq contains, in addition to verses from the Qur'ān, many prayers attributed to the Prophet and said to have been recited by him.⁽⁷⁾ It is

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1. Qawā'id al-Ṭaṣawwuf, Cairo 1969, p.67.
 2. Colin; "Sayyidī Aḥmad Zarrūq", op.cit., p.33.
 3. The Wazīfah is a part of the invocation in the Bakriyah, Zayyāniyah, Sulamiyah, 'Arūsiyah, Jazūliya, 'Isāwīyan and Madaniyah orders. Cf. al-Sanūsī; al-Manhal al-rawī, and Rinn; Marabouts et Khouan, for example.
 4. L. Proviṣal; Les Manuscrits Arabes de Rabat, Paris, 1921, p.225. Cf. Ms. Rabat 506/XXIV.
 5. Rinn; Marabouts et Khouan, op.cit., p.412.
 6. T. Hughes; A Dictionary of Islam, Lahore, 1964, p.666,i.
 7. Aḥmad al-S'ātī; Tanwīr al-af'idah al-zakiyah fī adillat adhkar al-Wazīfah al-Zarrūqiyah, printed in Cairo without date for al-Najāḥ Library, Tripoli.

simple and clear and does not contain any vague expressions.

While Zarrūq was establishing his Order he needed to offer his disciples a formula of litany in accordance with his teaching, to be recited by them as a sort of invocation. He therefore composed this Wazīfah, which is named Safīnat al-najā liman ila Allāh iltajā (The Ship of Safety for him who takes refuge with God), and recommended its recitation to his adherents. It became a part of the Zarrūqiyah Order and a widely spread prayer.

There are many legends about the Wazīfah which is considered to be a direct dictation from the Prophet himself to Ahmad Zarrūq, exactly as was the case with the Hizb al-baḥr of al-Shādhilī and Dalā'il al-Khairāt of al-Jazūlī.⁽¹⁾ Abū Zakariyā' Yaḥyā al-Bijā'ī relates that the Shaikh told him that while he was sitting beside the Prophet's tomb, the Prophet appeared to him and said: "Read your Wazīfah to me." So he did and the Prophet said: "That is it. Neither add or omit anything."⁽²⁾ This narrative is contradicted by another in which the Prophet said to Zarrūq: "This Wazīfah which you have composed is too long. Time is short and resolution (himmah) is weak. Alter this and change that", until he was satisfied with it.⁽³⁾ Muḥammad al-Ḥaṭṭāb and his son Abū al-Barakāt say that they had heard Zarrūq talking to the Prophet in his

1. al-Sanūsī; al-Salsabīl al-mu'īn fī al-ṭarā'iq al-arba'īn, Beirut, 1968, p.57. Depont & Cappolani; Les Confréries... p.455.

2. Al-'Ayyāshī; al-Anwār al-saniyah 'alā al-Wazīfah al-Zarrūqiyah, op.cit., p.4.

3. Ibid., p.6.

Rawḍah (Tomb). Unfortunately they were not able to hear the conversation clearly since they, and their companions, respectfully retreated from the window to leave them in privacy. It was, perhaps, at that time that the Prophet asked Zarrūq: "What have you called your Wazīfah?" The Shaikh replied: "I have not named it yet, O Messenger of God!" The Prophet said: "Call it Safīnat al-najā limān ila Allāh iltajā."⁽¹⁾

Our Shaikh himself, however, although he recommends the Wazīfah as the most adequate litany derived from the Prophetic tradition in conformity with the Sunnah, he never claims that it was dictated by the Prophet, nor asserts that it has anything to do with him except that it does not contradict any of the prayers ascribed to him. This is obvious from his incomplete commentary on it, which he started and did not finish, where he explains the benefit of composing the Wazīfah and its merits of being concise, clear and in conformity with the Prophetic tradition and the true Sunnah.⁽²⁾

The time of the Wazīfah recitation, as he says, might be any time during the period between sunrise and al-‘ishā’ (about one hour after sunset) to make it easier for the travellers to read whenever it is convenient for them. It is most desirable to read it in a group with the brothers of the Order, "to help the weak travellers be encouraged by their brothers, to exhibit the grandeur of Islam and let the angels surround the reciters, to let tranquility

1. Ibid.

2. al-‘Ayyāshī; al-Amvār al-saniyah ... p.6-8.

overwhelm them and the mercy of God descend from the heaven upon them."(1)

Having reached this stage, we conclude this chapter with the text of the Wazīfah of Zarrūq in full:(2)

I seek refuge in God from Satan, the accursed.

In the name of God, the most Merciful, the most Compassionate.

"Your God is one God; there is no god save Him, the most Merciful, the most Compassionate."(3)

"God! There is no god save Him, the Living, the Self-Existent."(4)

In the name of God, the most Merciful, the most Compassionate.

"God! There is no god save Him, the Living, the Self-Existent."(5)

"And faces abase themselves before the Living, the Self-Existent."(6)

"God! There is no god save Him, the Living, the Self-Existent. Neither slumber nor sleep overtake Him. Unto Him belongs whatsoever is in the heavens and whatsoever is in the earth. Who is he that interceeds with Him save by His permission? He knows that which is in front of them and that which is behind them, while they encompose

1. Ibid., p.7.

2. Cf. the French translation of the Wazīfah in: Essai sur la Confrérie Religieuse des 'Aïssâouâ au Maroc, by Rene Brunel, Paris, 1926, pp.82-84.

3. Qur'ān; 2:163.

4. Qur'ān; 2:255.

5. Qur'ān; 2:255.

6. Qur'ān; 20:111.

nothing of His knowledge save what He wills. His throne includes the heavens and the earth, and He is never weary of preserving them. He is the Almighty and the Great."⁽¹⁾

In the name of God, the most Merciful, the most Compassionate.

"**Ḥ**. **Mīm**. The revelation of the Book is from God, the Almighty, the Knower, the Forgiver of sin, the Acceptor of repentance, the stern in punishment, the Bountiful. There is no god save Him. Unto Him is the last journey."⁽²⁾

"Unto God belongs whatsoever is in the heavens and whatsoever is in the earth; and whether you make known what is in your mind or hide it, God will bring you to account for it. He will forgive whom He wills, and He will punish whom He wills. The messenger believes in what has been revealed unto him from his Lord and (do so) the believers. Each one believes in God and His angels and His books and His messengers - we make no distinction between any of His messengers - and they say: We hear and we obey. (Grant us) Your forgiveness, our Lord. Unto You is the final coming. God tasks not a soul beyond its capacity, for it (only) what it has earned and against it (only) that which it has deserved. Our Lord! Condemn us not if we forget or miss the mark. Our Lord! Lay not on us such a burden as You did lay on those before us. Our Lord! Impose not on us that which we have not the strength to bear. Pardon us. Forgive us and have mercy on us, You, our Patron, and give us victory over the disbelieving folk."⁽³⁾

1. Qur'ān; 2:255.

2. Qur'ān; 4:1

3. Qur'ān; 2:184-186.

In the name of God, the most Merciful, the most Compassionate.

"Say: O disbelievers! I worship not that which you worship. Nor worship you that which I worship. And I shall not worship that which you worship. Nor will you worship that which I worship. Unto you your religion, and unto me my religion."⁽¹⁾

In the name of God, the most Merciful, the most Compassionate.

"When God's succour and the triumph come, and you see mankind entering the religion of God in troops, then hymn the praise of your Lord, and seek forgiveness of Him. Verily, He is ever ready to accept repentance."⁽²⁾

In the name of God, the most Merciful, the most Compassionate.

"Say: He is God, the One. God, the eternally Besought of all. He begets not and is not begotten. And there is none comparable unto Him."⁽³⁾

In the name of God, the most Merciful, the most Compassionate.

"Say: I seek refuge in the Lord of Daybreak from the evil of that which He created. From the evil of the darkness when it is intense. And from the evil of the malignant witchcrafts. And from the evil of the envier when he envies."⁽⁴⁾

In the name of God, the most Merciful, the most Compassionate.

"Say: I seek refuge in the Lord of mankind. The King of mankind. The God of mankind. From the evil of the

1. Qur'ān; 109

2. Qur'ān; 110

3. Qur'ān; 112

4. Qur'ān; 113.

sneaking whisperer. Who whispers into the hearts of mankind, from the jinn and mankind."⁽¹⁾

O God! I seek refuge in You, lest I attribute associates, awarely, with you and seek forgiveness from You for what I am not aware of. (Three times).

O God! I seek refuge in You from anxiety, and sadness, from impotence and laziness, from cowardice and avarice, and from being overcome by debt and men. (Three times).

O God! Make my body healthy. Make my hearing healthy. Make my sight healthy. There is no god save You. (Three times).

O God! You are my Lord. You created me and I am Your slave. I am keeping Your covenant and promise as far as I can. I seek refuge in You from the evil I have done. I turn to You by Your grace, and with my sin I turn to You. Forgive me, for there is no one who forgives sin save You. (Three times).

O God! I have begun this morning in grace, health and protection bestowed on me by You. Make perfect Your grace, health and protection in this world and the Hereafter. (Three times).

O God! What I, or any of Your creation, begin the morning with is from You alone. There is no associate with you. Praise and gratitude be to you. (Three times)

O Lord! Praise be to you as it must be to the glory of Your face and the grandeur of Your power. (Three times).

I am content with God as Lord, with Islam as religion, and with our master Muḥammad - peace and blessing be upon him - as a prophet and a messenger. (Three times).

1. Qur'ān; 114.

Glory and praise be to God equal to the number of His creations, to the satisfaction of Himself, the weight of His throne and the ink of His words. (Three times).

I seek refuge in the perfect words of God from the evil of that which He created. (Three times).

In the name of God, with Whose name nothing can do harm neither in the earth nor in the heaven. He is the All-hearing and the All-knower. (Three times)

I seek refuge with God, the All-hearing, the All-knower, from Satan, the accursed. (Three times).

"He is God with whom there is no other god, the Knower of the unseen and the seen. He is the most Merciful, the most Compassionate. He is God, with whom there is no other god, the Sovereign Lord, the Holy One, Peace, the Keeper of Faith, the Guardian, the Majestic, the Compeller, the Superb. Glorified be God from all that they ascribe as partner (with Him). He is God, the Creator, the Shaper out of naught, the Fashioner. His are the most beautiful names. All that is in the heaven and the earth glorifies Him, and He is the Mighty, the Wise."⁽¹⁾ (Three times).

I seek protection in the Lord of Might and Domination, and take shelter in the Lord of Dominion, and trust in the Living who will never die. Keep harm away from us. You are All-powerful over everything. (Three times).

In the name of God, the most Merciful, the most Compassionate.

"For the provisioning of Quraish, their composing for the winter and summer journies. So, let them worship the

1. Qur'ān; 59:22-24.

Lord of this House, who has fed them against hunger and secured them against fear."⁽¹⁾ (Once).

O God! Feed us as You fed them, and secure us as You secured them, and make us grateful to You. (Once).

O God! Glorified are You and praised. I testify that there is no other god save You. I seek your forgiveness and repent to You. (Three times).

I seek forgiveness from God, the Great, with whom there is no other god, and repent to Him. (Three times)

O God! Bless and grant peace upon our master Muḥammad. Your servant, Prophet and Messenger, the illiterate prophet, and his family and companions. (three times).

Grant peace upon him equal to the number of all that You know and that Your Pen has written and Your Books have recorded. Be satisfied with Abū Bakr, 'Umar, 'Uthmān and 'Alī and with all the companions, the successors of the companions and the successors of the successors until the Day of Judgment. (Once).

"Glorified be your Lord, the Lord of Majesty, from that which they attribute (unto Him). And peace be unto those who were sent. And praise be to God, Lord of the Worlds."⁽²⁾

There is no god save God. (From one hundred times to one thousand times).

Muḥammad is the messenger of God. (One hundred times).

1. Qur'ān; 106.

2. Qur'ān; 37:180-182.

I testify that there is no god save God. (Three times).

I testify that Muḥammad is the messenger of God. (Once).

O Lord! Make us steady by the uttering of it. (Three times).

O Lord! Avail us by its grace. (Three times).

And make us to be of the best of its people. (Three times).

Amen, Amen, Amen, Amen, Lord of the Worlds!

We have begun our morning under Your protection, our Lord! Let the night find us in Your satisfaction, our Lord!

Amen, Amen, Amen, Amen, Lord of the Worlds! (Three times).

There is no god save You. One is our Lord, who gathers us. Forgive our sin. (Three times).

Amen, Amen, Amen, Amen, Lord of the Worlds! (Three times).

Forgive what has passed, and make good what will come, by the right of the righteous ones, O Knower of the secrets. (Three times).

Amen, Amen, Amen, Amen, Lord of the Worlds! (Three times).

O Knower of our secrets! Do not disclose our secrets.

Amen, Amen, Amen, Amen, Lord of the Worlds!

[Our Lord who responds! Whoever cries to you will not be disappointed. Fulfill soon our wish, O You who are always present! (Three times)]⁽¹⁾

Amen, Amen, Amen, Amen, Lord of the Worlds! (Three times).

1. This passage, says al-'Ayyāshī (Rihlah, p.97) was not originally in the Wazīfah. It was added by Zarrūq's disciple, al-Kharrūbī, to whom the inhabitants of the area complained of the aggressive Beduins, when he passed by the Zāwiyah on his way to perform Pilgrimage. He adds that al-Kharrūbī himself did not record this passage in the text of the Wazīfah in his book Kifāyat al-murīd, as it was not recorded in any other reliable source.

O God! Bless and grant peace upon our master Muḥammad and the family of Muḥammad. (Ten times).

Amen, Amen, Amen, Amen, Lord of the Worlds! (Three times).

Peace be upon the messengers and praise be to God, Lord of the Worlds. (Once).

In the name of God, the most Merciful, the most Compassionate.

"Praise be to God, Lord of the Worlds, the most Merciful, the most Compassionate. Owner of the Day of Judgment. You (alone) we worship and You (alone) we ask for help. Show us the straight path, the path of those whom You have favoured, not (the path) of those who earn Your anger, nor of those who go astray."⁽¹⁾ (Once).

"Verily! God and His angels shower blessings on the Prophet. O You who believe! Call down blessing on him and salute him a worthy salutation."⁽²⁾ (Once).

God's blessing, peace, salutations, mercy and benedictions be upon our master Muḥammad, Your slave, Prophet and Messenger the illiterate prophet, and upon his family and companions, many times equal to the even and the uneven numbers and our Lord's blessed and perfect words. (Three times).

There is no strength, no power, save by God, the Almighty, the Great. (Three times).

"He is sufficient for us. Most Excellent is He in Whom we trust."⁽³⁾ He is "the best Patron and the best Helper."⁽⁴⁾

"Glorified be your Lord, the Lord of Majesty, from that which they attribute (unto Him), and pece be unto those who were sent, and praise be to God, Lord of the Worlds."⁽⁵⁾

1. Qur'ān; 3

2. Qur'ān; 33:56.

3. Qur'ān; 3:173.

4. Qur'ān; 8:40.

5. Qur'ān; 33:180-182.

"The reality of Unity is a throne. The purified Law is the footstool of that throne. The rights (and obligations) set forth in it are its heavens, and portions of the souls are its earth. Any "truth" unaccompanied by the Law may lay no claim to consideration, as any "law" not supported by the Truth lacks any perfection. Thus, they may both become manifest only when considered together, when every obligation is realised, and when the portions are fulfilled, which are the very sustenance of existence."

Zarrūq

Tanbīh dhawī al-himam

CHAPTER FOUR

THE SUFI WAY ACCORDING TO ZARRUQ

In the previous chapters we have become acquainted with Shaikh Ahmad Zarrūq. We have passed through his life and the historical and social circumstance in which he lived. We have taken note of his contribution in various fields of knowledge through his works, and have identified him as a founder of a Sufi Order.

What about the doctrinal basis on which he established his teachings and precepts? How did he consider the Way of the Sufis? To what sort of ideas and thoughts did he subscribe? And what were his points of view regarding the various Sufi concepts? These questions, and many others, need to be considered and answers found for them from his own heritage. Before we treat these questions, however, a foreword is necessary to introduce our Shaikh's ideas and concepts within the context of the Sufi Way.

Generally speaking, it is possible, in the light of what has been mentioned in the previous chapter, to state that Sufi Ways, as they are usually classified according to geographical regions, might be classified on a theoretical basis also. From a purely theoretical standpoint, we can say that Sufism has always had a vivid variety of opinions, of expressions, of approaches to the goal, and of understanding of the Way itself.

Since the early days of Sufism, its masters themselves were not always in complete agreement with each other.⁽¹⁾ They were not hostile to each other, of course, but they differed as to the branches which they followed in travelling the Way. Thus, it is possible to divide the Sufis into two main streams, or schools of thought. The first we might call the 'conservative' or 'orthodox' group, whose leader in the Sufi lineage was Abū al-Qāsim al-Junaid, and whose followers were pure sunnī Sufis. The second might be called the 'non-orthodox' group, whose head was al-Ḥusain b. Maṣṣūr al-Ḥallāj.

These two streams of Sufism existed side by side throughout Islamic history. In both of them, as in every aspect of human activity, there were extremists who held fanatically to their own beliefs, refuting the ideas of others as wrong, and the moderates who did their best to understand other points of view and respect other beliefs. The Shādhiliyah, of which Zarrūq is considered an important exponent, was a sunnī Way which, although it was founded basically on al-Kitāb wa al-Sunnah (the Qur'ān and the sayings and actions of the Prophet) adopted a moderate and a tolerant line, not only towards other sunnī Ways, but

1. See: Titus Burckhardt; An Introduction to Sufi Doctrine, Lahore, 1959, p.32 ff., where he states that "not being a philosophy, that is, a merely human mode of thought, Sufi doctrine is not presented as the homogeneous development of a mental point of view. Of necessity it includes many points of view which may on occasion be mutually contradictory, if their logical form is alone taken into account without regard to the universal truth to which they all relate. Because of this it may be that one master rejects some doctrinal assertion of another master whose authority he nonetheless recognises."

also, in many cases, towards the more extreme Sufis themselves. This, naturally, does not mean that Shādhilīs did not observe their own principles. On the contrary, they were earnest defenders of the Sunnah, as represented in their leader Abū al-Ḥasan al-Shādhilī and his successors, especially those who combined together both thorough religious knowledge and the following of Sufi Way.

It has always been said that the main achievement of Zarrūq is his contribution in alleviating the artificial hostility between Jurisprudence and Sufism, or Sharī'ah (Law) and Ḥaqīqah (Truth). He was always admired for his reconciliation between these two dimensions of Islam, by enabling the Ṭarīqah (Way) to lead to the Truth without neglecting the Law.

As we have seen, our Shaikh has many things to say on Sufism. His Sufi heritage is so immense that it is impossible, in a short study of this kind, to cover all that he wrote and left to us in all its details. We shall then try to sum up his points of view on the main Sufi concepts and try to discover his attitude towards them as an orthodox Sufi.

Jurisprudence and Sufism:

The attempt to unite Sharī'ah and Ḥaqīqah stemmed from the historical conflict which raged between jurists and Sufis throughout the ages as a result of the mutual misunderstanding between the two. The

jurists used to accuse the Sufis of corrupting the Muslim faith by introducing into it certain ideas and practices, while the Sufis defended themselves by claiming a sort of inner life which the jurists did not understand. This was natural since Jurisprudence deals with the outer practical side of a Muslim's life (zāhir) while Sufism^{is} related to the inner (bāṭin) side of it.

"This struggle is obviously wrong," he says, "since there is no contradiction between the two aspects. They are, in fact, complementary to each other. They are like body and soul,⁽¹⁾ so that neither of them is dispensable. Religion is founded on three pillars: Islām (submission), Imān (faith) and Iḥṣān (virtue). Just as the jurists are concerned with islam and its dogmas and the theologians are concerned with the principles of the faith, so the Sufis are concerned with iḥṣān which is at the same time the culmination of religion. This means that no true Sufi is exempted from confessing the other two aspects and implementing their requirements in full."⁽²⁾

"Abū al-Qasim al-Junaid said: 'Our science is based on the Qur'ān and the Sunnah,'" argues Zarrūq, "and Mālik Ibn Anas said: 'He who learns Jurisprudence and neglects Sufism becomes a reprobate; while he who learns Sufism and neglects Jurisprudence becomes an

1. 'Uddat al-murīd, p.49.

2. Ibid., p.9.

apostate. He who combines both of them attains to the realization of the Truth'. These two sayings by Shaikh al-Ṭarīqah (Master of the Way), al-Junaid, and Imām al-Madhab (Leader of the Law School), Mālik, are sufficient proof that Sharī'ah and Ṭarīqah lead to the same destination. No traveller can set off without a way, and to be protected from its perils and dangers he must be armed with complete knowledge of its marks and signs, which the Sharī'ah provides."⁽¹⁾

In comparing Sufis and jurists he says that the latter's object is more general while the former's is more special. The Sufi is like the secret-keeper in the court of the King, while the jurist is like the door-keeper. The jurist, therefore, has the right to

1. Qawā'id al-taṣawwuf, p.14. Regarding the relationship between the Sharī'ah, the Ṭarīqah, and the Ḥaqīqah, Sayyed Hossein Nasr says that "some of the traditional Sufi masters, especially those of the Shādhiliyah, have used the geometric symbol of a circle to depict the relation between these fundamental dimensions of Islam. From any point in the space there can be generated a circle and an indefinite number of radii which connect every point of the circumference of the circle with the Centre. The circumference is the Sharī'ah whose totality comprises the whole of the Muslim community... The radii symbolize the Turuq. Each radius is a path from the circumference to the Centre... Finally at the Centre there is the Ḥaqīqah or Truth which is the source of both the Ṭarīqah and the Sharī'ah... According to the well-known Sufi symbol Islam is like a walnut of which the shell is like the Sharī'ah, the kernel is like the Ṭarīqah and oil, which is invisible yet everywhere present, is the Ḥaqīqah." (Ideals and Realities of Islam, London, 1966, pp.123-124). Cf. Titus Burckhardt; An Introduction to Sufi Doctrine, Lahore, 1959, p.14.

interrogate whoever goes in before he does so, and to rebuke him who betrays the secret or distorts what the King has said to him. That is why the jurists' disapproval of the utterances of some Sufis is accepted, while the Sufis are denied any right of protest unless they are acquainted with the Sharī'ah and are able to produce an apology to justify their behaviour. Accordingly a Sufi of the jurists is much better than a jurist of the Sufis.⁽¹⁾

It is impossible to define Sufism, there being more than two thousand definitions for it. It is, therefore, true to say that every man can have his own Sufism, according to his aptitude and aspiration. The Way is too wide to be confined to a particular section of men whom we call Sufis. He says: "The paths differ in conformity with the natures of men. There is the devotee (nāsik) who concentrates on excellent qualities, the worshipper ('ābid) who holds firmly to correct actions, the ascetic (zāhid) who flees from the creatures, the gnostic ('arif) who devotes himself to the realities (ḥaqā'iq), the pious (wari') who realises the station by being cautious, the adherent (mutamassik) who is attached to the Folk in every way, and the aspirant (murīd), who is concerned with the states. All of them are in the circle of the Truth by carrying out the right of the Law and shunning what is shameful and wrong!"⁽²⁾

1. Qawā'id al-taṣawwuf, p.49.

2. Ibid., p.34.

Because the ways to God are as many as the souls of creatures, and because every single soul has its own tendency to a particular aspect of conduct and knowledge, we find that each man can follow a branch of the way that leads in the end to the main Way. This fact was established by the previous masters through their works. "There is a type of Sufism for the layman included in the works of al-Muḥāsibī,⁽¹⁾ for the jurist in al-Madkhal of Ibn al-Ḥājj,⁽²⁾ for the traditionist (muḥaddith) in Ibn al-'Arabī's Sirāj,⁽³⁾ for the worshipper ('ābid) in the Minhāj of al-Ghazālī,⁽⁴⁾ for the devotee (mutarayyid) in the Risālah of al-Qushairī,⁽⁵⁾ for the ascetic (nāsik) in Qūt al-qulūb of al-Makkī,⁽⁶⁾ for the philosopher (ḥakīm) in the works of al-Ḥātīmī,⁽⁷⁾ for the logician (manṭiqī) in

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1. Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Ḥārith b. 'Asad al-Muḥāsibī (d. 243/858) whose most celebrated works are: al-Ri'āyah liḥuqūq Allāh and A'māl al-qulūb wa al-jawāriḥ.
 2. Probably 'Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad al-Qurṭubī al-Mālikī, known as Ibn al-Ḥājj, author of Kitāb al-zuhd al-kabīr, (d. 419/1028).
 3. Muḥyī al-Dīn Ibn 'Arabī (or al-'Arabī), the eminent Sufi master (d. 638/1240). Ibn 'Arabī has written two Sirājs; Sirāj al-muhtadīn and Sirāj al-murīdīn. Zarrūq might mean the second one.
 4. Minhāj al-'ābidīn of Abū Ḥāmid Muḥammad al-Ghazālī, the well-known Sufi theologian (d. 505/1111).
 5. Abū al-Qāsim 'Abd al-Karīm b. Hawāzin al-Qushairī (d. 465/1082).
 6. Abū Ṭālib Muḥammad b. 'Alī al-Makkī, a well-known Sufi (d. 386/996).
 7. That is Ibn 'Arabī.

Ibn Sab'In's⁽¹⁾ works, for the physicist (ṭabā'i'ī) in al-Buni's Asrār⁽²⁾ and for the theologian (uṣūlī) there is the type of Sufism which al-Shādhilī⁽³⁾ represented."⁽⁴⁾ All these sections of people are able to be Sufis of a certain degree on one condition: that they have recourse at all times to the Sharī'ah and the Qur'ān as the main source of learning and not to deviate from the principles of Islam.

This classification of Sufism is due to the fact that Sufism is founded on following the best (ittibā' al-aḥsan) of everything, as the Qur'ān confirms: "Who hear advice and follow the best thereof. Such are those whom God guideth and such are men of understanding."⁽⁵⁾ And the variety among the ways is due to the variety in discretion (istiḥsān) among men.⁽⁶⁾

To be a Sufi means to look for the best, to have a deeper understanding. Hence, "the attitude of the Sufi is of a more special kind (akhaṣṣ), than that of the jurist, who represents islām and seeks out that which removes objections regarding religious practices, while the Sufi looks for what leads to perfection in performing them. His attitude towards faith ('īmān) is more special than that of the theologian, since the latter considers what makes belief correct, while the Sufi seeks what

1. 'Abd al-Ḥaqq b. Sab'In (d. 669/1270).

