A STUDY OF THE DEPENDENCE UPON al CHAZĀLĪ's
I F Y A'
OF THE INTRODUCTION AND THE FIRST TWO
"PILLARS" OF THE PERSIAN
KĪMĪYĀ-Ī-SĀʿĀDAT

by

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the Faculty of Arts.

PREFACE.
The author of Don Quixote makes his hero say and do some very foolish things, but there is at least one speech which he puts into the mouth of the knight which would command the assent of students in all ages and of most languages. Don Quixote, after lamenting a degenerate age which was little inclined to remunerate laudable studies, speaks of the problems which arise in the course of translation from one language into another, and observes that, very often, such works of translation are "... like presenting to view the wrong side of a piece of tapestry, where, though the figures are seen, they are obscured by ends and threads, and have none of the pleasing smoothness and even texture which the right side exhibits" (1).

In our present study we propose to reveal the dependence of part of a Persian text upon an Arabic original. This, in itself, presupposes some attempt at translation or interpretation, but any fears which might have been aroused concerning those unsightly loose ends and threads which translators - so Don Quixote says - are apt to leave around were quelled at the outset of our study by the assurance of the author of the Persian Kāndīyā i Sa'ādat (2), found on the opening pages of that work, (3), that he, the author of the Persian work whose dependence we are concerned to establish, is also the author of the original Arabic work, the Iḥyā' 'Ulūm al-Dīn (4).

(1) Chapter 85. The life and adventures of Don Quixote.
(2) Referred to hereafter by the symbol "K".
(3) Found on page 5 of the Teheran text of K.
(4) Referred to hereafter by the symbols "I.D."
The author of K. then informs us that he is presenting a statement of matters which are to be found in his work I.D. in a form which the common man may understand.

In our study of K. therefore, we are neither concerned with a translation undertaken by some person other than the author of the original work, nor are we offered in the Persian text a literal translation of all that the original work contains, but rather a work of interpretation of the contents of the original. We thus have the writer's assurance that he, the author of the original Arabic work, now proposes to provide from the materials found therein an "Intelligent laymen's guide" to the topics which, one assumes, have been dealt with at greater length in the original Arabic work, I.D. (5).

We have therefore, prima facie, excellent reasons for assuming that K. depends on I.D. in some fashion, since the author has made it his business to tell us so at the outset. Such appeals to the authority of I.D. are, as a study of the references given below will reveal, not confined to the introductory pages of K.

The writer of K. however, does not regard I.D. as being his only source for the work he presents. In the introductory passage which we have already mentioned he also claims that another work of his, Jawahir al Qur'an, also supports his teaching at that point (6). His dependence upon I.D. here is therefore not complete and, in the course of this thesis we shall have occasion to refer to parallel passages in the Imlā' an al Ishkālāt and al Ma'ān al Saghir (7), both of these being works by al Ghazālī.

(5) I.D. is appealed to as being the work of the same author as the Persian K. in the following places in the Tehran text of K.: 33, 73, 212, 217, 220, 222, 606, 635, 656, 668, 680, 691, 692, 776, 802, 803, 875 (bis).
(6) K. refers to Jawahir al Qur'an on page 220, also.
(7) See footnote (1) page 35 K. and footnote (1) page 46 K.
Other works referred to as being from the pen of the author of K. and which are also works of al Gharîb, are the Bida'ah al Bida'ah (8), the Muhkmat al Ansâr (9), and the Ma'ârif Asma' Allah (10). These works are appealed to as providing a deeper insight into matters which are touched on by K.

To search all these works for passages which we have not been able to find in I.D. would have increased the already considerable labours of this thesis. Some of the relatively few passages not found in I.D. have been found in the Imlâ' and the Ma'nîn al Saghir, and we have noted them, acknowledging the sources which provided this information for us. (11). Apart from these works and some reference to the Persian Naftat al Muluk (12) - which, we believe, is dependent upon K. to some extent - we have limited our searches to I.D. and have been content to indicate the dependence of the Introduction and first two "pillars" of K. upon I.D.

It will, we trust, be readily apparent from a study of the following pages, that the dependence of K. upon I.D. is of two kinds. Firstly, along with K.'s selection of I.D. passages there is a quite literal dependence of the Persian upon the Arabic original. This will be apparent in most passages found in the first two "pillars" of K. and in a few parts of the Introduction of K. The second type of dependence is a dependence upon the ideas found in I.D. which are developed and presented with greater force and cogency in K. We shall find that in most instances, this latter kind of dependence is evident in the Introduction of K. which is, indeed, an essay on spiritual themes found in I.D. and elsewhere.

(8) See K. pp 212, 217.
(9) See K. pg. 50.
(10) See K. pg. 28 and footnote (2).
(11) See K. 35 footnote (1) and K. 46, footnote (1).
(12) See our introductory note to Pillar Two, Section Ten of K.
We shall also find that while there is an obvious dependence of the first two "pillars" of K. upon I.D., yet the arrangement of I.D. is not by any means adhered to at all points. There are also a number of instances where not only are materials drawn upon which are to be found in books of I.D. other than the particular book under discussion at that point, but stories and traditions from other volumes are drawn upon in order to support the argument. We shall, in actual fact, have to point to volumes three and four of I.D. as being the source of certain materials which are included under the topics of the first two "pillars" of K. We shall refer to these matters again in the course of our final observations and merely mention them now in order to give some indication of the nature of the dependence which we have in mind in this thesis.

It has been our aim, in presenting the materials found in K., not to offer a translation of the Persian, but merely to offer sufficient information to allow a reference to be made to I.D. and to establish the fact of K's dependence at that point. Where stories are reported which, mutatis mutandis, are found in I.D., we have merely referred to the person who is the central figure in the story or, when there is no possibility of confusion, indicated the authority for the story. Care has been taken to ensure that no confusion could arise in this respect and where two stories are connected with the same person, both stories being found on the same page of I.D., sufficient detail has been added to make the reference quite clear. By this method we have been able to offer a fair summary of the argument and content of more than half of K. and also of a great deal of volumes one and two of I.D.

The above observations apply to the first two "pillars" of K. but, in our treatment of the Introduction to K. we have been obliged to follow a different method.
The Introduction to K. is, as we have already noted, an essay on the spiritual themes of I.D. which the writer felt, no doubt, should be treated separately in this way. Since it is more discursive than the original passages to be found in I.D. and elsewhere, we found it best to indicate the main lines of the argument of the Introduction rather than allow that argument to be obscured by the reflections and asides of the writer of K. Here we are satisfied to indicate the dependence upon I.D. and other works of the main lines of thought of the Introduction to K.

There is one other point which arises in connection with the title of this thesis. We have specifically referred to the Persian K. We have done so because there is an Arabic كتاب - also ascribed to al-Ghazali - which bears the same title as K. (13). M. Bouyges (14) suggests that this Arabic K. is little more than a résumé, in Arabic, of the first of the four sections of the Introduction to the Persian K. We would merely add that not all of the Arabic K. is based upon that part. For example, the Ghazalian doctrine of the resurrection in accordance with man's "spiritual" form is to be found in the fourth part of the Introduction to the Persian K. (15)

A Turkish version of K, translated into English, has also been examined (16). It consists of five chapters. Four of them, are, in content, similar to the four parts of the Introduction to the Persian K. which we are dealing with here. There is also a fifth chapter in the Turkish version which has as its subject the love of God. In this fifth chapter we find the substance of the first part of section nine, "pillar" four, of the Persian K.

(13) Our copy included with a number of small works ascribed to al-Ghazali under the heading of Jawahir al-Ghazali (Egypt A.D. 1934)
(14) M. Bouyges, Essai de Chronologie... p.137
Not only are these summaries and fragments of K. to be found but we have also found a reference to what, it would seem, must have been an early translation or summary in Arabic of the whole of the Introduction and the four "pillars" of the Persian K.

M. Bahjat al Athar, writing about the works of 'Imam al Min al Qurashi al Iqbehim, notes that the latter refers to a work of al Ghazali, translated in two volumes from the Persian into Arabic, which consists of what appears to be the Introduction to the Persian K. (four parts dealing with the knowledge of self, of God, of the world and the future life) and also four "pillars" (17). 'Imam al Min al Qurashi is also reported to have declared that this translation was made in 576 A.H. at the command of "al Qadi al Fadil". We have tried to establish contact with the learned contributor of this article but have not been successful. Without some examination of his authority for this statement we could hardly attach a great deal of credence to it. If we could discover the source it would provide testimony to the fact that such translations were being made from a work such as that which we know as the Persian K. within seventy years of the death of al Ghazali.

While noticing translations and summaries of parts of the Persian K. it may be appropriate to mention a translation by Claude Field entitled "The Alchemy of Happiness by al Ghazali" (18). This consists of passages, skilfully arranged, from various parts of K. We shall have occasion to note that this work, although not without merit, is not always a reliable guide to the thought of al Ghazali (19).

(17) Volume 4, part 1. Majallat al Majma' al 'Ilm al 'Iraqi.
(18) Wisdom of the East Series. London, 1910. In the course of this study we have referred to translations of parts of I.D. by Macdonald, Bauer, Bercher and Bousquet.
We have not made reference to any of Field's selected passages because we feel our own summary is sufficient to establish the dependence upon I.D. - and other works - of the parts of K. that we have under review in this thesis.

We have been embarrassed at times, rather than helped by the fact that two printed texts of the Persian K. are available. One was printed in Bombay, in 1321 A.H. The other is the Teheran text with an Introduction and explanatory notes by 'Alamad Aram, to which we have already referred. The nature of our embarrassment will be appreciated if reference is made to pages 23f of the Teheran text of K. and the corresponding passage on pp 11f of the Bombay text. In this small section alone the texts differ in sixteen places, some of the phrases in the Teheran text being omitted in the Bombay text.

At a great many points the vocabulary of the Bombay text has been "arabicised", no doubt with a view to commanding it to Indian Muslims, and this suggests that it has been edited rather freely. We finally decided to make the Teheran text the basis of this study, not entirely because of its intrinsic merits, but because we found support for its content and vocabulary in an early British Museum manuscript of the Persian K. (20). This manuscript bears, in its colophon, the date 644 A.H. (A.D. 1246), and it brings us to within a hundred and forty years of al Qanatl's death. We felt that it was unlikely that an earlier Ms. of K. would be available, and, despite its imperfections, it has been of immense value in determining the original text at certain points where we had difficulty with the Teheran text (21).

(20) B.M.Ms. O.R. no. 11923.
(21) It is obviously the work of two or three hands, the materials represented on pp 1-23 of the Teheran text having been added at a fairly recent date to the B.M.Ms. The Ms. has suffered from water damage at some period. We have noted one extensive lacuna in it (See footnote (1) to K. page 275). The fact that there is a lacuna in both the B.M.Ms. and Teheran text at one point is interesting (See footnote (1) to Teheran K. page 345). This may be a coincidence or it may point to a common textual ancestry.
It has been of great help to be able to use this early Ms. alongside the Teheran text of K., and the fact that we have found them to be substantially in agreement on all the important doctrinal matters which we shall be noting in the course of our study confirms our opinion that these materials are derived from a source which is very early indeed and which takes us to within a century and a half of al Ghazalī's lifetime. (22).

We shall be noting the dependence of the Introduction and the ensuing nineteen sections of K. (found in the first two "pillars") upon I.D. and other works. Since it is unlikely that we may have an opportunity to mention these things later on it is perhaps opportune for us to notice the relation which exists between the whole of the four "pillars" of K. and the four volumes of I.D. The arrangement of the first volume of I.D. - apart from a change in the order of the first and second books as found in I.D. - adhered to in K. in the first "pillar". The order in the second volume of I.D. is followed by K. up to the last book, where in place of I.D.'s eulogy of the Prophet Muhammad, K offers a short section on Advice to Princes.

The first book of volume three of I.D. deals with the wonders of the heart. This book has not been used here in K., such matters having been dealt with presumably in the Introduction to K. (22).

We have used the Cairo text of I.D. (printed in four volumes in 1352 A.H., with the Imāmi etc. in the margin). We found that the Edinburgh University Ms. of I.D. supports this text at one point where K. has a different reading from that found in I.D. Cairo (See footnote (1) to K. page 355). The Edin. Univ. Ms. Or. 394 is dated 751 A.H. (A.D. 1357). The Lucknow lithographed edition of I.D. - which supports what we regard as the earlier and genuine tradition represented by K. (footnote (1) page 355) in this disputed passage - is based on Mss of I.D. which are not earlier than the 17th century, i.e. those of Aligarh, Rampur, Asaf, Bankipur and Calcutta. See Brockleman, Supplement, Vol. I, pg. 748 (25). This is an instance where Mss. of a later date may have preserved a more reliable text and we do not suggest that, because our B.M.Ms. of K. is an early one it must therefore be absolutely reliable. We have already given some indication of its defects.
In the Introduction to K., we note that K. refers the reader to book one of volume three of I.D., should he desire further information on these matters (23). K. adopts a different arrangement of the I.D. materials in volume three of that work. The first section of "pillar" three of K. corresponds to the second book of volume three of I.D. The second section of "pillar" three of K. corresponds to book three of volume three of I.D. This continues in a regular manner so that the sixth section of "pillar" three of K. is parallel with the seventh book of volume three of I.D. At this point, the eighth book of I.D. — which is a rather lengthy book in the Arabic text of I.D. — is divided by the writer of K. into two parts in order to furnish him with the materials for his sections seven and eight. After this, sections nine and ten in "pillar" three of K. deal with the same topics as books nine and ten of volume three of I.D.

Sections one to four of the fourth "pillar" of I.D. are derived from materials to be found in books one to four of volume four of I.D. After this point there is a re-arrangement in K. Materials in the fifth section in K. are drawn from book seven of I.D. The sixth section of K. is based upon book eight in I.D. The seventh section of K. is derived from book nine of I.D. The eighth section of K. is derived from the fifth book of I.D. The ninth section of K. is derived from the sixth book of I.D. and the tenth section from the tenth book of I.D.

We propose to follow the arrangement of K. throughout this thesis, giving the pagination of K. in the left-hand margin and the parallel passages of I.D. in the right-hand margin. Our observations upon the nature of the dependence of K. upon I.D. and other relevant matters will be found under our concluding observations.

(23) See footnote (2) page 33 of K.
In concluding this preface it is a great pleasure to be able to acknowledge my debt to all who have helped me to bring this work to its conclusion. The staff of the British Museum have shown an unvarying kindness and interest in this work, both during my rare visits to the Museum and in the course of my correspondence with them. I am also very grateful to the University of Edinburgh, both for the opportunities afforded me for these studies, and the many kindnesses I have received from the teaching and administrative staff during the past six years. Finally, I wish to express my gratitude to my tutor, Dr. W. M. Watt, who, knowing of my interest in the works of al Ghazali, first suggested that a work of this kind might be undertaken, and who has given of his advice and counsel throughout its long progress.
TRANSLITERATION.

Not represented at the beginning of a word.

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<th>Author</th>
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<tr>
<td>al Athari (M.B.)</td>
<td>Art. on 'Imād al Din al Qurashi, in Majalla al Majma' al 'Ilm al 'Iraqī, Vol. 4, part 1.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Calverley (E.E.)</td>
<td>Worship in Islam. (Trans. with commentary, Vol. 1, Bk.4 of Iḥyā’). Madras, 1925.</td>
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al Ghazālī

Luknow lithographed edn. 1869.

Kīmiyā al Sa‘ādat (Arabic, Pub. in al Jawāhir
al Ghazālī, pp 5–19.
Egypt. 1343/1924.

Kīmiyā ‘i – Sa‘ādat (Persian). Text with Introduction and
Notes, ed. by A. Arfān,
2nd imp. Teheran 1333 A.H.
Lith. Text with notes, Fath al
Karīm Press, Bombay 1321 A.H.
B.M. Ms. Or. 1123.

Kitāb al Arba‘in fī ḤaḍĀr al-Dīn,
2nd ed. Cairo, 1344 A.H.

Kitāb al Ilm‘ ‘an Ishkālāt al İhya‘. Found on margin of Cairo 1352 A.H. text of İhya‘.

Nasīṣat al Mulūk. Edited with Introduction and
Notes by Jalāl Humā‘ī. Teheran. 1317 A.H.
al Tibr al Masbūk fī Naṣīṣat al Mulūk.
B.M. Ms. Or. 1528.

Goldziher (I)


Grant (R.M.) & Freedman (D.N.)

Haidī (S)
The Larger Persian-English Dictionary,

The Larger English-Persian Dictionary,


al Hujwīrī


Jabre (F)


Jarrett (H.S.)


Lane (E.W.) = Arabic-English Lexicon. 8 parts, London (1863-93).


al Qur’ān (1) = Korān textus Arabicus. Recensuit indicesque... G. Fleugel, Lipsiae (1869).


(1) For convenience this has been rendered Qurān throughout.
Watt (W.M.)


Wensinck (A.J.)

Concordance et indices de la tradition Musulmane. Leiden (1936-).

La pensée de Ghazālī. Paris (1940).
INTRODUCTION

to

K.
1. The praise and magnification of God and prayers for the Prophet.

Man was not made in jest but for some great end. Although he is not from everlasting, yet he lives for ever.

Man's body is made from the earth, but his spirit (1) is lofty and lordly. Man is, in his composition, an amalgam of beast, wild beast, and devil, but he may be purified, in the crucible of affliction, from lust and anger and attain to the loftiest rank of the angels. He then becomes fit to serve God - which is an angelic quality and the highest rank to which man may attain.

Paradise for him then is the vision of God. That Paradise in which fleshly appetites are satisfied becomes mean and unworthy in his estimation.

Base metal becomes gold by means of alchemy and, by means of the alchemy of tribulation and correction, man is transmuted to this status. This alchemy, which brings man his true happiness, is the theme of this book and we have entitled it therefore The Alchemy of Happiness.

The alchemy which brings eternal felicity to man is the noblest of all.

3. Section.

Just as the science of alchemy is not the concern of any old woman but is the province of kings, so also the alchemy of happiness is not to be found anywhere.

3. It comes from the treasury of divinity. The divine treasury consists of angelic substances (1) in heaven and the hearts of prophets on earth.

Quotation of Sūrah 50.21.

One hundred and twenty four thousand prophets have been sent into the world in order to teach this alchemy, and to show how evil morals may be purged from the hearts of men.

Quotation of Sūrah 62.2.

This verse refers to the purification of man from evil habits and the clothing of man with angelic attributes. The alchemy we speak of consists of a turning of men towards God and away from the world.

Quotation of Sūrah 73.8.

This verse refers to the breaking off of relations with other things, and the placing of oneself at God's disposal.

Table of Contents follows here.

4. The works entitled Jawahir al Qurān and I.D. are from the pen of the author of this book and further information on these topics will be found in those works. This book has been written in Persian so that the common man may understand these things (1).

5. The First Constituent in this Alchemy is Knowledge of Oneself.

To know oneself is the key to the knowledge of God.

Tradition. Whoever knows himself knows his Lord.

Quotation of Sūrah 41.53.

If a man does not know himself then what can he know of another?

There is none nearer to man than himself.

3(1) Jawahir (plural of Jawhar). See art. D.jawhar. Ency. of Islam. See also Sprenger D.T.T. art. Jawhar for further details about al Ghazāli's use of this word.
al Ghazāli justifies his use of such philosophical terms as "substance" and "accident" in I.D. 1/107f.

5(1) Reference to Jawahir al Qurān and I.D. as works by the author of K. The purpose of this book is to inform the common man on these topics.

9(1) It is not said to be a tradition in 3/2 or 4/23 nor is it found in Wensinek's Concordance etc. Massignon mentions it as an Ḥadīth Qudāt in his Lexique... p 127. It is not in K.I.S.
The same things however, might be said of animals, and they also resemble man in respect of lust and appetite. Man is obliged therefore to enquire into his quiddity, ask himself wherein his happiness lies and why God has formed him?

Some of man's attributes he shares with animals, some with wild beasts, some with devils and some with angels. In which of these categories does man come? (2)

Animals, wild beasts and devils find pleasure and satisfaction in certain things but the happiness and the nourishment of angels lies in the vision of God. Man must therefore strive in order to ensure that this angelic principle gains supremacy, and he too enjoys the vision of God. The other qualities referred to have been implanted in man so that he might control and use them, one as a mount, the other as a weapon etc.

Section One.

Man consists of an outer body and an inner self which is also called the soul and the heart. This inner self - unlike the body - is invisible.

This inner self is man's quiddity and all other parts of man are servants for it. This quiddity we call the heart, and when we speak of the heart we mean the quiddity of man. We also call this quiddity the spirit.


For this description of man see also under Section Seven, K.p 17.
This heart, unlike the heart of flesh is invisible and the heart is able to know God and to see His glory. Man should strive to know the quiddity of the heart i.e. of himself. In its essence it is angelic and it will return to the divine presence from which it came.

Section Two.

What proof have we of the existence of the heart? Should a man close his eyes to the outer world he yet remains conscious of himself. At the last, man will be out of the body and will still be conscious of himself.

By "heart" therefore, we mean the spirit which subsists without the body, - a subsistence of which we are aware.

Section Three.

What is the quiddity of the spirit and what is its peculiar property? The Prophet has not commented on it (1).