2. Abū al-'Abbās Aḥmad al-Būnī (d. 622/1225). Asrār al-ḥurūf wa al-

3. Abū al-Ḥasan 'Alī al-Shādhilī, the founder of the kalimāt.
Shādhilī Order (d. 656/1258).

4. Qawā'id al-taṣawwuf, p.35.

5. Qur'ān; 18:39

6. Qawā'id; p.35.

makes it more certain and firm. His attitude is more special than the mufassir (commentator of the Qur'ān) and the muḥaddith (traditionist) also, since these deal with the external structure of the text, while the Sufi looks at the inner meaning and the implications it bears."⁽¹⁾

This does not mean that the Sufi is allowed to lead a special type of life free from any limits in belief and conduct. On the contrary, he is required to adhere even more strictly to the formal part of the Muslim creed than any other person, in order to prevent any misunderstanding or misconduct and to protect from slipping into error. It is completely wrong to say that the Sufi has no allegiance to a madhhab, since al-Junaid was a follower of al-Thawrī, al-Shiblī was a Malikite and al-Muhāsibī was a Shafi'ite. If these great masters, and many others, were followers of jurists, he argues, how dare anyone break this unbreakable bond between Sufism and Jurisprudence without being exposed to grave errors, either in his contact with people or his relation with God?⁽²⁾

The true Muslim, then, is he who actualises both the faith ('imān) and practices its dogmas or islām. But the ideal Muslim is he who completes the circle by adapting iḥsān. In short, to become a Sufi in one or both of the previous ways.⁽³⁾

1. Qawā'id; p.33.

2. Ibid., p.26.

3. For more detailed discussion of these notions see: Frithjof Shuon; Dimensions of Islam, London, 1969, p.70 ff.

When the Prophet was asked about the meaning of ihsān he said: "It is to worship God as if you see Him. Even if you do not see Him, He sees you."⁽¹⁾ And from this tradition Zarrūq concludes that maqām al-ihsān is divided into two sections: a) To set the face towards God with the certainty that He 'is' in all Existence, to 'witness' Him and thus to implement all the implications of fear and love, since what is seen is His glory and beauty. b) To be unable to witness (shuhūd) but to become sure that He sees you. In this case you have to adhere to all practices and beliefs required by religion because He watches you and knows whatever you do or think. The first is the stage of the gnostic ('ārif) which is followed by the Shādhilis, he comments, and the second is the rank of others below this stage whose example is al-Ghazālī and those who follow him.⁽²⁾

Sufism is not a mere theoretical teaching to occupy man's mind and become a sort of acrobatic experience in words and arguments. The practical part of it is the vital care without which the Sufi does not deserve his title at all.

This is not meant to deprive Sufism of its concepts and ideas and make of it mere practice, since it is concerned also with every issue related to the spiritual as well as to the material life. It has something to say on all issues relevant to man and his life, as to

1.

2. Qawā'id, p.33.

what must be done and how it should be done. But to express an opinion one has to obtain both a knowledge of the subject and the evidence to introduce as proof for one's argument.

Theory and practice, or knowledge and action (al-'ilm wa al-'amal) are of equal importance in Zarrūq's view, and he holds that they are inseparable. "There is no perfection without knowledge," he says, "and there is no use for knowledge without action."⁽¹⁾

Since it is impossible for the ignorant man to realize himself and what surrounds him and to see through this realization the glory of God and His majesty, it is necessary for every Muslim to seek knowledge "from the cradle to the grave," as the Prophet said, and to acquire it from any direction.⁽²⁾ That is why learned men ('ulamā') are favoured in life and after death and that is why they are called "the heirs of the prophets."⁽³⁾

This does not apply only to the pure religious sciences but it is applicable to all branches of human knowledge, be it intellectual or practical. At the same time, however, there must be a distinction made between the 'beneficial' sciences and the 'harmful' ones, or, as he puts it; between the luminous (nūrāniyah)

1. Ta'sīs, p.323.

2.

3. al-Naṣīhatu al-kāfiyah liman khaṣṣahu Allāhu bi al-ʿāfiyah, p.43.

sciences and the dark (zulmāniyah) sciences. This distinction does not arise from within the sciences themselves, but from the aim and the method of their use. Any science is, in itself, good and luminous, since it broadens the sphere of human knowledge and enriches it, but it might also become evil and dark by means of the purpose for which it is used. As Abū al-Ḥasan al-Shādhilī said: "The sciences in the hearts are like money in the hands. They might be used for either good or for evil."⁽¹⁾

Because the aim of the study of the science, not the science itself, defines its benefit or harmfulness, so the 'ulamā are judged by the results or the effects of their knowledge upon themselves and those who are in contact with them. A doctor, for example, who knows the secrets of elements and herbs can use them in curing sick people, and here his science is a nūrānī science, as well as for killing others and here the science becomes automatically a zulmānī science. Once Astronomy is used for purposes refuted by the Qur'ān and the Sunnah it changes into Astrology, which is not to be sought; and once Chemistry is turned from its original object, which is the observation of the peculiarities of matter, it becomes Alchemy, which seeks an illusive mirage and must be shunned by every Muslim who believes in the Qur'ān

1. 'Uddat al-murīd al-ṣādiq, pp.57-59.

and has a modicum of reason. (1)

The main condition in learning and acquiring knowledge is that it must be within the framework of the Qur'ān and the Sunnah, for if they do not sanction it, it is clearly a pseudo-science. The Qur'ān always urges the believers to seek knowledge and to use the gift of reason to see in themselves and the natural phenomena the meaning of their existence and to discover also its origin and goal. (2)

As every science is sought for its benefits and because it serves a special aim, as Medicine for health and Jurisprudence for knowing the religious ordinances and permitted things, so is Sufism for the remedy of the hearts and purification of souls. And because the veneration of any science stems from the veneration of its object there is no science more to be venerated than Sufism, for its object is the fear of God as a result of knowing Him and a promise of following His ordinance, as al-Junaid said: "If I knew that there were under the sky a more honourable science than this science of which we talk with our companions, I would seek it out." (3)

Having briefly reviewed Zarrūq's position with respect to Sufism and his conception of its rôle and importance in the Muslim's life, it is now time to

1. 'Uddat al-murīd, p.57-59.

2. See the Qur'ān; 3:7, 35:28, 2:259, 30:50, 6:99, 29:20, 88:17, etc.

3. Qawā'id, p.9.

throw some light on the major Sufi teachings upon which he expounded in his many works, in order to have a clearer picture of our Shaikh as a Sufi master and the leader of an Order.

A) IN THEORY

God, Man and the Universe

It has been stated above that Sufism's object is the endeavour to realize man's relationship with God and to gain a firm knowledge of Him by passing through spiritual experience. This, of course, requires first the confession that there is a God who created this Universe, including Man, and then to look at His relation to the Universe and Man. Without this confession there is no point in discussing the notion at all.

The core of religious teaching, in any religion, is the Absolute and whatever the differences may be among the religious groups, it is clear that without accepting a first cause,⁽¹⁾ or a creator, or a source of our existence there can be no spiritual foundation for this existence and we must give up any attempt to think of it.

1. In Islam, as in Christianity, theologians were much concerned to 'demonstrate' the existence of God on logical grounds. (See: D. B. Macdonald; Aspects of Islam, London, 1911, pp.115-145, and John Hick; Philosophy of Religion, Cambridge, 1963, pp.15-30). From the Sufi standpoint, there is no need to prove God's existence, since He is self-evident. Ibn 'Aṭṭā' Allāh al-Iskandarī says: "How could one imagine that anything veils Him, when He it is Who manifests everything? How could one imagine that anything veils Him, when He is manifest through everything? How could one imagine that anything veils Him, when He is manifest in everything? How could one imagine that anything veils Him, when He is manifest to everything? How could one imagine that anything veils Him, since He was manifest before anything was? How could one imagine that anything veils Him, when He is more manifest than everything?" (See: Sh. al-Hikam, pp.66-67).

Islam, as a religion, is based essentially on the meaning of its name (submission) which means complete surrender to God by following His commandments which have come to us through His messengers, seeking His satisfaction and avoiding whatever provokes His wrath.

Now, Sufism is the more spiritual aspect of Islam, and the most subtle part of Sufism is that which deals with God and the relationship between Him and His creation, simply because Sufism assumes a direct association (mu'āmalah) between God and man. (1)

The conception of God, His attributes and what is related to Him occupies an important place in the history of Islamic thought, and we do not think that we are far from the truth in assuming that the whole history of Islamic thought emerged from the arguments exchanged between learned men regarding God and His relation to His creation. This is applicable to Theology, Philosophy and, naturally, Sufism.

What has our Shaikh to say on this subject?

Before we proceed to set forth his conception of God and creation, it is necessary to deal with an important point raised by one of his masters which may bear some significance in this matter.

Talking about his pupil, 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Sakhāwī says in his al-Daw' al-lāmi' that "it was said that he inclined to Ibn 'Arabī." (2) Such a judgement may be

1. Qawā'id, p.15.

2. al-Daw' al-lāmi', p.222.

interpreted as an allusion to the well-known doctrine of Muḥyī al-Dīn Ibn 'Arabī on the Unity of Being (waḥdat al-wujūd).

This was, and still is, considered a dangerous position especially in Sunnī circles, since Unity of Being is regarded, as it is understood, as a sort of shirk by claiming that God manifests Himself in His creation and that every particle in the whole of existence bears a certain element of Divinity in it. This leads to a kind of association (mushārakah) with God in His most essential quality: Divinity (ulūhiyah) in which none of His creatures, however near to Him, can participate.

It seems that al-Sakhāwī confused, in his remark about his pupil, waḥdat al-wujūd (Unity of Being) and waḥdat al-shuhūd (unity of vision) which the Shādhilīs held. The difference between the two is that whereas the first means that all the beings are one in fact and the multiplicity which we think exists is merely a manifestation of Divinity in the variety of His creation. The latter is a conscious process whereby the consciousness unites all the phenomenal existence and demolishes the external differences in it.

The distinction between these two kinds of waḥdah is confused sometimes, especially since the Shādhilīs were not serious opponents of Ibn 'Arabī.⁽¹⁾ Their

1. See: 'Abd al-Qādir Maḥmūd; al-Falsafah al-Ṣūfiyah fī al-Islam, Cairo, 1966, p.

great exponent Ibn 'Aṭā' Allāh al-Iskandarī, was not far from Ibn Arabī's teachings. Zarrūq himself used to defend him in many of his works on the grounds that he did not mean to say what his opponents had concluded from his writings and that his expressions on the problem of Divinity were for the élite whose understanding is capable of grasping the real meaning of his sayings, not for the common people who are unable to read between the lines. (1)

1. See Sh. Nūniyyat al-Shushtarī, Ms. Madrid, p.17. It is noteworthy to find that while Zarrūq does not approve of some of Ibn 'Arabī's utterances such as his saying: "I am the Qur'ān and the Seven Repetitions (al-sab' al-mathānī, the first sūrah). I am the Spirit of the Spirit, not the spirit of the vessels (awānī, bodies)," and regards them as an unacceptable saying, he defends him at the same time on the grounds that Ibn 'Arabī did not find the proper language in which to express his state. In his Sh. al-mabāḥiṭ al-aṣliyah (Ms. Rabat, 2284 D, p.236) he connects Ibn 'Arabī and other Sufi masters, in quoting Abū Ḥayyān(?) in his book al-Nahr al-mūdi (al-mu'addī) min al-baḥr accusing him of being a ḥulūlī (incarnationist). Zarrūq rejects this accusation and denies that either Ibn 'Arabī, or the other masters, intended to say what has been falsely understood from his utterances. In his Qawā'id al-taṣawwuf (pp.51-52) he records the following rule as one of the Sufi principles: "To suspend judgement (tawāquf) in case of doubt is required, just as unequivocality in what is obvious, be it good or bad, is required also." He further points out that some dispute arose among Muslims concerning Ibn 'Arabī and other Sufis. He deduces from the statements of Mālik b. Anas and Abū Bakr b. Fawrak that it is far better to recognise one thousand unbelievers, at even the slightest indication of Islam, as believers, than to consider one believer as an unbeliever for one suspicion (shubḥah). Zarrūq relates that his master, Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Qawrī, was asked while he was present: "What is your opinion of Ibn 'Arabī al-Ḥātimī?" al-Qawrī replied: 'He knew every art as well as its own adherents! They said: "We did not ask you about this." He said: "There is a great difference of opinion about him. While some consider him as an unbeliever others regard him as a Pole (qutb).' They said: 'What do you prefer?' He answered: 'Submission!' Here Zarrūq comments by saying that it is as risky to charge a man with unbelief, as it is to exalt him too much, since this exaltation may lead the listener to a harmful situation, by following Ibn 'Arabī's enigmatic sayings and imitating them, without understanding their hidden double-edged meaning. (Qawā'id, pp.51-52).

Lordship and Servanthood:

There are two aspects of God which are somehow different: Divinity or Godhead ('ulūhiyah) and Lordship (rubūbiyah). The first is applied to God as such. He was, is, and will be God with all the requirements of Godhead, whether He created the worlds or not. The second implies creating something, to actualise the meaning of Lordship. Because we know that He brought us forth from nothingness, we know that we are different from Him since we lack one of His qualities which is al-khalq min al-'adam (creatio ex nihilo), and thus we are dependent on Him. So it is necessary to realize our position with regard to Him, our Servanthood ('ubūdiyyah) vis.à vis His Lordship. (1)

"The essence of the Way and its benefits are in seeking the realization of the human reality (al-ḥaqiqah al-insāniyah) by gnostic realities (al-ḥaqāiq al-'irfāniyah). There is no affinity between a slave and his lord except by the Divine Providence, due to the fact that the Lord created him from naught, provided him with graces and allotted to him with beneficence." (2)

From the very beginning, says the Shaikh, we have to realize that God is completely different from anything we see or think of. His existence is distinguished from any other existence and His Being does not resemble any other being. The first thing which proved this distinction is the fact that Man was created from nothing by the

1. Sh. al-mabāḥith al-aṣliyah, p.139.

2. Ibid.

will of God and His wisdom, as the Qur'ān says: "Is He who creates like him who does not create?"⁽¹⁾ The ability to create is confined to God alone, so that we find ourselves in a position that compels us to submit to him and be satisfied with whatever He wills.⁽²⁾

Realizing this fundamental fact and understanding our position, we have to act accordingly. This requires a profound look at Nature and ourselves in response to the Quranic verse: "We shall show them Our signs on the horizons and within themselves, until it will be manifest unto them that it is the Truth."⁽³⁾ A deeper look

1. Qur'ān; 16:17.

2. Sh. al-Hikam, p.279. The idea of creation, which is common to the three monotheistic religions (Islam, Christianity, and Judaism), in Burckhardt's opinion, contradicts in appearance the idea of the essential Unity of all beings, since creatio ex nihilo seems to deny the pre-existence of the possibilities of the Divine Essence and in consequence to deny also their subsistence in It, whereas the idea of manifestation, as taught in Hinduism, relates relative beings to Absolute Essence as reflections are related to their luminous source. (Introduction to Sufi Doctrine, p.65). This problem of Creation, in fact, faced all sections in Islamic thought. While the dogmatic Zāhirīs understood the Name (or Quality) of Creator (al-khāliq) as the Bringer-out-from-nothingness, without the pre-existence of relative beings, the Mu'tazilah were divided regarding their approach to this problem. Some of them, however, held that there was a sort of being before creation (which means here 'ijād or production to existence) in forms (ṣuwar). These were refuted on the grounds that this implies a denial of God's most special Quality; al-qidam (pre-Eternality). Others thought that some of God's Qualities, attributed to Him were, or are, mere "possibilities" of the Divine Essence, such as al-Muhsin (the Bestower) al-Rāziq (the Provider), al-'Alīm (the All-knower), etc., since these Qualities require a subject through which to be manifested; the Quality "Creator" is one of them. Accordingly, God was able to create pre-eternally, but He created in specific time (or in time) according to His will. This might be what Ibn 'Arabī called ta'ayyun (determination or individuation) in relation to God and His creation. (Cf. Ibid., p.66).

3. Qur'ān; 41:53.

inside ourselves and at phenomenal existence will make clear our entire dependence upon God, not only in existence but also in the continuation of this existence. God created us and He preserves our existence, and it is up to His absolute will to do whatever He wishes for us and all creation.

When we look at the qualities of Lordship we find them set out in four categories: Independence (ghinā), Might (izzah), Potency (qudrah) and Power (quwwah). These are opposite to the qualities of servanthood which are: dependence (faqr), humility (dhull), impotence ('ajz) and weakness (da'f). The servant's attitude towards these qualities is fulfilled by two means: a) al-Ta'alluq (attachment or devotion) to the Lordship. b) al-Taḥaqquq (actualization) of servanthood. That is, to be completely devoted to recognising the Lord's qualities, paying no attention to other than Him, being entirely dependent on Him, and considering the servant's qualities as inseparable from himself and that they are his real essence.⁽¹⁾

This position of servanthood before the Lord means an emancipation towards others. Once Man realizes that the real Lordship is for God only and sets his face towards Him, he becomes free from regarding others as masters of his destiny or controllers of his life. He does not fear them any more. And this is the real liberation.⁽²⁾

1. Sharḥ al-Ḥikam, p.255.

2. Ibid., p.114.

Servanthood is in fact an exalted degree of existence and human beings must be content with it. When the Prophet was given the choice of being an angel-prophet or a human-prophet, i.e., servant, he said: "O Lord! (I want to be a human-prophet). I become hungry one day and sated on another. When I am hungry I implore You, and when I am sated I thank You." Zarrūq comments that the Prophet did not favour one state to the other, but that he favoured servanthood in both of them. Also when the Prophet said: "I am the master of the sons of Adam, and I say this without boasting," Abū al-'Abbās al-Mursī commented by saying: "He has no pride in mastership since his real pride is in servanthood."⁽¹⁾

To be a true servant is to accomplish your duties towards the Lord, and the sign of truthfulness is to trust Him, become dependent on Him and be content with whatever comes from Him, since He alone has the right to decide whether to give or withhold.⁽²⁾

The Divine Names:

There are several references in the Qur'ān to God's Names by which Muslims can call on Him or by which they pray to Him.⁽³⁾ These exalted Names occupy an important place in the history of Sufism and were a subject of innumerable discussions and compilations either about their nature and meaning or about their usage.⁽⁴⁾ Our

1. Sh. al-Ḥikam, p.49. Cf. the Ṣaḥīḥ of al-Tirmidhī/manāqib.

2. Ibid., p.279.

3. See: Qur'ān; 18:7, 17:11, 8:20, 24:59.

4. Sh. al-Ḥikam, p.

Shaikh dedicated a whole work of his to discuss this issue from different points of view and to explain their usage. (1)

The common belief among Muslims is that the exalted Names number 99 according to the Prophetic tradition. That is because God has named Himself with these Names in the Qur'ān and has urged Muslims to call Him by them. (2) Zarrūq confirms this limited number and says that they are the only accepted Names in accordance with scripture (nass including Qur'ān and Tradition) and consensus (ijmā'). Thus they are inspired (tawqīfiah) and no other names should be used in prayer or invocation. At the same time any other name appropriate to God is acceptable, if it is in conformity with Arabic etymology, because the religion is Arabic and the Qur'ān is Arabic. (3) That is why some Sufi masters, like Abū al-'Abbās al-Būnī, were able to increase the number of God's Names up to 153 names. (4)

The exalted Names are divided into four categories, each of which deals with a particular aspect of Divinity, as follows:

1) Names of Essence (Asmā' al-Dhāt) which are confined to the Ipseity (huwwiyah) itself, and not associated with anything save God Himself, being absolutely

1. See the Catalogue No. IX.

2. al-Maqṣad al-asmā, p.171.

3. Ibid., p.250.

4. Ibid., p.172.

incomparable and incapable of being imitated by any creature. They are peculiar to Him alone. Allah is the supreme and most characteristic Name, including all the concepts of Divinity and Lordship, and nothing in the whole Universe can share with Him in any way in this Name.

2) Names of Qualities (Asmā' al-Ṣifāt) which are neither He nor other than Him, nor are they among themselves distinctive (separative) (lā hiya huwa wa lā hiya ghayruhu wa la hiya fī mā bainahā aghyār).

3) Names of action (Asmā' al-Af'āl) which indicate any kind of action such as al-khāliq (Creator) and al-rāziq (Provider).

4) Names of Transcendence (Asmā' al-Tanzīh) which indicate the absolute sanctity of God, such as al-Quddūs (the Holy One).

The other classification of the Names is that they are divided into two sections: 1) the Inclusive Names (al-Asmā' al-Jami'ah) which include other Names or their meanings. When we say al-Malik (the King), for example, we understand the meaning of al-Qawiy (the Powerful) and al-Qādir (the Capable), or when we say al-Ghāfir (the Forgiver) we associate with it al-Rahīm (the Merciful), al-Latīf (the Kind), al-Wadūd (the Loving) and so on. 2) the Exclusive Names such as al-Wāhid (the One), al-Ṣamad (the Eternal), etc.⁽¹⁾

1. al-Maqṣad al-Asmā', p.175.

The third classification is that there are:

1) Names of Beauty (al-asmā' al-jamāliyah) like al-Mu'min (the Faithful), al-Salām (Peace), al-Wadūd (the Loving).

2) Names of Majesty (al-asmā' al-jalāliyah) like al-Qahhār (the Irresistable), al-Jabbār (the Dominant), al-Muntaqim (the Avenger) and al-Mutakabbir (the Proud).

3) Names of Perfection (al-asmā' al-kamāliyah) like al-Wāhid (the One), al-Aḥad (the Unique) al-Quddūs (the Holy One) and al-Ṣamad (the Eternal).⁽¹⁾

The fourth classification is that there are:

1) Absolute Names (al-asmā' al-muṭlaqah) which are allusions to God alone, such as Allāh and al-Ḥaqq (the Truth) or are restricted to Him like al-Bārī (the Maker) and al-Khāliq (the Creator).

2) Derivative Names (al-asmā' al-mushtaqah) which are derived from His actions, like al-Muṣawwir (the Designer) al-Mūjid (the Creator) al-Karīm (the Bountiful).⁽²⁾

The fifth classification is that there are:

1) Complementary Names (al-asmā' al-mutakāmilah) in which we see that one Name complements another, like al-Raḥmān and al-Raḥīm (the Compassionate and the Merciful), al-'Azīm and al-Kabīr (the Great and the Grand), al-'Afuww and al-Ghāfir (the Pardoner and the Forgiver), and so on.

1. al-Maqṣad al-asmā', p.238.

2. Ibid., p.238.

2) Names of Opposition (al-asmā' al-mutaqābilah) like al-Mubdī and al-Mu'īd (the Initiator and the Restorer), al-Muqaddim and al-Mu'akhkhir (the Preceding and the Succeeding), al-Rāfi' and al-Khāfiq (the Exalter and the Abaser), al-Bāsiṭ and al-Qabiḍ (the Causer of expansion and the Causer of Contraction), etc. (1)

Regarding the usage of the Divine Names Zarrūq says that they are to be used in five ways:

1) Knowledge ('ilm), since we must know them to know God through them. He who does not know whom he worships is not a true believer, simply because he is ignorant, and ignorance is contrary to belief. (2)

2) Preservation (ḥifz), for God's Names are a means of protection from enemies and calamities either within man, like the soul and its desires, or outside him in his daily life. (3)

1. al-Maqṣad al-asmā', pp.172-175.

2. Ibid., p.250.

3. It is permitted to invoke God's Names, by other methods of invocation, for the purpose of asking His protection and favour. If God's grace comes through invoking His Name, this will cause love for them, love for him who brought them (the Prophet), and love for God Himself. If the benefit did not occur, there is His kindness (luṭf) as a compensation, which implies the intimacy of the soul with the remembrance of the Truth. But it is surely undesirable and rather reprehensible to use invocation for purely worldly purposes, so that we may exalt God's Names, His words in the Qur'ān, and the prayers of the Prophet, and to preserve their loftiness in the spiritual realm. (Qawā'id al-taṣawwuf, p.78).

3) Attachment (ta'alluq), and that is to comprehend the meaning of the Name and set our faces towards God in conformity with its meaning. When we know that He is al-Majīd (the Glorious), for example, we have to glorify Him, or al-Raḥīm (the Merciful), we must seek His mercy upon us, or al-Muntaqim (the Avenger) we must beware of His wrath, or al-Jabbār (the Dominant) we must fear Him.

4) Realization (taḥaqquq) and Assimilation (takhalluq). This applies to our attitude towards ourselves and others. When we fully comprehend that God is al-Raḥīm (Merciful) we must have mercy towards others and be kind to them, and so on with al-Wadūd (the Loving), al-Ghafūr (the Forgiver), al-Wahhāb (the Bestower) al-Ṣabūr (the Patient). Al-Ḥasīb (the Reckonner) means that we should examine our conscience, while al-Raḡīb (the Observer) means to watch our thoughts and deeds and control them. Al-Mu'tī (the Giver) means to give to the poor, and al-Māni' (the Withholder) is to withhold ourselves from falling into sin. (1)

The Ta'alluq, in fact, is the attitude of the servant towards God, where nothing is regarded as real save His exaltation, while the Takhalluq is being so impressed by the Name that the servant is only conscious of His perfection in every Name and tries to "assimilate" His qualities by behaving in accordance with the meaning of

1. al-Maqṣad al-asmā', p.174.

the Name in an adequate manner, in a given situation.⁽¹⁾

5) Invocation (dhikr) either in the sense of adoration (ta'abbud) or in the sense of supplication (tawassul) or as a means of seeking the Name's particular effect (ṭalab al-khāṣṣiyah).

The real benefit to be gained from invocation of the Names lies in perfect scrutiny (tama''un) and complete understanding of its meaning. Without realizing the inner meaning of the Name and feeling its effect, its invocation will be merely a useless habit as usually practiced by the common people.⁽¹⁾

The Universe:

"The Universe (al-kawn) for the Sufis is equivalent to the World (al-'alam) for the Theologians. It is every existing thing other than Almighty God and His essential qualities... The existence of the Universe is not in itself neither for itself nor by itself. So it is non-being ('adam) in all of its states; in the past because it was created, in the present because it is not independent, and in the future similarly."⁽²⁾

This quotation may suggest that our Shaikh was a nihilist who sees the whole of Being as non-existent.

1. Ibid., p.175. This has nothing to do with "assimilation of the Divine Qualities" (al-ittisāf bi al-ṣifāt al-ilāhiyah) under which Union with God is conceived by Ibn 'Arabī, according to Burckhardt. (Cf. An Introduction to Sufi Doctrine, p.96). It is, in fact, a mere "absorption" of the Divine Qualities through awareness of His Names, and an effort to "imitate" them on the part of the servant.

2. al-Maqṣad al-asmā', p.250.

This is not true, since we know that we exist and that there are other things which exist. This existence, however, from the Sufi point of view, is not real. It is a degree of existence maintained by the Grace of God who is its Creator and Preserver. Besides God as Zarrūq puts it, "there is no Reality save Him" (laisa 'alā al-ḥaqīqati illā Allāh).⁽¹⁾

There are two degrees of existence then; the Real, which is God, and the unreal, which is other than Him. The Real is completely independent and Self-sufficient, while the unreal is entirely dependent for its continuance on the Real and His will. The relation between the two existences is like the relation between the body and the shadow. The body is real and the shadow is a mere image that indicates its existence.⁽¹⁾

While Real existence has its own unchangeable identity and quality, the unreal is divided into two existences; that which lasts eternally (like the Spirit) and that which perishes (like the body), and yet both of them share in being non-being ('adam) in relation to the Real. The first is naught because it depends for its existence on His preservation (ḥifz) and it would cease to exist without His support, and the second becomes naught when it perishes.⁽²⁾

1. Tuḥfat al-murīd, p.4.

2. Ibid., p.4.

Because the Universe was naught it was darkness (zulmah). It became illuminated only by being created, that is by being brought out into relative existence as a manifestation of God's attributes. God manifested Himself in the Universe through His qualities. He manifests His omniscience ('ilm) by making it perfect, His will (mashī'ah) by specifying its creation and His omnipotence (qudrah) by bringing it out of non-being. This manifestation (zuhūr) is our means of knowing Him by the indications of the Universe and not in a purely formal or an incarnational way. Thus we have to understand the Verse of Light. ⁽¹⁾

"God is the Light of the heavens and of the earth.
The Universe is the niche where is the lamp of the actions which collects the oil pressed from the olive-tree of the qualities of perfection. It is neither of God's Beauty eastern nor of His majesty western. Its oil is on the point of burning even without being touched by the fire of the effect emerging from the lamp of the qualities. Light upon light of actions, upon the light of Attributes, upon the light of Names, upon light of Qualities... God guides to His light whom He wishes. ⁽²⁾

1. Sh. al-Ḥikam, p.61.

2. Ibid., Cf. the Qur'ān; 24:35. The underlined words are Qur'ānic.

Contemplation:

The Universe is, in fact, like a mirror whose surface reflects the images or God's qualities. To see these images on the mirror's surface we need light, i.e., guidance. When God sheds His light He reveals Himself to us through His qualities and we become able to see Him, that is contemplate Him. The more the light is shed, the clearer the image is, and the keener the sight is the more clearly we can see. To contemplate God then means to be aware of His influence (ta'thīr) in Existence and apprehend His image in the reflecting mirror of the Universe.

The degrees of Contemplation (mushāhadah) differ from one to another in accordance with the amount of light shed by God upon the servant and according to his aptitude, as Zarrūq puts it:

"God may be contemplated in the Universe as a ruler and an agent (mudabbiran wa fā'ilan), or as a preserver and maintainer (qa'iman bihā wa qa'iman 'alaihā). He may be contemplated before it as its founder and determiner or after it. Thus he who contemplates the whole Universe as darkness enlightened only by the Truth has opened all the doors of manifestation (tajallī), since he contemplates Him with a devoted heart full of transcendent Unity."⁽¹⁾

1. Sh. al-Hikam, p.59.

This means that the Truth penetrates Universal phenomena in all its aspects, and we have to "look" at it in these aspects which are but appearances of the Truth, taking into consideration the fact that nothing exists, in reality, save the Truth Itself in Its various forms and shapes.

Moreover, this does not apply only to the natural phenomena in which we have to be aware of the Truth in order to contemplate It, but it is also necessary in our actions. In any action we take the Truth is behind it. Here also man can contemplate It before the action, by knowing that there is neither will nor ability to carry it out save by the will and the power of God, since "His are the keys of the heavens and the earth,"⁽¹⁾ or after the action by forgetting this fact until he realizes in certain actions that he is unable to achieve his purpose without God's help. In the first case man "trusts" God because he knows that everything is from Him and by Him, and in the second case he "remembers" the grace of God and thanks Him. In both cases man contemplates God in one of His qualities which is al-qahr (irresistability),⁽²⁾ either before the action or after it. This, in itself, is an advantage which the headless (al-ghāfil) lacks, but the best of all is he who contemplates the Truth in, at, before and after everything. That is he whose light is perfect, to whom mysteries have been revealed.⁽³⁾

1. Qur'ān; 42:12.

2. Sh. al-Ḥikam, p.63.

3. Ibid., p.61.

Knowledge:

God is manifested in the whole of Existence. How does it happen then that not all men are aware of Him?

To answer this question Zarrūq says that God is neither veiled nor the veil, because He is the Light as clear as the sun. What prevents some of us from being aware of Him are the clouds, ourselves, the others (al-aghyār) or terrestrial pre-occupations. Although all these are relative, unreal and naught beside the Absolute Real and Existent, and because they are so, they cover our sight and become barriers between us and Him. It is by the light of the sun that we can see, but we ought not to look at the sun directly, otherwise we shall become blind. By that light of the sun we know that it exists and know its qualities also. God, therefore, reveals Himself by His signs ('āyāt) to indicate His existence and enable us to know Him and His qualities, but not His essence (māhiyyah), since this is a secret area where none is allowed to penetrate or know. (1)

Knowledge of God, His existence and qualities, does not require any evidence, simply because He is Self-evident. Men, however, are veiled from Him by His own will. If He wishes any of them to know Him He removes the veil from their sight and thus they become able to recognize Him by the indications of His creation. (2)

1. Sharḥ al-'Aqīdat al-Ghazālī, p.13-14.

2. Ibid., p.4.

X

According to this concept all believers, then, have been guided by God's light, because all of them have confessed Him by having faith in Him, and all of them have recognized Him which means that they have a portion of knowledge which is called ta'arruf (recognition). But this is not the real knowledge, the profound acquaintance with God. It is a lower degree of knowledge which precedes faith, and is shared in common by all believers. Real knowledge is confined especially to the gnostics ('ārifūn) by which they are distinguished from the common people and from one another, in accordance with their degrees of attainment (wuṣūl), which is called gnosis (ma'rifah).⁽¹⁾

There are three ways to obtain this particular knowledge or gnosis: a) By investigation (taḥaqquq), which is followed by Theologians. b) By certainty ('īqān) which is the way of the common sincere believers. c) By contemplation (shuhūd), which is a gift bestowed by God on the perfect Sufis who strive to prepare their hearts to obtain knowledge coming through Revelation and the direct contact of the Heart with the Supreme Qualities of God.⁽²⁾

Knowledge and Reason:

What then is the rôle of reason in this process?

Reason is of great importance. It is one of the means of knowledge, but not the best of them. As the

1. Sh. 'Aqīdat al-Ghazālī, p.3.

2. Ibid., p.4.

knowledge of the common man is desirable imitation (taqlīd maṭlūb), rational knowledge is higher than the common one and is for the élite (al-khāṣṣah); it does not, however, reach the degree of the knowledge of the élite of the élite (khāṣṣatu al-khāṣṣah).⁽¹⁾

From the ontological point of view the whole of Existence is divided into four spheres, or worlds, of which three are accessible to knowledge, while the fourth is restricted to God Himself:

a) The world of the Kingdom ('ālam al-mulk) which is known by sense (hiss) and imagination (wahm). b) The world of Kingship ('ālam al-malakūt) which is known by reason ('aql) and understanding (fahm). c) The world of Domination ('ālam al-jabarūt) which is known, either by sense or by reason. d) The world of Omnipotence ('ālam al-qudrah) which is not subject to knowledge in any way and is the all exclusive region of God's Essence.⁽²⁾

In respect to the relation between 'aql and ma'rifah, we find that there are three types, or degrees, of 'uqūl, (plural of 'aql), each of them having its sphere of knowledge:

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1. Sh. 'Aqīdat al-Ghazālī, p.4.
 2. Ibid., pp.13-14. 'Ālam al-mulk is called 'ālam al-nāsūt (the World of Humanity or the Human Sense) sometimes. Al-Ghazālī calls it 'ālam al-mulk wa al-shahādah. 'ālam al-qudrah is known also as 'ālam al-lahūt (the World of Godhead) and 'ālam al-'izzah (the World of Sovereign Power). See for more detailed discussion of these ideas: Martin Lings: A Moslem Saint of the Twentieth Century, pp.134-135, and: Spencer Trimingham; The Sufi Orders in Islam, pp.160-161.

a) 'Aql ṭab' (Nature) which is equivalent to the common sense (sensus communis) and is instinctively possessed by all mankind by which they distinguish between the harmful and the beneficial in this world.

b) 'Aql mawhibah (gift) which is equivalent to the Light granted by God to the believers, which shows them His commandments and prohibitions in order to discourage misconduct and encourage obedience to His ordinances.

c) 'Aql ikhtiṣāṣ (specification) which is equivalent to the intellect with which the prophets and the gnostics are favoured, and by which they comprehend the realities of things. (1)

From this division we see that the second and the third 'uqūl' are gifts bestowed by God's grace to whomsoever He chooses from among His servants and by which they are distinguished in degrees of knowledge.

The perfect knowledge of God cannot be achieved by the sense, because it deals with material objects, and God is not material, neither by imagination, since this deals with forms and God is without form, nor by reason,

1. "The tragedy of modern Western philosophy," says Sayyed Hossein Nasr, "lies, from the Muslim point of view, in confusing intellect and reason. The intellect is which the Sufi doctrine appeals and through which it is understood is that instrument of knowledge which perceives directly. It is not reason, which is, at best, its mental image. Intellectus is not ratio. The latter can understand philosophy in the usual meaning of the word: only the former can understand metaphysics in its true sense which lies at the heart of the doctrine." (Ideals and Realities of Islam, p.136).

since this deals with the causes of things, and God is not caused. The highest achievement of the reason being to confirm that God is the first cause and that He is incomparable, nothing more. (1)

Beyond the reach of reason there is a higher stage of knowledge inexpressible by any means of human expression, and so it is incommunicable to others unless they attain to it by themselves. That is the experiential knowledge (al-ma'rifah al-wijdānīyah) with regard to which Reason can do nothing except surrender and confess that the most reasonable thing to do is to submit, believe and wait for experience itself, just as it is impossible to tell others of the meaning of honey's delight without tasting it, or to explain the delight of sexual intercourse to a boy who has not yet reached the age of maturity. (2)

This experiential knowledge is the summit of certainty and the cream of all knowledge. Once it has been obtained all other sorts of knowledge melt away, as Abū al-Ḥasan al-Shādhilī said: "We have seen God by the light of faith and certainty which spared us the need of any evidence or demonstration." It can not be achieved except by a practical discipline where man must become one of the travellers in the Way that leads to it, orienting himself entirely towards God by attachment and realisation, carrying out His ordinance and obeying His command. (3)

1. Tuḥfat al-murīd, p.7.

2. Sharḥ al-mabāhith al-‘aṣliyah, p.154.

3. Sh. ‘Aqīdat al-Ghazālī, p.21.

By effort (mujāhadah), action ('amal) and complete devotion in endeavour for the Truth the door may be opened and the seeker may be allowed to enter. Again, as al-Shādhilī said:

"Stand by one door, not waiting for other doors to be opened, and they will be opened. Submit to one King, not waiting for other necks to submit to you, and they will submit to you."⁽¹⁾

Effort and devotion, however, are not enough to reach the goal. They do not guarantee the opening of the door. They are assisting factors only. It is the grace of God and His choice which decide on whom the Revelation will be bestowed and in whose heart the Divine Light will be shed. That is why we find that some seekers have been blessed with such revelation, while others have not. It is according to Almighty God's provision (imdād) and the seeker's aptitude (isti'dād) that there is the believing-
gnostic (al-'ārif al-mu'taqid) as well as the enlightened
gnostic (al-'ārif al-mukāshaf) who is acquainted with the secrets of the Qualities and becomes a walī (friend) of God.⁽²⁾

Extinction:

Revelation means the realisation of the Truth, that there is no reality save the Absolute Reality, after the veil of ignorance has been removed from the sight. This

1. Sh. 'Aqīdat al-Ghazālī, p.20.

2. Ibid., p.20.

is knowledge in its various degrees. But the culmination of knowledge is not only to realise that everything is unreal beside the Real, but also to see it as darkness beside the Light and as non-being beside Him Who is. So nothing deserves to be regarded save Him alone, and we have to reject other than Him, simply because it is unreal, a mere shadow of the Real. (1)

The dilemma is that "we" are "others". How does it happen then that the rejected (marfūq) is the rejecter (rāfiq) and vice versa?

This is the only solution; to reject ourselves, to regard ourselves as naught beside the Existant and unreal beside the Real. That is to annihilate ourselves and pass away in the Truth, and this is called extinction (fanā') which is to consider all others (al-aghyār), including ourselves as nothing before His Existence and absent before His Presence in respect to all our qualities before His Qualities, and to be aware of His Existence, Presence and Qualities as manifested in us and in the Universe, as Ibn 'Aṭṭā' Allāh al-Iskandarī said: "What a marvel! How did it happen that the Existent appears in the non-existent or how is the ephemeral (hādith) confirmed by Him Whose quality is primordality (qidam)?!" When a man said before Abū al-Qāsim al-Junaid: "Praise be to God!" and did not say "Lord of the worlds," al-Junaid said: "Say it, brother!"

1. Sharḥ Nūniyyat al-Shushtarī, p.4.

Since, when the accident is associated with the Primordial the accident perishes and the Primordial abides." (1)

Extinction has a psychological connotation which leads to self-denial in respect of the servant's attitude towards the Lord. It does not mean to abolish the consciousness of the individual or self-annihilation; it means to be aware of God, to contemplate Him in every aspect of Existence as the Creator and the Preserver. Thus man sees God as the only Agent (fa'āl) and Reality. He realises his servanthood by recognizing his limits, and, at the same time, becomes the master of the whole of Existence by being aware of nothing other than Him. (2)

These limits compel us to avoid any expression that may be taken as an allusion to a certain relation between the Lord and His servant where we do not differentiate between the two natures. We must not then use the expression wiṣāl (union or communion) since the Prophet himself did not use such terms and did not claim such stages, and it has no meaning. Neither must we use the term wuṣūl (reaching or attainment) because this indicates that the servant was separated (maqtū') from God, and is independent of Him, and this is not true. God is always with us, nearer to us "than the jugular vein." (2)

The word wuṣūl is justified only in one case; that is to indicate the degrees of knowledge, since "your attainment to God is your attainment to knowledge of Him" as Ibn 'Atā' Allāh put it. (3) The reality of attainment

1. Sh. Nūniyyat al-Shushtarī, p.11.

2. Ibid., p.5. Qur'ān; 50;16.

3. Sh. al-Hikam, p.337.

is that the heart reaches the knowledge of God's Glory and Grandeur so that this knowledge penetrates both the heart and the limbs, in order to follow His will without hesitation or choice.⁽¹⁾ Here, as in all other aspects, we find a strong relation between knowledge and extinction.

"Anyone who attains to pure certainty (safw al-yaqīn) through taste (dhawq) and experience (wijdān) is an attainer (wāṣil), but there are different degrees of attainment. Some know Him through actions, and this is a stage of revelation where their own and others' actions perish before God's actions. Some are situated in the station of awe (haibah) and intimacy ('uns) because of what has been revealed to them of Majesty (jalāl) and Beauty (jamāl) and this is the manifestation by qualities (tajallī bi ṭarīq al-ṣifāt). Some ascend to the station of Extinction (maqām al-fanā') where the inward heart becomes so overwhelmed by the lights of certainty and contemplation that he becomes blind, in his contemplation of Him, to his own existence. This is the manifestation of the Essence (tajallī al-dhāt) which the exclusive favoured ones (al-muqarrabūn) are endowed with. Above this there is the stage of the Reality of Certainty (ḥaqq al-yaqīn)."⁽²⁾

This gradation in attainment is applied also to the gradation in extinction, since, as we are advised not to use the term wuṣūl in its simple conception, because

1. Sh. al-Hikam, p.337.

2. Ibid., p.338.

the relation between God and man, or the Lord and the servant, is never severed but is a continuous process, we are advised also not to think that extinction has any limit, since knowledge is limitless. The more we know of God, the more we attain to Him, and the more we extinguish ourselves in Him, the more we "see the Truth without creatures" (ru'yat al-Ḥaqq bilā khalq),⁽¹⁾ not only in this world but in the Hereafter also."⁽²⁾

Love:

When the servant contemplates his Lord, knows him and extinguishes himself in Him, he obtains the great beatitude (ghibṭah) that results from attainment to Him. This beatitude which the gnostic gains does not allow save of one thing only: to love Him. Love is the summit of all other stages in which the gnostic is completely engrossed by God's Beauty and Majesty and is entirely absorbed in contemplation of His Existence through His Qualities. Love comes after extinction, not before it. When a disciple claimed Love in front of his master, the master asked him: "My son! Has He tried you with other than Him, and you favoured Him then also?" The disciple replied: "No!" The master said: "In that case your claim is false."⁽³⁾

The reality of love is that the beauty of the beloved overwhelms the whole heart, so that nothing occupies it

1. Sh. Nūniyyat al-Shushtarī, p.6.

2. Sh. al-Ḥikam, p.338.

3. Ibid., 379.

save him, and thus the ultimate aim of the lover is to satisfy his beloved and gain his approval. This requires complete obedience to whatever he orders or forbids. This is applicable not only to our human relationships but also to our relationship with God, as the Qur'ān says: "Say: If you love God follow me and God will love you and forgive you your sins. God is the All-forgiving, the All-compassionate. Say: obey God and His messenger. But if they turn their backs, God loves not the unbelievers."⁽¹⁾ And the poet said:

"You disobey the Lord and pretend that you love Him
This is strange behaviour indeed.
If your love is true you must obey Him,
Since the lover is obedient to his beloved." (2)

So we see that love and obedience are related closely to each other. The true lover is he who keeps strictly to God's ordinance as revealed to the Prophet in the Qur'ān and he who follows devotedly what the Prophet practiced or said.⁽³⁾

Obedience (ṭā'ah) is the sign of love, and complete obedience is the sign of Perfect Love. But disobedience ('iṣyān) does not lead to exclusion from the circle of Love, since God is All-forgiving, All-compassionate. Love mixed with disobedience is imperfect love and the true lover will not be satisfied except with Perfect Love. A man was punished by the Prophet for drinking. Another

1. Qur'ān; 31:3.

2. Sh. al-Ḥikam, p.379.

3. Sh. al-Mabāḥith al-aḡliyah, p.237.

man cursed the wrong-doer. The Prophet said: "Do not curse him. He loves God and His Messenger." When a beduin came to the Prophet and asked him: "When will the Day of Judgement be?" The Prophet said: "What have you prepared for it?" The beduin replied: "Nothing save that I love God and His Messenger." The Prophet said: "A man is with the one he loves."⁽¹⁾

Although Love is the highest stage in our approach to God, we must be cautious and circumspect in our expression regarding this relationship. We have always to realise our limits and contemplate our state of servanthood before His Lordship. It is impolite, for example, to say 'ishq when we talk about Love, since 'ishq bears a human, sensual meaning, and God is far beyond the senses. We must say rather hubb or maḥabbah unless we mean by 'ishq absolute or inordinate Love.⁽²⁾

Also, the relation of Love must not preclude the extolling of what God has magnified. We do not have the right to say: "We do not worship Him because we fear His Hell or because we hope to enter His Paradise,"⁽³⁾ since God has exalted these two things. We must not belittle His Hell, for He told us that it must be feared, or belittle His Paradise for no servant can do without his Lord's favour. They are not however the aim of

1. Qawā'id al-taṣawwuf, p.133.

2. Sh. al-Mabāḥith al-aṣliyah, p.236.

3. Qawā'id al-taṣawwuf, p.136. This saying is attributed to the famous woman Sufi, Rābi'ah al-'Adawiyah.

worship. God Himself is the sole reason for worship and love. We must consider what He says in the Qur'ān: "They give food, for the love of Him, to the needy, the orphan, the captive. 'We feed you only for the Face of God (for God's sake). We desire no recompense from you, nor thanks, for we fear from our Lord a frowning day inauspicious.'" (1) Here Love does not preclude Fear of Him and vice versa. (2)

It is true that God must be worshipped for no other reason than that He is God, as He said to David: "Who is more wrong than he who worships Me because he fears My Hell or hopes for My Paradise? Though I had not created Hell or Paradise am I not still deserving of worship?" (3) And, as the Prophet said: "Do not be like the bad slave, who if he does not fear will not work, or like the bad hireling, who if he is not paid will not work." (4) This is our attitude towards the Divine Essence (al-dhāt al-ilāhiyah) only, where we are completely denied any right to like or dislike. Our attitude, as servants, towards the Lordship differs in that we deal with His Qualities as manifested in Existence and as revealed to His messengers. As servants, contemplating His Qualities, our love for Him is mingled with our hope (rajā') in Him according to His Qualities of Beauty (al-ṣifāt al-jamāliyah) as well as with fear (khishyah) of Him

1. Qur'ān; 9:76.

2. Qawā'id al-taṣawwuf, p.136.

3. Ibid.

4. Ibid.

according to His Majestic Qualities (al-ṣifāt al-jalāliyah).⁽¹⁾

There is no contradiction, in fact, between Love on the one hand and Fear and Hope on the other. As Fear and Hope are motives for work in respect of the bad slave, so Love is the motive for the good servant to please his Beloved and make Him satisfied. The error is to fear or hope without love, but the right thing is to love, fear and hope.⁽²⁾

The Soul

Before dealing with such a difficult subject it would be preferable to try to establish the meaning of the soul and its conception in our Shaikh's works.

In Islamic thought nafs⁽³⁾ and rūḥ⁽⁴⁾ are often confused and it is difficult to distinguish one from

1. al-Maqṣad al-asmā, p.54.

2. Qawā'id al-taṣawwuf, p.133.

3. The Soul, as opposed to the Spirit or the intellect (the nafs) appears in a negative aspect, because it is made up of the sum of individual or egocentric tendencies. (Cf. Burckhardt; Introduction, p.151). Abū al-Qāsim al-Qushairī (the Risālah, Cairo, 1940, p.48) defines the nafs as "what is defective of the qualities of the servant, and what is blameworthy of his morals and action."

4. The Spirit. In Sufism this word includes the following meanings: a. The Divine, and therefore uncreated Spirit (al-Rūḥ al-ilāhī), also called al-Rūḥ al-Qudus (the Holy Spirit). b. The Universal, created, Spirit (al-Rūḥ al-kullī). c. The individual Spirit, or rather the Spirit polarised in relation to an individual. d. The vital Spirit, intermediate between soul and body. (Ibid., pp.152-153). Cf. Massignon: "The Idea of the Spirit in Islam", The Mystic Vision, London, 1968, pp.319-323.

the other. In the course of time, however, the word rūh was mostly thought of as the immortal transcendental part of Man. We may translate it as "Spirit". On the other hand nafs is usually linked with the terrestrial part of Man and related to the material world, and this we may translate as "soul". Zarrūq himself does not offer any distinction between the Spirit and the soul. In all his works he alludes to the soul as being the opposite of the Heart. (al-qalb), which is the abode of purity and the means of salvation, while he considers the soul as the evil element in Man's make-up.

From his references to the Spirit we can deduce that he regards it as the "Pure Soul" in its pre-natal stage in the world of spirits ('ālam al-arwāh) where it is purely good and innocent.⁽¹⁾ Once it comes down to the world of bodies ('ālam al-ajsād) it becomes a prisoner of matter and forgets all that is good and sublime and plunges into desire and lust, fettered by corporeal needs and directed by the body in every movement. It becomes "influenced to hate what is good"⁽²⁾ and becomes an evil factor to divert man from correct deeds and right actions, co-operating with Satan and using all the weapons it has, to persuade man to satisfy its own desires.⁽³⁾

1. 'Uddat al-murīd al-ṣādiq, p.61.

2. Ibid.,

3. Sh. al-Mabāhith al-aṣliyah, p.206.

In its contact with the body, with all its material temptations, the soul takes many forms, and assumes many names, which indicate to what extent it has been plunged into lust and sin and to what degree it has been able to free itself from these temptations. Here we find him classifying the soul into types or stages in accordance with the traditional classification derived from the Qur'ān: the tranquil soul (al-nafs al-muṭma'innah), the blaming soul (al-nafs al-lawwāmah) and the commanding soul (al-nafs al-ammārah).

"The tranquil soul" he says, "is that which has been granted the light by which it may reach its goal and pass on its way without difficulty. The blaming soul is that which has not been endowed with the full light yet and is puzzled regarding the way to go. Thus it is sometimes right and sometimes wrong. The commanding soul is that which is wrong all the time by following its desire and submitting to the body's lust. This last one moves in total darkness."⁽¹⁾

The soul then has two natures: a divine, original one, which is all good and pure, and a debased, acquired nature which overcomes it after its descent into the body. Here it becomes like a bolting horse. It must be watched

1. Sh. al-Hikam, p.312. (Cf. the Qur'ān; 2:75, 12:53, and 89:27). From these three types of souls the Sufis derived and added four other souls; al-nafs al-mulhamah (the inspired soul), al-nafs al-rāḍiyah (the contented soul), al-nafs al-marḍiyah (the approved soul), and al-nafs al-kāmilah (the perfected soul). They represent the Seven Stages through which the seeker passes on the Way until he reaches the final Stage. (For more details see: al-Sanūsī; al-Salsabīl al-mu'in fī al-tarā'iq al-arba'in, pp.65-67, and: Trimingham; The Sufi Orders in Islam, pp.151-157).

carefully lest it cut off the reins and run freely here and there, avoiding the right course and carrying its rider in any direction it likes. If the rider is in control of it, he will surely reach his destination safely in the end.⁽¹⁾ This means that the soul itself is helpless. It can do no harm as long as it is controlled. Once it is unwatched, however, and given a free rein, it becomes so fierce and dangerous that it becomes impossible to control any more.⁽²⁾

Restraining the soul is not easy since it uses many devices and tricks. The only way is to suppress its mortal nature (bashariyah) by resisting its desire and opposing it all the time, whatever it inspires or suggests. This induces in it a state of stillness (khumūd) with respect to the seeker (murīd), so that it will not move save in truth, by truth, from truth to the Truth, which results in its mortification (imātah) with respect to the gnostic ('ārif). The difference is that stillness means that the thing is still in a state of latency (kumūn), and mortification means that it has died and been extinguished. Many seekers have been deceived and thought that their souls had died. They neglected to be cautious and watchful over it. Suddenly it wakes up even stronger than before and overcomes them, annulling all they have achieved during their journey on the Way.⁽³⁾

1. Sharḥ al-Waḡhlīsiyah, p.95.

2. Ibid.

3. Sh. al-Mabāḥith al-aṣliyah, p.208.

In dealing with the soul Zarrūq lays stress upon two things: firstly, and this is what the traveller must be aware of, that the soul is full of vices ('uyūb) and defects and it is necessary for every man, leaving aside the Sufi, to investigate his soul's defects and discover the evil of its behaviour in order to be safe from its tricks. By knowing his soul's vices and liberating it from them, and by devoting himself entirely to a pure and sinless life, man may know his Lord - as the Prophet said.⁽¹⁾ It is not surprising then to find our Shaikh dedicating countless pages of his works to explain the defects of the soul and to describe the means of treatment for every defect. In his Rajz 'uyūb al-nafs⁽²⁾ alone we find more than two hundred vices relating to the soul's conduct and thinking. The cream of his teachings in this field is that beside the Devil (shaiṭān) and this world (dunyā), which are the two enemies of the traveller, there is no more dangerous adversary than the soul and its caprice (hawā).⁽³⁾ In fact it is the soul, through desire, that persuades man to follow the Devil and to indulge in this world's lust, using to this end its most effective weapon; psychic controversy (al-jadal al-nafsi), to justify all the wrong deeds and make all the misdeeds appear good and right.⁽⁴⁾

1. Sh. al-Hikam, p.312.

2. See the catalogue No. XCVII.

3. I'ānat al-mutawajjih al-miskīn, Ms. Rabat, D 1054, p.5.

4. Ibid.

Secondly, and this is what the guide or the master (shaikh) has to take into consideration, that souls are not all alike. They differ, by nature, aptitude and action, from one to another. And thus we find many types of souls, each of the needing treatment different from what another may require. Here, he says, there are three means of distinguishing among souls derived from three examples given in three regions:

1) The Maghribī way which holds that the souls, like metals are divisible into seven classifications in a gradual system beginning with the Golden Soul (al-nafs al-dhahabiyah) which is absolutely pure and beneficial like gold, and is the soul of the walī, ending with the Mercuric Soul (al-nafs al-zi'baqiyah) which is outwardly white and shining while it is inwardly black. It is elusive, impossible to hold and is the worst of all. Between these two Souls there are: the Silvery Soul (al-nafs al-fidḍiyah) which is pure but light and vulnerable to the influence of other metals, the Iron Soul (al-nafs al-ḥdīdiyah) which is beneficial but blackened, the Coppery Soul (al-nafs al-nuḥāsīyah) which is like the iron in addition to its odour and flexibility, the Lead Soul (al-nafs al-raṣāṣīyah) which is black, flexible and malodorous, and the Tin Soul (al-nafs al-qaṣḍīriyah) which, in its qualities, is near to the Mercuric Soul. The first soul (the golden), although above the others, is not perfect. It becomes so when it reaches the stage of the

Elixir and becomes able to affect other metals. That is to become the Pole (qutb)⁽¹⁾ of the Universe.⁽²⁾

2) The Persians liken the souls to pots. They say that there are pots completely empty of evil and good, and these are prepared to accept whatever is thrown into them, bad or good, as well as pots that are full of good only and pots full of evil and good. The best pots, or souls, are those which need treatment to get rid of evil and replace it with more of the good.