The spirit is of the divine command (Sūrah 17.87). We have no permission to add to this. We note here that, elsewhere, God distinguishes between the world of command and creation. See Sūrah 7.52. The verb "create" means to measure. Measurement is not associated with man's heart, and the heart therefore, is not susceptible of division.

The spirit is a created thing and belongs, on the one hand, to the world of creation, on the other it belongs to the realm of God's command. The "world of command" may be described as the source of those things which cannot be measured.

12 (1) Note the doctrine of the spirit in section three above. For comments see art. Müz, Sprenger D.T.T. especially page 547.
It is an error to speak of the spirit as being eternal from the beginning. It is also an error to speak of it as being an accident, for an accident does not subsist by itself. Neither is the spirit a body, for a body has parts and the soul (1), by comparison, cannot be divided.

There is a spirit which is divisible and which is the property of animals, but the spirit of which we speak here is the heart (2) and it is the locus of the knowledge of God - and this is not found in animals. The spirit is neither a body nor an accident, but it is a substance (3) of an angelic kind. We have no permission to discuss its quiddity.

To find knowledge one must be subject to discipline.

Quotation of Surah 29:69.

Before speaking of the spirit also one must undergo a complete discipline.

Section Four.

The body is under the heart's dominion and the senses and members are under the command of the body. Through its control of the body, the heart controls the five outer senses. It also directs the five inner senses of thought, reflection, memory, imagination and recollection. These then are the armies of the heart and they obey the heart just as the angels obey God.

Section Five.

The body is a realm. The hand and foot are the craftsmen therein, desire is the agent and anger is the chief warden. The heart is the king of this realm and reason is the prime minister (1). Desire fights against reason, and so the king must check it and give heed to reason, placing the other powers under its direction.

13 (1) Soul = Žan in the Persian
(2) N.B. here "soul" is identified with heart and spirit. The soul is also described as an exquisite substance in I.D. 3/203.
(3) Gauhar = Jauhar. See K.p.3. footnote (1)
15 (1) N.B. the relation between heart and reason, here and in sections Six to Nine below
Section Six.

Desire and anger minister to the body and nourish the sense organs. The senses inform reason and reveal to it the wonders of God's creation.

Reason then serves the heart by providing that light in which it may see God. Thus reason provides the heart with the vision of God's glory. The heart, engrossed in this, then serves God.

Quotation of Surah 51:56

The heart must employ these parts and powers in order to attain to bliss. After the senses have informed reason, memory keeps a record of these things. When there is any rebellion in the realm, then reason, the prime minister, must wage war against it, thus ensuring the soundness of the entire realm.

Section Seven.

Man's disposition is compounded of four kinds of qualities: those of animals, wild beasts, devils and angels. Man may be swayed by his appetites and follow the direction of the first three among the above, but when he follows his reason he behaves like an angel.

Tradition (1). The Prophet said that there is a devil appointed for every man....

Man must establish the dominance of his reason in order to find happiness. If he fails at this point, then evil habits will bring misery to him and he will be in subjection to a pig, a dog or a devil.

Section Eight.

Man's morals are formed in accordance with the powers which control him. When the pig, the dog and the devil are subject to him then the qualities of patience, self-control, wisdom and knowledge etc. will be found in him.

17 (1) See art. Hadith. Ency. of Islam.
The heart is a mirror of light, bad morals being the smoke and darkness which obscure it and shut out the vision of God. Good moral qualities keep the heart bright.

Tradition. The Prophet said that one should do good after doing ill so that the good may wipe out the evil.

No man finds salvation except he who comes to God with a sound heart (Sūrah 26.89).

In its original state, man's heart is like a piece of iron. It may be made into a bright mirror or allowed to rust.

Quotation of Sūrah 83.14.

Section Nine.

Man was not created merely to satisfy his appetites and his pre-eminence does not lie here. Animals excel him in this respect. Man may share in the qualities found in animals and wild beasts, but he has the source of perfection in his reason. By this he knows God and frees himself from the power of lust and anger. Reason is an angelic quality; it is the quiddity of man and by it he controls all the earth.

Quotation of Sūrah 45.12.

When a man dies, neither lust nor anger abide. Either a substance remains, which, like the angels (1), is robed with the knowledge of God and abides near the Great King, or something remains which, mortified and darkened by sin, looks to the lower realms of lust and anger.

Quotation of Sūrah 32.12.

They will go to Sījīn with the devils.

Quotation of Sūrah 83.8.

K.21 (1) An angelic substance remains after death.
Section Ten.

There are two reasons for the great honour accorded to the heart. One is because of its knowledge and the other is because of its power. One kind of knowledge is shared by man with other creatures, but, but a second loftier kind of knowledge, the heart knows God and His works (1).

The heart thus comprehends all sciences and moves in one glance from earth to heaven, from east to west. Although here on the earth, it measures the heavens and, by control of the senses, it controls the physical environment. The five senses give it access to the physical world and there is within the heart, a window open to the angelic realms.

This is proved by the fact that, while one is asleep, the door to the physical world is closed but the window of the heart remains open and things from the heavenly realms and the Preserved Tablet appear in it, the clear mirror of the heart reflecting the entities which are inscribed on the Preserved Tablet. The heart, its vision undimmed by the senses, sees such things in sleep.

Quotation of Surah 50.21. Man replies in the words of Surah 32.12.

The second proof that the window of the heart is open to the spiritual realm is that inspiration comes by a source other than the senses and descends upon the heart from the unseen world.

Section Eleven.

It is not merely in sleep and in death that the window of the heart is open. When a man shuts out all awareness of the world and he remembers God in his heart, then he sees wonders which defy description. His state resembles that of the Prophet when he saw the eastern and western parts of the earth. Surah 6.75

The first approach to these things on the part of the Prophet was by way of austerities and effort.

Quotation of Surah 73.8.

One should be concerned only with God. Surah 73.9f.

This forsaking of the world and hatred for the world is the Sufi path and the way of the prophets.

Scholars also study these things but their approach, by comparison with that of the prophets and saints, is restricted in its scope. Prophets and saints know things without the mediation of human instruction. Some men learn this through experience and some by means of intellectual proof.

Even when one does not learn by means of a natural faculty (1) or by means of instruction, or through intellectual proof, yet one must at least, accept these things as true lest one be deprived of any of these three ways of gaining knowledge. These things are among the wonders of the heart and dignity of man's heart is known by these tokens.

Section Twelve.

The matters which we mention above are not the special province of prophets. Man is so constituted that all men are capable of such things.

Iron may either be made into a mirror which will reflect the world, or be allowed to rust.

Tradition. Men are, by nature Muslims. Parents make a child into a Jew, Christian, etc.

All have acknowledged the sovereignty of God.

Quotation of Surah 7.171. Surah 43.37 and Surah 30.29.

24 (1) Dhauq. For a discussion of the use of this word in its "lay" and mystical sense see Dr. W.M. Watt, The Study of al Ghazali, Oriens, Vols. 13-14 p.126 (Leiden 1961)
All men are capable of knowing God. The Prophets themselves were but mortal. Quotation of Sūrah 14, 13.

The Prophet proclaims a religious Law and shows his "miracles". (1). The saint has his experiences and his "prodigies" but he is not required to communicate anything to man. Men differ in rank and in their stations of knowledge.

Section Thirteen.

We have noted above that the dignity of the heart lies not only in knowledge but in its power. Just as angels exercise authority over bodies in the material universe, so also the heart exercises power over the members of the human body. The heart of man is thus angelic in its nature.

Some hearts have such power that they are able to control bodies other than their own. The heart of a man may daunt a tiger, cause another to feel ill or recover from sickness.

The heart also exercises the power of magic and employs the evil eye. In a prophet, powers of this kind are called "miracle" and in a saint they are called a "prodigy". We cannot discuss the difference between magic and miracle in this book.

Section Fourteen.

What the common man sees in dreams, the prophet and saint see when awake.

The common man also has power over his own body, but the prophet and saint have power over other bodies. What the common man learns by means of instruction, the prophet and saint find within themselves.

The man whose reason and heart are clear thus learns without any instructor, by means of his heart. Such is the nature of divinely-inspired knowledge.

25 (1) For the miracles of the Prophet see 2/341 ff.
Quotation of Surah 18, 24.

The Prophet had all these things to a perfect degree.

Other prophets and saints have had less. When God wills that a man have faith in the Prophet He may give him proof of prophethood by means of a dream, or a sound insight (1), or a sound understanding.

Men can only understand that which is of the same genus as himself. For this reason, none can perfectly understand the nature of God but God Himself. We have offered clear proofs of this in our book Ma‘ām Ya‘ṣirr’ Allah (2).

There may, of course, be characteristics in the prophets and saints other than the three which we have mentioned above, and which are unknown to ordinary men. Only the prophets understand the dignity of prophet-hood.

One who does not experience these things cannot understand them.

Quotation of Surah 10, 40.

Quotation of Surah 46, 10.

One cannot interpret the delight one gets from a tune to somebody who is tone-deaf. One who has no appreciation of its cadences is not moved by poetry and, to the blind, colour and sight are meaningless. One cannot explain these things to them because they lack the power to experience them themselves.

Surely, it is not altogether incredible that God may grant degrees of understanding which excel those of prophethood and nobody be informed of these things except the persons who are thus endowed.


(2) Reference to Ma‘âm Ya‘ṣirr’ Allah. For the full title see M. Bouyges. Essai de Chronologie... p. 46
Section Fifteen.

The Sufis say "Knowledge is a veil for this path" and this is true when that knowledge is concerned only with the things of sense.

When one wishes to clean a tank the water channels must first be blocked up. So also the five channels of the senses must be stopped up if one wishes to cleanse the heart.

When a student applies himself to the dogmas of orthodox Islam, believing that there is no knowledge apart from this, then that very knowledge has become a veil for him. The dogma taught to the common people is only the shell of truth, not the truth itself. Truth must be brought out of that shell as marrow is brought out of a bone.

One who is not inhibited in this way does not find knowledge to be a veil but experiences revelations through it.

As for the Ibâhiyâ (1) and the Mabtûqân (2) who have learned to copy some of the spurious and extravagant speech of certain Sufis, they know nothing of the things of which we speak and they should be killed. Such people accept the spurious and reject the genuine. They are like those who prefer alchemy to the possession of pure gold.

Nevertheless, one must admit the validity of true Sufism, despite the things one sees among the false Sufis of this age.

Section Sixteen.

The heart finds its peace in that work for which it was formed, and which it desires. The heart finds pleasure in that work for which it was formed just as men take pride and pleasure in teaching something in which they are expert.

30 (1) See art. al Ibâhiyat, Sprenger D.T.T. This type of spurious Sufi is referred to in I.D. Vol. 3. Here errors of Sufis are mentioned in some detail. The Ibâhiyat are described as those who have dispensed with the religious Law and hold lawful and unlawful things to be equal. God, they say, is not concerned about human actions. They also hold that it is not possible to be free of lusts and the love of the world (I.D. 3/345).

(2) Mabtûqân. The editor of the Teheran text says they were sensualists. (K.p 30 footnote 2).
As one science may excel another in excellence, so also the pleasure derived from it excels that which is to be found in the other. God is greater than all things and the knowledge of God is more honourable and delightful than any other science. No vision is superior to the vision of His glory.

God created the heart to have this peculiar capacity to enjoy the vision of God. When the heart ceases to have this desire it has become sick and, as in the case of one whose heart desires another than God, its possessor is destroyed.

The pleasures derived through the body die at the death of the body, but the pleasure of the heart does not die for this pleasure lies in the knowledge of God.

This pleasure is increased twofold at the death of the body - see Pillar Four, Section Nine of this book (1)

Section Seventeen.

We have set forth all that is necessary in this present work. Should anyone desire to know more we have written of these things in the Book of the Wonders of the Heart (2).

The heart as we speak of it is thus a constituent part of man, along with the body and its wonders, the eyes, members and organs thereof. God has formed each external and inward part for a special task and man's body is a microcosm. His bones may be likened to the hills, his perspiration resembles rain etc. Pig, dog, devil and angel are all in man as we have noted above. His stomach acts like a cook, another part of him acts as a porter etc. (1)

(1) Reference to K. Pillar Four, Section Nine.
(2) Reference to Volume Three, Book One of I.D. as a source of further information.

See Imti' an al Ishkālīt... (printed on margin of Cairo text of I.D. Vol I pp 135ff) for this passage. See also F. Jabre "La notion de la Ma'rifah chez Ghazālī," pp 96f. and Wensinck, "La pensée d'al Ghazālī" pp 40-42 for al Ghazālī on "man the microcosm".
God has set all these artisans in man and yet man is
unmindful of His kindness!

From study of man's body we learn that his Creator is
powerful in that He formed man from a drop of water. It will be very
easy for such a One to raise him from the dead! We also note God's
perfect knowledge, His mercy and kindness in that He has bestowed upon
man all that he needs and, in addition, has added adornments in the
beauty of eyebrow and eye. God has not only created man in this way
but has formed all His creation in beauty and with just proportions.

Thus, from a study of man we gain knowledge of God.

Nevertheless, in studying the body, we remember that this body is but
the mount and that at creation the rider was purposed and not the
mount.

All these things are present in man and yet he does not
know himself. How can man claim to know another when he does not know
himself?

Section Eighteen.

When the dignity of the jewel of man's heart is thus
recognised it must then be added that God, Who has bestowed this thing
upon man, has also hidden it from him. If man does not seek this
thing he will suffer loss, for nothing has greater dignity than the
heart. Man's mental powers may be destroyed by a slight injury to the
brain, he may be killed and rendered powerless by a small wasp, and lose
all his courage through the loss of his property. All these things
may be removed and his form and beauty marred.

Sheikh Abu Sa'Id Abü'l Khair (1) talked to his Sufi associates
about a latrine that was being cleaned and compared it with man.

38 (1) Abu Sa'id ibn Abu'l Khair (d. A.D.1049). A prominent Sufi. See
E.G. Browne, Literary History of Persia, Vol. 2, pp 261-269, and
al HujiwTr, Kashi, etc. index (trans. Nicholson). For
convenience of reference, the names of persons mentioned in the
following pages are reported in a uniform manner in each case, and
as they appear in I.D. The names of famous personages are reported
as briefly as possible however. Where there is any danger of confusion
or Where names are found only in I.S. brief note is given.
Man's physical condition is weak and contemptible and only if the alchemy of happiness is used upon his heart's substance will he, at the resurrection, rise above the level of animals and attain to the rank of the angels.

Thus, to know himself, both in terms of his dignity and helplessness, is for man one of the keys to the knowledge of God. More than this we cannot say in this book.

The Second Constituent is Knowledge of God The Most High.

Section One.

We read in the books of the former prophets that God said "O man, know thyself and thou wilt know thy Lord".

We also read in tradition "He who knows himself knows his Lord".

In man's knowledge of God the heart is a mirror, and the heart must therefore be understood. There are two ways of knowing what the heart is. One way is too difficult for the common man to understand, and so we do not propose to comment on it here. The other way is when man, in order to know God, studies himself and gains knowledge of God's attributes through a study of his own.

Man must, of course, remember that he originated from sperm. Quotation of Surah 76.1.

All the wonders in man, such as his reason, head, members etc. were not fashioned by him. Man knows that he is incapable of creating a hair. What was he capable of when he was merely sperm?

Thus, by meditating on his own being man is led to think of a Creator and, when he ponders on his own constitution, he is led to think of a powerful Creator. What God wills He performs and as He wills He creates. When man considers the perfections of his own inward parts he will also remember that nothing is hidden from such a Knower!
If all the sages conspired to attempt to produce a single one of man's members, they would not be able to do so. The teeth, tongue and saliva are admirably adapted to the consumption and digestion of food. In the same way, the hand, with its palm, fingers of various lengths and joints is most wonderfully made. Man of great wisdom could contrive no better arrangement, and God's wisdom herein is great.

Man also needs food, clothing and shelter, and metals for his tools etc. God, in His mercy and kindness has provided all these things.

We also read in the Qudsi tradition "My mercy precedes My wrath" (1).

Tradition. The Prophet said that the mercy of God is greater than the love of a mother to her sucking child.

When therefore, a man recognises the power and wisdom of God as revealed in His own creation, and the grace and mercy of God in His providential ordering of the world, he has then secured a key to the knowledge of God.

Section Two.

Just as a man knows of the attributes of God through his own attributes, and of God's Self through his own self, so also he may consider the Tansūlī and Taqāsāl of God in the light of his own (2).

When such terms are used of God they imply that He is far above and exempt from whatever one may think concerning Him. No place is outside of the control of God, for example, and yet He is not to be connected with any place.

43 (1) K.I.S. No.25.
44 (2) For Tansūlī of God see I.D. 1/79 - and Gardet et Anawati 'Introduction'... Index (Paris 1948).
Man's heart is also above and beyond any idea which he may form of it. The heart is exempt from quantum and quale, nor can it be divided into parts. It is without colour and extent, and escapes the grasp of human understanding.

When one asks about the spirit - which is the quiddity of man - one finds that it is not divisible and that it has no quality.

There are also a great many things in man, such as pain, anger etc., which cannot be defined in terms of quality or manner of being. The heart exercises perception by means of reason, and it is devoid of sensory impressions. By comparison, quality and manner of being are perceived through the senses.

Man may thus, by reflection on his own being, understand how God may be beyond any categories of quality and manner of being.

God cannot be related to any place, nor can the soul be said to reside in any part of the body, or to be a member of it.

All the members of the body may be divided into parts, but the soul cannot be so divided. Just as the soul does not reside in any one member but controls them all, so God controls the whole world but does not reside in any one place. If we had a perfect understanding of these things then we would know what is meant by "spirit" - but we have no permission to speak of this.

All may appear clear in the light of the tradition "He created men according to His form".

Section Three.

God is exempt from quality and manner of being. He is not to be connected with any place. These things we have already noted.

We have also noted that the soul of man is the key to all such knowledge.

We have discussed the essence of God and we must now think of

(1) For this passage and those marked "n.f." in Section Two above, see Wensinck. La pensee... pp 40-42. These sections are obviously derived from al Maghribi al Saghir by al Ghazzali.
the actions of God and the manner in which He orders all things and issues commands to His angels etc. Knowledge of man's nature is also the key here. When, for example, a man wishes to write the word "Bismillah", then the desire and the will are first created in him. After this the spirit - not the animal spirit which man shares with animals, but the immortal spirit which has knowledge of God - moves to the mind and the thought of the word "Bismillah" is born in his imagination. Then from the brain, the tendons carry the message to the arm etc., and the pen then is moved in accordance with the form of the word "Bismillah" which exists in man's mind.

Thus, in the same way, God's will moves from the Throne and is thence conveyed to the realm of the Sedile by subtle substances which we call angels, the Spirit or the Holy Spirit. From thence, the form of whatever is willed appears on the Preserved Tablet and, at length, is conveyed to exercise its influence over whatever is appropriate of the four elementary qualities of the lower world, i.e. heat, cold, wet or dry.

Just as the heart moves the members to action through the pervading operation of the spirit, so God orders all things from the Throne.

Quotation of Surah 10.3.

Only a king can recognise kingship, and had not God made man Lord of his dominion he would not be able to recognise the Lordship of God. God made man's heart the throne etc. Then God said to man "Beware! Be not careless concerning your realm for then you will be careless about your Creator".
Thus God created man according to His form. "Know thyself, and thou wilt know thy Lord".

Section Four.

All that we have mentioned above, should help man to understand the connection between his members, powers and attributes. Secondly, we have indicated the manner in which God exercises dominion through the angels.

Nevertheless, man can have no knowledge of the Divine Majesty. We have offered the above statement that man may have some understanding of what he is in himself!

Section Five.

The astrologer and natural philosopher think of all events as being determined either by the stars or by the elements. They are like an ant which sees black marks on paper and is content to connect these marks with the point of the pen! The natural philosopher sees no more than the final move of the Prime Mover! The astrologer may see a little further than this, but that is all. He is like a sharp-eyed ant which perceives fingers moving the pen. He has not advanced beyond the sphere of bodies and does not understand that all these things are controlled by angels.

It is true that there are difficult ascents for man to face in the spiritual realm. Some of them are as lofty as the stars, some resemble the moon and the sun.

God showed Abraham the heavens and the earth, Surah 6.75

Abraham sought their Creator (Surah 6.79)

It is for this reason that the Prophet said "No doubt seventy veils of light are before God. If He removed them the glory of His face would burn all who gaze upon it". We have commented upon
this in the Miṣḥaṭ al Anwar wa Miṣḥaṭ al Aṣrār (1). This should be consulted.

The natural philosopher is in error in thinking of heat and cold as original principles and not as things under the divine control. The astrologer also is in error in thinking the seasons to be due to the influence of the heavenly bodies and not understanding that all these things are under the divine control.

Quotation of Sūrah 16.12

Section Six.

Some men give their attention to one thing only and fail to grasp the significance of the whole. They are like the blind men who examined the parts of an elephant that they touched, and formulated general opinions on their partial knowledge.

Whatever is under subjection is not worthy of divine honours.

Quotation of Sūrah 6.75ff.

Section Seven.

The physician ascribes the sickness of one suffering from melancholia to one cause; the astrologer to another cause. They who know the religious sciences see here the action of God, and say that God is making the man turn to Him by means of this affliction.

Section Eight.