3) The Yemenis liken the souls to lands. Thus there is land of good soil ready for sowing; there is another with the same soil but full of weeds. However, none of them could be cultivated without the water which symbolises God's guidance (al-tawfīq al-ilāhī). The function of the Shaikh, co-operating with the traveller, is to prepare the land by uprooting the weeds, raking the soil and sowing the seeds of goodness, in readiness for the Divine Rain. And then every land will give its crop in accordance with its capacity.⁽³⁾

The Heart

Al-qalb (the Heart) is the most important part of man. By the Heart the Sufis do not mean that organ whose function is to circulate blood in the body, but a symbolic

1. In Sufism; the Pole of the spiritual hierarchy. The "Pole of the epoch" (Qutb al-zamān) is also spoken of. This Pole is mostly unknown even to most spiritual men.

2. 'Uddat al-murīd al-ṣādiq, p.62.

3. Ibid., pp.61-63.

aspect of the spiritual existence of man. It is of the utmost importance, because all the benefits from travelling in the Sufi Way are manifested in the Heart; contemplation, knowledge and love. The Heart is the dwelling place of the Light of Revelation by which the servant knows his Lord and loves Him. So there is nothing better than it for the functions it performs in the process of spiritual development.⁽¹⁾

Being as important as it is the Heart must be prepared to receive the Divine Light and be cleansed from whatever prevents it from receiving it.

The perpetual struggle between Man and the Soul, as was pointed out above, is reflected immediately in the Heart. If the result is victory for the Soul the Heart dies; if the Soul is conquered, the Heart flourishes and is ready to receive the reward. As a result of its contact with the Soul and under its influence the Heart is usually helpless. It becomes restless and capricious, and that is why it was called qalb because of its taqallub (vacillation). Thus, just as a watch must be kept on the Soul, so also the Heart must be observed attentively, since "God does not look at our faces or our actions, but at our Hearts"⁽²⁾ as the Prophetic tradition says.⁽³⁾

Just as it is necessary for the traveller to suppress his soul's desire and keep it quiet, in order to

1. Sh. 'Aqīdat al-Ghazālī, p.21.

2. Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim / birr

3. Sh. al-Waḡhlīsiyah, p.96.

be protected from its dangers, so he must purify his Heart during his preparation to receive the Divine Light. This, of course, requires the investigation of the hearts and, in distinguishing them, to decide what should be done to obtain the best result.

In his I'ānat al-mutawajjih al-miskīn Zarrūq says that the Heart is the origin of good or evil and the place of light or darkness. Its life or death are the keys of benefit or harm. According to the state of the soul and the degree of domination it has over the Heart, we find that there are three kinds of Heart: 1) the living healthy Heart, 2) the dead Heart, and 3) the living, but sickly Heart.

The first is that which does not need any treatment, since it is healthy and pure. The second is useless and is not expected to revive. The third is the Heart that has to be treated and purified in order to eradicate the illness before it becomes fatal and destroys the Heart. It is with this last Heart that the Sufis are concerned, and it is the master's duty to examine the traveller's Heart and find out what kind of Heart it is and then to decide upon the most suitable treatment. This may be done in three stages: to see if the Heart is still alive and not yet dead, to diagnose the disease and then to prescribe a suitable remedy.⁽¹⁾

Regarding the first stage, the Heart's condition may be known through three things which indicate the

1. I'ānat al-mutawajjih al-miskīn, p.2.

servant's situation with respect to his Lord, his own soul and the creatures: 1) Actions of the limbs (a'māl al-jawāriḥ), 2) Movements of Hearts (ḥarakāt al-gulūb), and 3) Inclinations of the souls (mā tajnaḥu lahu al-nufūs). As Abū al-Ḥasan al-Shādhilī said: "Blindness of the spiritual sight is in three things: allowing limbs freedom in disobeying God, pretending obedience to God, and being covetous for what is in people's possession."⁽¹⁾ Also the sign of the living Heart is its attitude towards Man's actions. If it feels pain because of sin and finds pleasure in good deeds, if it runs away from the first because of the pain that afflicts it and seeks the latter for the pleasure it finds, then it is alive. And it is alive also if it regrets the good deeds it has missed and grieves for errors committed. The dead Heart does not feel any of these things at all, as the Prophet said: "He who becomes glad because of his good action and sorry for his bad action is a believer."⁽²⁾

If the Heart is still alive, the next step is to know its condition. It will be in one of the following states: 1) The life is stronger than the disease, in which case healing is easy. 2) The disease is distributed throughout the Heart and its life is too weak to resist, and this is a very dangerous symptom indeed. 3) They are equal to each other, and here we find two

1. I'ānat al-mutawajjih al-miskīn, p. 4.

2. Sh. al-Hikam, p.127. Cf. Jāmi' al-tirmidhī / fitan.

probabilities: either a state where one of them may get the better of the other, where hope is still there of defeating the disease, or a state where neither of them can overcome the other, and here despair may dominate. (1)

Then comes the third step, the treatment, taking into consideration that it is much easier to cure the simple Heart (al-qalb al-sādhaj) that has not been treated before, than to help that which has relapsed after it has been treated, since this indicates its treachery and breaching of faith and shows its weakness and passivity before the soul's desire and the world's temptation. The simple Heart, in capable hands and following the right way, is potentially able to reach the highest degree of purity. When it becomes healthy and the Light is shed upon it, the Truth will dwell there firmly so long as it is watched carefully lest the disease return to it. A watch must be kept on the Heart at all times by taking continuous refuge in God and renewing repentance and, most important, by repulsing the Soul in whatever it suggests. (2)

To help the sick Heart regain its health there are three methods: 1) Eating as little as possible in such a way as not to affect the body or the mind. 2) Association with the people of God. 3) Remembering three things: the servant's origin, death and the grave, his

1. I'ānat al-mutawajjih al-miskīn, p.2.

2. Ibid., p.3.

standing before the Lord of the heavens and the earth, and his exposure before the creatures on the Day of Judgement.

By eating less the Heart will be clean, by mixing with the people of the truth the Heart will yearn to imitate them, and by remembrance his Lord will help him. God helps the servant in proportion to his intention and reveals to him in proportion to his aspiration (himmah).⁽¹⁾

In all this the most attention and observation should be devoted to the soul which does not usually respond and tends to forget. If the soul resists remembrance and the Heart is unable to work independently of it, then there are other means by which the soul may be compelled to remember and leave the Heart to its work. The traveller has to go into retreat (khalwah) with or without remembrance, to seek forgiveness (istighfār) from God with or without a feeling of God's Presence (huḍūr) to bless the Prophet (al-ṣalātu 'alā al-nabī) and to visit the tombs. These are supported by many Prophetic traditions which say: "He who keeps seeking forgiveness from God, He will give him relief from any care, deliverance from any depression and provide for him from where he does not expect it." The Prophet also said: "Blessing me is a light in the heart, a light

1. I'ānat, p.3.

in the grave and a light on the Sirāt.⁽¹⁾ It blots out sins more than cool water extinguishes fire." And he said: "Visit the tombs, for they remind you of the Hereafter."⁽²⁾ Again, when the soul refuses to follow one of these methods, because it is so occupied with worldly affairs and because of its obstinacy, it must be compelled to do so without paying attention to the benefits or perfection of the action. This will make it weak and cause it to retreat from what it was brought up to. Otherwise the traveller has to resort to the repetition of the simple dogmas of religion in order to impress on the Heart their meanings and revive his belief and strengthen his faith. Then the doubts will vanish and he will discover the right way.⁽³⁾

In fact there is no excuse, whatsoever, for forgetting the fact that this world is not the real one, that our sins and errors require forgiveness and pardon from God. The remembrance of all this must be with us always. If the servant fails to keep up remembrance all the time, he should do so every night, once a week, or once a year at least.⁽⁴⁾

When the Heart is sick and under treatment the sincere traveller cannot do without three things

1. Lit. "the road". In Muslim tradition it is more commonly used for the bridge across the infernal Fire, which is described as finer than a hair and sharper than a sword. The righteous will pass over it with the swiftness of the lightning, but the wicked will soon miss their footing and will fall into the abyss of Hell.

2. I'ānat, p.3. Cf. the Saḥīḥ of Muslim / janā'iz.

3. Ibid., p.5.

4. Sh. al-Waghlīsiyah, p.138.

essential to activate the Heart and enable it to function:

1) Asking help from God on the basis of indigence and humility at every moment during day or night. 2) Renewal of the resolution to get rid of any obstacle in the way towards the goal, without hesitation or delay. 3) Being firm in hastening towards the goal after realising the reality of the soul and the Heart. That is to know precisely the vices of the soul striving to escape from them, and, in the case of the Heart, to endeavour to heal it, waiting for the Light which will illuminate it.⁽¹⁾ But this requires the taking of the first step in realising the traveller's aspirations and realising his hopes and expectations, by regretting his past mistakes and retreating from the present misconduct. This is repentance (tawbah).

Repentance

Repentance, in short, means returning to the Truth and abandoning whatever displeases God.⁽²⁾ It is entering into the pure and saintly life by ceasing once and for all wrong actions and thoughts and making a strong resolution not to return to sin.⁽³⁾

To realise repentance there are three points which must be taken into consideration. Each of them concerns one aspect of the servant's ternary attitude: first, intention (niyyah) which is an expression of the servant's

1. I'ānat al-mutawajjih al-miskīn, p.5.

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid., p.6.

relation with the soul. Second: a proper attitude towards God's rights (istidrāk ḥuqūq Allāh) which is concerned with the relation between the servant and the Lord. Third: rectification of past wrongs (radd al-maḡālim) which concerns the servant's relation with other creatures.

Intention:

Since the kernel of Sufism is sincere intention (ṣidq al-tawjjuh) it is necessary that the traveller should first intend to repent, and whatever comes after that is going to be judged by his intention, not by its results. It is a sort of criterion by which the servant is judged even in what may be considered as wrong and mistaken. To realise intention the traveller must shun the source of sin in place or time, accuse the soul always by inclining to the sin, and occupy it with what keeps it far from sin.⁽¹⁾

During the first period of repentance, and in spite of all the good intentions of the repenter, it often happens that he repeats the sin. This is due to many things; either because of being too busy with worldly affairs to regret errors, or by permitting the return to the same place or the same circumstances in which the sin took place, even for a while, or because of over-confidence in the Soul and having trust in it.⁽²⁾

1. Qawā'id al-taṣawwuf, p.4. I'ānat, p.3.

2. I'ānat, p.6.

All these reasons, and many others, are caused by the Soul's suggestions and tricks, and the traveller must be aware of them lest they spoil his intention, and consequently his repentance. He must not respond to the Soul's justification of returning to the place or the circumstances of the sin, because this will increase its desire as sprinkled water increases a fire.⁽¹⁾ He must not trust it at all, since it is worse than seventy devils, or, as Abū al-Qāsim al-Junaid said, "Do not rely upon the Soul, even if it is always obedient to you in your obedience to your Lord."

Although the traveller must be more cautious after returning to sin he must not give up and despair. After every return, even a thousand times, he must renew his intention to repent. If the Devil argues: "What is the use of a repentance followed by a repetition of the sin?", he should be answered: "Just as we made sin's repetition a habit, we make the repetition of repentance a habit too." And if he argues that our determination is weak, we reply that what is required is intention not that which is beyond man's power, i.e., that the servant cannot, by any means, get rid of his human nature.⁽²⁾

Emendation of the attitude towards God's rights:

As intention and its requirements deal with the soul, the second point is concerned with God. When the servant

1. I'ānat, p.20.

2. Ibid., pp.5-7.

intends to repent he has to perform all that he owes his Lord in order to prove his good intention and discharge his debt to Him. If he used not to perform prayer, for example, he must not only start performing it but he has to perform additional prayers (qaḍā) in lieu of what he neglected to perform before. The same thing is applicable to almsgiving (zakāh), fasting (ṣawm) and pilgrimage (ḥajj). He does so to complete his duties towards God and give back His right which He bade us regard and keep.

If the servant knows exactly how much he owes the Lord, e.g., how long he has not performed prayer or did not give alms, then he has to repay the exact "amount" of each. If he is in doubt about that and not sure of himself then he has to estimate it and repay the debt.⁽¹⁾ However, his estimation must not be excessive, since the soul shall find these duties too heavy to bear and may draw back from the whole matter as being an unendurable task. The repenter has to bring his soul gently to the right direction, treating it as if he were taming a wild beast. Since religion is easy, as the Prophet said, it is not recommended to task the Soul with hard work, especially for the beginner who should start with the least number of religious rites and increase it as much as he can. The hard task, in fact, comes at a later stage where there is no fear of relapse or running away.⁽²⁾

1. I'ānat, p.8.

2. Ibid., p.9.

This applies to the redemption of any rite, in bodily rites, like prayer and pilgrimage, as well as possession like almsgiving. Also he has to bear in mind, when he is going to restore what he has missed, that the obligatory rites (furūd) must be implemented before the supererogatories (nawāfil), since the obligations are compulsory while the supererogatories are an additional means of gaining proximity (taqarrub) to the Lord,⁽¹⁾ and He does not wish His servant to kill himself to satisfy Him. All He wants is the servant's return to the right way.⁽²⁾

At any rate, redemption of God's rights, in addition to restoration of the correct attitude towards Him, has three beneficial results: firstly, making righteousness (istiḡāmah) much easier in the future; secondly, emptying the Heart of pre-occupation except with the Truth, and thirdly; standing (wuḡūf) in the place of truthfulness, i.e., the place of the Heart's illumination.⁽³⁾ Similar negligence leads to the Heart falling short of attaining its perfection and the regression of the Soul to its former state.⁽⁴⁾

In all his attempts to amend his attitude towards God the traveller must avoid adopting concessions (rukhaṣ) in the rites or performing them intensively, excessively or hastily. These rites are the continuous relationship

1. I'ānat, p.9.

2. Ibid., p.10.

3. Ibid., p.9.

4. Ibid.

between the Lord and the servant and must be strictly kept, albeit in moderation, perseverance and quietness.⁽¹⁾

Rectification of the past injustice:

This is the third complementary part of repentance and it is concerned with the servant's attitude towards other men. It is necessary, as he controls his soul and pays back God's rights, to pay back his debts to the creatures too, as it was said that sins are of three types: a sin which God will never forgive, namely polytheism (shirk), a sin which He forgives when He is asked to forgive or whom He wishes, that is the venial sin, and a sin which He does not let pass without punishment and that is the act of injustice (zulm) towards His creatures.⁽²⁾

To accomplish perfect repentance (tawbah naṣūh) the traveller must confess, either to himself or to others, that he committed a certain act of injustice and try, as far as is possible, to compensate his victim (maḡlūm) in a suitable manner. He will find that these acts are divided into three categories: 1) In body, like killing or injury. 2) In possession, like robbery, theft, and dishonesty. 3) In honour ('ird), like slandering, calumny and false testimony. In cases where it is possible to show his regret directly he has to do so,

1. I'ānat, p.9.

2. Ibid., p.11.

by apology and asking forgiveness, paying money as compensation or accuse himself. But in other cases it would be harmful for both the parties to do so, as when one has committed adultery with a man's wife without his knowledge. Here there are other means to adopt avoiding any embarrassment or offence, like treating him with respect, seeking forgiveness for him from God and atoning for the sin. (1) He has to bear in mind that he who commits a sin in secret must repent in secret, for God, in fact, does not want us to harm ourselves or to hurt others in a scandalous manner. (2)

This attitude towards people leads to three results:

1) Their delight and happiness by requital which is in itself a very good deed. 2) Realization of intention by self-humiliation which is the beginning of the sincerity leading to the Truth. 3) Having pride in God alone by submitting to His ordinance and paying back the others' rights. At the same time, being tenaciously unjust leads to three results: 1) Darkness becomes deeply rooted in the Heart. 2) Being even more bold in the future in committing acts of injustice. 3) Negating repentance and destroying its meaning. (3)

The question which may be raised here is: why do so many people refrain from justice and hold fast to injustice? The answer is that there are three main reasons for this which spring from selfishness and

1. I'ānat, p.11.

2. Ibid., p.12.

3. Ibid.

suspicion: 1) Self-pride towards the wronged. 2) Avarice and seeking justification for delay. 3) Thinking that an apology may not be accepted by men and that seeking forgiveness may not be accepted by God. To abolish all these the traveller needs to abase himself, having full confidence in the acceptance and strengthening of his determination by thinking of the Hereafter and what is going to happen to him if the wronged one does not receive his right in this world. This can be achieved by paying attention to the Qur'ān and the Prophetic traditions concerning injustice and its consequences.⁽¹⁾

Seeking Forgiveness

Man is a wrong-doer by nature. His Soul is always urging him to satisfy its desire by misleading him into sin and crime. Even if he reaches a very high stage of purification through his effort, he might still commit an error, simply because man is not infallible (ma'sūm). None is infallible, in fact, save the Prophets and the Angels who were "chosen" by God to be absolutely pure and free of sin. In addition to this, even Muḥammad, in spite of God's protection, had to be cautious and seek forgiveness from God so that He might overlook his mistakes and pardon him.⁽²⁾

1. I'ānat, p.12.

2. The allusion is to the Qur'ān (40:55): "Then have patience (O Muḥammad): Lo! the promise of God is true. And ask forgiveness of your sin, and hymn the praise of your Lord at fall of night and in the early hours." See also: Qur'ān; 47:19 and 110:3.

Seeking forgiveness (istighfār) from God is necessary for any believer, so it is indispensable for any traveller in the Way. He has to perform it from the very beginning of his spiritual journey as an introductory means to show his confession and display his sorrow and prove his repentance. It means the appearance of the servant before the Lord in his helplessness, as dependent on His mercy and as being in need of His forgiveness.⁽¹⁾

No repentance is considered sincere without istighfār. How could it be so whilst we are so proud of ourselves as to find it difficult to confess our faults to our Lord and beg His pardon? A heart with a particle of pride in it is a hard one and to soften it we need to remove pride from it. We need to humiliate ourselves before God in order to gain His acceptance.⁽²⁾ Seeking forgiveness is our duty towards the Lord. We have to perform it and it is up to His will to forgive us or not. But we must not give up hope in God Who has assured us in His Book that He will grant forgiveness to His servants who believe in Him, whatever their misdeeds, except to worship other than Him.⁽³⁾

Moreover, seeking forgiveness may be not only for ourselves. It may also be for others whom we have offended. We ask God to forgive us our offence towards them and beg Him to forgive their errors as well. God, in His wide mercy, pardons all His creatures, and His forgiveness

1. I'ānat al-mutawajjih, p.12.

2. Ibid., p.3.

3. Qur'ān; 4:48, "Lo! God forgives not that a partner should be ascribed unto Him. He forgives (all) save that to whom He wills."

extends to include even those sinners who do not regret their sins, if He so wishes, and to being satisfied with some of His servants.

Piety

Now, as repentance and its implications are retrospective and deal with the past in general, the traveller proceeds into a more advanced stage which is a prospective one concerned with the future. That is piety (taqwā), which means to avoid all sorts of prohibited things (mahārim) and to lead a pious life devoted completely to God and dedicated entirely to the search for Him.⁽¹⁾

Here, as in any other aspect of the Way, the traveller must be aware of what he is doing and be convinced that the steps he follows are the right ones. This requires knowledge of the motives of piety and its results, as well as its meaning and situations. Without this awareness the traveller is like any ordinary ignorant faqīr whose Sufism is a mere imitation not leading to the Truth.⁽²⁾

The motives of piety are divided into four parts:

1) Knowing its excellence and the good resulting from it. It suffices here to know that piety has been mentioned in the Qur'ān more than two hundred times. 2) Knowing that its opposite has always been deprecated by God and His messenger and that not being pious means to

1. I'ānat, p.13.

2. Ibid.

be humiliated in this world and the Hereafter - to be classified as a corrupted man, to be punished in this world and the Hereafter, to have a bad end at death, to be exposed to God's wrath, to be denied by God and to be grieved at missing the perfect end. 3) Knowing its details by being acquainted with the source of religious knowledge in its books and by accompanying pious men in order to confirm this knowledge in the heart and make it preponderant after its probability. 4) Knowing how and when the servant has to be pious. In his relation with God by performing the rites without excess or innovation and in accordance with the Qur'ān and the Sunnah, since ignorance in this field is fatal. Also in his everyday life by distinguishing between the lawful (ḥalāl) and the unlawful (ḥarām), to take piously and leave piously and avoid all doubtful things.⁽¹⁾

In all this the traveller needs to know well the commandments of God and His prohibitions and do what is right. He cannot be consciously pious unless he is equipped with a certain degree of religious knowledge which enables him to differentiate between the right and the wrong and which shows him the different aspects of piety.⁽²⁾

When this knowledge of the usefulness of piety is well established in the Heart, then the idea of any sin should be repulsed as soon as it occurs, since, as it was

1. I'ānat, pp.13-14.

2. Ibid., p.14.

said: the beginning of sin is a notion (khatrah) just as the start of heavy rain is a drop. It should be fought with loathing (karāhah), otherwise it becomes opposition (mu'āradah). Here it should be met with aversion otherwise it becomes suspicion (waswasah). Here it should be met with great effort (mujāhadah) otherwise it becomes lust (shahwah) accompanied by capricious desire (hawā), when all reason, knowledge and understanding will be obliterated and he becomes too weak to save himself from sinking into the bottomless pit of sin and crime. (1)

Three things spoil piety, and there are three ways to overcome them: 1) Letting the tongue free in the others' absence, which results from interference in their affairs. This can be conquered by conquering oneself. 2) Hastening without hesitation to obtain worldly possessions, which results from greed and arrogance. This can be cured by contentment (qanā'at). 3) Attachment to creatures and detachment from God, which results from heedlessness of the vicissitudes of life and ignorance of the reality of this world. This can be cured by the contemplation of what this world really is, by reflecting on what is Real. (2)

The branches of repentance and piety, however, are too many to enumerate. Every stage has its own kind of repentance and piety. Thus it was said that

1. I'ānat, p.14.

2. Ibid., p.19.

the good acts (hasanāt) of the righteous (abrār) are the bad acts (sayyi'āt) of the favoured ones (muqarrabīn), and the good acts of the near ones are the bad acts of the perfect ones (ahl al-kamāl).⁽¹⁾ But the essence of repentance and piety in any stage is summed up in three words: resolution ('azm), determination (ḥazm) and rule (ḥukm). That is to have a sincere intention, to be in control of the soul and to follow the religious teachings and regulations.⁽²⁾

The traveller must know that the Law of God (sunnat Allāh) implies that every beginner will be faced with three things drawing his attention to his defects and reminding him of the past to prepare him for the future:

- 1) People rebuke him. They abandon him in order that he might return to his Lord through their reminding him of his errors.
- 2) His soul rebels all the time. It vacillates and suggests in order that he might remember his Lord and be aware of the source of these errors.
- 3) God afflicts him by calamities in order to try him.⁽³⁾

He has to know also that he is a human being, subject to a strong or weak will, and that he is exposed at every stage to the danger of sin, consciously or unconsciously, minor or grave. He must not forget that he is human and a servant whose Lord is absolutely free to lead him aright or a stray, and do whatsoever He wishes to do with him. Here he has to know that sin is one of three types:

1. I'ānat, p.20.

2. Ibid.,

3. Ibid.

Mufakkirāt which urge him to think over his state and reconsider his situation, and these are for him who accepts his destiny without dispute or discontent.

Mudhakkirāt which remind him of his misconduct and draw his attention to his faults, and these are for the slightly heedless. 'Uqūbāt or punishments, which is the worst of them all, and these make the afflicted even more impatient and discontented. (1)

What the servant should do is to submit to his Lord and take refuge in Him from His anger by asking His pardon and seeking His forgiveness. (2)

B) IN PRACTICE

Having expounded some of the theories of Sufism as Zarrūq saw them, it is time to examine the practical side of his teachings and the means by which the traveller may secure his journey on the Way. It is necessary to bear in mind, as was pointed out in the previous pages, that as knowledge and action are inseparable, so also theory and practice are mutually connecting and supporting. The most important thing for the traveller during his endeavour for the Truth is his awareness of every step he takes from the beginning of his aspiration

1. I'ānat, p.20.

2. Ibid., p.21.

to the end of his destination. From the first day he becomes associated with the Folk of the Truth till the day he becomes extinguished in the Truth. Here he needs to know the meaning of real companionship, find the true guide and take upon himself the fulfilling of the requirements of the Way.

Companionship

The Prophet said: "To sit with the righteous is better than sitting alone. Sitting alone is better than sitting with evil men. The good companion is like a druggist, even if you do not have some of his perfume you smell it, while the bad companion is like a blacksmith, even if his fire does not touch you, some of his stinking smell will attach to you."⁽¹⁾

According to this tradition, and many others, our Shaikh holds that companionship (ṣuḥbah) is necessary for the beginner in order to take good example from those who preceded him in the Way, and to encourage him to pass through it, feeling that there is someone who shares with him his aspirations and interests. Without a companion the traveller is liable to miss the way or feel depressed and thus he is likely to be led astray.⁽²⁾

1. Sh. al-Mabāḥith al-aṣliyah, p.172. Cf. Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī / dhabā'ih, buyū'; Musnad Ibn Ḥanbal / birr.