After considering one's own Taqdis and Tanzih one should say "Glory be to God!" When, after reflecting on one's own dominion, one considers God's and remembers that all things originated from Him, then one should say, "All praise be to God". When one has understood that none is wise except the Wisiest of the wise then one has some understanding of what is meant by the expression "There is no deity

but God". Finally, when one grasps the fact that all that one has succeeded in understanding falls short of God Himself, then one may appreciate the significance of the saying "God is Most Great".

God is not only to be thought of as greater than all else. Nothing exists with which He may be compared and man cannot truly know God by means of any analogy drawn between himself and God, nor is the dominion of God actually like that of man, for man's dominion is merely over his own body. These expressions are employed merely in order to hint at such things. In actual fact, man's qualities cannot be compared with the divine attributes! Nobody but God knows God.

Section Nine.

We have spoken of the knowledge of God however, in the hope that man may desire this. Man's happiness lies here, along with worship and service. At death, man will be with God and to be happy in that state requires than man love God and hold Him in constant remembrance while he is in this world.

God has therefore said to David "I am thy help and thy business is with Me". When a man sins he does so because he has ceased to remember God. Worship and remembrance inspire love for God, and this leads to security and prosperity.

Quotation of Surah 23:1. and Surah 57:14f.

The prophets inform men concerning the amount of attention that may lawfully be given to the things of this world and the religious Law guides men in these matters. The way to happiness is to follow its commands. Obedient service keeps men in security.

Quotation of Surah 65:1.

Section Ten.

Those who deem unlawful things to be lawful and who do not follow God's commands are guilty of ignorance and error on seven counts:—
The first is that they deny the existence of God and think about the universe in the manner of natural philosophers or astrologers. They regard the universe as being existent from the beginning. Such people are like one who, having examined excellent calligraphy, hold that it formed itself.

The second is that they deny the future life and deny reward and punishment. This is to forget the nature of the spirit, which is the quiddity of man.

The third is that they ask what benefit God derives from the pain and anguish that man endures by observing the religious Law? They hold that, for Him, worship and sin are equal!

This is to forget Sūrah 35.19 and 29.5, and 41.46.

It is also to forget that, by observance of the religious Law, man does not work for God but for himself. The sick man either obeys the physician or perishes.

None finds salvation but he who comes to God with a sound heart (Sūrah 26:89).

The fourth is that they hold that man cannot abstain from lust and anger because God has thus formed him. They do not understand that the religious Law commands that man observe the prescribed limits in such matters. God praises those who repress their rage.

Quotation of Sūrah 3:128.

The fifth count is that the ignorant do not understand the nature of God's attribute of mercy. They forget that He is also severe in punishment! They do not note that man must strive in all things and that the production of food requires his effort.

Quotation of Sūrah 53:40

The sixth count is when people imagine that they have attained to a stage where sin cannot harm them and that, for them, there is no injury in sin. We note that these people are by no means free of lust and hypocrisy.
Such people are not like the prophets, who used to weep and lament over their sins. Under this head they say that the prophets did so only for effect.

They forget that the prophet feared lest he be injured by the consumption of a single date that had been given as alms. They do not understand, that, in Islām, the first rank is his who is obedient to the religious Law and who is completely absorbed in this obedience.

The seventh count concerns the carelessness and lust of some. These are the false Sufis who make the unlawful things lawful. Such a person refuses to regard sin as rebellion. God has placed a veil upon their hearts (Sūrah 6:25).

Quotation of Sūrah 18:56.

One should employ the sword against such people, and not argument.

Such errors as those which we have mentioned above arise from the fact that man neither knows himself, his Lord, nor the religious Law.

The Third Constituent is Knowledge of the World.

Section One.

That stage in man's journey which precedes death we call the world. That which follows death we call the future life. Man was created in order that he might journey on to the vision and knowledge of God.

Section Two.

Man needs two things in this world. He needs sustenance for the heart in order to protect it from destruction, and he also requires sustenance for the body.

The sustenance of the heart is the knowledge and love of God, for the sustenance of anything is that which is consonant with its nature and its desire.
Man's heart is destroyed when he is engrossed in concern for anything other than God.

The body is designed to serve the heart, just as the camel serves the Hajj pilgrim. In this world man needs food, drink and shelter. Anything which he acquires in excess of his needs is destructive.

God has implanted in man a desire to seek these things and the religious Law appoints limits for his seeking. Man should not be guilty of excesses in this matter.

Section Three. (1)

By "world" we mean the three things also that are derived from it, i.e. vegetables, minerals and animals. Man strives for these things, and so three other things arise, i.e. government, decree and authority, and the science of Fiqh.

All this great enterprise arises from man's fundamental needs for food, clothing and shelter.

These things are themselves for the body, the body is for the heart, and the heart is for God. One should not be beguiled by the world nor forget its true significance.

Tradition. The Prophet said that the world is a greater magician than Marūt and Marūt etc. (1)

The world is a sorcerer!

Section Four.

The bewitchment of the world lies in this that one thinks that it will remain with one for ever. Yet life is always passing away, moment by moment.

(1) See Nasrīn al-Mulk (Teheran text 1317 A.H.) pages 27-29 for materials in Sections Three and Four above.

(1) See art. Marūt and Marūt, Ency. of Islam.
The second bewitchment of the world lies here that it persuades men that it is his friend and that it will keep faith with him.

Story concerning Jesus who is said to have seen the world in the form of an old hag.

The third bewitchment of the world is that it so disguises itself that, outwardly, it appears to be attractive. It is like an old hag who skilfully practises her blandishments until her veil is removed.

Tradition. The Prophet said that, on the day of resurrection, the angels will bring the world in the form of an ugly old hag.

Fourthly, the world looks like a traveller's road. For some, the journey will be short, for others it will be long, but the traveller is misled by it for he has no knowledge of how long it will be for him.

Fifthly, one should not be deceived, but remember how bitter will be the lot of those who seek pleasure in this world when the day of resurrection comes. In proportion to the greatness of a man's riches, so is his sorrow great when death comes and he has to relinquish them.

Sixthly, the world deceives men by giving them the impression that it will make few demands of them. Those claims increase however, when a man seeks the world.

Saying ascribed to Jesus that one who seeks the world is like a man who drinks sea water. The more he drinks, so does his thirst increase.

Seventhly, the wise man understands that he is a guest in the inn of this world. He enjoys the use of the pleasant things therein and is content to leave them at the last. The fool, who does not understand his situation, clings to these things and laments when they are taken from him. The world is only an inn and should be used as such.
Eighthly, some remain busied with the world and forget the future life until it is too late.

Story about a company who travelled to an island in a ship. There were three groups among them. One group obeyed orders concerning the manner of behaving while on the island. The second group obeyed but were tardy in returning to the ship and suffered discomfort. The third group were enamoured of the island and its contents and burdened themselves with what eventually proved to be noxious rubbish.

Section Five.

One should not regard all that is in the world to be evil. There are many things in the world that are not of the world. Man's knowledge and deeds are among them and they go with him into the future life. These "enduring good works" (Surah 18.44) of action, are the purification of the heart from sin and the love of God which is gained through worship. The delights of knowledge; the saving ornaments of the soul and the intimacy of remembrance of God are better than all other pleasures. These things are in the world but are not of the world.

Whoever uses the world in order to further the ends of religion, is not worldly. That is dispraised which makes a man careless of God. The world is hated for this reason.

Tradition. The Prophet said that the world and all that is in it is accursed, except for the remembrance of God the Most High.

The Fourth Constituent is Knowledge of the Future Life.

Section One.

Nobody can understand the nature of the future life unless he understands the nature of death. One cannot understand this until the nature of life has been grasped and one cannot comprehend the nature of life until one understands the nature of spirit. To know this last thing is to know oneself.
Man is compounded of body and spirit, and he may experience Hell or Paradise hereafter in the body and out of the body. The Paradise of the heart which is not experienced through the body we call the spiritual Paradise. The sorrows and afflictions of the heart which are not experienced in the body we call spiritual Hell.

There is a physical Paradise and Hell also as we find them mentioned in the Qur'an and traditions. We have described these in detail in I.D. (1).

Quadi tradition. Eye had not seen etc. (2)

This tradition contains a promise concerning the spiritual Paradise. The window of the heart is open towards this. The believer knows, by means of vision, that the heart, or spirit, may enjoy happiness or experience misery. Worship and knowledge bring happiness, and ignorance and rebellion poison that happiness.

There are some scholars who believe only in a physical experience of Hell or Paradise and who would deny what we have set forth above. They follow strictly traditional beliefs.

Section Two.

In order to understand what death is, one must realise that man has two spirits. One is the animal spirit and the other is a spirit of an angelic kind which we call the human spirit.

The animal spirit is a body; a subtle vapour which passes from the physical heart to all the members, ensuring that they move and that sensation is thus maintained within them.

When this spirit is in an equable condition and the members of the body are under its influence, they have the power of motion.

When this spirit is in an equable condition and the members of the body are under its influence, they have the power of motion. When there is hindrance to its progress the limb that it does not reach becomes paralysed.

73 (1) Reference to I.D. Volume Four, Book Ten.
(2) See K. I. S. 85, no. 18.
This animal spirit resembles the flame of a lamp and when the supply of oil is hindered the flame dies there. In man, the physical heart is the wick, food is the oil, and the animal spirit is the flame. When the animal spirit passes from the entire body then death supervenes. This is what is meant by physical death. It is the angel of death who brings those causes which destroy the equable condition of the animal spirit and bring death.

In man however, there is also another spirit which we call the human spirit. It is not to be thought of as a body, for it is not divisible. By means of this spirit man has knowledge of God. Just as God is One and cannot be divided so also the knowledge of God is one and cannot be divided.

We note that we may point to the flame of a lamp, but we cannot point to the light. In the same way, the human spirit is more subtle than the animal spirit, and we cannot point to it. Unlike the light from the lamp however, when the flame of the animal spirit dies in man the light of the human spirit does not cease to be.

The animal spirit is the steed and weapons provided for the human spirit that it may hunt the quarry of the phoenix of the love and knowledge of God. When the hunter is successful he has no further desire to be encumbered with steed and weapons and dies.

Tradition. The Prophet said that death is a gift and a boon to the believer.

If the steed and weapons are lost before the quarry is captured then the rider suffers grief. This grief and anguish is the first punishment of the grave.
Section Three.

We have noted that when the equable disposition of the animal spirit is destroyed, then death supervenes. This is a kind of general paralysis and the body no longer renders obedience.

Men's quiddity, however, does not die with the body and thus the self remains. The delight that man has in the love and the knowledge of God also remains and this is the meaning of the phrase "abiding good works" (Sūrah 18.44).

Quotation of Surah 17.74.

The nature of death is not comprehended until the difference between the animal and human spirit is understood.

Section Four.

The animal spirit is compounded of the subtle exhalations of the four humours of the body, and variations in its equability follow upon changes in the body's heat, cold, moisture and dryness.

The human spirit however, is not of this lower world, but belongs to a higher realm. It is an angelic substance, and is a stranger to this world, having descended here in order to gain guidance.

Quotation of Sūrah 2.36.

In Sūrah 38.72 God declares that He fashioned Adam from clay - i.e. imparted the animal spirit - and then breathed His Spirit into man. This latter spirit is connected with God Himself.

Just as the science of medicine is concerned to preserve the equability of the animal spirit, so also, by means of the religious Law, morality and abstinence maintain the equability of the human spirit. We shall refer to these matters in the Pillars which follow (1).

79 (1) Reference to the four Pillars of the Khimiyā.
Thus, as knowledge of oneself is the key to the knowledge of God so the knowledge of the human spirit is the key to the knowledge of the future life.

The root principle of religion is belief in God and the day of resurrection. We have for this reason dealt with such matters here.

There is one of the attributes of God whose dignity we have not mentioned because we have no permission to do so. The human understanding cannot grasp it and yet all our knowledge of God and of the future life is dependent upon this. We trust that the reader, by virtue of his own effort and seeking may come to know it! He will be incapable of learning it from anybody else. Many people have heard about this attribute (i.e. from another) and have not believed in it and have denied it. They have said "This thing is not possible. It is not Tażīh but it is Taṭţil" (2).

How then will the reader endure to hear of such an attribute being ascribed to man?

Moreover, this attribute is not specifically ascribed to God in the Qurān or in the books of tradition. It is for this reason that people deny it when they hear about it.

It was said to the prophets "Speak to men in a fashion that they are able to understand".

One of the prophets received this revelation "Do not inform men of anything concerning our attributes which they cannot understand. They will deny such things and this will be to their hurt".

Section Five.

We have seen from the above that man, essentially, exists apart from the body and that his peculiar property is not

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79 (2) For Tazīh see K. p. 43, footnote (2).
   For Taṭţil see Goldscher "Vorlesungen..." p.111 and art. Tašbih
   Ency. of Islam.
is not connected with the body. Death does not signify his annihilation but that man has ceased to make use of the body. By "collection", and "raising the dead" etc., it is not meant that, after annihilation, man comes into existence again, but that God will prepare man again to make use of another body. This will be easy, for at the first God created these things, but now the human spirit subsists and the parts of the body are at hand.

By resurrection however, it is not meant that God will restore to man the original body that he had (1). Man's body itself suffers many changes in the course of a lifetime; it is a composite thing and the original creation is not present there at the last. Moreover, should a man lose a member in the course of his life, how can that member share in the reward for the actions of members from which it was severed when such acts were performed? Such questions have led to a great deal of argument, but when the reader has understood what is meant by coming to life again, he will see that there is no need of the body which dies here. Such difficulties have arisen because it has been assumed that man's quiddity lies in his body.

Section Six.

It may be objected that the things we have set forth above are contrary to the opinion current among the Fuqaha' (1) and Mutakallimun (2) that the soul (jann) of man is annihilated at death and then God re-creates it at the resurrection. We maintain that whoever holds this opinion has neither insight, nor does he follow traditional beliefs.

80 (1) For a statement on al-Ghazali's views on the resurrection see Sprenger, D.T.T. art. al-Hajr.
Insight would teach him that death does not destroy the quiddity of man and the Qurān refers to the spirits of those who are happy, and states that those who are killed in holy warfare are not to be thought of as dead but as living with God. (Sūrah 3.163)

The Prophet called out at a grave of one of the disbelievers (3) and addressed him, telling his followers that those who were in the grave could hear, but were incapable of replying.

The dead are aware of all that happens in the world, and the Qurān and Tradition bear witness to this.

We do not read therein that the dead are annihilated, but we are told that, for the dead, the grave becomes either one of the gardens of Paradise or one of the caves of Hell.

Physical sensations may pass away at death, but the essential self of man remains. We know that this is possible because, when anyone is in a state of contemplation he may cease to be aware of the world and knows no physical sensations.

The animal spirit is quelled and lies dormant when, in ecstasy, man thinks of the terrors of punishment.

In that state he is close to the state of death, and things which are normally known only after death are made known to him.

Man may not remember the details of the experience when they come to themselves but some influence of it remains, whether it be the joys of Paradise or the lingering effects of the experience of the anguish of Hell.

The things of the unseen world which are seen in vision cannot be brought into this world, but the impression left by the vision remains.

82 (3) "Kāfir" is thus translated throughout. See art. Kāfir. Ency. of Islām.
The Prophet spoke of a cluster of the grapes of Paradise which were shown to him, and which he wished to bring into this world. He would have brought them into this world had it been possible.

The Prophet did not merely hear about Paradise from the angel Gabriel but he himself scrutinised Paradise.

Man may see Paradise either when he dies or when this animal spirit is dormant within him, and he is thus removed from this world. Nobody who is aware of this world can see Paradise, nor can a grain of Paradise be contained in this world. The senses cannot perceive Paradise because Paradise is beyond their ken.

Section Seven.

We are thus led to consider the nature of the punishment of the grave. One kind of such punishment is physical, and the other is spiritual. Any man may understand what is meant by "physical punishment", but only he who knows himself and understands that it is his spirit which abides, can understand what is meant by "spiritual punishment".

One who loves the things of this world, such as family, property, slaves etc., will suffer grief when these things of sense are removed from him. He will remain tranquil at death who is indifferent to this world. One who, in love, has longed for God will find the Beloved. One who has loved God in this way may be certain that, at death, he will be saved from grief and will find comfort. Thus, the punishment of the grave is visited upon the worldly.

Tradition. The Prophet said that this world is a prison for the believer and a Paradise for the unbeliever.

Section Eight.

One who loves the things of this world suffers an intensity of grief which is in keeping with love for the things of this world when he suffers the loss of any of them. According to the degree of his love
84 of wealth, so he is grieved when told that any of his property is stolen. This grief is deepened even more if he is told that his wife and children have been taken from him and he is left alone. The fact is, however, that this is the outcome of life and its name is death. Each man therefore, will experience sorrow or comfort at death in accordance with his love or hatred of the world.

Quotation of Sūrah 16.109

Quotation of Sūrah 20.123, and the Prophet's interpretation of this verse as signifying that the misbeliever is bitten, until the resurrection - while he is in the grave - by ninety-nine serpents, each of the serpents having nine heads.

One may indeed look into the graves of misbelievers and not see these snakes, but the truth of the matter is that such serpents were within the spirits of the dead before they died. They were formed from the attributes of that misbeliever, each snake springing from an evil moral quality.

Quotation of Sūrah 46.19.

Just as a man sells a slave girl, not knowing how deeply he is enamoured of her, and he suffers deep grief afterwards, so also the misbeliever suffers grief because of qualities which, unknown to him, were like serpents within him. After death, they wound the soul from within and remain invisible to the eye. Thus, every man takes the cause of his punishment into the grave with him.

Tradition. The Prophet said that men's actions are restored to them.

If men had knowledge of a most definite kind they would, even now, see Hell.

Quotation of Sūrah 102.5f.

Hell accompanies the misbelievers (Sūrah 9.49 and 29.54). The reference here is not to some future event, but to something which happens to them now.
Section Nine.

The things of the next world cannot be seen with the eyes of this world, but there can be no doubt that the dead see and experience the bite of those serpents. A sleeping man may dream that a snake has bitten him, and he may suffer genuine pain and distress at this, and yet somebody who, awake, sits by him does not see any snake! That snake exists for the dreamer even though a waking person may deny its existence! The dreamer does, of course, awake from his dream, but there is no speedy end to death and the spiritual punishments of the grave.

The religious law, in transmitting to us this tradition about the serpents in the grave, states that they may be seen with the physical eye and it is therefore unwise to deny the punishment of the grave merely because one cannot see such serpents in the tombs of the dead.

Section Ten.

There are some who do not love this world and other who love God more than they love this world. Such people will not suffer the punishment of the grave. The pious person may feel some attachment to his friends and his family, but the love for God is all-conquering within him and it sets these other things aside as being of no consequence.

Those who love this world to excess will not be safe from this punishment.

Quotation of Surah 19.72f.

Such people will suffer punishment for a long time until the love of this world passes away, and the love for God - which has had some place in their hearts - prevails over all. One who has never loved God will suffer continually.
God will give the lie to those who confess "There is no deity but Allah" and yet who love the world more than the things of religion. There will therefore be differences and variations in intensity in respect of the length of this punishment, and the nature of the punishment of the grave.

Section Eleven.

One cannot be sure about the amount of love that one has for the world until one has tested oneself. One should ask oneself how one would tolerate not only the loss of material things, but the loss of fame and reputation?

At all events, the world, like a privy, should be resorted to only to the degree that is necessary.

Man should strive to establish the remembrance of God in his heart, so that this prevails within him. The commands of the religious Law should be preferred to the commands of the self. When the soul is obedient in these matters one may be sure that one will be saved from the punishment of the grave.

Section Twelve.

At this point it is fitting that we describe the spiritual Hell which we mentioned above. It is not a place for bodies but for spirits.

Quotation of Surah 104.6

This speaks of a fire which surrounds hearts, and this is the spiritual Hell that we speak of.

There are three kinds of fire in this spiritual Hell.

The first is that which is kindled by virtue of the fact that a man is separated from the world and desire for it remains.

The second kind is the fire of shame for acts of sin.

Thirdly, there is that fire which is kindled because one is deprived the sight of the glory of God.
These are the three fires which a man takes within him when he leaves this world, and they are in no way connected with the body.

We have noted that this world is esteemed a Paradise by the unbeliever. He is in Hell when it is snatched from him.

This is the nature of the first of the three fires which we mention above. It is like a fire which might be kindled within a king were he deprived of slaves, wives and dominion, and compelled to see others enjoy them while he remained his conqueror's kennel-man.

The second kind of fire is that Hell of shame which is kindled when a man sees the true nature of his misdeeds and, in addition, becomes acutely aware of the fact that the Great King has witnessed all his abominations. He thus sees himself in a true light.

The slanderer will see himself at the resurrection as one who eats his brother's flesh or consumes a corpse.

One who is envious will see himself as being like one who throws stones at another, but blinds his own children. He will understand that the envious man hurts himself and not his enemy.

Men will be ashamed at the resurrection when they see the world as an old hag for which they have given their lives.

(A long story follows, by way of illustration of this point of a prince who mistook a foul corpse of an old woman for his bride and was found with the corpse in the morning by the king his father. Such is the nature of shame and regret).

The third kind of fire we mentioned arises in man from the knowledge that he is denied the vision of God. Sin, and the rust of desire, have darkened his heart and his heart has become blind.