2. Ibid.

But he must also select his companions and know where they lead him, just as he has to avoid three types of people - as Sahl al-Tustarī⁽¹⁾ said -; the heedless tyrants, fawning jurists and ignorant Sufis. The first are so proud of themselves that they consider all other men below their standard. The second are hypercritical and cruel with regard to others' mistakes, paying no attention to their own. The third claim what they have not got, in their eagerness to elevate themselves in the eyes of others, without any right, being fond of exhibiting themselves. All these are the qualities of bad companions who must be shunned at all costs.⁽²⁾

To select a companion it is essential to choose one of three types of men, or all of them if possible; one for the Hereafter, and this person must be pious, religious and acquainted with the faith. One for this world, and he must be of good manners. And one to be taken as a friend whose big advantage is to be safe from his bad behaviour.⁽³⁾ The gain, all the gain, is in finding the good companion and realising where to go with him, as Abū al-Ḥasan al-Shādhilī said: "My beloved

1. Abū Muḥammad Sahl b. 'Abd Allāh al-Tustarī, a famous theologian and Sufi of Tustur in Ahwāz, whose "Thousand Sayings" were collected by his disciples (d. 283/896). On his life and teaching see: Muḥammad Kamāl Ja'far; The Sufi Doctrine of Sahl b. 'Abd Allāh al-Tustarī (in English), Cairo University Press, 1969.

2. al-Jāmi' lī jumal min al-fawā'id, p.27.

3. 'Uddat al-murīd al-sādiq, p.51.

bade me and said: 'do not move your feet except in the direction where you expect God's reward. Do not sit except where you are safe from disobedience. Do not associate except with him who aids you in obeying God. Do not incline towards any except him who affirms your certitude.'"⁽¹⁾

In addition to these kinds of men the traveller has to avoid any sort of association with the immature (aḥdāth)⁽²⁾ since this is dangerous both to his reputation and manners. This is applicable not only to young men but also to every immature person whether in mind or spirit, even if he is seventy years old. The definition of the immature is he who does not agree with you in the Way that you have chosen, as God said to Moses: "Pay attention and select your companions. Any who does not agree with you to please Me is your enemy, since he hardens your heart and separates you from Me." The companion, in fact, is a part of a man like the patch of a dress. Just as it is odd if the patch is not of the same colour as the material of the dress, so is it to accompany him who is not of the man's type in mind and conduct.⁽³⁾

1. Sh. al-Mabāḥith al-aṣliyah, p.172.

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid., p.171.

The Guide

Travelling the Way is not an easy task. And to be on the safe side the traveller needs a guide who has explored the road before him and knows its difficulties. That is why a shaikh is indispensable for him. But before he yields to him and entrusts himself he must be sure that the shaikh is the right one who can be trusted, for it is very risky to have confidence in a guide who does not know the road very well and is not acquainted with its perils and dangers. (1)

In many of his works Zarrūq emphasises the important rôle played by the shaikh and warns of being deceived by false claimants who seek only worldly prestige and are not real Sufi masters, and he indicates many conditions for him to observe strictly to enable him to lead the travellers in their Way. (2)

Who is the good guide? He asks. The answer is: he who must possess three qualities: 1) That he should know the road as he knows himself. 2) That he know the types of the travellers he is guiding, in order to help each of them to the most suitable means of travelling and be aware of his ability to complete the journey and reach his destination. 3) That he depend on both knowledge and experience, since it is not enough to know

1. Uddat al-murīd, p.45.

2. Ibid., pp.39-45.

the map to guide others, since it is necessary to have explored the way first and be sure of it before trying to lead others on it.⁽¹⁾ The shaikh is here like a doctor whose knowledge of the peculiarities of the medicines depends on experience, just as his experience depends on his knowledge.⁽²⁾

In spite, however, of the high position that the shaikh occupies, the traveller is advised not to wait until he finds him, for perhaps he will not meet him at all. The real shaikh is, in fact, a light from God sent to him who shows his sincerity and longing to go along the Way. If he does not find him in the beginning he must consult the two sources of knowledge of the Way; the Qur'ān and the Sunnah, and try to follow others' example. If he does not do so he is like the sick man who refuses to take the medicine unless the doctor comes in person, and thus he may not recover even when the doctor arrives, since the disease has already spread because of his refusal to take the medicine.⁽³⁾

However, just as there are good doctors and bad doctors, there are many types of shaikh too from whom Zarrūq distinguishes three: 1) The shaikh of form (shaikh al-ṣūrah) whose concern is only with appearance, in face and dress. This is useless and no benefit will come out of him. 2) The shaikh of the way (shaikh al-ṭarīqah) who needs knowledge to deal with the soul,

1. Sh. al-mabāḥith al-aṣliyah, p.163.

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid.

reason to deal with the people and action to deal with the Truth. 3) The shaikh of the truth (shaikh al-ḥaqīqah) who does not need anything because his truthfulness implies everything, and this is the real shaikh. He deals with the lover (muḥibb) by acceptance, with the equitable man (muntasib) by care and with the seeker (murīd) by interest, fulfilling his rights after fulfilling the rights of God and His messenger.⁽¹⁾ Of this kind of shaikh Ibn 'aṭā Allāh said: "Your shaikh is not the one from whom you hear, but from whom you take example. Not he whose expression faces you, but he whose impression penetrates you. Not he who calls you to the door, but he who removes the veil. Not he who talks to you, but he who displays his state to you. Your shaikh is he who frees you from the prison of desire and introduces you to the Lord. He who does not cease polishing your Heart's mirror until it becomes able to reflect your Lord's light. He who raises you to God and leads you until you reach Him. He who remains with you until he puts you before Him, pushes you into the light of the Presence and says: 'Here you are!'"⁽²⁾

Once the shaikh is found the traveller has to submit himself completely to him and follow his instructions. He becomes like a corpse between the washer's hands. He refers to him in everything concerning his development in the Way and consults him on any issues. He has to

1. 'Uddat al-murīd al-ṣādiq, pp.45-46.

2. Ibid., p.43.

respect him and become like a dutiful son to him. But despite the fact that the shaikh has undisputed authority over his disciple he is not infallible, so that his obedience is restricted to what does not contradict the Qur'ān and the Sunnah. Although he is the example in his conduct, not all of his conduct must be imitated, since there are special actions confined to a particular stage to which the shaikh has attained and the disciple has not. (1)

Lastly, the relationship between the shaikh and the disciple is like the relationship between a doctor and his patient. It is necessary for the doctor to know his patient's condition to find out the disease and the right medicine for it. Thus, the disciple must reveal all his secrets to the shaikh. At the same time the patient has the right to know how able and acquainted with the "science" his doctor is and how far his practice is in conformity with his knowledge. The criterion in all this is the following of the Qur'ān and the Sunnah without whose guidance none is safe in the Way. (2)

The Covenant

Now, after the seeker has found the real shaikh and gained his acceptance as one of the travellers in the Way, the next step is to establish a strong relationship with him by mutual agreement between the two which is called al-'ahd (the covenant) and is a sort of contract binding

1. Wasīyah, Ms. Cairo, 550 - taṣawwuf, p.3.

2. 'Uddat al-murīd, p.43.

both the guide and the traveller. There are, in fact, several methods of covenant, such as muṣāfaḥah (hand-clasp), akhḍh al-subḥah (taking the rosary) and libs al-khirqah (investing with the mantle), but Zarrūq prefers the simple covenant, because the Prophet made it with his companions when he said to them: "Take the pledge with me that you will not take a partner with God, nor steal, nor commit adultery, nor kill your children, nor lie, nor disobey in what is right (ma'rūf). He who fulfills what he has committed himself to will be rewarded by God. He who breaks it and is punished in this world, it will be an expiation (kaffārah) for him. He who sins and whose sin God covers, it is for God to punish or forgive, as He wills."⁽¹⁾

Zarrūq comments by saying that this covenant between the Prophet and his companions was made after the faith had been well-established in them in order to confirm it the more. It alludes also to the fact that none is infallible and that repentance is offered and obedience is only in the conventional issues.⁽²⁾

At any rate, the covenant, as may be concluded from Zarrūq's description of its procedure, which was shown in the previous chapter, is founded on three bases which have been alluded to above: Repentance and its implications, seeking forgiveness, and piety.⁽³⁾ Thus the seeker is

1. 'Uddat al-murīd al-ṣādiq, p.46. Cf. al-Dārimī / imārah.

2. Ibid., p.47.

3. See the full procedure of the Covenant in the previous chapter.

considered a traveller and is initiated by learning the method of dhikr (invocation) which denotes a further step in the Way. (1)

Invocation

Man has to be conscious of himself and what surrounds him. In this he has to be aware of his servanthood towards His Lord. That is to realise the meaning of existential phenomena either in himself or in the Universe. Here we find that tafakkur (meditation) is indispensable to anyone who seeks to attain to both knowledge and the Truth. (2)

Meditation is of the conscious part of the soul which is prepared to go through the Way of the Truth, when a man investigates himself and discovers his vices and tries to get rid of them, he must not neglect meditation lest he lose his contact with existential objects and become like an animal deprived of the delight of thinking and discovering what is behind the appearances of Existence. (3)

This meditation, performed conscientiously, leads to another stage in the process of realisation, i.e. tadhakkur (remembring). That is to remember always, not

-
1. See the previous chapter for the method of initiation.
 2. I'ānat al-mutawajjih al-miskīn, p.3.
 3. Ibid. Zarrūq alludes to the Qur'ān (41:53): "We shall show them Our signs on the horizons and within themselves, until it will be manifest unto them that it is the Truth."

only the various stages of the man's life, since he was a germ in his mother's womb until his death, but also that he is in all this, and after that, only a servant of the Lord who has no will, in the absolute sense, to decide for himself, and that everything is nothing at all beside Him. (1)

Remembrance, from our Shaikh's point of view, occupies a very important place in the Sufi Way. By remembering his origin from a tiny drop of sperm and his end as a decayed corpse in the dust, Zarrūq says, man will realise that this short journey in this ephemeral world is just a temporary stage of his being and that he must lead a pure life in order to obtain the reward in the Hereafter from the Lord. (2)

How can he possibly accomplish this while he is surrounded by all these temptations? It is not easy, of course, but by fighting evil and repulsing the Soul's desire and oppressing the body's lust he can have help from God. To have help from God one must seek it from Him in order that He might bestow His mercy and grant His aid upon man. That is to beg Him, and no begging is lacking in mention of the source of help. This is dhikr Allāh. (3)

1. I'ānat, p.3.

2. Ibid.

3. This is according to the saying of the Prophet: "This world is accursed, and all it contains is accursed, save only the invocation (or remembrance) of God." Many verses in the Qur'ān urge the believers to remember God always and invoke His Name, or Names. (See the Qur'ān; 2:152, 33:31, 87:15, 20:34, 22:34, 3:41, 7:205, 18:24, 3:135, 8:2). Cf. Burckhardt; An Introduction to Sufi Doctrine, pp.123-130.

To remember God in prayer or to remember Him whenever possible is the simple way of dhikr, and it is for anyone. For the traveller in the Sufi Way there is a more formal and regulated method of dhikr which we may call "invocation", to distinguish it from other forms of dhikr. This invocation is based on certain rules and goes through a known procedure in a fixed order for a special aim; seeking the result of revelation by His help.⁽¹⁾

This type of dhikr, or invocation, is of great importance to all Sufis, and for Zarrūq it is one of the essential means of attainment. Invocation is a direct orientation (tawajjuh) to the Lord when He is fully present (hādir) in the Heart, the servant is fully aware of His Presence, and fully occupied with Him alone. Here we face the problem of Presence (ḥuḍūr), that is, is it necessary to concentrate entirely on the object of invocation that is God Himself?

A certain disciple complained to his Shaikh: "I mention God with my tongue while my heart is heedless." The Shaikh said: "Thank Him for making your tongue fit for that. What would you do if He put slander on it instead?" God is much more generous than that man should mention Him with his tongue without granting him presence in his heart. At the beginning it does not matter if one mentions Him with the tongue only as a means of approaching

1. I'ānat, p.3.

His Presence until the invoker becomes acquainted with the meaning of His invocation. When the meaning is deeply rooted in the Heart, the form vanishes and nothing remains save His Presence.⁽¹⁾

Forms of Invocation:

Apart from prayer (ṣalāh) which is considered as a sort of invocation,⁽²⁾ there are other means by which the traveller can invoke. It is up to him to choose one or all of them according to his aptitude and preparedness: the Qur'ān, the Divine Names, the Two Testimonies and the litany (wird).⁽³⁾

Invocation of the Qur'ān:

God said: "Those only are believers who, when God is mentioned, tremble in their hearts, and when His signs (verses) are recited to them they increase them in faith."⁽⁴⁾ And He said: "Those who believe, their hearts are at rest in God's remembrance."⁽⁵⁾

Interpreting the first verse, Zarrūq says that it is clear that recitation of the Qur'ān increases the faith of the believers. That is a very good result in itself. It is obvious from the second verse that tranquility and peace emerge from the faith which results from reading

1. al-Jāmi' li-jumal min al-fawā'id wa al-manāfi', p.6.

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid., p.22.

4. Qur'ān; 8:2.

5. Qur'ān; 13:28.

the Qur'ān. Then God says: "God has sent down the fairest discourse as a Book, consimilar in its oft-repeated, whereat tremble the skins of those who fear their Lord; then their skins and their hearts soften to the remembrance of God."⁽¹⁾ This, he says, indicates that the Qur'ān's recitation is recommended for its own sake, since it leads to fear of God - which is equivalent to al-qabḍ (contraction) in Sufi terms - and then to peace and hope - which alludes to al-bast (expansion) - and the Sufi fluctuates between these two states (aḥwāl) all the time.⁽²⁾

Invocation of the Divine Names:

One of the uses of the Divine Names is in invocation. And the first condition of this form of invocation is to be aware of the meaning of the Name, to scrutinize it and then to choose the appropriate Name to be invoked in the proper manner.

"If you want to invoke with the Names," Zarrūq says, "you must examine your nature and state, then single out of the Names what suits you. If you are overwhelmed by His Glory and in a state of contraction, take the Names of Majesty (al-asmā' al-jalāliyah) and invoke them gravely (bi al-taḥzīn) and with low voice. If you are overcome by His Beauty and in a state of expansion, invoke the Names of Beauty (al-asmā' al-jamāliyah) joyfully and in a soft voice. If you are overwhelmed by

1. Qur'ān; 39:23.

2. 'Uddat al-murīd al-sādiq, p.25. al-qabḍ is the spiritual state resulting from the fear of God, opposite to al-bast which is a state of confident joy.

His Perfection then take from the Names of Perfection (al-asmā' al-kamāliyah) what suits your mood and invoke them in a moderate voice and state without expression of sadness or joy."⁽¹⁾

Collectedness (injimā') is essential in this sort of invocation, and it is necessary also to recite the Name slowly and without hurry and to empty the Heart from any other occupation. The aim is to allow the meaning of the Name to penetrate the Heart fully and become imprinted (yantabī') on it.⁽²⁾

This is the way of nature (ṭarīq al-ṭab'), since he who travels to Him by his nature is more likely to reach Him than that who aspires to Him at odds with his nature.⁽³⁾

Invocation of the Two Testimonies:

Many people, Zarrūq says, tend to invoke using the Two Testimonies (al-shahādtain), and this is one of the best methods of invocation. But there are those who incline to invoke the first testimony (lā ilāha illa Allāh) and neglect the second one (Muḥammadun rasūlu Allāh). This is extremely wrong, since, just as the first nullifies all doubt whatsoever with regard to the Lordship (Rubūbiyah), the second nullifies any suspicion regarding the Prophet and his Apostleship (Rasūliyah).

1. al-Maqṣad al-asmā', p.250.

2. Ibid., p.251.

3. Ibid., p.252.

To separate the Two Testimonies is condemned in the teachings of Islam, so it is condemned in what emerged from Islam, i.e., Sufism and invocation. Just as the faith would not be true and sincere without both of them, so revelation (fath) will not come without both of them.⁽¹⁾

The Prophet also is not only a bringer of tidings (mubashshir) and a warner (nadhīr), but a witness (shāhid) against us too.⁽²⁾ To mention the Two Testimonies together is the ultimate in servanthood. It is equal to the prostration (sujūd) to Adam. He who prostrates, i.e., mentions the second testimony, is like the angels and that who abstains is like Iblīs in his disobedience.⁽³⁾

Invocation of Blessing the Prophet:

This kind of invocation is most desirable, since God Himself ordered us to do so when He said: "God and His angels bless the Prophet. O believers do you also bless him and grant him peace."⁽⁴⁾ If God Himself blesses the Prophet how dare we neglect His command? Moreover there are many traditions that recommend blessing the Prophet as a means to great reward. The Prophet said: "God and His angels will bless ten times him who blesses me once." And what reward is higher than being blessed by the Lord through blessing His perfect servant?⁽⁵⁾

1. 'Uddat al-murīd al-ṣādiq, p.28.

2. Ibid., p.29.

3. Ibid., p.28.

4. Qur'ān; 33:56.

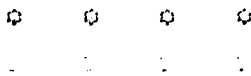
5. 'Uddat al-murīd al-ṣādiq, p.27. Cf. the ṣaḥīḥ of Muslim / ṣalāh.

Invocation of Litany:

All the previous means of invocation could be united in one wird or ḥizb (litany) which the traveller learns by heart and recites. Every traveller, in fact, must have a litany composed of prayers and supplications whose aims Zarrūq outlines as "to take refuge from evil in God, to seek good and knowledge from Him by the Union (jam') of the Heart with Him, to occupy the idle, help the seeker and strengthen the lover (muḥibb), to have a solid resolution and a firm concentration."⁽¹⁾

It is preferable if the litany is invoked at a fixed time. It will become like a habit for the traveller and teach him discipline. But because with God there is neither day nor night, all times are suitable for the invocation of the litany.⁽²⁾

However, the litany must be as simple as possible, avoiding vague expressions or suggestive utterances, depending essentially on the Qur'ān and the Prophet's prayers which are genuinely reported.⁽³⁾



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1. Mafātīh al-‘izz wa al-naṣr, p.2.
 2. Qawā'id al-taṣawwuf, p.135.
 3. Sh. Ḥizb al-baḥr, pp.6-7.

"Thus our scholars surnamed him (the Oversear of both the Jurists and the Sufis). This is a notable title not gained by any Muslim master before or after him!"

'Abd Allāh Gannūn

Dhikrayāt mashāhīr rijāl al-Maghrib

CHAPTER FIVE

ZARRŪQ THE CRITIC

Having passed through the life of our Shaikh, looked at his works and Order, and seen how he regarded the Sufi Way, it is fitting that we should examine his most evident aspect as a reformer and a Sufi critic.

In the foregoing chapter on "the Sufi Way according to Zarrūq" the reader must have noticed some allusion to the Shaikh's critical spirit in respect of certain Sufi notions. In this chapter we are going to discuss in a more detailed manner these notions and Zarrūq's attitude towards them, which made of him one of the most important critics in the history of Sufism.

Before we proceed to discuss the main issues on which Zarrūq concentrated in his criticism, there is an important point to be made here.

As one of the aspects of Islamic life, and a part of its existence, it is natural that Sufism should undergo all the joys and pains of this life. During its period of life and health, Sufism flourished and was alive. In its decline and deterioration, it declined also and became an obvious focus of deterioration. This happened throughout the ages in which the Muslim society struggled against both internal factors of decadence and external powers as well. Whenever this society felt dangers surrounding it and recognised an imminent threat to its existence, during

its struggle against external invasion, it usually turned in to the internal elements of corruption in order to purify itself from within and become prepared to face the enemy vigorously and overcome the consequences of its defeat. Sufism was always an exposed target for attack in those days of crisis and strain, owing to its nature on the one hand and the attitude of most of the leading men in the Muslim society on the other. Ibn Taimiyyah⁽¹⁾ and his colleagues⁽²⁾ represent a good example of the furious attack on Sufism after the fall of Baghdad⁽³⁾ into the hands of the Mongols, the Eastern invaders, during the 8th/14th century. In modern times, especially in the 13th/19th century and the beginning of the present century, the Wahhābis⁽⁴⁾ in the Arab Peninsula and Kamāl Atatürk⁽⁵⁾ in Turkey, with differences of motive of course, were the most virulent foes of the Sufis and Sufism.

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1. d. 728/1328. He was a fanatic Ḥanbalī. His opposition to Sufism, in belief and practice, goes back to the founder of the Madhhab, Ahmad b. Ḥanbal, to al-Muḥāsibī, Sarī al-Saqāṭī and their followers. He issued many fatwās and wrote pamphlets condemning eminent Sufis and their practice in seeking ecstasy through music and dancing as well as shrine-visiting with offerings, vows and invocations, as being all contrary to the Law. (See: Trimmingham; The Sufi Orders in Islam, p.242).
 2. Like Ibn al-Qayyim al-Jawziyah (d. 751/135).
 3. The Mongols under Hūlāgū took Baghdād in 656/1258. For details see: Von Grunebaum; Classical Islam, pp.141-158.
 4. The followers of Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Wahhāb (d. 1208/1792).
 5. The founder of modern Turkey (d. 1343/1938).

These anti-Sufi movements resulted from a specific understanding of Islam as a simple exoteric religion, concerned, more than anything else, with the external belief and conduct of Muslims, wherein there is no room for any inner practice of exoteric teaching. Its people saw in Sufism not only a deviation from Islamic dogmas but also a real danger to the straight, pure and clear belief of Islam. They saw in the Sufis mere faqīrs and darwīshes who were depending in their lives on the active section of the community, occupying laymen with nonsensical occultism and vain practice.

In the light of what Sufism has become, and according to the behaviour of so-called Sufis in many parts of the Muslim world, one has to approve such movements and accept many of their attitudes, since Sufism, in fact, has been transformed from that great endeavour for a sublime spiritual life to an endeavour for an idle, easy life full of laziness spent in those Khānqahs, Tikiyahs and Zāwiyahs.⁽¹⁾ The Way lost all its connotations of strife, X
patience and work as well as its contact with the interests of the daily life of the ordinary people. But to allow such criticism and attack on the conduct of the so-called Sufis, does not justify the attack on the principles themselves which are completely different. Here, again, we meet the eternal dilemma; the difference between theory

1. For more details see: Trimmingham; The Sufi orders in Islam and Tawfīq al-Tawīl; al-Taṣawwuf fī Miṣr.

and practice, idea and fact, thought and its practical application.

Not only the non-Sufis were furious in their hostility to the corruption and mischief perpetrated in the domain of Sufism by its own followers, but we see that sincere Sufi masters were very anxious about the possible fate of Sufism under the influence of non-Islamic ideas and certain strange elements which infiltrated into it. Their sincerity and comprehension of the real function of the Way, together with assaults launched by anti-Sufi circles, were their motives to pause now and then, to examine these accusations and apply a sort of self-criticism, in order to refute their opponents' claims and get rid of whatsoever corruption and misconduct occurred.

Referring back to the historical circumstances of Zarrūq's days, we see how the Muslim world was in a very confused state. While Egypt was under Mamlūk rule and the Ottomans were expanding their Empire, not far from capturing Cairo itself, the Spanish were driving the Muslims out of Andalusia. Even Morocco was under attack by Portuguese troops and some of its ports were under their control. The similarity between these circumstances during the 9th/15th century on one hand and what happened in the 8th/14th and the 13th/19th centuries on the other, is so apparent as to justify the appearance of another great critic in the realm of Sufism; Aḥmad Zarrūq. The only difference being that our Shaikh was himself a Sufi. He was a critic from within.

The conditions of Sufism and the so-called Sufis, consequently, were the same as in the above-mentioned periods. To give the reader a proper idea about those conditions we quote here what an eye-witness wrote. Here is what Leo Africanus, who lived in the same period and toured North Africa and Egypt, says about the Sufis of the age, after surveying the origin and development of Sufism:

"... but such as were very learned, and trained vp in all the kinde of liberall sciences; to the end they might the better defend their owne opinions, and can fute their aduersaries: but nowadaies they admit all kinde of rude and ignorant persons, affirming all sortes of learning to be needless; for the spirit (they say) reuealeth the knowledge of the truth vnto such as are of a cleane hart; and they alleage many reasons for the confirmation of this their opinion, though not very forcible. Wherefore despising their ancesters rites, and the strict observations of the law, they addict themselves to naught else but delights and pleasures, feasting often and singing lasciuious songs. Sometimes they will rend their garments, either alluding to the verses that they sing, or being mooued thereunto by their corrupt and vile disposition; saying falsely that they are rauished with diuine loue: but I rather impute it to their abundance of meate and gluttonie. For each one of them will deuere as much meate, as may well suffice three. Or (which is more likely) they utter those passionate

clamours and out-cries, because they are inflamed by vnlawful and filthie lust. For sometimes it happeneth that someone of the principall of them, with all his scholers and diciples, is inuited to the mariage of some gentlemen, and at the beginning of the banquet they will rehearse their deuout orizons and songs, but so soone as they are resin from the table, the elder of companie being about to daunce, teare their garments; and if any one in the middest of their daunsing, that had drunke immoderately, chaunceth to fall downe, he is taken vp foorthwith by one of the scholers and to too lasciuiously kissed. Whereupon this proverbe grew among the people of Fez: 'the hermite's banquet.'"(1)

After describing certain Sufi orders and notions, Leo Africanus continues to verbal what was going on in those days:

"Great swarmes of these filthie vagabonds you may see in Tunis, but many more in Egypt and especially at Alcair, where as in a market called Bain Elkafrain I saw one of these vallains with mine owne eies, in the presence of much people, deflowre a most beautiful woman as she was coming foorth of the bath: which being done, the people came flocking about the said woman, striuing to touch her garment as a most holie thing."(2)

In his fascinating description of the overwhelming vulgarity in Sufism, Leo records his remark on "another

1. Leo Africanus; History and Description of Africa, Vol. II, p.464.

2. Ibid., p.466.

sorte of men, which we may fitly call Caballists⁽¹⁾. They had one a famous doctor of their sect called Bouni⁽²⁾ who was author of their canons, praises and square tables... Their arte was diuided into eight parts; whereof the first was called Elumha Enormita,⁽³⁾ that is, the demonstration of light... the second called Semsul Meharif,⁽⁴⁾ that is, the Sun of the Sciences... the third part they call Sirru Lesmei Elchusne;⁽⁵⁾ this part contained a catalogue of those 99 vertues, which (they say) are contained in the names of God. Moreover in the Citie of Fez there are certain men called Elcanesin,⁽⁶⁾ who supposing to finde treasure vnder the foundations of old houses, doe perpetually search and delue."⁽⁷⁾ Leo also writes about those 'Alchymists' who "have in their arte of Alchymie many books written by learned men, amongst which one Geber⁽⁸⁾ is of principall account... Likewise they haue another author, that wrote an huge volume of the same arte, intituled by the name of Attogrehī."⁽⁹⁾

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1. A Jewish sect concerned with the mystical aspects of the Torah.
 2. Abū al-'Abbās Ahmad l-'Alī al-Būnī (d. 622/1225).
 3. al-Luma' al-nūriyah.
 4. Shams al-ma'ārif al-Kubrā. Cf. 'Uddat al-murīd, p.87.
 5. Sirr al-asmā' al-ḥusnā.
 6. al-Kanziyyīn. Cf. 'Uddat al-murīd, p.78.
 7. Leo Africanus; A History and Description of Africa, Vol.II, p.468.
 8. Jābir b. Ḥayyān al-Ṣūfī (d.260?/813?). For more details about him and his works and their influence see: Richard Russel; The Works of Geber, New edition by E.J.Holmyard, London, 1928.
 9. Leo Africanus; History and Description of Africa, Vol.II, p.469. al-Ṭughrā'ī; Abū Ismā'īl al-Ḥusain al-Aṣbihānī (d.515/1121). Cf. E.I. art. Tughrā'ī; Russel; The Works of Geber, p.XV, and Zarrūq; 'Uddat al-murīd, pp.77-78.