His state is like that of a man who was taken into a dark place at night and was told to gather up the stones around him. He scoffed at the idea, only to find later that he had neglected to gather gems of the purest water. He remains, ever, deeply mortified because he remains naked and hungry when he might have made himself rich!
Section Thirteen.

Bodily pain is itself intensified when it vexes the soul. How severe then will that pain be which arises within the soul itself?

Pain arises when members are severed from one another. There is a violation of the natural state of things and therefore pain arises.

We have noted that it is the heart's natural requirement that it find union with God and acquire the knowledge of God. When this natural requirement is not satisfied, the anguish is extreme.

Physical Hell and Paradise are described in the Quran and books of tradition because man is able to understand such matters. Man is taught therein in terms which are within his understanding.

Physical Hell will be a light affliction in comparison with indescribable anguish of the Hell of shame.

Section Fourteen.

Scholars have spoken only of physical Hell and physical Paradise. This was a limitation imposed upon them by the limited understanding of mankind.

Those who have come to an understanding of the nature of spiritual Hell and Paradise have done so by means of insight and knowledge.

The journeying of man through this world may be defined in terms of four stages. These are the stages of the sensuous, the experimental, the instinctive and the rational. The man who is at the first stage is like a creature which has sense perception, but no memory. He resembles the moth which, returning again and again to the light is eventually destroyed. In the second stage of development he has learned to associate his experiences with certain things and, like a dog which flees at the sight of a stick, he associates pain with
certain objects and flies from them. Thirdly, a creature may have an
instinctive fear of some things, just as a horse will flee from a wolf
but will not flee from some larger animal. In the fourth stage man
rises above the levels of the animal kingdom, provides for the future
and is not limited to the experiences of the moment.

The progress of man in these four stages may be said to be,
in the case of the first stage, like walking in dry land. The second
stage is like sailing in a boat. Finally, in the fourth stage man
enquires into the nature of things and this is like walking on water.
There is yet another stage however, beyond this. This is the stage of
the prophets, saints and Sufis, and it resembles flight through the air.

Tradition. The Prophet said that Jesus, had his certainty
been greater, would not only have walked on water but have walked on
air (1).

In this final stage man attains to the rank of angels. He thus rises from the lowest depths to the very heights.

Man, by virtue of the fact that, by nature, he stands midway
between animals and angels, was able to accept the burden of the trust
mentioned in Surah 33.72

Those who remain stationary are many, and those who journey
onward are few. Nevertheless, without this journeying, man remains
ignorant of the nature of his works and of spiritual matters.

Section Fifteen.

There are some foolish people who deny that there is any such
thing as a future life. They are of the opinion that one hundred and
twenty-four thousand prophets and all the wise, the scholars and the
saints, are mistaken in this matter!

100 (1) For Jesus' walking on the water, see 3/201.
The nature of such people is perverted, and there can be no hope that they will understand these things.

Quotation of Surah 18.56

Another type of person deems the future life as being little more than a possibility, and he is unwilling to renounce the world - about which he feels he is certain - in the interests of that unseen world of which he feels uncertain.

We wish to assure him that although he himself may not feel certain about such matters, yet there is no little wisdom in following the example of the prophets. There is little wisdom in running the risk of jeopardising the boundless future in the interests of what must necessarily be the fleeting comforts of this world.

The length of eternity illustrated once again by reference to the bird which comes once every thousand years to peck a grain of millet from a store as boundless as the sands of the sea shore. Those grains will be exhausted before eternity is! (1)

A sensible and prudent man would not scorn possible dangers on the grounds that they are not at present confronting him.

When 'Ali, the prince of believers, debated with a heretic about the hereafter he said at length "If you are correct, then both you and we are safe. If we are right then only we are secure, and you will remain in eternal punishment".

He who is engrossed in the things of this world is a great fool. Even though a man's faith be weak and he is not certain about the future life, yet prudence should prompt him to avoid the woeful possibilities which we have mentioned.

103 (1) Found in K.103 and 4:10.
PILLAR ONE.
The author introduces the First Pillar with a brief reference to the foregoing portion of the work. He then states that the four "Pillars" which he now proposes to discuss are those which fall under the general headings of "acts of worship", "outward observances", "destructive moral qualities", and the "ornaments of the soul".

The first of the ten sections to be dealt with under the general heading of "acts of worship" is "How the orthodox attain to belief". The author, at the outset, dispenses with the customary eulogy in praise of God and the Apostle, and proceeds immediately with his statement (1).

K. begins with the two "words of witness", i.e. "There is no deity but Allah. Muhammad is the apostle of Allah".

This confession should be made with the tongue and believed with the heart.

It is not required of every Muslim that he know the proofs for the above confession. The Prophet did not command the Arabs to seek proofs or to study 'Ilm al Kalam (1), but disclosed sufficient to men for them to hold these things to be true and to believe in them.

106 (1) We propose to give references, wherever possible, to the creed which D.B. Macdonald offers as Appendix One to his "Development of Muslim Theology, Jurisprudence and Constitutional Theory". References to Macdonald are given under the index M, followed by the number of the page in his Muslim theology etc. This creed is found in Book 2, Volume 1 of I.D. The author of K. presents his statement on Knowledge after, and not before, his discussion of Beliefs. This is a reversal of the order of I.D. for there the Book of Beliefs is the second book of the first volume, (pp 79-83. Cairo text of I.D.)

It is a public duty for some Muslims to study 'Ilm al-Kalam in order to remove any doubts which may arise in the minds of the common people. One or two such scholars suffice for each city and the Mutakallim is thus the warden of the beliefs of the common people.

Truth, however, lies beyond both commonly held beliefs and 'Ilm al-Kalam. The path to it is one of endeavour and austerity. To aspire to knowledge without these things is as dangerous as taking medicine without undergoing a regimen. Nobody understands the nature of knowledge apart from him who forsakes this world and busies himself with the future life and the search for God. This is difficult, and so we propose to offer here that which may be nourishment for all men, i.e. a statement of the beliefs of the orthodox. We do this in order that every man may have this belief in his heart for it is the seed of felicity. (1).

Statement about Belief.

All things are created and there is One Creator.

God is One and has no companion. He is single, without any similar. God is eternal, without beginning and without end. God does not cease to exist. He is self-subsistent, nothing is independent of Him and He is not dependent on anything. He is indeed self-subsistent and all things subsist in Him.

Sub-section on the Tanbih.

God is not an atom nor an accident, nor is He incarnate in a body. Nothing is like Him, nor is He like anything. He is without form, quantum or quale do not apply to Him. He creates all qualities and is not endowed with the qualities of created things. He creates all forms. He is without dimension; such qualities being those of created things.

110 (1) This introductory statement is reminiscent of that which precedes the Introduction to K.
God is not a body, nor is He embodied. He has no dimension and is not in any place.

Whatever is in the earth is beneath the Throne, and the Throne is controlled by His power. He is upon the Throne, but not after the manner in which one body rests upon another. The Throne does not support Him, but the Throne and those who carry it (see Surah 40.7) are supported by His grace and power. He is now as He was in eternity before the creation on the Throne, and will endure for eternity.

There is no change in Him or His attributes, for it would not befit His attributes that they should suffer hurt or arrive at perfection, for that would imply a previous imperfection and their needing perfection. To be in need does not befit divinity.

Although God is devoid of the qualities of created things yet He is to be known in this world, and to be seen in the world to come. Just as He is known in this world without quantity or quality so also He will be seen in the world to come, for vision in that world is not like vision in this world.

Sub-section on the divine power.

He is not like anything but is powerful over all. His power is perfect, without deficiency or weakness. He acted as He wished, and will do as He wills. The seven heavens and seven earths, the Throne and the highest heaven and all that is, are controlled by His power. None but He has power over anything and He has no helper or associate in creation.

Sub-section on the divine knowledge.

He knows everything that is known, and His knowledge comprehends all things. Nothing, from the lofty Throne to the lowest of the earths, moves without His knowing it, for all things proceed from Him and are fashioned by His power. The number of the grains of the sand, the leaves of the trees, the thoughts of hearts and motes of
dust in the air, are all known to Him just as the number of the heavens is known.

Sub-section on the divine will.

All that is in the world proceeds from His desire and will, whether it be little or much, great or small, good or evil, obedience or rebellion, infidelity or faith, benefit or hurt, increase or diminution, grief or ease, sickness or health. Nothing occurs without His decree and will, His determination and command. If jinn, mankind and devils, indeed the whole universe, conspired together to move a grain in the world or put it in a place, make it decrease or increase, they could not succeed unless He willed it. Nothing comes into existence without His will. No person or thing can oppose what He wills should not come to pass, and all that is, was and shall be comes about by His provision and decree.

Sub-section on the divine hearing and sight.

Just as He wills, so also He hears and sees all that is audible and visible. The near and the remote are alike to His hearing and light and darkness are one to His sight. He hears the sound of the feet of a small ant on a dark night, and the colour and form of a worm in the lowest parts of the earth.

He does not see by means of the eyeball, nor is His hearing through the ear. In the same manner, His understanding does not proceed from thought and plan, and His creation is not formed by means of an instrument.

Sub-section on the divine speech.

His command is binding upon all creation, His witness concerning everything is correct and His promise and threat are true. Command, witness, promise and threat are all of His speech.

Just as He is living, knowing, powerful, One who sees, and who hears, so also He is One who speaks. He spoke to Moses without an
intermediary with a speech that is not formed by the palate, the tongue, the lips or the mouth. As man's inner speech has no sound or letter and is unvoiced, so also the speech of God the Most High is devoid of such qualities.

The Qurān, Torah, Injil and Zabūr (1) and all the prophetic books are God's speech. His speech is His attribute, and all His attributes are eternal and from everlasting. Just as the essence of God is known in our hearts and is mentioned in speech, and He who is known is eternal although our knowledge is created, and our making mention of Him is created, so also is His speech eternal. It is retained in hearts, recited by tongues, preserved on pages, and yet it is not created, although the memory of it is created. That which is recited is not created, but the recitation is created. That which is written of His speech is not created although the writing is created.

Sub-section on the divine acts.

All that is in the world is God's creation, and all that He has formed has been made in such a manner that it cannot be excelled or improved upon (2).

If all the wise men, together, pondered upon the question as to whether or not a better form of the creation could be conceived, or better provisions made or anything be reduced or increased, they could not offer an alternative. To imagine that anything would be improved upon would be an error and would arise from ignorance of God's wisdom and benevolence. Such people would be like the blind man who goes into a strange house and, after falling over the furniture, asks why it was thus arranged. Being blind, he cannot pick his way! (3).

112 (1) The Qurān, Torah, Gospel and Psalms. These are among the books of God. See art Kitāb, Ency. of Islam.
(2) This comes under the section on the divine will in I.D.
(3) This argument is found in K/42f.
Whatever God has created has been formed in wisdom and justice. If it were possible for things to be better formed, then it was not because of incapacity or niggardliness on God's part for this would be impossible in Him. Whatever He has created, whether it be pain or sickness, poverty, ignorance or incapacity, it is all of His justice.

Injustice cannot be predicated of Him for there is only injustice when one uses the property of another. God does not use the property of another, for there is no King other than He. Whatever was, is, and shall be is all of His dominion, and God is King of all, without equal or partner.

Sub-section on the future life.

God made the world of bodies and the world of spirits. Men's spirits indwell these bodies in order that these spirits may seek in this world their provision for the road to the future life. God has appointed each person's stay in this world, and this period cannot be increased or diminished. He separates the soul from the body at the appointed time. God will provide another body for the soul on the day of resurrection, and will raise all men from the grave. Each man shall see the record of his actions and God will remind him of all that he did in this world. The account of his acts of worship and sin will be weighed in a suitable Balance, a Balance which is not like the balances of this world.

Sub-section on the Bridge.

After the reckoning, all men will be ordered to pass over the Bridge. It is finer than a hair and sharper than a sword. He who has followed the right path in this world will pass over it with ease. He who has not followed it will fall into Hell.

The angels will place all men on the Bridge and question them concerning their works. The true believers will be examined concerning the truth and the hypocrites and deceivers will be put to shame. Some
will enter Paradise without questioning, others will have the account made easy and for others it will be difficult.

All unbelievers will be sent into Hell that they may never find salvation. Righteous Muslims will be made to enter Paradise, and Muslim sinners will be sent into Hell. God will grant them forgiveness through the intercession of the prophets and fathers of the faith, but he for whom these do not intercede will be carried into Hell and there the angels will inflict an appropriate punishment. They will finally be brought from there into Paradise.

Sub-section concerning the prophets.

Since God has decreed that some acts should bring misery to men and some bring felicity, He has also appointed prophets that they should inform mankind of these matters. Thus no man can bring an allegation against God.

Finally, God sent Muhammad and gave to him the highest degree of excellence among the prophets, making him the seal of prophecy, that there should be no prophet after him. God has commanded both jinn and men to follow him.

And God made the Companions of the prophet Muhammad to be the best of Companions. (1).

114 (1) See Art. ʿAṣḥāb. Ency. of Islam.
Statement on the search for knowledge.

Tradition. To seek knowledge is an obligation which is laid on every Muslim.

The Mu'takallim says that this knowledge is 'Ilm al Kalam, the Fuqaha' say that it is the science of Fiqh, and those expert in Tradition say that it is the knowledge of the Book of God and the Sunna. The Sufis say that it is knowledge of the states of the heart. Thus we see that each scholar exalts his own science. We hold that knowledge is not the peculiar property of any science and that nobody is obliged to learn all these sciences.

One who has just become a Muslim need only understand the meaning of the Kalimah "There is no deity etc." Such a one should grasp the orthodox beliefs which we have set forth in Section One, but he need not know the proofs of these beliefs. He need only believe in the attributes of God and in His apostle.

He should also believe in the future life, Paradise, Hell, and the resurrection. He should believe - as God has declared by His apostle - that after death, the righteous attain to happiness and the sinners come to misery.

After this, two kinds of knowledge must be sought; one concerns the heart and the other is connected with the members of the body. The science which concerns the members of the body is of two kinds. One is concerned with works which are prescribed, and the other with proscribed works.

One of the prescribed works in the case of a man who became a Muslim this morning is that he learn the duties of purification and prayer for the mid-day worship. A work of supererrogation is not prescribed for him. When sunset comes he is also obliged to know that worship consists
worship consists of three rak'a (1). He is not obliged to know more than this.

When the month of Ramadān (2) arrives he is required to know that he must make his Intention to fast and that it is unlawful for him to eat and drink from dawn to sunset, or to have sexual intercourse during that period.

A new convert to Islām who possesses twenty gold dinārs is not obliged to know the duties of Zakāt (3). At the end of a year however he must know the amount he is required to give, to whom it should be given, and other conditions connected with Zakāt.

Until he performs the Ḥajj (4), at some time during his lifetime he is not obliged to know the observances connected with it.

He is therefore obliged to gain the necessary knowledge at the time when any new task presents itself.

When, for example, a Muslim wishes to marry, then he must know the legal obligations which are laid on him. He must know the rights of a wife over her husband, and the laws relating to the menses etc.

A man who follows a trade must know what is required of him. If he becomes a merchant he must learn about usury and be able to avoid illegal commerce.

'Umar used to use the whip on merchants when necessary, and ordered them to learn what was required of them. A saying of 'Umar's about selling in the bazaar.

115 (1) See Calverley, Worship in Islām (index)
(2) Ramadān. Ninth month of the Muslim year.
(3) See K.156ff for Zakāt, also art. Ency. of Islām.
(4) See K. 179ff and also art. Ḥajj, Ency. of Islām.
(5) See K. 259.
There is a science for every trade. The barber should know what he may cut, which teeth he should pull and to what extent he may inflict painful wounds.

The cloth merchant is not obliged to learn that knowledge which is required in the barber, and vice versa.

The knowledge of proscribed acts is also an obligation laid on the Muslim. Everything depends upon a man's circumstances. The scholars must inform him of the unlawful nature of wearing brocade or satin and warn him if he lives among those who drink intoxicants, eat swine's flesh, or are robbers or owners of unlawful property. He must also learn which women he may lawfully see and which he may not lawfully see.

A woman is not required to know that it is unlawful for a man to divorce her when she is menstrous, but the husband must know this.

The science which concerns the heart is also of two kinds. One branch is connected with the "states" of the heart, and the other concerns beliefs.

In the case of these "states", it is a man's duty to know that malice, pride, evil suspicions etc., are unlawful. It is his personal duty to know this, for nobody is innocent of such failings, and it is a duty to know the cure of this universal sickness. The cure will not be effective unless it is based on knowledge.

As for the science of selling and payment of money in advance - it is a public duty for somebody to know about this. This comes under the science of Fiqh. It is also the private duty of the man who does such things to know about them. People are able to avoid such snares even when they are not able to escape those "states" of the heart which we have mentioned.
The second science concerns beliefs. If, for example, one has any doubt concerning a matter of belief then when that doubt is about a fundamental doctrine or something about which to doubt is unlawful, then such doubt must be removed from the heart.

All Muslims are obliged therefore, to seek knowledge, but the knowledge to be sought varies in accordance with the circumstances of each individual.

The prophet said, for this reason, that to seek knowledge is a personal duty for every Muslim.

Sub-section. Ignorance over matters of religion is inexusable.

Every man is required to gain that knowledge which concerns his affairs. He may however be placed in a situation which requires a science of which he is ignorant, and he thereby finds himself in jeopardy.

He is not to be excused however, if he pleads ignorance concerning the laws regulating sexual intercourse, or if he does not instruct his wife to make up a day's prayers which have been omitted because of the onset of menstruation. A man may even divorce his wife when she is menstruating, not knowing that this is an unlawful act for him. Under such circumstances as the above, his plea of ignorance will not be accepted on the day of reckoning.

Nevertheless, a man may be excused any shortcoming or failing which he could not be expected to provide against.

Sub-section. No occupation is more honourable than the search for knowledge.

A man may follow a calling for the sake of this world, and yet knowledge is better than worldly affairs.

He who seeks knowledge may be one who has sufficient wealth to ensure his independence and he requires knowledge in order to exercise oversight over his property according to Law. This will bring
honour here and felicity hereafter.

Another who seeks knowledge may be one who is content with little wealth that he may devote himself to the task, knowing also that the poor man enters Paradise five hundred years before the rich (1). Knowledge brings such a man tranquillity in this world, and happiness in the next.

Another man, in the interests of scholarship, gains his sustenance from the lawful monies of the public treasury without having recourse to a tyrant king.

The search for knowledge, in the case of the above three types of men, is better than all other works.

A fourth kind of man is he who seeks knowledge merely to gain the world thereby. He may therefore be willing to accept a stipend derived from taxes or tyranny, or he may resort to hypocrisy and suffer degradation in begging from people. It would be better for such a one to earn his livelihood by trade after having gained that knowledge necessary for the trade he follows. If he does not then he will become one of the devils of men, and the common people, who follow his example, will be ruined through him. It were better for such to seek the world by means of the works of the world rather than by means of religion.

It is no excuse to say that the search for truth itself brings such people to the path of God. If the spirit of the age were such that the religious leaders kept aloof from the world then one might hope that this might happen in the case of (the fourth type) of people.

A man will not be turned away from the world if he seeks such sciences as are taught nowadays, i.e. 'Ilm al Kalâm, legends, fables and the snares employed by modern teachers.
One may trust the evidence of one's eyes and ask oneself whether such scholars do or do not seek the world, and whether or not others are benefitted or injured by their instruction.

By contrast, by association with one who looks for his inspiration to the saints of earlier days, all men are benefitted, for such a one is busied with a science which warns him about the pride of this world.

To learn a profitable science is the best of all works, and that science is profitable which teaches a man to hold the world in contempt and also teaches him the peril in which this world places the world to come.

Such a science teaches the folly and ignorance of those who seek the world and neglect the life to come. It teaches the bane of pride etc., and the cure for such defects.

As for the man who is busied about Fiqh, 'Ilm al Kalām, and Literature, he is like a sick man who takes some medicine which increases his malady. Such sciences as the above-named sow the seed of envy, hypocrisy etc., in the heart and the more one studies them, so the more do these unpleasant qualities increase. If a man associates with the Fuqahā' and, later on, wishes to repent, he will find repentance very difficult and, possibly, impossible for him.
PILLAR ONE. SECTION THREE.

Purification.

120 Introduced by quotation of Surah 2.222.

Tradition. Purification is half of Faith.

Tradition. Religion is based upon ritual purity.

Purity is not merely external.

There are four degrees of purity:— (1)

(1) Purification of the heart from all other than God.

Quotation of Surah 6.91

(2) Purification of the outer heart from evil moral qualities. 1/111f

(3) Purification from sin of the members of the body.

(4) Keeping clothes and body clean.

This external purification is the least important in the sight of God, although men lay great stress on it.

Section. The conditions under which concern for ritual purification is in order.

Faqih and Sufi may not be in agreement at all points but should tolerate diversity of opinion.

Six circumstances are to be noted in connection with concern for ritual purity.

(1) Concern for ritual purity should not deprive one of a better work. The Companions of the Prophet walked barefoot etc., and made great efforts to purify the heart, not the body. The Sufis ought not to object to people who have the same interest now, and, by the same token, no objection is acceptable which is directed against Sufi scrupulousness and is merely inspired by laziness.

120 (1) Given in the reverse order in I.D.
(2) One should keep oneself pure of hypocrisy and pride.

(3) One should, occasionally, allow oneself some latitude. The Prophet once used the vessel of a Mushrik (1) for his purification.

*Umar once used the vessel of a Christian woman for his purification.

(4) One should not grieve Muslims by one's caution.

Social contacts are better than a thousand acts of caution.

A Tradition states that the Prophet declared his preferences for the water of the well Zamzam (1) because it is made turbid by Muslim hands.

(5) One should not be scrupulous over food, drink or speech merely from pride or habit. One should not refuse to pray on a merchant's cloth after one has eaten in his house.

(6) An excessive use of water in purification, by way of scrupulousness, is forbidden.

The Imam should begin worship at the appointed time. (1)

There should be no delay in fulfilling a promise made to a Muslim.

Muslims should not be shunned as dogs and filth are shunned.

Section on external purification.

This is to be dealt with under three heads:

(1) Purification from dirt.

All minerals are clean, apart from intoxicants. All animals are clean except the dog and pig. All dead animals are clean except man, fish, locusts and also animals in which there is no blood stream such as the fly, the scorpion, honey bee and food maggots. (1).
The excreta of animals is unclean, but things which do not suffer any change, such as their seed, eggs and perspiration, are deemed clean.

Tears are not unclean.

Five kinds of impurity are excusable. They are, impurity after abstentions, unavoidable dirt from roads, dirt adhering to the shoes, any little blood on garments and blood or pus from pimples.

Blood from wounds or boils should be washed off.

Section on clean and unclean water.

If water flows upon dirt on a garment etc., then the thing becomes clean, even though the colour and smell of the impurity remain after rubbing and scratching.

All water created by God is pure and it purifies. Water which is used for the removal of excrement becomes impure, and also the water used for removing dirt, providing that the colour, taste and smell of the water are changed. If uncleanness falls into water which is less than 250 mānn in quantity (a mānn is 2 lbs) then it becomes impure, even though there be no change in the colour, taste and smell of the water. If soap and Ushmin are mixed in water it remains pure, and it purifies if the change in such water is very slight.

(2) Purification from excreta.

Section on the five things to be learned under this head:-

observances connected with the voiding of excreta and urine, abstention, wudu (1), ghusl, (2) and tayammum (3).

(1) Voiding excreta and urine. K. follows I, D. but not in such detail. One should evacuate or urinate with the head uncovered.

126 (1) Wudu. See Calverley, op cit, index.
(2) Ghusl. " " " " "
(3) Tayammum " " " " " 
(2) Abstertion.

After urination one should shake the member, then take three steps backward and hawk three times.

(3) Wuğū.

After abstertion the Miswāk (1) should first be used. Beginning with the right side of the mouth cleansing first the upper, then lower, teeth. Then left side of the mouth. Then the inside of the teeth, then tongue and palate.

Tradition. Prayer after the use of the Miswāk is equal to seventy prayers without its preliminary use. (2)

The Miswāk should be used after sleep, after one has kept the mouth closed for a long period or after eating pungent food.

One should turn to the Qiblah (3) after use of the Miswāk and then offer prayers. After drawing water up the nose one should thank God that He has caused one to smell the odour of Paradise.

Water should reach the roots of the hair on the face and of the beard when one washes the face. Collyrium should be washed from the corner of the eye.

The washing of the hands and forearms should begin with the right side. Prayers to be offered for right and left hand washing. Washing inside a ring, when worn. Washing of the head: prayer to be used. Washing of the ears and massaging of the neck.

Washing of the feet, beginning with the right, and prayers.

Prayer at the end of wuğū in which confession is made of the Unity of God and allegiance to the Prophet is declared.

The worshipper who does not understand Arabic should ascertain the meaning of these prayers so that he understand what he says.

128 (1) Miswāk - the tooth-stick.
(2) I.D. reads "seventy-five prayers". See footnote 5 of I.D. 1/117
(3) See art. ꧀ิน. Ency. of Islam.
Tradition which promises purification of the whole body from sin, when the worshipper performs dhikr (1) with his wudu. Without it only the parts which the water touches are purified.

Tradition. God renews the faith of one who makes a fresh purification.

The outward body may be clean, but God looks upon the heart. Bad moral qualities should be removed from the heart by repentance. No one would invite a king to visit him and then clean only the outside of the house, leaving the inside dirty.

Statement on the six things which are disapproved in wudu.

There is a difference of opinion about the wiping off of water after wudu.

An earthen vessel should be used for this betokers humility.

(4) Ghusl.

Ghusl is to be employed after the emission of semen.

One should form the Intention to moisten the roots of the hair and to remove pollution. One should begin with Bismillah, wash the hands and body in accordance with what is sunnat for wudu, and finish with the feet. Water should flow over the whole body, three times on the right side, three times on the left end and three times on the head. The privates should not be touched.

(5) Tayammum. The reasons for this and directions for procedure.

When one prescribed prayer has been offered the worshipper may offer as many supererogatory prayers as he wishes. Another Tayammum is required for another prescribed prayer.

130 (1) Dhikr - see Pillar One, Section Nine of K.
Part Three. Removal of filth from the body.

(a) The first section here deals with the cleansing of the hair of the head and beard by the use of the comb, water, earth, and hot water.

The cleansing of the eye.

The cleansing of the ears, nose, use of the Miswak, cleaning of the joints of the fingers, heel of the foot and the nails. The use of the Hammām for the cleaning of the nails.

The Hammām. (1). The pudenda should be covered. Ibn 'Umar's practice of blind-folding himself, etc.

Women should only use the Hammām when necessary.

Sunna observances when in the Hammām. (1)

One should form the Intention. The attendant should be given his fee at the outset. One should put the left foot first into the Hammām, offer a prayer, taking refuge against Satan.

The Hammām is Satan's abode.

One should not send others out of the Hammām or enter it when it is empty.

One should not proceed (2) quickly, but wait for the perspiration to appear. Further directions about washing the hands, the use of a limited amount of water, shaking hands with another, but not saying "salaam". One may recite the Qurān softly, but speak loudly when taking refuge in God. One should not go into the Hammām at sunset or between sunset prayer and evening prayer; for Satan is abroad at these times.

132 (1) The hot bath. See Steingass, Persian-English Dict.
133 (1) See Sunna. Calverley op. cit. (index) and art. Ency. of Islam.
   (2) Read نتنشود with B.M. Ms. fo. 47a. The negative is required here. Bombay text, pg 58, reads نتنشود.
The hot chamber should lead one to think on Hell, darkness should remind one of the tomb, snakes should remind one of the snakes of Hell. A terrible form should remind one of Munkar and Nakīr (3) and the guards of Hell. A terrifying sound should remind one of Isrā'īl's (4) trumpet etc.

Ointment may be used. The feet should be washed in cold water as a protection against gout when one comes out of the Ḥamām. Cold water should not be poured on the head.

(b) The second section - growths of the body.

K. mentions seven things and then devotes a separate section to the care of the beard.

The hair of the head should be shaved off evenly. The hair of the moustache should be level with the lips. Under-arm hair should be removed every forty days, pubic hair also. The nails should be pared.

Tradition. The devil sits on long nails. Directions for cutting the nails, beginning with the index finger of the right hand.

The removal of the umbilical cord and the circumcision of males and females.

Statement on the care of the beard. There are differences of opinion as to whether it should be trimmed or left alone.

Things disapproved in the beard. It is disapproved that the beard be dyed black. It is disapproved that the beard be dyed red or yellow except in order to conceal old age on the day of battle.

One should not whiten the hair in order to gain the respect of others.

One should not pluck out white hairs from the beard in order to conceal old age.

(3) Munkar and Nakīr. See art. Munkar wa Nakīr, Ency. of Islam.
(4) Isrā'īl. See art. Ency. of Islam.
One should not pluck out the first hairs in order to give the impression that one is a beardless youth. The angels praise God concerning men's beards and women's hair.

One should not shape the beard like a pigeon's tail in order to attract women.

One should not allow the hair on the head to grow into the beard.

One should not pride oneself on the blackness or whiteness of one's beard.

One should comb the beard because it is sunnat to do so and not for show.

One should not advertise one's asceticism by having an unkempt beard (1).

136 (1) In I.D. the eighth thing mentioned is divided to provide the last two points mentioned in K. The first part of the eighth thing in the I.D. provides the penultimate point in K, and the second part of the eighth point of I.D. provides the last point in K.

Note. The material in Filler One, Section Three of K. is, in quantity, about half the amount found in Vol. One, Book Three of I.D.
Worship is a Pillar of Islam and a basic principle of religion. He who worships has a covenant with God.

Four Traditions on worship.

Another Tradition follows and also one which is mistranslated in Calverley.

Three Traditions follow.

The outward form is the body of worship; the inner essence is the spirit of worship.

After the purification of body and clothing the worshipper should face the Qiblah. There should be a space of four fingers between the two feet. (1)

The back should be straight, the head bent. The eyes should be fixed on the place of prostration. When standing, one should recite Sūrah 114 in order to repel Satan.

If one acts as the Imam then one should give the Iḥān (2) otherwise, one should utter the Tāḥār (3) and have the Intention in One's heart to perform the prescribed act of worship.

(1) Volume One, Book Four of I.D. has been translated by E.E. Calverley under the title of "Worship in Islam" (Published C.L.S. Madress, 1925). We shall refer to Calverley's translation under the index "C" giving also the number of the page in that work and also the number of the Tradition when necessary. For example C/39 (2) refers to Calverley, page 39 and Tradition number 2. Calverley gives his own references to I.D. and so we do not refer to the Cairo, 1352 A.H. edn.

(1) K. supports C/63, note 3 here.
(2) See Calverley, op. cit.
(3) See Calverley, op. cit.
After the Intention, the hands should be raised level with the ears, then the Takbir should be uttered and the hands folded below the breast (directions for this).

The hands should be moved directly from the ears to below the breast and should not be shaken or moved to and fro.

The Takbir should be pronounced correctly. After the joining of the hands, the worship begins with the appropriate words.

After one has taken refuge from Satan, the Fatiha (1) is recited. At the end of this one should pause, and then say "Amen". Other portions of the Quran may also be recited.

If one is not followed by others and one is not the Imam then one should utter the two rak'a audibly before the dawn prayer and also recite audibly the sunset and evening prayers.

Paragraph on Bowing. The Takbir for the Bowing should be uttered but should not be joined to the end of the Surah. Directions for the raising of the hands in the Takbir and the position of the hands in Bowing, also the position of the knees, head, and back. Different positions of the arms in the case of a man and a woman.

"O the praise etc." to be said three times. If one is not the Imam then it is better to say this from seven to ten times. After getting up, standing straight and raising the hands, one says "Allah has heard etc.", Then, standing, one says "Thine is the praise etc.". In the second rak'a of the prescribed dawn prayer one should recite the Qunut.

138 (1) See Calverley op. cit. and art. Fatiha, Ency. of Islam.
Paragraph on Prostration. After uttering the Takbîr place the knees, then the hands, then the forehead and, finally, the nose, on the ground. Both hands, (fingers joined together), should be extended, parallel. (1) The forearms should not be spread out touching the ground. (2). A woman should keep all the members of the body together, but a man should have a space between arms and side, thigh and stomach. One should then say "O the praise etc." three times. If one is not the Imam it is approved that one say it more than three times. After this one should say the Takbîr and then sit on the left foot, put the hands on the thighs and say "O Lord, forgive me etc." After this comes the second prostration and then the sitting. After this one should stand and the second rak'a should be recited like the first. One should seek refuge in God and then recite the Fatihâ.

Paragraph on the Witnessing. After the second rak'a one sits on the left foot as between the two prostrations. The index finger of the right hand should be left hanging.

Directions for the use of the finger when saying "Except God". No sign is to be made when saying "There is no deity". The thumb also may hang.

In the second Witnessing, both feet should be brought from under one as one sits on the left buttock. After saying "The Lord have mercy on Muhammad etc" in the first Witnessing, one should stand. At the end of the second Witnessing one should say "Peace be upon you etc.", half turning first the right cheek, and then the left. At this time one should make the Intention to cease worship. The Intention in the case of the above-mentioned salutations is that they be directed to one's fellow-worshippers and to the angels.

139 (1) Read ِّبُرث Exercises with B.M. Ms. fo. 49b
(2) Read ِّبُرث Exercises with B.M. Ms. fo. 49b.
Cairo edition of I.D. 1/138 supports this with a footnote (note 2).
Section on things which are disapproved when worshipping.

When worshipping, one should not be hungry, thirsty, angry needing to urinate or to evacuate, nor should one have anything in the heart which hinders humility. One should not keep both feet tight together, raise one foot, sit on the tips of the toes during prostration, sit on the buttocks or bring the knees to the chest. The hands should not be put inside the clothing, and clothing itself should not be gathered up before or behind or under oneself during prostration. The hands should not wander, one should not look around, crack the fingers, scratch, yawn or play with the beard. One should not remove pebbles or blow dust away from the place of prostration. One's fingers should not be intertwined nor should one support one's back on something.

All should be symmetrical.

Only twelve things are prescribed for worship (1).

When these things are observed the worshipper is safe from the "sword". Nevertheless, there is danger in man's becoming "surety" for worship. (1).

Faulty worship is like the offering of a mutilated slave girl to the Sultan.

Section on the nature and the spirit of worship. The foregoing is the body of worship, and a body is dead without a spirit. Devoid of its acts, worship is like a mutilated man, and if there are acts but no spirit then worship is like one who has ears and eyes but is without sight or hearing.

The spirit of worship is humility and being "present in heart" before God, and the purpose of worship is to preserve awe and dread in the heart.

140 (1) Act nine in I.D. is act eleven in K.
141 (1) For the penalty for neglect of worship, see C/58 (84). For "surety" see C/58 (84).
Surah 20.14 is quoted.

Two Traditions follow with the comment that merit gained by worship depends upon the extent to which the heart is "present".

Two Traditions quoted.

Tradition quoted.

Statement about Abraham's heart in prayer.

Statement of 'Ali.

Saying of Sufyân al Thawrî on humility.

Sayings of Ḥasan al Basrî and Ma‘adh.

Statements by Abû Ḥanîfah al Shâfi‘î to the effect that worship is sound when the heart is "present" at the first Takbîr. Most scholars accept this, but it is a concession to man's carelessness, and is merely enough to save a man from the sword of the Sultan.

Such a person may fare better at the resurrection than one who offers no worship, and yet, his case may be worse in that a man who is careless in his work may be punished more severely than one who does not come for work at all!

The saying of Ḥasan al Basrî is repeated, and also a Tradition is quoted.

In closing, K. observes that that worship is perfect and "lives" in which the heart is "present" from first to last. When it is "present" merely at the first Takbîr then there is merely a spark of life. Such a heart is like a sick man who has but a moment to live.

Section on the spirit and nature of the acts connected with worship.

Reference to the early days of Islam and the time when the blacksmith dropped his hammer and the cobbler his awl, as soon as the call to prayer was heard.

(1) This reference is to the Cairo 1352 A.H. edition.
The call to prayer points to the call at the day of resurrection, and those who rejoice at the sound here, will rejoice then.

A paragraph on Purification. Outward purification is the shell, the spirit of purification is to be pure in heart by being repentant and ashamed for sin and forsaking one's evil ways. God looks on the heart. The true nature of worship resides in the heart, and the body is merely the locus for the outward forms of worship.

A paragraph on the covering of the privities. By contrast, moral disfigurement cannot be hid from God. Repentance is required. One should therefore stand before God in a state of fear, and with regret for sins, broken and ashamed like a slave, who, having sinned and fled from the presence of his master, returns to his presence with fear.

A paragraph on facing the Qiblah. The significance of this is that one should also turn one's heart from all things other than God. As the outward Qiblah is one, so also God is One, and He is the heart's Qiblah. As the face should be fixed steadfastly towards the Qiblah, so also, the attention of the heart should not wander.

Tradition on this topic.

K. concludes that the outward act is the shell, and that all works derive their value from that which is within the heart. The shell itself has no particular value.

Paragraph on Standing Erect. With one's head bent before God, one stands thus like a slave. God knows all the secrets of the heart, and one should be ashamed before Him. Tradition supporting this (1).

Those who stood so still in worship that the birds mistook them for stones.

144 (1) A great deal of I.D. material omitted here.
Tradition on a man playing with his beard and not keeping still in worship.

A brief paragraph on bowing and prostration. Outwardly, this signifies humility, inwardly it requires humility of heart. Man puts his face, his noblest part, in the dust from which he comes and to which he returns. Man thus reminds himself that he is destitute and impotent.

K. concludes this section with the observation that each outward act has an inward significance. If one is ignorant of this fact then one gets nothing from one's works but the outward form.

Section on the Recitation of the Qurān and the "pillars" of worship.

Every statement employed in worship has a special significance and one's heart should be in accord with what is uttered. When uttering the Takbīr one should not make oneself a liar by esteeming anything greater than God. By serving other things, "man makes a god of his lusts" (Surah 45.22).

When the opening supplication "I have turned my face etc." is uttered, the heart should be turned from the world towards God. He who tells a lie here is in great peril.

When one says "I am a Ḥanīf, a Muslim" one should be a person from whose hand and tongue Muslims are safe (1).

At the opening expression of praise in the Fātiha one should be thankful at heart. When one says "Thee do we worship" then the heart should be sincere. In saying "Guide us..." one should be humble, as when one cries for aid.

145 (1) K. Notes that this is based on a tradition.
The state of the heart should be in accord with every Tahālīl and Tasbīḥ which one utters (2).

One should not rest content with a meaningless form of worship (1).

Section on the remedy to be applied in order to bring about "presence of heart" before God.

There are two causes of lack of concentration. The first is an external cause. The worshipper is in a place where ear and eye are attracted and the heart is distracted. In order to remedy this one may worship in a dark place or lower the eyes. A reference to the practice of ibn 'Umar.

The second is an inward cause. Distracting thoughts arise in the heart. If one is pre-occupied with some business then one should be free of it before embarking on worship. This is the reason for the Prophet's injunction that one should first eat when worship coincides with meal times.

One should finish one's conversation also before embarking on worship. When distracting habits of thought prevail in the course of worship then one should concentrate on the words of worship and think on their meaning. One should repulse stubborn thoughts, for otherwise one will never be free of them and such "inner speech" will mingle with the worship.

The worshipper should follow the example of the man who cut down a tree because he was distracted from his worship by the warbling of the birds which perched on its branches.

145 (2) For Tahālīl and Tasbīḥ see Calverley, op.cit. (index)
146 (1) At this point K. makes a further change in the arrangement of I.D. materials, omitting the section on "The worship of the humble" (C/125-130).
The Prophet discarded cloth which distracted his attention during worship, also a new latchet on his sandal. He gave away his new shoes to a beggar for the same reason.

Talhah gave away a garden as an atonement when distracted by a bird therein.

All that hinders "presence of the heart" should be removed by the removal from the heart of concern for things of this world.

K. adds that one should perform supererogatory acts of worship. After four rak'a of worship the heart may be "present" and such acts may serve to correct the acts of prescribed worship. (1)

Section on the excellencies of worship in the company of the congregation of believers.

A number of Traditions are cited in support of this.

Attitude to worship in the early days of Islam.

The worship is not sound if one worships alone without a reason for so doing (1).

The office of the Imam is then discussed. One should act as Imam only with the approval of the congregation. (2). One should not refuse to act as Imam without a good reason for such a refusal.

The office of Imam is more honourable than that of the Mu'adhbin. (3)

The Imam should wear clean clothes.

The Imam should begin worship at the correct time.

147 (1) At this point K. reverts to materials to be found at an earlier stage in I.D.

148 (1) I.D. says that this is disapproved (C/48f), but is later undecided on this point (C/209).

(2) I.D. says that a pious minority's wish may be acceded to in this.

(3) See Calverley, op.cit. (index).
Two Traditions are quoted.

One should not accept hire for the office of Imam.

The Imam should not pronounce the Takbīr until the rows of worshippers are straight.

The Takbīr should be audible and the Imam should announce his Intention. This should be done that he may gain the reward for acting as Imam. If he does not do so, then the assembly will not be regular and the congregation will not gain the reward for worship.

The recitation of the Qurān in worship. This recitation should be made in an audible voice.

Three pauses are required.

Anyone who is a long way from the Imam should recite only the Fatīha after him.

The Imam should perform the Bowing and the Prostration quickly and not say the Tasbīh more than thrice. A Tradition supports this. Such speed may have been due to the fact that, on a certain occasion, somebody worshipping may have been infirm or had some work in hand.

The worshipper should not act in unison with the Imam but should follow him. He should not begin his Prostration until the forehead of the Imam has touched the ground.

The worshippers should not form the Intention of Bowing until the Imam has embarked upon the act. The worship is spoiled if one bows or prostrates prior to the Imam.

At the close, after a prayer based on a Tradition, the Imam should get up quickly, turn to the congregation and offer the salutation. The congregation should not rise until the Imam has risen.

Section on the excellence of Friday worship.

Friday is an excellent day. It is the festival day of the believer.
Another Tradition on Friday (1)

The following Traditions are then quoted.

Sub-section on the stipulations connected with Friday worship.

In addition to the usual stipulations connected with worship, six are specifically connected with Friday worship. The conditions to be fulfilled are those of time and locality.

Worship is regular even when not in a mosque.

There should not be less than forty males in number.