Talking about the dryness of Sufism in that period S. Trimingham in his book The Sufi Orders in Islam says that "North Africa also experienced a new development. The mystical movement, which passed through its classical period in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, had flagged. This movement of the spirit had appealed only to a religious élite, but from the middle of the fourteenth century the Way had lost even this appeal and a mystic such as Ibn 'Abbād stands out simply because of the spiritual aridity of the age. At the same time a popular form of devotion based on the dhikr had spread, though as yet practiced only by urban and Zawiya groups."⁽¹⁾ He quotes a reference concerning Shaikh Abū Ishāq al-Shāṭifī (d. 790/1388) who was asked about the position (legitimacy) of a ṭā'ifah ascribing itself to Sufism and self-discipline "whose members would get together on many a night at the house of one of them. They would open the proceedings with some ejaculating in unison. Then they go on to engage themselves in singing, hand-clapping, and making ecstatic utterances, carrying on until the night was over. During the course of the evening they would partake of food prepared by the owner of the house."⁽²⁾ In relation to the practice of the occult by the Sufis, Trimingham states that "along with the development of new forms of devotion and their acceptance parallel to ritual prayer, went the process

1. Trimingham; The Sufi Orders in Islam, pp.83-84.

2. Ibid., p.84.

of accommodating the sciences of astrology, divination, and magic-technique which professed, not merely to reveal the secrets of the unseen world, but to control them... Popular works brought all this within the range of the ordinary practitioner and became part of the equipment of the Shaikhs and brethren."⁽¹⁾

Ahmad Zarrūq, armoured with his thorough knowledge of Islamic Jurisprudence and acquainted with the real essence of Sufism, fully realised how wrongly most of the Sufis of his day practiced the Way and how far they were from both the Sharī'ah and the Tarīqah, not to mention the Ḥaqīqah itself. He was always disgusted by those pseudo-sufis whose hypocrisy and vulgarity were too excessive to be accepted by any reasonable standard, and whose behaviour was extreme to conform to Islamic belief and conduct. Perhaps he is the most capable one to describe some of what he was discontent with in his day, both in the East and the West. Let us read a passage from his 'Uddat al-murīd al-ṣādiq:⁽²⁾

"When I first arrived at this country, meaning the East, I inquired about the Sufis in order that I might encounter God's grace amongst them. I was taken to groups of people living in high-built khanqāhs with spacious yards. I looked and discovered that their

1. Ibid., p.28. Cf. Mossingnon; "Nature in Islamic Thought", The Mystic Vision, p.17, London, 1969.

2. This quotation is briefed from a long letter which Zarrūq recorded in his book without ascription. It might have been written by him to a friend or by a friend to him. See 'Uddat al-murīd, pp.98-101.

ليس مع الرعي الجمع وطع الله على جميعه ما عدا عبي الله وكثير من قسما

في هذا الشيخ العظيم الامام العالم الاربعه المشهور
في العلم الكبير ابو العباس احمد بن محمد بن عيسى بن عيسى بن
في حوب بزروق رحمه الله ورضي عنه بمسألة

العهده الذي يبع حاد السنة واعلم سائرها وبعضه يهود النبي محمد وكنيته
ابو القاسم ابو محمد شيخنا هذا الشافعية وانظر اسرارها وكثيره طيبها الذي
وطعن آثارها وليس مناهج الفايق وشيخه اسرارها واسرارها السنية
والزيم آثارها جالسها من استنصر باليهود والمؤمن من نه فقه كرم
والعرب من توفيقه وقصير بل هو مشغول بين الفيل راحة ولا هو مشغول
عليه في يدي ١٠ اما فيان ومع وجوده فان وكان وادبني بسعه من الطمان
الجمع الطيب ومن تعلق بهي كشيء ومن استمتع بهم وظهروا اعني
الذي آخذوا بالهمل عماد الاما ابنه ابو ساد والباطل الرجعي مهاد او

الشيخ

اروض السنة واسما بطور الرسو البديعة وتفقهوا البراهما ان يكونوا في
اجور اوان قد رواه على منكرهم عظيمه يتكلم بكلام اهل الفايق في يدي
بين القربا والاهل ويستظهرون بالمتكبريات ويميل اليهم كل من جودن اهل
بهم في الفقيه كما افنته في شلمم الشار القابل

في موضعي عن الفيات في الرجح في غزا فلابد ان يجمع القصور في
في شعبي اهل روية مدمومة في صحه وهو فهم النحو الدرهم في
في ناموا عن القصور لم يثبت قطبا في سكنه يفتنهم قلب اعظم في
في حيا قال سهل اربعة الله التفتري رضى الله عنه احد كجربة ثلاثة اهلنا

The first two pages of 'Ushab al-murid al-hādīq of Sarūq, MS. Rabat, 1157.

ارواح

من انما من الجيرة الطويلين والقر الصا فهو ولتصهوية الفاظهم قلت
واصرك على بلوا اسما يبد اسم لغة اللغة انما صا بهما القاسم الاربعة والاربع
ظاهر واسمها واخرج وما القاسم الثالث فيها وقع الا شيا ووه يكثر كثر
من اهل الايقنة والا نساء يبيع الصا من وجه الصا واذ الصا من
جيفة واذ الصا على وجه ما تعلق به ما عسى ان يفر من ماله وما
يقع الله به من خرابه وعلى الله المعقود يبيع التكمين وهو حيا ويك
الويل بما فرك من حيا في لم يرد والخبير من حيا في ثابها احد في كثير
من اعظمها حديث خديجة رضي الله عنه قلت يا رسول الله بالما وما لفت
ورثها الله بعدة النبي يولى به في هذا النبي من ثم قال نعم قلت بطل به
لما النبي من حيا على روح وبه في في قلت وما د فنه قال نعم مستنون في
مستق ويهدون في غير لم يرد في يبيع ويكلم قلت بطل به في ذلك النبي
من ثم قال في حيا على وجه من ابا بهم اليها فوجوه فيها قلت صهي
لما قال هم من حيا على وجه من بالمتنا قلت صا سزا ان لم يرد في ذلك
فما يفرح الجماعة المسلمة وما هم قلت با في حيا على وجه من ابا بهم فاما
ذلك النبي كدما ولما في بعض على امر في حيا في حيا في حيا في حيا في حيا في حيا
ولما على الله على حيا في حيا في حيا في حيا في حيا في حيا في حيا في حيا في حيا
الاهل في حيا في حيا في حيا في حيا في حيا في حيا في حيا في حيا في حيا في حيا
كل بعدة طلائع الخالدة وطاصها في الخالدة وراه التماسه من طريته حيا
بواسطه يسلح وقاطع الله عليه في حيا في حيا في حيا في حيا في حيا في حيا في حيا
ثنتان ورسعه في الخالدة في حيا في حيا في حيا في حيا في حيا في حيا في حيا
في الرواية الامم ما انما عليه في حيا في حيا في حيا في حيا في حيا في حيا في حيا

من الجيرة

ambitions were to grade their rugs, nay, their loud adornments, and comb their beards. Yet they claim that the Westerners are the people of the Truth not the Way and that they are the people of the Way not the Truth. This is sufficient evidence of their nonsense, since there is no attainment to the Truth without the Way. Abū Sulaimān al-Dārānī (d. ?) said: 'They have not reached attainment (wuṣūl), which is the Truth, because they have lost the principles (uṣūl), which are the Way'. They have testified of themselves that they are devoid of the Truth. This implies that they are far from the Way.

"These times, my friend, are calamitous. In them Satan is insurgent and the tyrant is obstinate. There are evil, but learned, men looking for what they might eat, unjust rulers taking decisions in utter ignorance, and Sufis of wool being dirty with the fortunes of this world. They have become too devoted to this world in their hearts to concern themselves with anything but it. The truth is so abased in their eyes that they have shunned it. They keep these meaningless prayer-rugs and attach themselves to those mantles, showing off rags, sticks and adorned rosaries, walking like old women, dreaming like children. No knowledge may prevent them from the unlawful, no asceticism may hold them back from embracing this world, and no piety can turn them away from suspicions. They use the practice of external religion

as a bait to catch the fortunes of this world and stay in the khangahs and ribāts to enjoy whatsoever comes to them, whether it be lawful or unlawful... (1)

"By God, my friend, if you could only see them pecking (like birds) in their prayer, without standing in a proper line, you would see between the two of them space enough for a thousand Satans. If you wanted to fill the gap their faces would turn gloomy, and if you are not careful and tread on the prayer-rug of one of them, he will punch you, whatever is accessible, at you such a blow as to kill you. I have seen in this country one still in boys trousers and yet claiming the stages of the gnostics. Yet he is not ashamed of God, although he does not know either the conditions of the Sunnah nor the compulsory duties, indeed he is not worthy to serve even in the lavatories...

"Those who attend audition (samā') and claim ecstasy (wajd) in this country have considered their religion a sport and an amusement. You only hear him who says: 'I have seen the Truth (al-Ḥaqq), He said to me, He did, and He made such and such.' When you ask him for truth (ḥaqīqah) he may give it, or some mystery he gained in his ecstasy, you will find only a lusty state of mind and a Satanic desire. Satan cries on his tongue and he falls unconscious as long as the singer croaks his poems. I cannot but liken them to the shepherd who cries out for

1. Compare this with Ibn al-Jawzī's Talbīs Iblīs, Cairo, 1368 H., pp.187-209.

his sheep. They come bleating and go bleating, unaware of why they come or why they go."⁽¹⁾

Such was Zarrūq's feeling against the so-called Sufis of the age. His experience with them in the big cities, like Fez, Cairo and Mecca, may justify his strong condemnation and disgust. Thus, as we have seen, he was so depressed, and perhaps desperate, that he abandoned, at last, these large centres of Sufi congregations and went to live in a more simple primitive place which had not as yet been affected by these manifestations of corruption and deterioration in the realm of Sufism.

It was impossible for our Shaikh, as a Jurist and a Sufi, to accept whatsoever contradicts the Sunnah. His profound belief in the unity of the Shari'ah and the Tariqah in the endeavour for the Haqiqah, made him unready to compromise for any of them. He neither accepted the unjust attitude of the Jurists towards Sufism, nor did he justify the misrepresentation of the Way in his days. It was natural then that while he was engaged in many of his compilations in defending Sufism, he was occupied also with purifying it from the contamination and pollution it was stained with. Hence he, and only he, was called Muhtasib al-'ulamā' wa al-awliyā',⁽²⁾

1. 'Uddat al-murīd, pp.98-101.

2. Gannūn; "Ahmad Zarrūq dafīn Misrātah", Bulletin of the Faculty of Arts, Libya, Vol. II, p.136. Cf. Paul Nwyia; Ibn Abbād de Ronda, p.24.

Muhtasib was a title given to certain acknowledged, highly regarded men who had the right to watch the conduct of the responsible people, either in the government or in the ordinary life, regardless of their rank and position, in order to correct their attitude and draw their attention to their mistakes, on the basis of the famous Islamic principle: al-amr bi al-ma'rūf wa al-nahy 'an al-munkar. Cf. Encyclopaedia of Islam, Art. Muhtasib.

that is, he who observes and assesses the behaviour of both learned theologians and Sufi masters, in order to assure that it is in conformity with the Sharī'ah. Such a title was not given to Zarrūq in vain. It was surely felt that he was a strong critic of what he noticed by way of distortion and error in Sufi teachings as well as in the attitude of the Jurists of his age. But it is obvious that the Shaikh was more concerned with purifying the Way, since he knew that no cure was possible as long as the inner disease was not adequately treated and eliminated. This disease was called al-bid'ah, and perhaps there is no more famous a word used in anti-Sufi circles, as well as by the Sufi critics, than this word.

Bid'ah (innovation or novelty) was used in Islam to indicate any sort of thought or deed not springing from the Qur'ān and the example of the Prophet Muḥammad and his companions. With the development of Islamic Law and the growth of the Muslim community and its complications, the notions of ijmā' (consensus) and qiyās (deduction or analogy) were accepted by orthodox Jurists to deal with the implications of the new life. They accepted also, to a limited extent, ijtihād (formulating independent decisions based on the interpretation of the four principles), although this remained confined to certain Islamic sects.⁽¹⁾ Whatever clashes with these principles and cannot be justified, in any way, is considered bid'ah and is immediately condemned as a sort

1. The Mu'tazilah in particular who were the 'Rationalists' of Islam.

of heresy, leading sometimes to an accusation of kufr (disbelief); which has dangerous consequences.⁽¹⁾

In respect to the Sufis, Trimmingham rightly remarks that "the masters of the Way were fully conscious of the danger of incurring the charge of bid'ah (innovation)"⁽²⁾ and "that there is nothing surprising in the order - leaders insisting upon observance of the Sharī'ah, since they believed that this was coexistent with the divine Unity. They simply claimed there was an outer and inner knowledge (al-'ilm al-zāhir and al-'ilm al-bātin). The ṭā'ifās tended, therefore, to be in an ambivalent position. They were rarely attacked on the grounds of belief, but usually on the grounds of deviation in practice."⁽³⁾ Then he adds: "The first concern of the founders and leaders of the ṭā'ifās was to assert their orthodoxy. This was simply obtained by the truly Islamic expedient of producing an isnād. In order to reject a reproach of bid'ah all a Shaikh needed was to demonstrate that he had followed the course of a well-known Sufi. He could then use the authority of his master and all the transmissory links right back to one of the first four Caliphs as a prop (sanad) for his teaching and practice."⁽⁴⁾

1. For a broader study of these principles see: D. H. Macdonald; Development of Muslim Theology, jurisprudence and constitutional theory. New York, 1903. The difference between the bid'ah and kufr is shown in al-Ghazālī's, Faiṣal al-tafrīqah bain al-islām wa al-zandaqah.

2. The Sufi Orders in Islam, p.148.

3. Ibid.

4. Ibid., pp.148-149.

From this quotation we may pick up two statements, both of them are unacceptable from our point of view, or at least in our Shaikh's case. The first is to judge that a sanad related to one of the four Caliphs was sufficient for obtaining orthodoxy, and secondly to say that the Sufis were criticised on the grounds of deviation in practice and not on the grounds of belief. In both cases Ahmad Zarrūq proves the contrary. He was a founder of an order and a profound Sufi with sanads to two, not only one, of the four Caliphs, and yet he was one of the harshest critics in the history of Sufism. He condemned not only the malpractice of certain Sufis, but was also concerned with their beliefs as well, something which shall be discussed later.

Apart from scattered passages of a critical nature to be found in most of his works, and in addition to his advice and precepts to his friends and followers, in his letters, to avoid bid'ah in any way, it is significant that Zarrūq devoted four of his main compilations to refute innovators and expose the dangers of innovation when travelling on the Way. In his 'Uddat al-murīd al-sadīq, al-Jāmi' lijumal min al-fawā'id wa al-mansāfi', and al-Naṣīḥah al-Kāfiyah liman Khaṣṣahu Allāh bi al-'āfiyah,⁽¹⁾ in his dealing with the right ideas and conduct of the Sufi Way, he includes, in almost every paragraph, an attack on those deviators from the Way and a bitter criticism of their belief and practice. The culmination of his criticism is in his al-Radd 'alā ahl

1. See the Catalogue, No.

al-bid'ah; a small, but very useful, pamphlet.⁽¹⁾

As an enthusiastic Sufi, aware of the purely Islamic nature of Sufism, as Zarrūq was, he went so far in his solicitude for the purity of the Way, as to approve the attacks of one of its most violent foes, i.e. 'Abd al-Rahmān Ibn al-Jawzī (d. 587/1191), and accept many of his points of view. He borrowed not only Ibn al-Jawzī's ideas, quoting them frequently, but also praised his famous book Talbīs Iblīs (The Devil's Delusion), and defended him against his opponents.⁽²⁾

In his al-Radd 'alā ahl al-bid'ah we see Zarrūq the reformer as much aware of the problems of the Sufis of his days, as he was that those problems faced him. But it was his responsibility, as a learned man, to protect the Sunnah and defend it, according to the saying of the Prophet: "He who revives my Sunnah, when my nation is corrupted, will be given the reward of one hundred martyrs."⁽³⁾ Then he launches a fierce attack on the innovators, especially of Morocco, on the grounds that "innovation is an affliction and a great calamity to this nation. It is one of the sins which are not redeemed except by remaining eternally in Hell. That is because they have deviated from true belief."⁽⁴⁾

He continues: "Our concern is with a particular clique which overran and spread throughout this our

1. See the Catalogue, No. LI.

2. See: al-Naṣīḥah al-Kāfiyah, p.18.

3. al-Radd 'alā ahl al-bid'ah, p.1. Cf. Jami' al-Tirmidhī/Imān.

4. Ibid., p.2.

Maghrib (Morocco) in both rural and urban areas, and much more in the rural areas. This was invented by certain people to benefit from rulers of this world. They started gathering the ignorant and vulgar, male and female, whose hearts are blank and whose minds are immature. They instilled into them from a religious point of view the belief that repentance is to be had by shaving the head, gobbling up food, gathering for the banquets, invoking by turn, utterances and cries, using the mantles and beeds, making a show of themselves, and holding that so-and-so is their master and there is no other master save him. They tour the country, and whenever they arrive at a populated area they start invoking by turn, as sheep and cattle are slaughtered for them. They move from one place to another, with their servants. Some of them on their horses. They assert that by this they revive and display religion, while they are persuading the vulgar to believe that the learned men are obstructing the way to God, and warn the ignorant against them. So they became enemies of the learned and learning. Yet they are disunited because of the plentitude of their Shaikhs, and ramified into different groups, each group drawn up behind its Shaikh, speaking ill of the other group and its Shaikh. Thus enmity and hatred occurred amongst the Shaikhs to the degree that each of them wishes to drink the blood of the other. That is because of the rulers of this world. They have sold the Hereafter for this world and led astray many of God's creatures and corrupted their faith. God said: 'Those who conceal what God has revealed of the Book and sell it for a paltry

price - they shall eat naught but fire in their bellies. God shall not speak to them on the Day of Resurrection neither purify them and there awaits them a painful chastisement. (1) (2)

As is to be expected, Zarrūq continuously has recourse, in his campaign against innovation, to the Prophetic tradition and the example of the companions, like Ibn 'Abbās, 'Abd Allāh b. Mas'ūd, and 'Abd Allāh b. 'Umar, to support his arguments. He also quotes much from early Sunni Sufis, such as al-Junaid, al-Tustarī, al-Muḥāsibī, al-Thawrī, and al-Faḍīl b. 'Iyāḍ, as well as from the famous Jurists like Mālik b. Anas, al-Shāfi'ī and al-Awzā'ī. The eminent Jurist-Sufi, Abū Ḥāmid al-Ghazālī, in his book Ihyā' 'ulūm al-dīn, was, of course, one of the Shaikh's main supports. From it he quotes the following symbolic story to denounce the innovators of his own days:

"Iblīs once urged his assistants at the time of the companions to tempt them. Coming back defeated he asked them: 'What is the matter with you?' They answered: 'We have never seen men like these. We cannot influence them and they have exhausted us.' He said: 'They are not within your reach, because they have accompanied their Prophet and witnessed the revelation. After them others will come and you will be able to affect them.' When the followers (tābiūn) came Iblīs sent his troops and again they returned to him defeated. He asked and they said: 'We have never seen stranger men than these; they commit sin after sin during the day, and when night falls

1. Qur'ān; 2:174.

2. al-Radd 'alā ahl al-bid'ah, pp.2-3.

they seek forgiveness and their sins change into good deeds.' He said: 'You cannot hurt them because of their right doctrine and adherence to the Sunnah of their Prophet. Wait for the men coming after them with whom you will be delighted and amuse yourselves. They will neither seek forgiveness to be forgiven, nor they will repent to have their sins changed into good deeds. You will lead them by their noses to their caprice (desire).' After the early centuries elapsed other men came full of desire and caprice, for whom Iblīs conjured up innovation and they were easy to tempt. They adapted it and considered it their religion. Neither did they seek forgiveness, nor repent of it. Thus the enemy leapt on them and led them wherever they wanted to lead."⁽¹⁾

All the same, and in spite of the fact that Zarrūq was so disgusted by the conditions of Sufism in those days, and although he justifies some of the hostile attitudes of the Jurists (ahl al-zāhir), nevertheless he warmly defends pure Sufism and defies any notion of its rejection as a whole, since "the hearts are united in their love for it, because it is so clean and the clean thing is easily stained. Therefore, whatever is attributed to it is counted against it by those who do not know its reality, and thus they deny it. They perhaps intend to prevent expedients (sadd al-dharā'i') in its case, since the reality of the sincere has become unknown because of the plentitude of the false claimants.

1. al-Radd 'alā ahl al-bid'ah, pp.3-4.

Thus calamity has become common with the peoples' love of this art, and when you love a thing you become blind and deaf [so that you do not notice its defects]. They fell - unaware - into the abyss of innovation, and the people of the exoteric sciences were angry with them and denied them altogether. It is wrong to be like that, for what emanated from the extreme Sufis (ghulāt al-Sūfiyyah) emanated also from the disapproved Jurists and Theologians. To disagree with the extreme does not imply refusal to admit right doctrine because of them, since the wrong word or deed rebounds on its utterancer or doer, while the correct good original doctrine remains unchanged."⁽¹⁾

In a chapter in his 'Uddat al-murīd, Zarrūq wrote on what ought to be followed or ignored of Sufi belief and conduct. He says:

"All that the worthy Sufis did, like al-Junaid and his followers, is one of two cases; either it stems from the Sharī'ah, and thus they must be followed like the companions and the followers (tābi'īn), or it is without origin in the Sharī'ah and here it should be ignored, because the Sunnah is an evident proof (ḥujjah) against the whole of the nation and none of the nation is a proof against the Sunnah. The Sunnah is infallible and he who practiced it [the Prophet] was infallible too, while the nation is not, unless they have a whole consensus (ijmā') and yet they must have legitimate (shar'ī)

1. Sh. al-mabāḥith al-aṣliyyah, p.160.

evidence to support it. The Sufis, like anybody else, are not infallible and are subject to mistakes and forgetfulness, major or minor sin, as well as innovation; reprehensible or prohibited... al-Junaid was once asked: 'Is it possible for the gnostic to commit adultery?' He bowed his head in silence for a while, then he raised it and said: "And the commandment of God is certain destiny."⁽¹⁾ This is a right thing to say, since if it is probable for others to commit sin it is possible for the Sufis to fall into innovation. Our duty, therefore, is to emulate him who is infallible and not to follow him who is not. We must compare what is related from the masters with the Book and the Sunnah. What is in agreement with them we accept, and what clashes with them we reject. We shall not be harmed, when the evidence indicates that we should follow the Lawbringer (shāri', meaning the Prophet), and refute what the Sufis say or do if not supported by the Sunnah. This is the recommendation of their truthful masters."⁽²⁾

In his search for conformity between the Qur'ān and the teachings of the Prophet on one hand and Sufism on the other, the Shaikh was concerned at all times with assuring the purity of the Way and its being unopposed to the Law. This led him to discuss many of delicate issues in respect of the individual's belief and action and throw some light on them.

1. Qur'ān, 33:38.

2. 'Uddat al-murīd, p.8.

One of the most important situations which was largely argued among the scholars of Islam is the difference between taqlīd (copying, or blind unquestioning adaption of ideas and action) and iqtidā' (emulation). The traditionists held, mostly, that we have to follow whatever the preceding masters did. We have to trace their steps and keep their traditions sacred and untouched. There is no room for any reformation whatsoever. Zarrūq, with all his respect for the preceding masters and with his critical spirit also, argues that this is not correct. Of course we accept the masters' authority, but at the same time we preserve our own right to use our reason in investigating everything reported to be said or done by them, follow the right authentic thing and refuse any forged ascriptions. This is called iqtidā', meaning to follow the good example after examining the idea or the action, which is the course acceptable to Zarrūq. But his attitude towards taqlīd is completely different. He, in fact, went in his rejection of taqlīd to the degree that he equated it to bid'ah. Thus he says in his

Tuḥfat al-murīd:

"The knowledge of Sufism is to be denied to one who has these four qualities: pride (kibr), innovation, a preference for appearances ('īthār al-mazāhir), and attachment to taqlīd. Pride is a seal (tāba') [on the heart], innovation is an affliction, the appearance is a veil, and the taqlīd is a hobbling rope."⁽¹⁾

1. Tuḥfat al-murīd, pp.3-4. Cf. 'Uddat al-murīd, p.33 and p.44.

In his distinction between the muqallid (that who copies blindly), and the muqtadī (emulator) he quotes Abū al-‘Abbās b. al-‘Irrīf’s saying: "The muqallid is he who, when he faces a problem, goes to the unauthoritative in the realm of the religion for advice, intentionally and deliberately. The muqtadī is that who, when faced with the same problem, goes to men of learning, honour and good judgement."⁽¹⁾

Not only this but we also find him reluctant to agree with Abū Ḥāmid al-Ghazālī in his acceptance of taqlīd as an approved means of attaining to faith, and trying to interpret al-Ghazālī’s statement in this matter as meaning that he wished to discourage the common people from being occupied with dangerous theological debate (‘ilm al-kalām).⁽²⁾ It is very significant also that our Shaikh ignored completely a whole passage of the ‘Aqīdah of al-Ghazālī, in which the Proof of Islam defends taqlīd,⁽³⁾ which Zarrūq neglected to record in his commentary on the ‘Aqīdah.⁽⁴⁾

1. Tuḥfat al-murīd, p.4.

2. Sh. ‘Aqīdat al-Ghazālī, Ms. Cairo, 20112 B, p.21.

3. In this omitted passage al-Ghazālī says, regarding this point: "... Compare the belief of the pious common people with the belief of the theologians and the disputants (al-mutakallimīn wa al-mujādilīn), you see that the belief of the layman is as firm as the high mountain, unmoveable by calamities and thunderbolts, while the belief of the Theologian... is like a string let loose in the air. The wind moves it hither and thither. Except him who has heard the proof of the belief and snatched it up by means of imitation (taqlīdan), as he received the belief itself by means of imitation. There is no difference in the taqlīd between learning the proof (dalīl) and learning (knowing) what is proven (maḍlūl)."⁽³⁾ Cf. Ihyā’ ‘ulūm al-dīn, Cairo, 1358/1939, Vol.I, p.100.

While the Shaikh was drawing a line between taqlīd and iqtidā', he had to discuss certain other relevant questions in this field; i'tiqād (belief), intiqād (objection) and tashabbuh (imitation); three important issues connected to each other.

As a Sufi, he would naturally consider i'tiqād (belief) in the Sufis and true Sufism as an indispensable element in the life of any good Muslim. Or as he put it "an element in every good", on condition that this belief does not lead to being deceived by pseudo-Sufis (ightirār). It follows that intiqād (objection is "an element in every evil."⁽¹⁾ This may sound strange, but the difference between intiqād (objection) and naqd (criticism) in Arabic⁽²⁾ makes it easy to understand the Shaikh's point of view. Here he quotes the saying of Shu'aib Abū Madyan: "Believe, do not object and do not trust anybody", and the saying of Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Maqqarī: "To believe is goodness and to object is a crime. Follow when you know and submit when you do not know."⁽³⁾ That is because "the foundation

(Footnote (4) from p.332).