The assembly must function as a congregation even when somebody begins late or offers the second rak'a alone. If more than one assembly is formed when there is no need for more than one the worship of that assembly is valid in which the opening takbîr is first recited. Sixthly, to sit between the two khutbahs (1) and to stand during them are prescribed acts, each having four prescribed conditions.

One may abstain from Friday worship because of rain, mud or attendance on the sick. Friday worship is not prescribed for women, slaves, children and travellers. If one has a valid reason for non-attendance, then one’s noon worship should be delayed until the congregation has completed that Friday observance.

Sub-section on the ten proprieties connected with Friday worship.

The first is that preparation for Friday worship should be made in the heart. One should prepare white clothing and deal with matters of business so that one may get to the place of worship on Friday morning. After mid-afternoon worship on Thursday one should sit, offer TASBîH and ask for pardon. The merit for this is equal to that of the "hour of honour". Sexual intercourse is sunnat because it requires ghusl.

149 (1) K. adds the comment "his heart has become rusty"
150 (1) See Calverley, op.cit pg.148 ref. to KHUTB.
Secondly, ghual should be performed at daybreak so that one may be in the mosque early; otherwise, one should delay (until one is ready to go to the mosque). The Prophet enjoined ghual on Friday and some scholars say that it is prescribed.

The saying about the people of Madīnah. Instructions about legal impurity; pouring water a second time; announcing the Intentions for both Friday observance and sunnat ghual in order to gain merit for both.

Thirdly, one should come into the mosque groomed, clean, and having a good appearance. The head should be shaved, the nails pared and the moustache trimmed. This may be done in the Īhāmām beforehand. One should wear white clothes and use scent.

Fourthly, one should go to the Žā}' mosque at dawn. In the early days of Īslām, people used to carry lamps and to crowd the roads. The story of ibn Mas'ūd.

The forsaking of this early-dawn arrival at the mosque was the first innovation in Īslām.

Jews and Christians go to their places of worship at dawn, and Muslims should do likewise.

Tradition on the hours of arrival at the mosque.

Fifthly, one should not, on arriving late, step over people’s necks. The penalties for this.

Tradition cited.

One may step over people however, if an empty place has been left in the front rank.

Sixthly, one should not pass in front of a worshipper. Tradition on this.

Seventhly, if there is no place in the front rank then one should get as near as possible to the Imām, providing that there are no soldiers near him wearing brocade or the black garment of the preacher is made of silk etc.
Eighthly, silence is enjoined when the preacher comes to ascend the pulpit. One should only reply to the Mu'ādhān and, after that, listen to the sermon. If somebody speaks then one should silence him with a sign only.

Tradition cited to support this.

If one is too far away to hear the sermon, then one should sit in silence among the silent. One should offer only the prayer of salutation to the mosque.

Ninthly, after the worship, one should say the following Sūrahs seven times each: 1, 112, 113, 114. They give protection against Satan until the following Friday.

One should pray "O Allāh, O rich One". This evokes sustenance from an unexpected quarter (Sūrah 65.2) and one is independent of mankind. Following the example of the Prophet one should offer six rak'a of worship after the Friday prayers.

Tenthly, one should remain in the mosque until afternoon prayer, or, better, until sunset worship. The reward for this. If one cannot remain then one should not be lax in remembering God, for the "hour of honour" (See C/165f) may come then.

Sub-section on other proprieties to be observed on Friday.

They are seven in all.

Firstly, one should spend the morning in the company of scholars and those whose speech and character incline one to the next world; avoiding those who do not exercise such an influence. A Tradition quoted.

Secondly, there is an "hour of honour" every Friday. Tradition quoted.

This hour may come at any time. The time is not known and one must look for it all day.

Thirdly, one should call down blessings on the Prophet often on Friday. Two Traditions. The second of these Traditions to be prayed seven times.
However, it is enough if one merely blesses Muḥammad and his family.

Fourthly, one should recite the Qurān a great deal, especially Sūrah 18.

A Tradition on this.

In former times, Muslims recited Sūrah 112 a thousand times, interceded for the Prophet and recited Tausb̲h̲ and Tahm̲d̲ (1)

"There is no deity but Allāh", and the Takb̲h̲r, each a thousand times.

Fifthly, one should perform worship often on Friday.

Tradition quoted in support.

It is approved that one recite four rakʿa and the following Sūras: 6, 18, 20 & 36. If this is not possible, then one should recite Sūras 36, 31, 44 & 67. Ibn ʿAbbās recited the worship of praise every Friday. Directions for this.

Sixthly, one should give alms.

Even a piece of bread suffices.

Alms given on this day excel in excellence. The beggar who begs during the Khutb̲ah̲ should not be chided, but one should give alms there and then.

Seventhly, one should reserve Friday for works of the future life, doing business on other days.

Quotation of Sūrah 62.10. Anas said that this verse does not refer to trading but to visiting the brethren, the sick, following biers etc. Problems arising from doubts about one's Intention.

One may stand to receive a scholar without debating inwardly about it, the inclination itself being the Intention.

154 (1) For Tausb̲h̲ and Tahm̲d̲ see Calverley, op. cit. (index).
One should be aware of the act of worship but not of all its details when one makes the Intention. One should say the Takbîr when the heart is attentive.

The saying of the Takbîr at the outset is a sufficient indication of one's Intention to worship, and one need not have a grasp of all the details of worship in one's mind.

The Prophet and his Companions were not perplexed by such doubts about the Intention.

In quantity, the material in this part of K. is slightly more than one fifth of that found in the corresponding book of Volume One of I. D.
PILLAR ONE, SECTION FIVE.

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ZAKāT. (1).

Introduction. Islam is based upon five things:-

The Kalimah (2), Worship, Zakāt, Fasting, and Ḥajj. (3).

Tradition concerning the branding on the breast of those who do not pay Zakāt so that the brand comes out at the back.

Tradition. Manner in which animals for which Zakāt has not been paid will treat the owners on the day of resurrection. This is described as a Sahīḥ tradition. (4)

Statement about the types of Zakāt and the stipulations about it. Six kinds of Zakāt are obligatory:-

(1) Zakāt must be paid on such animals as camels, cows and goats. No Zakāt is required on horses and asses.

(a) The first stipulation is that the animals have grazed for their food. If they have been fed with fodder then no Zakāt is demanded.

(b) The second stipulation is that the owner has possessed them for a whole year. The offspring, even when born at the end of the year are to be taxed with the dam.

(c) The third stipulation is that the animals have been in the owner's use for this period. If the property decreases or a tyrant appropriates it, then no Zakāt is required. If the animals are however, returned to the owner, with their increments, then Zakāt is required. Whoever is in debt to an amount which exceeds the value of his property is not required to pay Zakāt.

156 (1) See art. Zakāt, Ency. of Islam and D.T.T. (Sprenger).
(2) The Kalimah is the confession "There is no deity but God etc.."
(3) In I.D. 1/187, Ḥajj and fasting are not mentioned.
(d) The fourth stipulation is that the property be of an amount liable to tax. No Zakāt is to be paid for camels until one possesses five. (1).

The Zakāt for 5 camels is a sheep.

The Zakāt for 10 camels is 2 sheep.

The Zakāt for 15 camels is 3 sheep.

The Zakāt for 20 camels is 4 sheep.

(Such sheep should not be less than one year old. If a goat is given instead then it must not be less than two years old).

The Zakāt for 25 camels is a one year old she-camel. If one does not possess such a camel then a two year old male camel may be substituted.

For 36 camels the Zakāt is a two year old she-camel.

For 46 camels the Zakāt is a three year old she-camel.

For 61 camels the Zakāt is a four year old she-camel.

For 76 camels the Zakāt is two two year old she-camels.

For 91 camels the Zakāt is two three year old she-camels.

For 121 camels the Zakāt is three two year old she-camels.

After this number a two year old she-camel should be given for every additional forty camels and a three year old she-camel for every additional fifty camels.

In the case of cows and oxen, no Zakāt is demanded if they are less than thirty in number.

The Zakāt for 30 is a one year calf.

The Zakāt for 40 is a two year beast.

The Zakāt for 60 is two one year calves.

After this a one year calf is demanded for every additional 30 beasts, and a two year calf for every 40 additional beasts.

157 (1) The above stipulations are arranged to form five stipulations in I.D.
In the case of goats and sheep no Zakāt is demanded for less than forty.

The Zakāt for 40 is one goat/sheep in its 2nd year.
The Zakāt for 121 is two goats/sheep in their 2nd year.
The Zakāt for 201 is three goats/sheep in their 2nd year.
The Zakāt for 400 is four goats/sheep in their 2nd year.

After this one animal is demanded for every additional hundred.

When there are partners and both of them (1) are required to pay Zakāt (i.e. one of the partners is not a misbeliever or a self-ransomed slave), and the joint property consists of 40 animals then each partner must give half an animal, and so on throughout the scale.

Zakāt must also be given for edible grain. A tenth part is demanded when there is not less than 800 maunds of wheat, barley, dates, raisins, pulse, gram, rice etc.

No Zakāt is demanded for non-edible commodities such as cotton, nuts, flax and also fruit. (2).

The amount of grain taxable must be of one kind, i.e. wheat and barley must not be mixed.

If the crop has been irrigated by a bucket (3) (i.e. by labour) and not from a stream or a conduit, then not more than one twentieth is demanded as Zakāt.

Dry, not moist, dates and raisin must be given in payment of Zakāt, although grapes may be given when raisins are not available. The crop should not be put to one's own use until one has calculated the portion for the poor.

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(1) I.D. reads dhimmi (see art. Ency. of Islam) not misbeliever (Kāfir).
(2) I.D. does not refer to nuts and flax.
(3) Read with B.K.Ms. fo.57b..
Zakāt is also demanded on one's gold and silver. Five dirhams are demanded when one has had 200 dirhams of silver in one's possession for a whole year. When one has 20 dinārs of pure gold for that period then half a dinār is demanded. Amounts in excess of the above must also be taxed at the same rate, i.e. one fortieth is demanded. This also applies to gold and silver utensils, silver inlaid work on swords and any objects which need not be made of such metals. There is no Zakāt demanded for any ornament of gold or silver which may fittingly be worn by man or woman.

Zakāt is demanded for merchandise. When, for example, one buys anything for the sum of 20 dinārs with the intention of trading, then the appropriate amount of Zakāt must be paid on the 20 dinārs and also on the profit which accrues. One must take stock of the value of one's goods at the end of the year.

Zakāt is also demanded when one's capital is in gold or silver and it must be given in the currency of the city where it is paid.

Zakāt is not demanded when one has merchandise in one's possession and merely makes the intention to trade with it (and does not trade) or one does no more than buy something with that intention. If however, one possesses cash which is a taxable amount, and one has the use of it for a year then Zakāt is demanded.

We see from the above that if the intention to trade is relinquished during a year then one need not pay Zakāt on such merchandise (1).

Concerning Zakāt given as alms on the 'Īd al Fīṭr. (2)

Whatever a householder has in excess of the needs of his family apart from house and clothing - he must give a ṣā' (two and a half mounds) of 159 (1) I.D. says that it is better to give Zakāt in such cases, but one is not obliged to do so. K. gives a simple direction. (2) See art. 'Īd al Fīṭr. Ency. of Islam.
the grain he usually eats. If he eats wheat he must not give barley, and vice versa. If he has a mixed diet then he must give the best grain he eats.

According to al Ḥāfiṣ, he must not give wheat flour as his alms in wheat. The householder must give alms on behalf of his dependents and also his slave. When a slave is shared then both owners share the Fitr alms. No alms are to be given on behalf of the *mistbelieving* slave. It is correct if a wife give the alms on her own behalf but the husband may give the alms on behalf of a wife without getting her permission.

The above facts should be known about Zakāt and other questions may be referred to the scholars.

**Description of how Zakāt should be given.**

There are five observances.

Firstly, the intention to pay Zakāt must be made. If one appoints an agent to act on one's behalf then the intention may be made when appointing him, or he may be allowed to make the intention for the donor. The guardian makes the intention to pay Zakāt from the property of his ward.

Secondly, Zakāt should be given speedily when the year of possession ends. The Fitr Zakāt should not be postponed until after the 'Id day. Zakāt may be given during Ramadan, but not before Ramadan. Zakāt may be given as alms (1) during the course of the year on condition that the recipient remains in a state of poverty to the end of that year, (and is therefore eligible to receive it). If such a recipient dies before the end of the year then the donor must give afresh. This also applies when the recipient becomes wealthy or apostatises.

160 (1) For alms Zakāt see Sprenger D.T.T. art. Zakāt.
Thirdly, the Zakāt must be given in kind, out of the property itself. The school of al Ṣāfī'ī required that one should not give gold instead of silver or barley instead of wheat, or substitute any other property of the same value.

Fourthly, one should give alms in the place where the property is situated. The needy of that place will have expectations concerning it. Nevertheless, Zakāt is sound if given in another city.

Fifthly, Zakāt should be given to people from among eight groups and there should not be less than three in each group. There should therefore be at least twenty-four recipients. If the Zakāt consists of one dirham then, according to the school of al Ṣāfī'ī it should be divided, by a division into eight parts, one for each group. One may nevertheless, divide it as one wishes among them, and the division need not be equal.

In these days three kinds of eligible recipients are seldom found, i.e. the man on jihād (2), those reconciled to Islam (See Surah 9.60) and the agent (the intermediary who distributes Zakāt). One may however, find the needy, the self-ransomed slave, the traveller and the debtor. One should therefore give Zakāt to not less than fifteen men.

The above is Shafi'ī's opinion and two things here occasion difficulty. One is the demand that Zakāt be bestowed on all these groups. The second is the demand that Zakāt be given out of the property itself and no substitute be offered. Most men follow the school of Abū Ḥanīfah in respect of these two matters. We trust that they will not be punished for this. (3).

160 (2) See art. Djihād, Ency. of Islam.
(3) K. re-arranges I.D. materials at this point and moves on to I.D. 1/198. There is no specific reference to the schools of al Ṣāfī'ī and Abū Ḥanīfah in I.D.
Statement on the eight groups of people (who are eligible to receive Zakāt alms).

The first is the poor man. Such a person has nothing and can save nothing. If a man has food for one day and is fully clothed then he is not a poor man. If he does not have more than half a day's food (4) and lacks a shirt or a body wrapper, then he is a poor man.

If a man is able to earn with tools and yet lacks them, he is a poor man. If a student has to forsake his study in order to gain a livelihood then he is a poor man.

This is usually the case with boys, and so their parents should be given the portion of Zakāt due to a poor man.

The second is the needy person. He is one whose necessary expenditure exceeds his income and he is needy even though he has a house and clothing. One may give to him a sufficient amount in order to make up what he lacks for his yearly expenses. He is a needy man even though he may possess goods and books.

The third is one who receives Zakāt from the wealthy in order to distribute it to the needy. Such people have a right to their commission.

The fourth is one who may become a Muslim on the receipt of a gift (Sūrah 9.60). By this means, others also may be encouraged to accept Islam.

The fifth is the slave who redeems himself.

The sixth is one who puts himself into financial difficulties and debt because of some righteous act. Such a person deserves help whether he was poor or rich.

Read with B.M.Ms. fo. 58a. Bombay text p.71 supports this.
The seventh is the man on Jihad whose allowance is not provided by the treasury. Such a person, though rich, may be aided by Zakāt monies.

The eighth is the traveller who lacks provision while on his journey.

If anyone declares himself to be poor or needy, then one should not doubt his statement when he is not a notorious liar. One must reclaim one's alms from the professed traveller who does not journey and the pseudo jihādi. One should enquire from reliable sources about the other groups mentioned above (1).

The esoteric significance of the gift of Zakāt.

Just as worship has an outward form, and a quiddity which is the spirit of the outward form, so also has Zakāt. He who gives Zakāt and does not know this is one whose Zakāt is a form without spirit.

There are three esoteric aspects of Zakāt:— Firstly, a Muslim must love God. Quotation of Surah 9.24. God has told man that, in order to demonstrate his love for God, he must devote the wealth that he loves to God's service.

The "sincere" are in the first rank of those who love God, and they have devoted their all to God. A comparison is made between Abū Bakr—who gave his all—and 'Umar—who bestowed half of his property—to the detriment of 'Umar.

The "righteous" are in the second rank. They do not expend all their goods in Zakāt, but give as occasion arises. They give more than the stipulated portion in Zakāt.

161 (1) K. now returns to materials in 1/192 of I.D, arranging the materials to suit its purpose.
Finally, the third rank consists of those who give the five stipulated dirhams out of every two hundred and who fulfill this command of God with a glad heart. They pay Zakāt quickly without making the poor man feel any sense of obligation to them. Nevertheless, the love for God is very weak in one who gives only five dirhams.

The second esoteric significance of Zakāt is that it cleanses the heart from miserliness. Miserliness is an impurity of the heart and it must be removed before embarking on worship, just as bodily defilement has to be removed. Zakāt is designed to remove the impurity of miserliness.

Zakāt is like the water with which impurity is washed away. For this reason it is forbidden to offer the filth of property, as Zakāt, to the family of the Prophet.

The third esoteric significance is that one expresses thankfulness for the blessing of property. Just as worship, fasting and Hajj express gratitude for bodily blessings, so Zakāt is a thanksgiving for the blessing of property. When a Muslim solicits one for a gift then one must be thankful for the wealth which one is able to bestow, and show him kindness.

This may be God's trial, for God may yet make me like him and him like me!

Knowledge of the esoteric significance of Zakāt redeems one's act from being a mere outward form of service.

Statement on the proprieties connected with the giving of Zakāt.

There are seven observances which ensure that one's Zakāt is living, has a spirit, and gains a twofold regard.

The first is that the Zakāt be given speedily, and sometimes, given before the appointed time. This reveals the influence of a desire to worship and does not proceed from a fear of punishment, as is the case.
when one defaults. The heart of the poor man will also rejoice, and he will offer up petitions for the welfare of the donor. The giver will also be released from the troubles which arise when there is delay in giving. God has put the inclination to give into his heart, and he should act before Satan attacks him. "The heart of the believer is between two fingers of the Merciful".

Story of the saint who, while in privy, was prompted to give his shirt to the poor. He called his disciple immediately and handed the shirt to him lest anything should enter his heart which would hinder the good act.

The second propriety is that, when Zakat is given once in the year, it be given either in Muharram at the beginning of the year, or in the month of Ramadan. The latter is a more noble time than the former. The Prophet used to give away all that he had in the month of Ramadan.

The third propriety is that Zakat should be given in secret and not openly.

Tradition. Giving alms in secret removes the wrath of God.

Tradition. The seven men who are in the shadow of the Throne on the day of resurrection.

One person in the shade of the Throne will be the just ruler. Another such person is he who so gives with his right hand that his left hand does not know. (Cf. St. Matthew 6.3).

If alms are given openly then they are recorded among one's outward acts. If they are given in secret then they are recorded among one's inward acts. If one tells another of one's almsgiving then God causes the act to be recorded in the register of hypocrisy.

The "fathers", for this reason, gave secretly, and silently put their alms into the hand of a poor blind man, or put them on the path followed by the poor, or gave them through another, or put them into the clothing of the poor man while he slept. They gave in secret
lest hypocrisy be born in the heart.

Avarice is like a scorpion and hypocrisy is like a snake which is worse than a scorpion. To feed the snake hypocrisy with the diet of avarice, i.e. the scorpion, is merely to strengthen the snake. These things wound the heart. The injury in giving alms openly is greater than the profit.

The fourth propriety is that one may give openly when one has no fear of being a hypocrite. By acting in this way one may encourage others to give alms. One may act in this fashion if one is not influenced by considerations of the praise or blame of men.

The fifth propriety is that one should not waste one's alms by casting one's kindness into the recipients' teeth. Quotation of Surah 2, 266. One should not look with contempt on the one who solicits a gift.

The donor should remember that, by giving Zakat, he gains paradise and salvation from hell. The giving of Zakat, therefore, should not be irksome. One should also remember that the poor man is more noble than the rich and that he goes into paradise five hundred years before the rich. In God's estimation, pride and dignity lie in poverty and not in wealth. God has also caused the rich to labour for the poor in this world and to enter paradise five hundred years after the poor man.

The sixth propriety is that one should not put another under a sense of obligation through one's generosity. One should not expect the poor man to render service because he has received alms. To act thus is ignorance and folly. The poor man does the rich man a kindness by accepting his alms, thus liberating him from the fire of hell and purifying his heart from avarice.

If a barber should cup a rich man without charge and thus save him from death, then the rich man should be grateful.
Avarice brings destruction, and the rich man finds salvation through the poor when he gives alms. He should therefore be thankful to the poor man.

The Prophet said that alms pass through the kind hand of God before coming to the poor man.

The poor man acts as God's vicegerent in accepting alms and so one should be grateful to the poor. The "fathers" stood before the poor in humility, taking care, when giving, that the hand of the poor man was above their own.

Story of 'A'ishah's and Umm Salmah's enquiries about the prayers of the poor when they sent alms for them. They enquired so that they might offer the same prayers for the poor, and so ensure that the reward for their alms would not be reduced.

The seventh propriety is that one should give of one's best and of that which has been lawfully acquired.

God is pure, and accepts that which is pure.

Quotation of Surah 2.269f. That which one receives from another with dislike should not be expended in God's service. God will not accept alms which are not given gladly. The saying of the Prophet that one dirham, given gladly, may take precedence over a thousand dirhams.