4. Ibid., pp.20-21. In his Sharḥ ḥizb al-baḥr of al-Shādhilī Zarrūq gives a symbolic fable on the vanity of blind copying. "The wasp saw a bee building her hive." He says, "He copied her and built the same hive. Then he claimed the same virtues of hers. The bee said: 'This is the hive. Where is the honey?'" Sharḥ ḥizb al-baḥr, p.4.

1. Sh. ḥizb al-baḥr, p.50. Cf. Qawā'id al-Taṣawwuf, p.23.

2. Naqd is usually used to point out both the advantages and disadvantages of the subject, while intiqād means to disclose its bad aspects only.

3. Sh. ḥizb al-baḥr, p.50.

of Sufism is submission and belief, just as the foundation of Jurisprudence is inquiry and investigation. The principle in Sufism is the good opinion (ḥusn al-ẓann) until the contrary is confirmed, while the principle in Jurisprudence is the poor opinion (sū' al-ẓann) until the opposite is assured, and caution is essential in all cases... Anyone who believes in someone must not emulate him until he becomes sure of the correctness of his knowledge and religion."⁽¹⁾ Then he continues to conclude that "in these days we see many who pretend to be Sufi masters (mutamashyikhīn) without right and many who are attached to them without reality. Thus the followers are gambling with their religion and the claimants have lost the true sense of their faith. Some were content with mere denial (inkār), and some preferred submission (taslīm), while others were so fanatic in their belief in their ancestors that their ardent zeal led them to ruin and total loss."⁽²⁾

Regarding the question of tashabbuh (imitation), Zarrūq holds that "Whoever imitates other people is considered among them."⁽¹⁾ But if he does not practice their teachings he becomes far from being one of them, since to love the Folk without adherence is useless and vain. He who inclines to one of God's saints must imitate him in the principles of his Way... and believe that this man

1. Ibid., pp.50-51. Cf. al-Dārimī / libās.

2. Ibid., p.51.

3. A well-known Prophetic Tradition.

is one of the doors to God, wherefrom the breath of mercy comes unto him in accordance with his aspiration. He must seek God only, and when he venerates His saint he does so in order to please Him, since God is always present whether his protégé⁽¹⁾ is absent or present. The remembrance of God is the light of the hearts, and His contemplation is the key of the unseen."⁽²⁾

This imitation is often recommended among the Sufi virtues and benevolent action more than anything else. When the imitation of their dress (ziyy) is allowed, in certain cases, this dress should be regarded as an honour. Its wearer must avoid any kind of misconduct or any behaviour which would give the wrong impression about the Sufis. He must elevate himself above meanness and vileness and whatever decreases his value in the eyes of the people.⁽³⁾

The imitator (mutashabbih), at any rate, is one of three; either an admirer (muḥibb) whose reward is to be loved and welcomed in a friendly fashion, or a learner (mustanid) whose reward is to be respected, or a seeker (ṭālib) whose reward is to be advised and guided in the true Way.⁽⁴⁾ It is the responsibility of the master to

1. The word "protégé" is used here to designate the walī. It is more precise than "friend", as usually rendered in English. See: Trimingham; The Sufi Orders in Islam, p.135.

2. Sh. hizb al-bahr, p.51.

3. Ibid., p.52.

4. Ibid., p.52. Cf. Qawā'id al-taṣawwuf, pp.87-88.

display the true virtues and right actions of the Sufis, and to be a good example for the seeker. It is his duty, in short, to expound true Sufi teachings, unperverted and unmixed with that most dangerous thing: bid'ah.⁽¹⁾

Being the focus of his criticism, Zarrūq had to give his definition of bid'ah. In his most systematic work in this field, 'Uddat al-murīd al-ṣādiq, he gives this definition: "The reality of bid'ah, according to the Sharī'ah, is to invent a matter in religion which seems to be religious while it is not so."⁽²⁾ This looks like an obstacle to the development of the Muslim community if we take it literally, since, if any new thing introduced into the religious life of the Muslims were to be rejected on the grounds of being innovation, this would close the door in the face of any vitality in religious life as well as in ordinary everyday life. In order to permit a certain degree of spontaneous development and adjustment to the continuous process of change, our Shaikh confines bid'ah to the matters which clash with the Qur'ān and the Sunnah by "believing that what does not make one near to God, makes one near to God (i'tiqādu mā laisa biqurbatin qurbatan)."⁽³⁾ He holds that the word itself does not necessarily imply a total rejection of bid'ah in everything. That is because there

1. For more details see: Sh. hizb al-bahr, pp.52-54.

2. 'Uddat al-murīd, p.3.

3. Ibid.

are certain inventions, or let us say additions, in religion, which, although they are innovations, are accepted by the scholars of Islam. (1)

This is pursued, according to our Shaikh, by setting up three criteria (mawāzīn) by which it is possible to distinguish bid'ah and issue a judgement regarding its lawfulness or unlawfulness. The first criterion is the Sharī'ah itself, meaning the Qur'ān and the Sunnah. When the matter in consideration is not in contradiction with the Sharī'ah it should not be regarded as a bid'ah, although the two sources of the Sharī'ah did not say anything about it, and whatever clashes with the principles of the Sharī'ah must be refuted as a vain, erroneous innovation in respect to the action, disbelief and apostasy (ilhād) in respect to the belief. The second criterion is to look at the attitude of the earlier religious leaders, who knew very well the essence of the Sunnah, and trace their principles in this field. Whatever they have agreed on we accept, and we use our reason in whatever they have not agreed upon. The third

1. Zarrūq gives some examples of approved innovations (al-bida' al-mustaḥsanah) such as the prayer of tarāwīḥ in Ramadān which was invented by the Caliph 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, dotting the words of the written Qur'ān, and counting the number of tasbīḥ. Cf. al-Radd 'alā ahl al-bid'ah, pp.5-6. Abū al-'Abbās al-Tilimsānī al-Wansharīsī, a contemporary of Zarrūq, (d. 914/1508), distinguishes 129 items as between the approved and the rejected bid'ahs. See: al-Mustaḥsan min al-bida', an extract from al-Mi'yār al-mughrib of al-Wansharīsī, published by Heneri Peres, Algiers, 1946.

criterion he calls "discretion according to the evidences of the rules" (al-tamyīz bishawāhid al-aḥkām), i.e., the examination of the case in the light of the six rules⁽¹⁾ of the Sharī'ah and then classifying it as bid'ah or non-bid'ah.⁽²⁾

To conclude this classification and discernment of innovation, Zarrūq turns to discuss evil innovation. He divides it into three types:

(1) Plain innovation (al-bid'ah al-ṣarīḥah). This includes whatever is held to be against the teachings of the Qur'ān and the Prophetic sayings or actions. This is the worst of them all "even if it is supported by a thousand ascriptions (mustanaḍ) to the Uṣūl and the Furū'".

(2) The additional innovation (al-bid'ah al-idāfiyyah), and this is whatever is added to anything, which, if unmixed with it, there is no doubt that it is Sunnah, or at least not innovation. Most of innovations are of this kind.

(3) The debatable innovation (al-bid'ah al-khilāfiyyah), and this means whatever is subject to argument and debate. Some say that it is an evil innovation, while others consider it as Sunnah, as the case is with the invocation and litanies.⁽³⁾

1. Al-ḥalāl (lawful), al-ḥarām (unlawful), al-mandūb (recommended), al-makrūh (reprehensible), al-mubāḥ (condoned) and al-mustaḥabb (desirable).

2. 'Uddat al-murīd, pp.4-5.

3. Ibid., pp.5-6.

In his analysis of the origin of innovation among the Folk, Zarrūq states that "there are three reasons for the appearance of the pseudo-Sufis in this age and their leading the people astray towards innovation." He then explains: "The first is the decrease of the faith, because of ignorance of the true respectful attitude towards the Lawbringer [the Prophet], and because of the lack of the light of the faith which leads to following the Messenger (God bless him and give him peace). God has said: 'This is My straight path, so follow it. Follow not other ways, lest you be parted from His way,'⁽¹⁾ ... and Ibn 'Aṭṭā' Allāh said: 'It is not feared that you will be puzzled by the different ways. It is much more to be feared that you will be overcome by caprice', since as he said 'When caprice takes possession of the Soul it is a chronic disease to treat.' Or as one said: 'To carve the mountain with your nails is easier than getting rid of caprice if it is deeply rooted in the Soul.' Lastly God has said: 'Have not you seen him who makes his desire his god, and God sends him astray purposely, and seals up his hearing and his heart, and sets on his sight a covering? Who then will lead him after God?'⁽²⁾ Meaning that it is impossible to lead him aright, since vanity is deep-seated in his soul and he has lost the light of the faith in his heart, 'and he for whom God has not appointed a light, for him there is no light.'⁽³⁾

1. Qur'ān; 6:153.

2. Qur'ān; 45:23.

3. Qur'ān; 24:40.

"The second reason is their ignorance of the principles of the Way and their thinking that the Sharī'ah is contrary to the Ḥaqīqah. This is the major reason and the cause of all the heresy and heretic groups. Thus the ignorant Jurist does not hesitate to curse the Sufis and the ignorant Sufi does not hesitate to shun learning and its men and deviate from the Sharī'ah. Yet he sees this as a mark of perfection in his case, so much so that I heard a certain faqīr saying, when he heard a heretic anecdote about some heretic people: 'Following the outer way of the Sharī'ah leads to expulsion from the Ḥaqīqah.' This is complete ignorance, vanity, and disbelief. May God protect us!

"The third reason is ostentatiousness and love of pomp. Being so weak in both faith and action, and incapable of reaching the stages by which they might become real Sufi masters, they were obliged to invent things in order to attract the people, since the hearts are so moulded as to be pleased with the curious marvels (gharā'ib). In addition, most simple-hearted people are unaware of the right and the wrong and are eager to approve what seems to them good. They follow any who pretends to be so, supported by some Satanic miraculous coincidences, or by what his follower imagines by way of psychic pleasures (ladhdhāt nafsāniyyah), or by what he may achieve of supernatural phenomena. He thinks that all this is a revelation and a means of attainment and starts to

discard for its sake both the principles and the branches.⁽¹⁾ He starts to scorn customary matters and believe that such a marvelous stage is not to be attained except by what is amazing and that the rites ('ibādāt), as they are, do not lead to the goal except by adding extreme practices to them. He may succeed when he first appears. Thus his belief becomes a part of his path and he continues preaching it, leading the people into the wrong way. All this is a result of ignorance, yielding to imagination, and a lack of ascertainment for understanding. We seek safety from God!"⁽²⁾

In order to be more specific in what Zarrūq meant by bid'ah, he classifies innovations into three groups. The first is concerned with belief. The second is concerned with both belief and action. The third concerns action only. There is none better than Zarrūq to express himself. Let us read what he says:

"The first group is attached to the inner knowledge of Sufism. It is divided into three sections:

1) Those who are occupied with the subtle issue of unification and the ravings of ecstatic utterances (shaqāshiq al-shaḥāṭ) and the pursuit of the mere words of this science, like those of Ibn Sab'īn, Ibn al-Fārid, al-Ḥātimī and so on, without knowledge of the Way of these masters.

1. 'Uṣūl (roots or fundamentals of Islam); the Qur'ān, the tradition, Consensus (ijmā') and Analogy (qiyās). And Furū' (branches): a term used for Islamic law, civil, ceremonial, and religious.

2. 'Uddat al-murīd, pp.6-7.

They think that they have attained to what they have understood of these utterances and have ceased to examine what they imagine. They take what might occur to them of intuitive experience (dhawq fahmī) as a proof for their correctness, and this may affect their behaviour... that is if they were safe from holding wrong belief and being shameless towards Divinity and Prophecy... By this we do not defame those masters to whom they connect themselves, but we disapprove the acquisition of these utterances without the fulfilment of their requirements.

2) Those who are attached to the notions of states (aḥwāl) and stages (maqāmāt), the position of the Soul and sources of the realities (ḥaqā'iq). They think that there is nothing beyond this, and thus they scorn the worshippers and disdain the ascetics. They claim that theirs is the right way. Yet they are floundering in a matter from which their understanding is very remote. They have heard the words of the masters in this field and have claimed that they have attained to the same state. Abū 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Sulamī said: 'He who tells the anecdotes of some worthy ancestors and assumes them to himself undeservedly and becomes pleased with men's acceptance of him, is one of the most vile and corrupted of men, and one of the remotest from the ways of the truthful. How strange to be content with the others' lot!' The Prophet said: 'He who is proud of what he has not been given is like him who wears two dresses of falsehood (zūr).'⁽¹⁾

1. See: Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim / libās.

And God has said: 'And We shall turn to the work they did and make it like scattered motes.'⁽¹⁾ That is because they have credited themselves with states they have not, and their action is far from all sincerity. None can set foot on the carpet of the Truth save the truthful ones.

3) Those who are satisfied with the least they have of external knowledge (al-'ilm al-ẓāhir), have strayed by what they understood of interior knowledge (al-'ilm al-bāṭin). They preach it, repulsing whoever should disagree with them and favouring whosoever agrees with and follows them. They have made knowledge a means at their service, though they might be ignorant or thinking much of themselves, until they fall into abysses of error, such as permitting some prohibited things (muḥarramat) and committing certain forbidden things (munkarāt). This might lead them onto being impressed with what they think or do and to fancy that they are on the right track. Yet they do not hesitate to attribute to the Prophet certain ideas in order to suit their evil aims.

The second group is attached to states (aḥwāl). It is divided into three sections:

1. Qur'ān; 25:23.

1) Those who claim that they see the men of the Unseen (rijāl al-ghaib) like al-Khaḍir⁽¹⁾ and his colleagues. They tell mere lies, or they are, at least, enmeshed in a Satanic imagination, and thus come to a complete loss. I have heard some of them say that al-Khaḍir is a sent Prophet (nabī mursal)... and that some of them follow him as a Messenger. They consider the Qur'ānic verses about al-Khaḍir and Moses a proof in favour of al-Khaḍir. This is vain indeed, since Moses (Peace be upon him) was under obligation to submit (yusallim) to al-Khaḍir's doings, not to follow him and do the same things he did. Moses was asked to be patient and see the causes of the deed and its meaning, not to adopt the example of al-Khaḍir. Yet, suppose that al-Khaḍir is a prophet, is not the Sharī'ah of Muḥammad the last one, abrogating whatever other sharī'ah?

2) Those who claim extinction (fanā') in God and free disposal (taṣarruf) without any (sense of) obligation. With a few psychic touches ('āthār nafsāniyyah), acquired-

1. Regarding the character of al-Khaḍir, Trimmingham writes: "Vision of that mysterious of Islamic gnosis, al-Khaḍir is important, especially in respect of saintship and the founding of a new ta'ifa. Generally identified with Ilyās (Elias) as the servant of God, conductor and instructor of Moses of Sūrā 'the cave' (XVII, 64-81), al-Khaḍir possesses ḥikma (wisdom) and al-ism al-a'zam (the greatest Name), knowledge of which confers saintship and ability to do supra-natural things... Naturally the opponents of mysticism had no use of this concept. Ibn 'Aṭā' Allāh quotes Ibn al-Jawzī as denying the existence of al-Khaḍir." (The Sufi Orders in Islam, pp.158-159).

The Qur'ān, in fact, does not mention al-Khaḍir by name, and this mythological personality deserves a separate full study, with all its origin, development and impact on Islamic thought.

Zarrūq, however, although he does not deny this figure explicitly, he does so implicitly by refuting the stories related to him and deploring those who believe in such tales. (Cf. Kunnāsh, pp.9-10).

as they say - from abstraction (tajrīd) and union (jam'), the ignorant thinks that he is in possession of the real signs (marks) of the gnostics ('ārifīn). They commit sins and do evil, and their influence upon their followers is so great that the poor ignorant fellow thinks that they have attained to the highest stage... When he is blamed and shown the right way in this respect he may say: 'You do not know. This master is the possessor of a truth and you are the possessor of a way. These are matters of experience not to be known by learning.' All this is mere ignorance and vanity.

3) Those who claim ecstasy (jadhb).⁽¹⁾ They behave like mad men, and their ecstasy has become for them a matter of habit. Thus it has become difficult for them to accept the customary things and right conduct, especially when they see how the ecstatics (majādhīb) are accepted by the laymen. That is because the vulgar are much in favour of this sort of men. They love them and look after them. Most of the majādhīb oppose learning and knowledge, as well as work and action, in order to be regarded as having completely abandoned this world, which they have not... Some learned men said: 'I was in doubt concerning these people until I became sure that they are mad men. The mad man is not even religiously responsible, how then could he be a walī?'

1. That is to be "possessed" as a result of ecstasy (wajd) springing from invocation (dhikr) in the dervish style. "When possessed," says Trimmingham, "the majdhūb was not responsible for his works and actions. He could do and say things which would be blasphemous if said by others." (The Sufi Orders in Islam, p.150.)

"The second group is attached to actions (a'māl). It is divided into three sections:

1) Those who are conquered by laziness and idleness, who, although their souls incline to the Folk, adopt the easy dispensations of the Way such as audition (samā') and congregation (ijtimā'). They are interested only in decorated rags, embellished rosaries, and faked walking-sticks. They boast about their dress as women do. And if they are blamed they say: 'We are content, in following the Folk, with imitating their costume, since he who imitates certain men is one of them.' If it is said to them: 'This is an unworthy aspiration on your part,' they reply: 'You are in the blessing of the State and we are in the blessing of the costume!' This is due, in fact, only to their idleness and laziness.

2) Those who are concerned with the public affairs in order to attract the common people. To do so they have to mingle with the despots (zalamah) and seek leadership among the people. This has led them to acquire the means for it, and thus they have been occupied with the vanities of 'ilm al-kunūz'⁽¹⁾ (science of treasures), Alchemy,⁽²⁾ the secrets of the letters,⁽³⁾ and so on. They became busy

1. Searching for hidden treasures, said to be buried by ancient people, not to be discovered except by special talismans and charms.

2. Arabic Kīmyā'. According to Kashf al-zunūn, learned Muslims are not agreed as to the existence of this occult science, nor are they of one opinion as to its lawfulness, even if it should exist. (Hughes; A Dictionary of Islam, p.13). This is true since Alchemy was believed to be a method for transforming base metals into gold. But from a symbolic standpoint it has its value and own interpretation. (See T. Burckhardt; Alchemy, science of the cosmos, science of the soul, London, 1967).

3. By arranging the letters in particular manner in tables and squares, they produce the hoped results through magical power, they say.

with magic and occult sciences... Mingling with the rulers led them to believe in the Fāṭimī,⁽¹⁾ waiting for his appearance and expecting his time...⁽²⁾ Many of the learned men say that the time of the Fāṭimī has passed and that he was 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz⁽³⁾ and others. This is a very ambiguous matter indeed and to think of it is wrong, since it is very confusing and there is no need for it. Suppose - with all the catastrophes emerging from

1. Meaning al-Mahdī al-Muntazar (the awaited rightly one), or the Imām (Leader) who will appear one day, according to the common belief, to rule the world and "fill it with justice as it is now full of injustice." This idea of the Saviour dominated the Shī'ī mind for centuries and played a very important rôle in the Shī'ah's policy and creed. It has, however, its root in the Persian, Jewish and Christian backgrounds, as Bernard Lewis says. "The Jewish and Christian belief in the sanctity and ultimate triumph of the royal house of David, through the anointed Messiah, the Zoroastrian expectation of a Soashyans, came with those who were converted to Islam and were embodied in the belief in the Mahdī, a descendent of the Prophet through his daughter, Fāṭimah." (Cf. Bernard Lewis; The Assassins, London, 1967, pp.22 ff.)

In the course of time even the Sunnīs accepted the possibility of the appearance of the Mahdī and many political movements rose in his name. Even in the modern times the idea has not been effaced. The famous Muslim thinker, Jamāl al-Dīn al-Afghānī, says that "all the Muslims except Ibn Khaldūn, and a few others, the number of whom is very limited, have unanimously accepted the authenticity of the Prophet's sayings regarding the Mahdī." He adds: "The expectation of a Mahdī is so intense among Muslims every time they find themselves in difficulties, or their religion is threatened or a foreign power is dominating them, that they resemble a man lost on a dark night in a vast desert awaiting with impatience a star which might guide him." (Cf. Elie Kedourie; Afghani and 'Abduh, London, 1966, p.50).

2. 'Uddat al-murīd, p.16.

3. The famous Umayyad Caliph (d. 720/1320). He has been considered the most just ruler in the history of the Caliphate after the Rāshidīn. He was much celebrated for his piety and uprightness.

this belief - that the Fāṭimī is at the gate of your city. How can you forget the pledge of allegiance (bai'ah) to its ruler in your heart? You cannot revolt against him because of this pledge. This is if the Fāṭimī is true. How is it then when the whole issue is not confirmed and might never happen?

3) Those who endeavour to attain their aim through devotion and ascetism and see real sincerity in excessive worship. Satan tempted them by certain innovation which spoiled their devotion and made their hopes fallacious, by taking restriction upon themselves and suppressing their natural needs. They follow their caprice by opposing what is customary and contradicting the religion of Muḥammad with all its easiness and tolerance. They perpetrate dreadful and perilous errors of which some are prohibited and some are reprehensible, following in this the practice of the People of the Book.⁽¹⁾ Thus they fall into what the Prophet predicted when he said: 'You will follow the practice of those before you, span by span and cubit by cubit, until even if they went into the hole of a lizard you would go into it after them.' They asked him: 'The Jews and the Christians, O Messenger of God?' He said: 'Who else?' The (hole of the lizard) here symbolizes the restriction and the difficulty which they hold as the right way. It is nothing, in fact, but evil

1. The Christians and the Jews, as they are usually called in the Qur'ān. (See the Qur'ān; Sūrāhs: 2, 3, 4, 5, 29, 33, 57, 59 and 98, in many verses).

in this world and a torment in the Hereafter, and a result of suspicion (waswās), pedantry and hypocrisy. They say that the Way is founded on severity and hardship not on rest and easiness, following some of the late Persian masters⁽¹⁾ who used to treat their disciples in such a manner. This is a special case not to be taken as a rule."⁽²⁾

It has been stated before that Zarrūq criticised the extravagant Sufis in both their belief and action. It is impossible, of course, to separate them from each other, for no action, actually, is to be considered without belief, and no belief is to be carried out without action. We are going to throw some light on his conception of the right belief of the Sufis and then give some examples of his criticism in these two domains.

In one of his Principles of Sufism (Qawā'id al-taṣawwuf) concerning the correct belief of the Sufis, Zarrūq writes:

"Regarding their belief in Divinity (rubūbiyyah) they do not believe except in God's absolute transcendence (tanzīh) and the negation of comparison (tashbīh)... Regarding Prophecy (nubuwwah), they do not believe except that it is confirmed and is above anything which does not suit its perfection... Regarding the Hereafter

1. Zarrūq does not specify these Persian masters. But it is known that Persian Sufis were severe in their practices, specially during periods of retreat.

2. 'Uddat al-murīd, pp.12-19.

(al-'akhirah) they do not believe except in the truth of what was told [by the Qur'ān and the Prophet] about it, as it was told, without any discussion of its details."⁽¹⁾

This is, in fact, Islamic dogma, pure and simple, and thus Zarrūq wanted it to be. He wanted no fuss, no confusion, no deviation from this dogma. The simplicity of Sufism, as he saw it, was in great danger of becoming subject to alteration and strange ideas. To be a Muslim Sufi one has to adhere, first of all, to the dogmas of Islam, otherwise he might be something else other than a Muslim.

Many alien ideas, he says, had infiltrated into Islam, and the extravagant Sufis bear a large measure of responsibility for allowing these ideas - consciously or unconsciously - to infiltrate.⁽²⁾ Thus they had been rightly under attack by the Muslims as they were understood. That is because certain Sufi masters were so bold in their expressions that the first impression of their utterances (shathāt) were necessarily misunderstood, and accordingly they were considered as heretics or even

1. Qawā'id al-taṣawwuf, pp.28-29.

2. See: 'Abd al-Qādir Maḥmūd; al-Falsafah al-Ṣūfiyah fī al-Islām, Cairo, 1966, pp.440-605 and R. A. Nicholson; "Mysticism", Legacy of Islam, London, 1968, pp.215-224.

disbelievers.⁽¹⁾ The sayings of a certain Sufi; "I am the Truth,"⁽²⁾ for example, might suggest ittiḥād (oneness) or ḥulūl (incarnation),⁽³⁾ which expression must not be accepted at all, though it might be interpreted in its utterancer's favour, if it is possible, to avoid branding him as a disbeliever or a deviator.⁽⁴⁾ Al-Ḥallāj, Ibn

1. In Egypt, in the mid-fourteenth century the directive given by the Mamlūk authority to the Shaikh al-Shuyūkh affirms that the only way to God is through the Qur'ān and the Sunnah as embodied in the Shar'. The Shaikh "shall censure anyone who inclines towards belief in ittiḥād or ḥulūl or claims that it is possible to attain God by any way other than that defined by the Prophet." (The Sufi Orders in Islam, p.162).

This decree which was issued by the Mamlūks indicates that these subtle ideas of the Sufis, concerning the relationship between God and His creation (see the chapter on the Way according to Zarrūq), were so widely spread among the common people that the authority was obliged to take a strict position towards them. No doubt these ideas continued to exist until the next century in Zarrūq's lifetime. (See: Qawā'id al-taṣawwuf, pp.51-52. Cf. Ibn al-Jawzī; Talbīs Iblīs, p.164).

2. The famous utterance of al-Ḥallāj. It is very odd that Zarrūq ascribes this utterance to "a certain Sufi." But we have to note that our Shaikh always avoided condemnation of al-Ḥallāj by name.

3. "The distinction between ḥulūl and ittiḥād," says Trimmingham, "is that between the Hallājian doctrine of al-ittiḥād al-mu'īn, the union of God with the individual (ḥulūl must not be confused with the Christian doctrine of incarnation) and al-ittiḥād al-'āmm al-muṭlaq, the absolute union of divinity and the universe, professed by Hindu pantheists." (The Sufi Orders in Islam, p.162).

On this distinction see: Massignon; La Passion d'al-Hallaj, Paris, 1922, and R. A. Nicholson's article "Ittiḥād" in Encyclopaedia of Islam.

4. Qawā'id al-taṣawwuf, p.52.

al-Fāriḍ, Ibn 'Arabī, al-Shushtarī, and Ibn Sab'īn were no doubt great masters and scholars. Perhaps they reached stages and were in states where they were unable to find adequate words to express themselves in a proper way. In their cases we try to justify their utterances and writings, but not, at any cost, to accept and follow them as they appear outwardly, since this would confuse the common men and may lead to catastrophic results."⁽¹⁾

An attitude of awe towards Divinity must be preserved at all costs, and the position of Servanthood ('ubūdiyyah), must be observed all the time. Any belief, therefore, or hint which may indicate some sort of comparison or anthropomorphism (tajsīd) in respect of God must be rejected at once. This is applicable to any alteration in the words of invocation, like saying "Nothing is but God" (laila illa Allāh)⁽²⁾ instead of the authorised form of invocation (there is no god save God. Muḥammad is the Messenger of God).⁽³⁾ To observe the position of Servanthood, it is mere heresy and innovation to call upon Almighty God; Yā huwa! (O He!), since this is a call of familiarity, discourteous towards the Divinity.