Statement on the proprieties to be observed when seeking a poor man in order to give Zakat alms. (1).

If Zakat is given in the right fashion, then there is a twofold reward for it.

One should therefore seek for someone in whom one of the five qualities are to be found that we now mention:— (2).

167 (1) This is the eighth propriety in the foregoing series.
(2) Six qualities are mentioned in I.D.
Firstly, the recipient should be devout and temperate. The Prophet said "Set your food before the devout only". Such people use one's gift in God's service and the donor shares in the reward of their service.

Story of one of the "fathers" who gave alms to the poor because they served none other than God. al Junayd was told about him. The man, a greengrocer, became bankrupt and al Junayd helped him to set up in business.

Secondly, the recipient may be a student and alms will make it possible for him to study.

The giver of alms will share in the reward for his knowledge.

Thirdly, the recipient may be one who conceals his poverty (1). Quotation of Surah 2.274. When giving to such people one should not give in the manner that one gives to the bolder beggar.

Fourthly, he may be a man with a large family, or be a sick man. (2).

The reward for giving aid to the sick will be in proportion to the need and affliction of the sick person.

Fifthly, the recipient may be among one's kindred. (3).

He who acknowledges the right of a relative, for the love of God is among "those who are brought near".

The needy person in whom all or most of these qualities are to be found is the best type of person to be given alms. The recipient will pray for the donor and this gain will be added to the gain of having avarice removed from the heart.

168 (1) Fourth in I.D.
(2) Fifth in I.D.
(3) Sixth in I.D.
Zakat must not be given to the family of the Prophet or the family of 'Ali. Such property should also not be given to the misbelievers.

Statement on the courtesies to be observed by the recipient of Zakat.

The recipient of Zakat must give heed to five things:

Firstly, God has appointed some to be rich and others to be poor. He has been gracious to those whom He has protected from the snare of wealth and He has put the burden of care for this world and the gaining of wealth upon the rich. He has also ordered the rich to provide sustenance for those who devote themselves to worship.

Thus, the prayer of the poor is an atonement for the deeds of the rich.

Whatever the poor man receives, therefore, he should take with the intention of performing worship and he should recognise that God has caused the rich to labour for him that he may worship.

God is like a King who keeps His special servants from external concerns so that they may be busied about His service. He makes the country boors and the bazaar folk to be His forced labourers. God takes taxes and gives them to His special servants just as a king does.

Thus, it is God's will that all men should serve Him.

Quotation of Surah 51.56.

The poor man should have this intention when accepting alms.

A saying of the Prophet "He who gives does not have pre-emience over him who receives... if he receives in order to have leisure for worship.

Secondly, the recipient should understand that whatever he receives has come from God Who ordained the giving. The giver is a believer who gives because his salvation and happiness are related to alms giving. The poor who receives must thank the giver.
Tradition. He who does not thank men will not thank God.

God praises His servants even when He creates their acts. Quotation of Surah 19.42 and 57. God honours him whom He has made to be a means of good.

Tradition (1). God said "There is joy for him whom I have created for goodness and have made goodness easy for him".

The recipient should recognise the worth of the giver and offer this prayer for him "May God cleanse your heart...may God cleanse your acts... may God have mercy on your spirit, etc."

Tradition. Whoever does good to you do likewise to him. If this is not possible, then return his goodness by praying for him.

The recipient should not despise the gift. He should conceal any defect there may be in the gift.

Thirdly, one should not accept property which is unlawful. One should not accept a gift from a tyrant or usurer.

Fourthly, one should not accept more than one needs.

(Examples)(1).

If ten dirhams are sufficient for his family then the poor man should not accept eleven, for that would be unlawful.

If one has excess of furniture etc. above one's needs, then one should not accept Zakāt.

Fifthly, if the donor of Zakāt is not informed about such matters one should ask him what portion of his Zakāt he is offering. One should enquire whether the portion he offers is for the poor or for debtors. If the portion he offers is not appropriate or the donor is

170 (1) I.D. debates this at some length but K. follows the spirit of I.D.1/195 where it is said that to give to the poor in excess of his need injures the poor man. K. is content to give a simple direction on this point.
offering an eighth of his Zakāt, one should not accept it. According to the school of al Shāfiʿī a whole eighth portion may not be given to one man.

Statement on the excellence of giving alms.

Tradition. The Prophet said "Continue to give alms, even though it be only half a date..."

Tradition. The Prophet said "Save yourself from Hell, if only by means of half a date. If this is not possible, then by a mere kind word".

Tradition. The Prophet said "God takes the alms of a Muslim which are given from lawful property, and cares for them... and a few dates become equal to Mount Ummāl".

Tradition. The Prophet said "Everyone will be under the shadow of his alms on the day of resurrection..."

Tradition. The Prophet said "Alms close seventy doors of depravity".

Tradition. People asked the Prophet which alms are the most excellent. He replied "The alms given while one is in good health, while there is hope of life and no fear of poverty..."

Jesus said "He who turns a beggar away from his door, disappointed, the angels will not enter his house for seven days".

There are two works which the Prophet did not depute to others but did them himself. He himself would give alms to the poor and set ready water for wūfū at night. He said "Whoever gives clothing to a Muslim remains under God's protection".

'A'ishah patched her tunic and yet gave 50,000 dirhams in alms. She did not have a new garment made for herself.

Saying of ibn Ma'sūd about a man who worshipped God for seventy years and then committed a mortal sin. As a reward for a loaf
given in alms God granted him again seventy years of worship.

Luqmān advised his son to give alms when he had committed any sin.

'Abdallāh bin 'Umar gave a great deal of sugar - which he prized - as alms.

Quotation of Sūrah 3.86.

Saying of al Ṣa'īb about one who does not know himself to be in as great need of almsgiving as the poor man needs the gift.

Saying of Ḥasan al Baṣrī on seeing a beautiful slave girl offered for sale.

This section on Zakāt contains slightly more than a third of the amount of text found in I.D. on this subject.
Fasting is among the Pillars of Islam.

Qudsī Tradition. God rewards ten-fold for every good work. (1)

Quotation of Surah 39.13.

The reward for one who forsakes his lusts is beyond computation.

Tradition. Endurance is half of faith and fasting is half of endurance.

Qudsī Tradition. God esteems the breath of one who fasts more than the odour of musk. (2).

Qudsī Tradition. God's slave forsakes eating, drinking and sexual intercourse for God's sake. (3).

Tradition. The sleep of one who fasts is worship.

Tradition. In the month of Ramadan the gates of Paradise are open and the gates of Hell are closed.

The dignity of fasting lies in the fact that God connects it with Himself and says "It is for My sake and I shall give the reward". Although all acts of worship are directed to God He gives distinction to fasting similar to that which He grants to the Ka'bah by calling it His House even though the whole world is His dominion.

Fasting has two special features. Firstly, it is an inward matter. It is hidden and there is no room here for hypocrisy. Secondly, fasting helps to defeat Satan in that it weakens the hosts of Satan, i.e. lusts.
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Tradition. Satan moves in men like the blood..., make Satan's path strait with hunger!

Tradition. The Prophet advises 'I'ishah to knock at the gates of Paradise by means of hunger.

Tradition. Fasting is a shield.

Tradition. Fasting is the door to all acts of divine worship.

Section on the duties to be observed in fasting.

There are six duties prescribed.

(a) The first is to enquire concerning the time when the month of Ramadān begins. One may rely on the word of a reliable witness. The testimony of two witnesses is required concerning the appearance of the 'Id moon. The Ramadān fast must be begun if the moon has been seen by someone in a city which is within sixteen farsangs of one's habitation, even though the Qādi (1) has not verified this testimony. One is not obliged to fast if it has been seen at a distance of sixteen or more farsangs away.

(b) The second duty is the Intention. One should make this Intention to fast every night.

A Muslim's heart will not be void of the Intention when he bears in mind that the fast of Ramadān is a prescribed duty.

If one is doubtful on any night about the morrow being the first day of Ramadān then one should not formulate a "provisional" Intention but rather await the testimony of a reliable witness. If, however, one has any doubts about the last night of Ramadān, then it is correct to make the Intention. If one is in a cavern then one may guess at the time and make one's Intention (to fast). The Intention will not be void even though one breaks one's fast on the morrow. If a

173 (1) Qādi. See art. Qādi. Ency. of Islām.
woman, in the expectation of the cessation of her menses, makes the
Intention to fast, then she should fast even though Ramadan should end.

(c) The third duty is that one should not take anything into oneself intentionally. The fast is not broken by phlebotomy, applying antimony, putting a catheter in the ear or cotton in the orifice of the penis. "To take in" means to take into the nose, stomach, belly or bladder.

If a fly, dust or mouth-rinse are taken unintentionally then the fast is not broken - providing that there has been no excessive mouth washing. If one eats in forgetfulness of the time then it is no sin, but if one eats when one is doubtful about the time and it transpires that one has eaten after daybreak or before sunset, then one must make up for the omission of a fast day.

(d) The fourth duty is that one should not have sexual intercourse. Pollution through close contact also breaks the fast, but not if one did not remember the fast at that time.

The fast is sound if one has had intercourse at night and performs ghual at daybreak.

(e) The fifth duty is that one should not intend to emit semen. If one is young, and, through close contact, the emission one fears does take place, then the fast is broken.

(f) The sixth duty is that one should not vomit intentionally. The fast is not broken by an unintentional vomit or spitting out of phlegm. If such things return from the mouth to the gullet then the fast is broken.

The Sunnat Observances connected with fasting.

They are six in number: - to eat a little before daybreak, breaking one's fast quickly with water or dates, the Miswak must not be used after the sun has passed the meridian, one should be generous in alms-giving and gifts of food, one should read the Qur'an much, and
practice retirement in the mosque, especially during the last ten

days of the month during which time the Night of Power may occur, for

the Prophet, along with his household, refrained from sleep and devoted

himself to worship during this period. The Night of Power may be on

the twenty-first, twenty-third, twenty-fifth, or twenty-seventh night.

It generally comes on the twenty-seventh night. If one has vowed to

remain in retirement during this period, then one should not leave the

mosque except for evacuations. One should then remain in one's house

long enough only to perform wudū. The retirement is not broken by

going out to pray at a bier, by visiting the sick, giving evidence or

by the renewal of one's purification.

One may wash one's hands in a mosque and eat or sleep there.

The Intention to practice retirement should be renewed after one has

satisfied the demands of nature.

Statement on the nature and "mystery" of fasting.

There are three degrees of fasting. One is the fasting of

the common people another is that of the élite, and the third is one

of the élite of the élite. (1)

We have already described the fasting of the first group,

and to refrain from eating, drinking, and sexual intercourse is the

lowest rank of fasting.

The highest rank is that of the élite of the élite in which

a man's heart is empty of all but God and he inwardly and outwardly

abstains from all other than God. Such fasting is destroyed if one

thinks of a worldly, albeit lawful, thing.

The angels record it as a sin if a man, during the daytime,

plans to break his fast (at sunset) for this implies lack of trust in

God's provision.

174 (1) The Gnostics divided men into three groups, the angelic, the

"psychic" and the animal.

See "The Secret Sayings of Jesus", p.82, Grant and Freedman,

Not everyone attains to this degree for it is the degree of the prophets and the "truthful" ones.

The fasting of the elite is where, in addition to the renunciation of food and drink and sexual intercourse, the body is restrained from any kind of improper activity. The eyes must shun all that turns the heart from God, especially that which provokes lust.

Tradition. A glance is one of Satan's poisoned arrows. Whoever repels it... God will give him faith's robe of honour. (1).

Tradition on the authority of Anas. Five things destroy fasting.

The tongue also should be restrained. One should either be busy with dhikr, the recital of the Quran, or remain silent. Argument or quarrelling are foolish talk. Some scholars say that the common people destroy their fast by telling lies and fault-finding.

Tradition. The two women who fasted in the time of the prophet and who found fault with others.

Thirdly, one should not listen to evil for that is to share in the fault of the liar and the fault-finder.

Fourthly, one should keep one's hand, feet and members from improper actions. To sin in such a way is like breaking one's fast by taking poison.

Tradition. Many who fast get nothing from their fasting but hunger and thirst.

Fifthly, in breaking one's fast one should not eat unlawful food, or food about whose lawful origin one has doubts. Moreover, one should not eat much of that which is lawful for the fast does not destroy lusts if one eats the day's portion at night. To overeat merely increases desire. The heart will not be pure until the belly is empty. It is sunnat also not to sleep much in the daytime during

175 (1) B.M.Ms. fo 64a also reads "robe of honour". There is no mention of a robe of honour in I.D.
Ramadan. One should remain awake in order to experience hunger and thirst. If one over-eats at night, sleep comes quickly and one is unable to recite the prayers.

Tradition. God loathes no vessel more than a full stomach (1).

Sixthly, after breaking one's fast, one should be in a state betwixt fear and hope because one does not know whether the fast has been accepted.

Hasan al Basri's saying when he saw people laughing and playing on the 'Id day.

Thus, fasting which is merely an abstention from eating and drinking is a form without a spirit. The "mystery" of fasting is one that one should make oneself like the angels, for they are without lusts. Lust prevails over animals, and, for this reason, they are far removed from the angels (2). The man who is subject to desire is animal-like. When lust is weak then a man is more like the angels and may thus approach them in respect of qualities but not in respect of place (1). The angels are near to God, and thus that man will be brought near to God.

When a man gormandises at night his lust increases, and so he does not attain to this spirit of fasting.

Statement on the consequences which follow the breaking of one's fast.

If the fast of Ramadan is broken, it must be made up or atoned for or one must practice abstinence or offer a "ransom".

If a Muslim, capable of assuming legal responsibilities, breaks the fast, then he must make up the omission.

176 (1) I.D. does not state that this is a tradition.
(2) See Grant and Freedman, op. cit. pg.82.
177 (1) See "Averroes Tahafut al Tahafut", Vol I.pp293f. Trans. Simon Van Den Bergh, London 1954. "We approach God in qualities but not in place. The nearer man comes to the angels the nearer he comes to God etc."
This applies to a menstruous woman, a traveller, a sick person, pregnant woman, or one who apostasizes. (2) A madman or immature person need not make up such omitted fasts.

An atonement is required when one, intentionally, has sexual intercourse or emits semen. To atone, one must free a captive slave. If this is not possible, then one should fast for two months concurrently. If this is not possible then one must give sixty mudd of grain to sixty poor men.

A mudd is two-thirds of a maund.

To practice abstinence is to refrain from eating, drinking, and sexual intercourse for the rest of the twenty-four hours in which one breaks a fast without having an excuse.

Abstinence is not required of a menstruous woman who becomes clean on a fast day, or of a traveller - even though he remain at rest for a day - or the sick man who recovers on a fast day (3).

If, on a doubtful day, someone declares that he has seen the moon, then one should fast from the time that one hears this, even when one is a traveller and goes on to another city (where the moon has not been seen). If such a traveller is strong enough it is better for him to fast.

The ransom which is required is the gift of a mudd of grain to the poor. If a pregnant or nursing mother breaks the fast for the sake of her child then, along with making up for the omission, she must give a ransom.

Ransom is not required in the case of a sick man who breaks the fast in order to ensure that he survives. The feeble old man may give a ransom instead of making up for the omission.

If anyone postpones making up for an omitted fast, and Ramadan comes upon him again, then he must give a ransom in addition to making up for the omission.

177 (2) No ref. in I.D. to sick, traveller, or pregnant woman.
(3) No ref. in I.D. to a sick man.
Section. Fasting on the most noble days of the year.

It is sunnat to fast on the noblest days of the year. These days are:—The day of 'Arafah (ninth day of Dhul Hijjah); the 'Ashūrā (tenth day of Muharram); the first nine days of Dhul Hijjah and from the 1st to the 10th of Muharram, and the whole of the months of Rajab and Sha'ban. (1).

Tradition. One day's fast in a sacred month is better than thirty in any other month, and one day's fast in Ramadan is better than thirty in a sacred month.

Tradition. A reward of 700 years of worship... for fasting from Thursday to Saturday in a sacred month.

There are four sacred months:—Dhul Qa'dah, (2), Dhul Hijjah, Muharram and Rajab. Dhul Hijjah is the most excellent among them because it is the Hajj month.

Tradition. God esteems most acts of worship performed in the first ten days of Dhul Hijjah... even Jihad is not equal to this except when the warrior's horse is killed and his own blood is shed.

Some of the Companions did not fast for the whole month of Rajab lest it be likened to Ramadan.

Tradition. When half of Sha'ban has passed there is no fast until Ramadan. One should break one's fast at the end of Sha'ban in order to separate it from Ramadan. One may fast in the latter end of Sha'ban only when there is the Intention to fast in anticipation of Ramadan.

178 (1) Dhul Hijjah, Muharram, Rajab and Sha'ban are the twelfth, first, seventh and eighth months respectively of the Muslim year. (2) Dhul Qa'dah is the eleventh month of the Muslim year.
The noblest days of the month are the "white days", i.e. from the 13th to the 15th night of every moon. The noblest days of the week are Monday, Thursday and Friday. A perpetual fast includes all these days, nevertheless, the fast must be broken on five days in the year, i.e. 'Id al Fitr, 'Id al Adha (3), and the three days of "flesh drying" (11th - 13th of Dhu'l Hijjah) after the 'Id al Adhā. It is forbidden not to break one's fast on such days.

He who cannot observe a continual fast should fast on alternate days. This was the fast of David.

Tradition. There is no better way of fasting than the fast of David (question of 'Abdallah bin Qamar bin al 'Azī).

To fast every Monday and Thursday, along with the fast of Ramadan, is inferior to the fast of David, even though one thus fasts for one third of the year.

One must keep watch over one's heart. This is done by means of fasting, for fasting destroys lusts and purifies the heart.

Since this latter thing is the end in view, it may be expedient to fast, sometimes to break one's fast. It was for this reason that the Prophet so fasted that people said that he would never break his fast.

Sometimes he continued to break his fast and people declared that he would never fast again! The Prophet had no fixed habits in respect of fasting.

The scholars disapprove of one's breaking one's fast for more than four days in succession, and they even make this rule apply to the four days of the 'Id al Adhā and the days of "flesh drying". (1)

178 (3) 'Id al Adhā. See art. Ency. of Islam.
179 (1) Days of 'ashrTq - see art. Hadj, Ency. of Islam.
They fear that the heart may become black by such a continuous breaking of the fast, that carelessness will prevail, and the watch over the heart be relaxed.

The amount of material in this section of K. is about one-third of that in Volume One, Book Six of I.D.
PILLAR ONE, SECTION SEVEN.

THE HAJJ.

Hajj is a pillar of Islam and should be performed during one's lifetime.

Tradition. The Muslim who dies without having performed the Hajj dies like a Jew or a Christian.

Tradition. He who performs a faultless Hajj will be purified of sins... like a newborn infant.

Tradition. To stand on 'Arafat (1) is the only atonement for some sins.

Tradition. On the day of 'Arafah (9th day of Dhū'l-Hijjah)... God forgives an unlimited number of mortal sins.

Tradition. Whoever dies while on the Hajj journey... is exempt from the account at the day of resurrection.

Tradition. For a Hajj dutifully performed there is no reward but paradise.

Tradition. The greatest sin is to stand on 'Arafat and suppose that one is not forgiven.

Long story about 'Ali bin Mawaffaq.

Tradition. Six Hundred Thousand Muslims will perform the Hajj every year... until the Ka'bah enters paradise.

Conditions for the observance of the Hajj and its Pillars.

The Hajj will be sound if performed at the appointed time.

The time for the Hajj is the month of Shawwal (1) and


180 (1) The tenth month of the Muslim year.
Dhu'il Qa'dah and the nine days of Dhu'il Hijjah, until the morning of
the 'Id. If the Ihram (2) is put on before then it will be the
'Umrah (3) pilgrimage. The Hajj of a reasonable boy is sound. A
small boy's guardian may fasten the Ihram on him and, if he stands on
'Arafat, then his Hajj is sound.

The soundness of the Hajj depends on one being a Muslim and
performing the Hajj at the (stipulated) time (4).

Five things must be observed in connection with the Hajj. One
must be a Muslim, a free man, an adult, of sound mind, and the Ihram
must be donned at the time for the Hajj. If anyone who is not an
adult puts on the Ihram and then becomes adult before standing on
'Arafat, or is a slave and becomes free at that time, then he is
capable of performing the Hajj.

The above also applies to the performance of the 'Umrah,
except from the time, for the 'Umrah may be performed at any time during
the year.

When performing the Hajj as the deputy for another one must
first observe the Hajj for oneself. If, without having fulfilled
this condition, one announces the Intention to act as a deputy, then
one performs the Hajj for oneself and not the other person. (1).

One must oneself observe the Hajj, then make amends for non-
observance (on the other's behalf), then bring the votive offering and
then observe the Hajj as the deputy of another. This is the form to
be observed even when one's Intention has been to the contrary.

180 (2) Ihram. See art. Ency. of Islam.
(3) 'Umrah. See art. 'Umar, Ency. of Islam.
(4) Reading with B.M. Ms. fo. 66b.

The conjunctive嘉is omitted from the Teheran text.
181 (1) Cf. I.D. 1/235. n.f. for directions on how a hired deputy should act.

There is no reference to the above conditions in I.D.
In order to perform the Hajj, therefore, one must be a rational, free, Muslim adult and one must be capable of undertaking this responsibility.