1. Sh. 'Aqīdat al-Ghazālī, p.10, al-Naṣīḥah al-kāfiyah, p.16. Cf. Ibn Mājah / fitan.

2. A form of invocation adopted by Ibn Sab'īn and his followers. (Cf. D. S. Morgoliouth's article "Shaḥḥ" in Encyclopaedia of Islam). Zarrūq, in fact, attacked Ibn Sab'īn indirectly by criticising his ḥizb al-salām and others of his ambiguous expressions, on many occasions in his 'Uddat al-murīd and Sh. ḥizb al-baḥr.

3. al-Naṣīḥah al-kāfiyah, p.16.

Whenever Zarrūq deals with any of the principal Sufi ideas he distinguishes between the real meaning of these ideas and the current belief developed by vulgar conceptions. It was very hard for him as a Sufi to reject all peculiarly Sufi ideas, as it was very difficult for him also as an intellectual Jurist to accept the common beliefs and action held and practiced by the majority of Sufis in his days. Thus he was obliged to take a moderate conciliatory attitude by which he was trying to purify Sufism from vulgarism and show its sublime innermost teachings unmixed with common belief.

The concept of the Walī, for example, was regarded as one of the highest stages to which the Sufi aspires in the Way. He was considered a "friend" of God, a close friend in fact. Zarrūq does not reject the wilāyah, of course, but he regards the walī, more or less, a "protégé" of God more than anything else. The walī must be respected, well treated, and venerated according to the holy tradition (ḥadīth qudsī):⁽¹⁾ "He who hurts a walī of Mine is declaring war against Me." The problem is, in his opinion, that it is very difficult, if not impossible, to know whether this or that person is a walī or not, since the wilāyah is mostly a secret between God and His chosen servant.⁽²⁾

1. A Prophetic Tradition in which God speaks in the first person.

2. This notion was a matter of dispute in early Sufism. See the Risālah of al-Qushairī, (p.174), where he discusses it and expounds the different opinions about it.

There is no other alternative, therefore, but to interpret this tradition as meaning all of the believers without distinction. That is to respect all those who believe in God, including the walīs, since "every believer might be walī of God according to God's saying: 'God is the Protecting Friend of those who believe.'"⁽¹⁾

This leads to another Sufi idea which dominated the life of Sufism and was considered as one of the proofs of the wilāyah, namely, the karāmah (a miraculous achievement favoured by God by which the walī proves himself.)⁽²⁾

Although the Shaikh accepts the possibility of the karāmāt (plural of karāmah), he has his reservations about them. "The karāmah for ^{the} walī", he says, "is related mainly to the miracles of the Prophet whom he follows, since the walī, in fact, demonstrates the speciality (ikhtisās) of the Prophecy and the correctness of following the Prophet. That is why he can challenge others with his karāmah".⁽³⁾ As the Prophets were capable of performing miracles (mu'jizāt), the walīs are able to bring about graces (karāmāt).⁽⁴⁾ But in the case of the walī we have to distinguish between two things: the real karāmah and the false one, which is called istidrāj (literally, bringing about by degrees, step by step). The first is

1. Qur'ān; 2:25. al-Jāmi' lijumlah min al-fawā'id wa al-manāfi', p.7.

2. See: R. A. Nicholson; The Mystics of Islam, p.122.

3. Tuḥfat al-murīd, p.13.

4. Cf. Abū al-Qāsim al-Qushairī; al-Risālah, Cairo, 1940, p.174.

for those sincere, true walīs who follow the Book and the Sunnah, and the second is for the pseudo-Sufis, the innovators. They are aided by Satan, and permitted by God, to drift recklessly in their vanity and error. God has said: "We surely bring them down, step by step, from whence they do not know."⁽¹⁾

According to our Shaikh, supernatural performances do not prove anything or indicate the reality of any individual. Indeed, its performer should not be followed, for the simple reason of the probability of being caused to slip by Satan. Nor must he be favoured and regarded above other believers because of the privilege of performing karāmāt, since "privilege (maziyyah) does not necessarily imply preference and emulation (iqtidā') is not right save of those who have perfect knowledge and perfect religion."⁽²⁾ The Shaikh continues to argue: "If privileges are causes of preference one might prefer Iblīs to the common believer. Iblīs has the privileges of perforating the air, walking on the water, penetrating the earth in a moment, and seeing us from whence we do not see him."⁽³⁾ It becomes necessary also to prefer al-Khadir to Moses, which is a gross error."⁽⁴⁾ Not only

1. Qur'ān; 7:182 and 68:44. See: al-Radd 'alā ahl al-bid'ah, pp.14-15 and Sh. al-Mabāḥith al-aṣṭiyah, p.152.

2. Qawā'id al-taṣawwuf, pp.126-127.

3. Qur'ān; 7:27.

4. Qawā'id al-taṣawwuf, p.127.

Iblīs, in his opinion, is unparalleled in this field, but many of the disbelievers had been enabled to achieve such praeternatural phenomena, as what happened to the Sāmīrī⁽¹⁾ when he threw the jewels into fire and got a mooing calf out of it. The Numrūd,⁽²⁾ who claimed to be god, flew high in his ark (tābūt), and the arrows he threw to kill the God of Abraham returned blood-stained to him. Zarrūq concludes: "If these extraordinary things appeared to such wicked, misled men, how is it possible for a sane man to be deceived by them?! Abū Yazīd al-Bisṭāmī said: 'If you see a man flying in the air be not amazed by his action until you see him also fulfilling the ordinances and avoiding what is forbidden.'"⁽³⁾

In an ironical question regarding one of the most wide-spread beliefs among the Sufis, i.e., performing Pilgrimage by khuṭwah⁽⁴⁾ (step), Zarrūq asks: "Is it compulsory then for the men of the khuṭwah, when the road to Mecca is risky, to perform Pilgrimage? And if they have done so do they expect to be rewarded for their action or not?!"⁽⁵⁾

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1. Mentioned in the Qur'ān (10:85-97) as the person who made the golden calf for the Children of Israel. According to al-Baiḍāwī, his name was Mūsā b. Zafar of the tribe of Samaritans. (See: Hughes; A Dictionary of Islam, p.564).
 2. Or Nimrūd, the persecutor of Abraham, in both the Islamic and Hebrew religious heritages. See: Dictionary of Islam, pp.433-434.
 3. al-Radd 'alā ahl al-bid'ah, p.15. In 'Uddat al-murīd (p.81) Zarrūq states: "When you see such a man flying in the air, say: 'You are a magician' by your admission and say: 'May God avail us by you' in your hearts. Thus you become safe from his evil and gain his benefit."
 4. Cf. R. A. Nicholson; The Mystics of Islam, p.124.
 5. Sh. al-Waghliṣiyyah, p.

The real karāmāt, he ends, are two: that of belief in more certitude and contemplation, and that of action in following the right Way without claim or pretention. He who has these two karāmāt and longs for anything else is like him who is honoured to meet the King in his court, and yet longs rather to serve his horses in the stable. The real karāmah, in short, is "repentance without persistence [on the sin], action without abatement, sincerity without consideration [of the result], certainty without hesitation, and trust without weakness. No more than that."⁽¹⁾

Just as the Shaikh criticises the distortion of the meaning of the wilāyah and the karāmah, so he also rejects the famous Sufi hierarchy⁽²⁾ on much the same grounds of its secrecy, if not nonsense.

"You hear them saying: so-and-so is perfect and so-and-so is imperfect. So-and-so is at such a stage and so-and-so has attained to such a rank. So-and-so is far away from such and such. So-and-so is a quṭb (Pole), while the other is a ghawth (Succourer), and the third is one of the abdāls (Substitutes). All this is only because of shamelessness, lack of courtesy and occupying oneself with nonsense. Whoever says such things is a liar, untruthful and pretender, particularly when he adds to it a denial of certain truthful men or claims what he has nothing of all this. He is the one of whom God says:

1. Sh. al-Ḥikam, pp.295-296.

2. See: Nicholson; The Mystics of Islam, pp.123-124.

'And who does greater wrong than he who tells a lie against God, and denies the truth when it reaches him?' (1) (2)

The foregoing pages might have given the reader an idea about the criterion of Zarrūq's criticism. He is not against the principle itself, so long as it stands undistorted. But he rejects any misunderstanding, any misinterpretation, and any extravagance. The following two examples may clarify this point, regarding Sufi practice, as the preceding brief discussion above was concerned chiefly with some of their beliefs.

One of the most well known teachings of Sufism is tawakkul⁽³⁾ (trust in God), meaning to be confident in His care and attention, and to be sure that He does not neglect him who depends on Him. The idea itself corresponds with the full confidence in God and the Islamic faith in His omnipotence and direct rôle in the individual's destiny. When it is properly held it gives man the courage necessary to face the problems of life and enables him to meet whatever befalls him with a high morale. What worried Zarrūq, and many others, was the distortion of the meaning of tawakkul into tawākul (indifference). Most of the Sufis held that to be a real mutawakkil (dependent on God) one has to abandon all worldly activities and devote oneself entirely to God Who will take care of one, ensure one's food and

1. Qur'ān; 39:32.

2. Sh. hizb al-bahr, p.65.

3. See: al-Qalābādihī; al-Ta'arruf limadhhab ahl al-taṣawwuf (translated by A. J. Arberry as The Doctrine of the Sufis), Cambridge, 1935, p.73 and 92.

provide him, by various means, with the requirements of his livelihood. God does not forget His devoted servants, they say, why do we bother ourselves with thinking, work and all the effort, while He is looking after us?⁽¹⁾ This passive attitude towards life did a great harm to the cause of Sufism, in particular, and Islam in general. It has its roots in those ascetics at the beginning of Sufism and is, obviously, a misunderstanding of the tawakkul.

The word which Zarrūq used to designate this tenet is tajarrud (literally, abstraction or being stripped of worldly affairs = unworldliness). The opposite he calls tasabbub (seeking ways and means of living). He was much concerned to clarify both of these expressions:

"To be sincere with God" he says, "the servant must stay where his Lord has placed him. He must not pay attention to anything except what the Lord has directed him to; tajarrud or tasabbub, riches or poverty without falling in unlawfulness or sin, and without being harmed... Many who were mutasabbib and left work on the grounds of trust were afflicted with begging from the people and

1. See the Risālah of al-Qushairī, pp.82-88. Al-Qushairī himself holds that "the place of tawakkul is in the heart, and seeking external means does not contradict it in the heart, when the servant believes that everything is destined by God. When he finds it difficult, that is because of His will. When he finds it easy that is because He made it so... A man went to the Prophet on his she-camel and asked him: 'O Messenger of God! May I leave it and trust in God?' The Prophet said: 'Hobble it and trust in God'." (p.83).

hoping for their charity. Many who were mutajarrid and sought other means for their livelihood were afflicted with sins and errors."⁽¹⁾

As satisfaction (riqā) with God in all circumstances is essential for the Sufi, as also contentment (qanā'ah), the real tajarrud is allowed only when the man has the means to support his life, far from being in any need of others' help. That is "when he finds rest from the people and is safe from them in his belief, and has got a sufficient provision for his livelihood from lawful sources. He who has not got these sources must seek ways (asbāb) of living and go to work."⁽²⁾

We have seen in the previous pages how Zarrūq condemned those fugarā' of the Zāwiyahs for their laziness. They usually justified their idleness by following tajarrud. But this is not so. "When 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb⁽²⁾ saw a man worshipping in the mosque he asked him: 'From where do you eat?' The man said: 'My brother brings me food.' 'Umar said: 'Your brother worships better than you do.' He saw another and asked him the same question. The man replied: 'The people see me in the mosque and they bring me food.' 'Umar hit him with his club on the head." Then the Shaikh asks: "Did not the Prophet say that the upper hand is better than the lower hand?"⁽³⁾ Did not he say: 'It is better for any of you to take his rope and go gathering firewood than begging from the people, some give

1. al-Jāmi' lijumlah min al-fawā'id wa al-manāfi', p.2.

2. al-Jami', pp.2-3, Qawā'id al-taṣawwuf, p.59.

3. Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim / Zakāh, Muwaṭṭa' Mālik / ṣadqah.

him and some withhold.?'"(1)

This leads to the idea of ghinā (independence) and faqr (indigence), (2) and the possession of the worldly properties. Against the common conception Zarrūq holds that the possession of these properties does not mean the lack of spiritual virtues. The real mistake is to consider them important and worthy of concern. As this world is like a snake, it is not a matter of skill to kill the snake. The real skill is in holding it while it is alive. (3) And let us not forget that a grateful rich man is equal to, if not better than, a poor man. (4)

The other issue, which was a wide subject of dispute and a point of attack by the opponents of the Sufis, is samā' (audition). While the dogmatic Jurists held that audition (samā') is unlawful and connected it with pagan practice, (5) the Sufis saw it as a means of affecting the feelings, by using music and love of poetry and even dancing and psychomatic techniques as instruments of ecstatic withdrawal. (6)

1. Sh. al-mabāḥith al-aṣliyyah, p.148. Bukhārī / Zakāh.

2. Or wealth and poverty.

3. Qawā'id al-taṣawwuf, p.106.

4. That is because one of God's attributes is ghinā, while faqr is not. This implies that the former is preferred to the latter. (Qawā'id al-taṣawwuf, p.105).

5. See: Ibn al-Jawzī; Talbī Iblīs, pp.237-238.
Trimingham: The Sufi Orders in Islam, p.195 ff.

6. Von Grunebaum; Classical Islam, p.194.

Here we find Zarrūq in an ambivalent position. He does not reject audition altogether and consider it unlawful, since listening to music and singing are not forbidden in Islam,⁽¹⁾ and there were many of the pious who used to attend samā'.⁽²⁾ At the same time he sets many conditions on its performance by the Sufis, such as avoiding obscene songs, any exhibition of affection, the presence of women, using certain musical instruments, the feigning of ecstasy, and so on.⁽³⁾ But, as he says, audition is one of the dispensations (rukhaṣ)⁽⁴⁾ of Sufism, which may be permitted in special cases in particular circumstances. When the faqīr is attracted to it, and he cannot help attending it, he is allowed to do so, "provided that he keeps to its conditions in time and place, and preserves the obligations of Islām, 'Imān (Faith)

1. Qawā'id al-taṣawwuf, p.80.

2. 'Uddat al-murīd, p.93, Qawā'id al-taṣawwuf, p.81

3. 'Uddat al-murīd, pp.93-94. F. C. Happold states in his Mysticism, after giving numerous definitions of mysticism in Christianity, that "We can put aside immediately all those false types of so-called mysticism such as spiritualism, occultism, and the like... We may also dismiss as inadequate and misleading such phrases as 'All religion is mystical'. Mystical experience may take more than one form. It is, however, a quite definite and recognizable form of experience. Nor need we concern ourselves with visions and states of ecstasy... they are, however, usually regarded with some suspicion and are in no way an essential element in mystical experience." Mysticism, p.38.

4. Rukhaṣah (dispensation, indulgence) is an aspect of the Sufi life such as everyday necessities, as the holding of private assembly (ḥaḍrah) at which they hold concerts (samā'āt) and indulge in jesting (mizāh), and dancing (raqṣ). It may cover the use of rosary, neglect of mosque attendance, and non-observance of ritual prayer during a period of 'uzlah (retirement). The Sufi Orders in Islam, p.193.

and Iḥsān (Virtue)".⁽¹⁾ Otherwise, audition must be avoided as far as possible.⁽²⁾

What infuriated the Shaikh and made him incline to the prohibition of audition was the exaggeration which converted it from a method of effecting the feelings into a means of leisure and amusement. The innocent practice of the old Sufis who sought harmony between the Spirit and the body through the abstraction of melody,⁽³⁾ became a manifestation of lust and an expression of hysteria which "the souls of the ignorant yearn for, the hearts of the heedless are fond of, the idle prefer, the inactive get benefit from, the reality of the insane is full of, the interior of the maniac responds to, the afflicted men are totally in its favour, the deceived are impressed by, the extravagance of the promoted (mustadraj) is increased, the hearts of the pretensors incline to, the whole of the oriented (mutawajjih) is cut with, and the insight of the seeker is damaged by."⁽⁴⁾

From the Shaikh's point of view, there is no harm in congregating for invocation. There is no harm even in moving with rythm in invoking God's Names,⁽⁵⁾ in solemn

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1. 'Uddat al-murīd, p.93.
 2. Ibid. Al-Junaid used to attend audition then he ceased to do so. He was asked: "You used to attend then you left audition, why?" He answered: "From whom?" They said: "From God." He asked: "With whom?" They said nothing. (Qawā'id al-taṣawwuf, p.84).
 3. Qawā'id al taṣawwuf, p.84.
 4. 'Uddat al-murīd, p.92.
 5. For the movements in invocation see: Massignon, "The Idea of the Spirit in Islam", The Mystic Vision, pp.20-21, and al-Sanūsī; al-Salsabīl al-mu'in, passim.

manner and in a quiet way.⁽¹⁾ But this should not mean the use of poetry and singing, together with cries and shouts, dancing and whirling, swinging and jumping, because of the manifestation of ecstasy and false attraction.⁽²⁾

In reply to the argument that all this stirs up the feelings and moves the emotions, the Shaikh says that all this was practiced by the idolators⁽³⁾ and has nothing to do with the pious feelings. "Al-Riyāḍ b. Sāriyah (one of the Prophet's Companions) said: 'The Prophet once preached to us an eloquent sermon. We burst into tears and our hearts were full of fear.' He did not say: 'We shouted and screamed', or 'We hit our heads and our chests', or 'We danced', as many of the ignorant of these days do."⁽⁴⁾

As it is his custom, to refer to and quote worthy men of the past, Zarrūq recalls here the saying of the famous Companion, 'Abd Allāh b. Mas'ūd, who when he passed by a group of men invoking together in a loud voice, said: "By God! You have excelled the Companions of Muḥammad in knowledge! This was not their practice and they knew better than you."⁽⁵⁾ And when Mālik b. Anas was told about how audition was held he wittingly asked: "Are they

1. Sh. al-Waghlīsiyyah, p.121 and Qawā'id al-taṣawwuf, p.76.

2. Cf. F. C. Happold; Mysticism, a study and an Anthology, London, 1963, p.38.

3. Cf. Qur'ān; 8:35 (And their worship at the (holy) House is naught but whistling and hand-clapping).

4. al-Radd 'alā ahl al-bid'ah, p.8.

5.

mad?" Also, Ibn 'Arabī said: "Audition is not acceptable to any Muslim these days, and no master who approves of it and practices it should be followed."⁽¹⁾ Lastly, when Abū al-Ḥasan al-Shādhilī was asked his opinion about audition, he said: "I asked my master about it and he said: 'They indeed found their fathers astray. But they make haste to follow in their footsteps.'" (2) (3)

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There is no end to the issues in which Zarrūq was a bitter critic. In every page of his 'Uddat al-murīd al-ṣādiq, and in his other works mentioned above, he expresses his anger towards the Jurists of his days and the pseudo-Sufis alike. In his rejection of the occult sciences which penetrated into Sufism through Gnosticism, in his attempt to heal the misunderstanding between the Sufis and the Jurists, in his earnest desire to introduce the Way pure and in conformity with the Law, the Shaikh mainly blames the Folk for the mischievous conclusions drawn by the learned out of their belief and action.

"The claimers in this Way are numerous", he says, "because of its strangeness (gharābah). The minds cannot grasp it because of its subtlety. Its people are often rejected because of its delicateness. Good advisors have warned against travelling in it because of the many

1. Qawā'id al-taṣawwuf, pp.76-83.

2. Qur'ān; 37:70.

3. Qawā'id al-taṣawwuf, p.83.

pitfalls in it, and the leaders of religion have written against its people because of what perverse men have invented in it."⁽¹⁾

It is impossible here to discuss all that for which Zarrūq reproaches the innovators, or what he considers to be wrong attitudes on the part of the so-called Sufis. But it might be useful to relate here the main issues which were held and practiced by them, and which provoked his wrath, as he categorised them. "Those matters by which the calamity has become universal," as he says, and none of them has anything to do with true Sufism:⁽²⁾

- 1) Sciences of Treasures and Alchemy. 2) Seals (khawātim), Amulets, Letters and Talismans. 3) Spiritua-
lism ('ilm al-rūḥānī). 4) Astrology. 5) Seeking the
greatest Name (al-ism al-'aḡam) and the properties of the
Names. 6) Seeking the educator Shaikh (al-Shaikh al-
murabbī) by aspiration and state (bi al-himmah wa al-ḡāl).
- 7) Being deceived by any claimant. 8) Being occupied
with useless sciences. 9) Suspicion (waswasah).
- 10) Claims made in order to attract followers. 11) Cursing
those who deny such things, even though they are among the
learned men of the nation. 12) Assumption to oneself of
the stages of the Way. 13) Hypocrisy in utterances.
- 14) Delving into problematic issues, such as the Spirit.
- 15) Exploiting knowledge as a proof for them not against

1. Qawā'id al-taṣawwuf, p.126.

2. See: 'Uddat al-murīd, pp.77-87.

them. 16) Revealing to laymen the subtleties of Sufism. 17) Paying attention to what is supererogatory and the negligence of what is obligatory. 18) Preference of their own interests and benefits. 19) Public audition and the exhibition of pseudo-ecstasy. 20) Seeking blessing among the graves and through the dead.

Two main points remain to end this chapter, and they may help to sum up Zarrūq the critic. The first is his attitude towards other critics of the Sufis, and the second is the nature of his own criticism.

Concerning the first point he writes in one of the principles in his Qawā'id al-taṣawwuf: "The books which have been written to refute the Folk are useful in being careful against blunder. But they are not beneficial except on three conditions:

1) Good intention in the author, by belief in the correctness of his ijtihād (independent judgement) and that he meant to prevent expedients (ḥasm al-dharā'ī'), even if he was harsh, like Ibn al-Jawzī.

2) Overlooking his mistakes by interpreting his words in his favour, since the critic is not infallible as the walī. also commits sometimes slips of tongue and lapses, because he is not infallible either.

3) That the critic must examine himself first and must not judge all of the Folk by the same criterion. He also must not display their faults to those who are not travellers in the Way, since this shall disturb his

belief. If he must do so, he ought then to reject the saying without specifying its author whose honour must be preserved. That is because to conceal the lapses of the masters is a requisite and to preserve the religion is obligatory. He who advocates God's religion will be rewarded, and he who supports it will be granted triumph. But fairness for the sake of the truth is necessary in all cases."⁽¹⁾

The second point is that our Shaikh was a constructive critic. His stinging expressions and harsh words were motivated by his vigilant concern for the Sufis and Sufism. When we read Talbīs Iblīs of Ibn al-Jawzī, or one of Ibn Taimiyah's pamphlets against the Sufis, for instance, we find that they attack ruthlessly for the sake of attack. Zarrūq's criticism was, on the other hand, full of sympathy and solicitude. In his works he was as much a guide to the right Way as he was a critic of the wrong one. He does not deplore, reject and neglect those deviators. Instead, he offers them the means of ridding themselves of their defects. Here are his suggestions concerning "the means by which innovations will be eliminated", as he says, "and by which its adherents will go back in the right direction." He summarises them under three headings:⁽²⁾

"The first is restoring the faith in a way leading to the observance of the Lawbringer's (the Prophet's)

1. Qawā'id al-taṣawwuf, p.131.

2. See: 'Uddat al-murīd, pp.7-8.

respect in anything he ordered or forbade, by being perspicacious in religious issues. God has said: 'And whatsoever the Messenger gives you, take it. And whatsoever he forbids, abstain therefrom,'⁽¹⁾ and He said: 'And let those who conspire to evade His orders beware lest grief or painful punishment befall them,'⁽²⁾ and He said: 'Say: This is my Way. I call on God with sure knowledge, I and whosoever follows me...'⁽³⁾

The second is the following of God's commandments in everything the traveller encounters in the Way. This cannot be done except by watching his movements in order that he may do nothing without knowledge or the emulation of him who is worthy to be emulated, such as a pious learned man or a pre-eminent faqīh.

The third is knowing the principles of the Way which he follows or intends to travel. They have been prevented from attainment because they have lost the principles. The principles of the Folk are based on the Book and the Sunnah. This is the rule of the Way, its principle and the authority accepted by them all. Abū al-Qāsim al-Junaid says: 'This our science is founded on the Book and the Sunnah. He who does not listen to the ḥadīth and sit with the fuqahā' and receive his instruction from the learned, will harm whoever follows him, and following him is unlawful.' Al-Shiblī was asked once about Sufism. He answered: 'It is to emulate the

1. Qur'ān; 9:7

2. Qur'ān; 24:63

3. Qur'ān; 12:108

Messenger of God (peace and blessing be upon him).¹ May God lead us all aright!"

To sum up, it is evident that Zarrūq regards Sufism as a personal Way, confined mostly to the élite, not a common idea and practice to be held by anyone.⁽¹⁾ There must be the proper aptitude and the necessary receptivity in order to travel on this Way. Besides this aptitude there are two important things which are indispensable for any traveller, and his success in passing through it depends on them. Firstly there is the sincere orientation (ṣidq al-tawajjuh),⁽²⁾ or intention, which controls his inward being and guides him always, from his first step. Without this sincerity nothing can be achieved, and he will be a mere imitator without reality in his belief in the Way and its requirements. Secondly, the traveller has to be fully equipped, or at least acquainted, with correct knowledge of the religious rules which governs his outward being. Being ignorant in religious affairs leads to many mistakes and mischievous results.

1. Cf. Abū Ḥāmid al-Ghazālī; al-Maḍnūn bihi 'alā ghairi ahlihi. Zarrūq naturally does not mean to keep the teachings of Sufism secret within a closed circle. He means to preserve the value of these teachings - particularly those delicate and subtle ones - by barring them from laymen who have not the capability to understand their hidden meanings, and who are the cause of much misunderstanding of Sufism. As Jesus said: "Verily I say unto you, Oh ye apostles! Do not hang pearls over the necks of the pigs," or as the Prophet said: "Do not give wisdom (ḥikmah) to the unworthy, lest you be unfair to it; neither veil it from those who are worthy, lest you do them wrong." (Uddat al-murīd, p.88).

2. Qawā'id al-taṣawwuf, p.

Sufism is not a profession. It is not a badge for certain men to distinguish them from other people. It is not for following superstition, without using our reason. It is not mere foolish practice without understanding. Sufism is the climax of man's endeavour to reach the Truth, for the loftiest Example,⁽¹⁾ the sublimity of the Spirit, by attaining to the third complementary sustenance of the servant's existence before the Lord, maqām al-iḥsān, in the spiritual realm, after realising in full the other two aspects of this existence; maqām al-'īmān, concerning the correct faith in his heart, and maqām al-islām, regarding his external practice and relationship with his brothers in humanity.

1. Qur'ān; 30:27. "He is the most sublime Exemplar in the heavens and the earth. He is the All-mighty, the All-wise."

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