There are two kinds of capability. One is that of the man who is himself able to perform the Hajj. This requires health, a safe journey, means to discharge one's debts and the cost of the enterprise, and sufficient wealth to support one's family during one's absence. In this case one should be able to hire a mount and not travel on foot.

The second kind of capability is that of a paralysed or bedridden person who has the means to hire another to act for him. If his son is willing to perform the Hajj for him, without charges, then he must allow him to do this. If the son wishes to hire an agent to act on his father's behalf, then the father is not obliged to accept this offer.

If somebody outside one's family wishes to perform the Hajj free of charges then one is not obliged to accept the offer.

If one is capable of performing the Hajj then one should do so at once. If one postpones it and dies before it is performed then one dies as a sinner and the charges for a deputy must be taken from the estate.

'Umar threatened to tax Muslims who, though capable of it, did not perform the Hajj.

The Pillars of the Hajj.

The Hajj is sound only when five pillars are observed: one must don the Ihram, circumambulate the Ka'bah, then do the running, then stand on 'Arafat, and then shave the head - according to one statement.

A goat must be sacrificed if the following six things are omitted: the putting on of the Ihram before going forward from the place of assembling, the throwing of gravel, the standing on Mount
'Arafat until sunset, the spending the night at Muzdalifah (1), the spending the night at Mīnā (2), and the farewell circumambulation of the Ka'bah. According to one statement it is merely a matter of usage to slay a goat for the last four of the things mentioned above. One is not obliged to do this.

There are three ways of performing the Ḥajj: Ifrād, Qirān, and Tamattu’. (3).

The best way is to perform the Ḥajj Ifrād. To do this one should first perform the Ḥajj itself and then, when the Ḥajj is completed, one should go outside the sacred territory, don the Ihram of the 'Umrah and then perform it. To don the Ihram for the 'Umrah in Jī'fahah (4) is better than donning it in Tan‘im (5), and to don it in Tan‘im is better than in Ḥudaibiyah (6). It is nevertheless sunnat to don it in any one of these places.

To perform the Ḥajj Qirān is to announce the Intention to do both the Ḥajj and the 'Umrah together. The Ihram for both is then put on at the one time. The acts of the 'Umrah will then be included in the Ḥajj, just as wudu is included in ghusl. Whosoever does this must sacrifice a goat. The resident of Mecca is not required to sacrifice a goat, for, in his case, the place for the donning of the Ihram is not the place where pilgrims assemble, but is Mecca.

182 (2) Mīnā. See art. Hadidj. Ency. of Islam and also art. Mīnā, ibid.
(3) For these three see art. Ihram, Ency. of Islam.
(4) See W. M. Watt, Muhammad at Medina (index)
(6) See art. Ḥudaibiyah, Ency. of Islam.
in the Ḥajj Qirān, if one performs the circumambulation and the running before one stands on 'Arafat, then the running will count for both Ḥajj and 'Umrah. If however, one has already stood on 'Arafat, then one must repeat the circumambulation, for the circumambulation must follow the standing on 'Arafat.

To perform the Ḥajj Tamattu' one dons the Ihram for the 'Umrah when one reaches the place where pilgrims gather, and then one makes use of things which are forbidden in Mecca (i.e. one is in the state of Taḥallul) (6), thus nullifying the Ihram, until the time comes for the Ḥajj. Then one puts on another Ihram for the Ḥajj in Mecca. A goat must then be sacrificed. If this is not possible then one must perform three separate or continuous fasts until 'Id al-Adhā, and perform seven more fasts when one returns home.

If a goat is not sacrificed for the Ḥajj Qirān also one must fast for ten days in this way. The Ḥajj Tamattu' is binding on one who has put on the Ihram for the 'Umrah in Shawwal or Dhūl Qa‘dah, or the first ten days of Dhūl Hijjah, i.e. up to the time when the Ḥajj throng decreases. Such a person does not don the Ihram for the Ḥajj at the place where pilgrims assemble. He need not sacrifice a goat if he is a resident of Mecca; or, if he is a poor man who has gone to the place where the pilgrims assemble at the time for the Ḥajj.

Six things are forbidden in the Ḥajj:- Firstly, the wearing of ordinary clothes. In the Ihram state a loin cloth, wrapper and shoes or sandals are all that is necessary. If one has no loin cloth then one may wear pyjamas. The seven members must be concealed by the wrapper, excepting the head which remains uncovered. A woman may wear her usual clothes, but the face must not be covered.

She may sit under cover of a litter or canopy.

(6) See Lane, HLL. 4.
Secondly, one must not use scent. If one has used it or put on scented clothes, a goat must be sacrificed.

Thirdly, the nails must not be cut. If this has been done, then a goat must be sacrificed. It is proper for one to go to the ʿHammām, be bled or dress the hair.

Fourthly, one must not have sexual intercourse. If one errs here then a camel, cow or seven goats must be sacrificed (1) and the Ḥajj is invalid; the omission must be made up. If this occurs after the first Taḥallul a camel must be sacrificed and the Ḥajj is not spoilt.

Fifthly, kissing or caressing of a woman is forbidden because whatever may impair ceremonial purity is forbidden. In such a case, or in the case of onanism, a goat must be sacrificed. A marriage contracted when one is in the Ihram state is invalid, and no sacrifice is required (since it is no marriage).

Sixthly, one may hunt only water creatures. If anything is killed on dry land then one must sacrifice what is equal to it, a goat, cow or camel.

The nature of the Ḥajj.

The nature of the pillars of the Ḥajj must be understood and one must note that it is customary for prescribed duties, matters of usage and the proprieties to be all mingled together. One who does not worship merely from habit is one to whom prescribed duties, matters of usage and proprieties are all equal, for such a one has attained to the station of love by means of works of supererogation and the observance of matters of usage. (2)

183 (1) At this point read with B. M. Ms. fo. 67b.  
(کسلفسُن واجِبَ عَيْر) وَخَيْنِ قَصْفَا وَعَجَابُ أَيْجَ وَالْأَرْضِ أَزْنِيْل ائِلْ نَمَّ بَوَدَ اسْتَرْقُ وَعَجَابُ أَيْجَ أَرْضِيَ (خَيْنِ نَبَاهُ نَشْرُودْ)  
The Teheran text is contained by the brackets, the rest being omitted. An instance of homoioteleuton (2) For similar ideas see K. 344 I.D. 2/203.
Tradition: Men draw near to God by means of observances which God has ordained, and continues with works of supererogation until God becomes his sight, his bearing and his tongue (1).

The proprieties and matters of usage should therefore be observed at all points.

The proprieties to be observed on the journey and the preparations for it.

Before going on Hajj one must repent, restore what one had taken unjustly, repay loans and provide for the support of one's dependents.

A last will and testament should be written.

Provisions for the journey should be supplied from lawful earnings.

The Hajj may not be accepted if one employs wealth derived from dubious source for this journey.

Sufficient should be taken to provide gifts for the poor. Alms should be given in order to ensure one's safe journey before one leaves one's house. A strong and speedy beast should be hired and the load it will carry should be shown to the person from whom one hires it.

An experienced guide should be secured for the journey, who will help in the journey and in matters of religion.

One should take farewell of one's friends, commending them and their works to God. Those friends should supplicate God for one's protection, safe journey, and that one may find forgiveness.

Before leaving one's house, two rak'a of worship should be performed. Sūrah 109 should be recited in the first and Sūrah 112 in the second, following the Sūrah al Fātiḥa. At the close one should

184 (1) See K.I.S. no.411.
invoke God's companionship on the journey and commit one's children and property to His care, asking for obedience and piety that one's journey may please Him.

Supplication when at one's door: In the name of God... There is no power nor might etc.

Supplication: O God, in Thy name I am separated from my family... I look to Thee. Increase piety in me etc.

Supplication when seated on one's mount: In the name of God... we return to our Lord.

One should recite the Qur'an and perform dhikr during the whole journey.

Supplication when passing over high ground: O God Thou art honoured etc.

If seized by fears on the journey one should recite the whole of the Throne verse, confess that there is no deity but God and recite Surahs 112, 113, and 114.

The proprieties to be observed on donning the Ihram and on entering Mecca.

On reaching the place of assembly for the pilgrims one should perform ghual, cut one's hair and nails, - as for Friday -, put off sewn clothes, don the white wrapper and loin cloth. One should use scent before putting on the Ihram.

When ready, one should make the camel rise, face the path to be taken and announce one's Intention to perform the Hajj. One should say, with tongue and heart "At Thy service..." This should be said aloud at every ascent and descent and wherever the caravan collects and the throng increases.

On arriving at the Ka'bah, one should perform ghual. It is surmat to perform ghual on nine occasions during the Hajj (occasions given). There is no ghual for the stone throwing on Mt. Mina.
When one sees the House of God on entering Mecca one should say "There is no deity but God...protect me from the stoned Satan".

One should then enter the mosque by the Bari Shabah gate (1) and go to the Black Stone and kiss it. If this cannot be done because of the throng then one should extend one's arm toward it and say "O God, I have fulfilled my trust and my covenant etc."

After this, one should begin the circumambulation of the Ka'bah.

The proprieties to be observed in the circumambulation.

One should be ceremonially clean, as for worship, with clean clothing and the pudenda covered. It is lawful to hold converse with God in the course of the circumambulation.

One should first observe Iṣṭibā' (2), that is, pass the middle of the wrapper under the right arm, both ends being thrown over the left shoulder. Thus, keeping the House of God to one's left, one should begin the circumambulation, passing before the Black Stone. In the course of the circumambulation, one should be within three paces of the Ka'bah but not touch the Shudrawān (3) with one's foot, for that is within the confines of the Ka'bah.

At the beginning of the circumambulation one should say "O God, this is for Thy faith...obedience to Thy Prophet Muhammad".

On reaching the door of the House, one should say "O God, this House is Thy House....from the Fire".

On reaching the 'Irāqî pillar (4), one should say "O God
"I take refuge in Thee from doubt and infidelity...property and children".

When beneath the water spout (5) one should say "O God, overshadow me with Thy throne...that I may never thirst again".

On reaching the Syrian pillar (6) one should say "O God, make my Hajj pure...Thou art Most Mighty and Most Kind".

On reaching the Yamānī pillar (1) one should say "O God, I take refuge in Thee...in this world and the hereafter".

Between this pillar and the Black Stone one should say "O God, give us good in this world...of Hell".

The circumambulation should be performed in this way seven times and the supplications made. Each circumambulation is called a circuit. One should perform the first three briskly and from far off if there is a throng near the Ka'bah. The last four circuits should be performed slowly. One should kiss the Black Stone on each occasion and move one's hand over the Yamānī pillar. If this is impossible because of the throng then one should make a sign with one's hand.

When the seven circuits are completed one should stand between the door of the House of God and the Black Stone. The stomach, chest, and right cheek should be put to the wall of the Ka'bah and one should put one's hand on it or off the curtains of the Ka'bah. This place is called Multazam (2) and here supplication is accepted. One should pray "O God, Lord of this ancient House, free my neck from the Fire...given me".

One should also invoke a blessing upon Muḥammad the Prophet, and ask forgiveness for oneself and ask a boon.

Then, standing behind the station of Abraham, one should recite two rak'a. These are called the rak'a of circumambulation. With this, the circumambulation is completed. In the first rak'a one should recite Sūrah 1 and 109 and Sūrah 1 and 112 in the second.

After this worship, one should offer supplications. One circumambulation is not complete until the seven circuits have been performed, and two rak'a of worship should be offered at the close of every seven circuits. One should finish by kissing the Black Stone and then engage in the running.

The proprieties to be observed in the running. After leaving Mecca by the gate called ʿSafā one should ascend some steps up Mount ʿSafā (1) until the Ka'bah is visible.

Turning to the Ka'bah, one should then say "There is no god but God, He is One....

He is the Living who does not die....... (ending with Sūrah 40, 14).

After offering supplication and asking a boon one should descend and run to Mount Marwah (1). One should go slowly at first and say "O Lord, have mercy...of the Fire"

One should then go very slowly up to the green depression which is in line with the corner of the (Mecca) mosque. Six yards beyond this one should go quickly until one reaches the second depression. After this, one should proceed slowly to Mount Marwah. After ascending it one should turn towards Mount ʿSafā and offer the supplications (offered already on ʿSafā). This is the first running and, when one reaches ʿSafā again that will be the second. This should be done seven times.

The circumambulation of arrival has now been performed and the running. This is sunnat for the Ḥajj. The circumambulation

188 (1) For mounts ʿSafā and Marwah, see art. ʿSafā, Ency. of Islam.
which is a pillar of the Hajj, will be performed after the standing on 'Arafat. Purification is sunnat at the time of the running and it is obligatory for the circumambulation.

This running suffices, because there is no running after standing on 'Arafat. It must be done after the circumambulation even though the latter is a sunnat matter.

The proprieties to be observed when standing on the day of 'Arafah.

If the caravan reaches Mount 'Arafat on the day of 'Arafah (9th day of Dhul Hijjah) the circumambulation of arrival should not be performed. This should be performed only when one arrives before the day of 'Arafah.

On the day of Tarwiyyah (2) (the 8th day of Dhul Hijjah) one should leave Mecca and remain on Mount Minâ for the night.

One should go to 'Arafat on the next day. The time for standing there is after the declination of the sun on the day of 'Arafah up to the first light of the 'Id morning.

If one lingers there any longer the Hajj will be spoilt.

Ghusl should be performed on the day of 'Arafah. One should also recite the mid-day worship along with the evening worship and remain engaged in supplication.

One should not fast on the day of 'Arafah for one must have strength to remain diligent in supplication, for this is the purpose of the Hajj and at this time, aspirations are strong and supplications are accepted.

The best dhikr at this time is the Kalimah "There is no deity ....". There must be abasement, lamentation, seeking forgiveness, penitence and repentance for sins from sunset to evening. These

188 (2) See art. Hadâd. Ency. of Islam.
supplications are too many to be given here and may be found in I.D. (1). of 1/228f. All the prayers that can be committed to memory should be recited and it is best to recite all the traditional supplications. If one cannot remember them one may read them or say "Amen" to another's prayers. One should not leave 'Arafat before the sun has set.

The remainder of the acts connected with the Hajj.

After standing on 'Arafat one should go to Muzdalifah and perform ghusl for it is within the sacred territory.

The sunset worship should be postponed and joined to that of nightfall. It should be recited with one Ḥādīth, and two Taḥdīr.

If possible, the night should be passed in vigil in Muzdalifah for this is a noble night and to remain standing there all night is an act of worship.

Whoever does not remain standing there must sacrifice a goat.

Seventy stones should be taken from there - for there are many stones there - for throwing in Mina.

One should proceed to Mina in the second half of the night and recite the dawn worship at first light. On reaching the boundary of Muzdalifah - which is called the Mash'ar al Ḥaram (2) - one should remain there offering supplications until daybreak.

From there, one must proceed to the Wādī al Muhassir (3). One should urge one's beast to go on quickly and quickly cross the plain if one goes on foot. This is sunnat.

On the 'Id morning one should sometimes say the Taḥdīr, sometimes say "At Thy service" until high ground called Jamarat is reached (4). From thence one should go to the high ground called

189 (1) Ref. to I.D.
(2) See art. Ḥadīth. Ency. of Islam.
(3) See Muir, Life of Mahomet. p.434.
(4) See art. Ḥadīth. Ency. of Islam.
Jamarat al 'Aqbah (4). This, when we face the Qiblah, is to the right of the road.

Seven stones should be thrown at that Jamarah when the sun has risen a spear's length and it is best to turn to the Qiblah when doing this. Here the TakbIr should be said instead of "At Thy service". With each stone one should say "O God, I throw for the verification... Thy prophet".

After this, one should cease saying "At Thy service" and the TakbIr. Yet one should say the TakbIr itself at the end of worship up to the morning of the last day of the "flesh drying", i.e. the fourth day from the 'Id day.

Thereafter, one should return to one's camp and be busied with supplication.

If one has to do it one should here offer sacrifice and observe the conditions relating thereto. The head should then be shaved.

When the stone-throwing is over and the hair is cut, then, apart from coition and hunting, those things become lawful which were forbidden during the Ihram state.

After returning to Mecca one should perform the Hajj pillar of circumambulation. The time for this circumambulation is after the midnight of the 'Id. It is best to do it on the 'Id day. The circumambulation will not go by default no matter how long it is delayed. Nevertheless, coition remains unlawful and there are no other dispensations of that kind.

This circumambulation must be completed in the same fashion as the circumambulation of arrival, and then the Hajj is completed. Hunting and sexual intercourse now become lawful. If one has already

done the running, it should not be done again. Otherwise, the pillar of running should be performed after this circumambulation.

One is outside the state of Ihram, and the Hajj is completed when the stone-throwing is done, one is shaved and the circumambulation is complete. During the "flesh-drying days" the stone-throwing and vigil on Mina are performed after one is free of the Ihram.

After the circumambulation and the running one may come back to Mina for the prescribed vigil. On the next day, before the declination of the sun, ghusl for the stone-throwing must be performed. Seven stones should be thrown at the first Jamarah, nearest to 'Arafat, while one stands facing the Qiblah and offers prayer as lengthy as the Surah al Baqarah. After this seven stones should be thrown at the central Jamarah and prayer offered. Then seven stones should be thrown at the Jamarah al 'Aqabah and one should remain on Mina that night.

Twenty-one stones should be thrown in this fashion at these three Jamarahs on the third day of the 'Id. If desired, this may be cut short and one may go to Mecca. If one stays there until sunset however, one is obliged to stay there that night and throw stones on the following day.

This is all that need be said about the Hajj.

Description of the 'Umrah.

When one desires to perform the 'Umrah, one should begin with ghusl and wear the Ihram as for the Hajj. One should go outside Mecca to the place of assembly for the pilgrims who perform the 'Umrah, i.e. to Ji'farah, or Tan'im or Hudaybiyyah. One should announce one's Intention to perform the 'Umrah and say "At Thy service". After entering the 'I'ishah mosque one should perform two rak'a of worship. After this, one should come to Mecca saying "At Thy service" on the journey, but ceasing to say this on entering the Mecca mosque.
The circumambulation and running should be performed as for the Hajj and then the head be shaved. This completes the 'Umrah and it may be performed at any time of the year.

Whoever lives in Mecca must perform the 'Umrah to the best of his ability or perform the circumambulation. If this is not possible he should look at the House of Allah.

When one enters the Ka'bah, one should worship between the two pillars and barefoot, go out magnifying God and acknowledging His mercies.

One should drink one's fill of Zan'am water and one will be cured in accordance with the Intention with which one drinks it.

One should say "O God, make this water a cure of sickness." The circumambulation of farewell.

When one decides to return home one should bind together one's luggage and then, when all is ready, take one's farewell of the House of God.

The circumambulation of farewell should be performed seven times and also two rak'a of worship. There is no need for Idtiba' and running quickly.

One should then go to Multazim and make one's supplications and then, looking towards the House of God, walk backwards until the mosque is out of sight.

The visit to Madinah.

Tradition. To visit the Prophet's tomb is like paying him a visit during his lifetime.

Tradition. Muhammad is made the intercessor for everyone who goes to Madinah with no other aim then to visit the tomb.

Blessing should be invoked on the Prophet all the way to Madinah and, when its wall comes into view, one should say "O God, this is the holy city..."
After ghusl has been performed, one may enter Madīnah. Scents and clean white clothes should be worn. On entering, one should say with humility and reverence, "O God, make me enter..."

On entering the Prophet’s mosque, two rak‘a of worship should be performed near the pulpit, keeping in mind that the pillar of the pulpit should be in line with one’s right shoulder. This was the station of the Prophet. One should then turn to the wall of the tomb, with one’s back to the Qiblah.

It is not sunnat to pass the hand over this wall or to kiss it. It is more respectful to stand at a distance from it.

One should then say "Peace be to thee, O apostle of God... those who are indifferent towards thee".

If anyone has made a testamentary disposition, sending salutations to the Prophet, then one should say twice "Peace be to thee, O apostle of God from such a one".

Then, going forward about a cubit, one should greet Abū Bakr and 'Umar and say "Peace be upon you both...any prophet for his religion".

Standing, one should offer as many supplications as possible.

From there one should go to the cemetery of Madīnah (Bagh al Charqad) (1) and visit the friends of the Prophet and the saints.

Before returning home one should visit the Prophet’s tomb once more and take one’s farewell.

The subtle mysteries of the Hajj.

The foregoing contains a statement upon the outward forms of the Hajj and its pillars. The secret and true nature of these things affords a warning and reminds us of the hereafter. Man is so

192 (1) See art. Bahā' al Charqad. Ency. of Islām.
constituted that he does not find perfect felicity until he commits his choice to God's hands. We have noted in the Introduction to this book that obedience to lust brings destruction (1). Whoever does not follow the Law, but obeys his lust, serves God in no act and does not find felicity and honour in anything.

God permitted pilgrimages and the monastic life, in previous dispensations, and men forsook cities and endured hardship on the mountains with this end in view.

Tradition. Islam has been given Jihad and Hajj instead of monasticism.

Hajj has been enjoined that Muslims may endure hardship and note the warnings it affords.

God has connected the Ka'bah with Himself and made its sides and boundaries sacred territory, its game and trees sacrosant. He has made Mount 'Arafat like the place where royalty's glory is revealed so that the whole earth may look to the House of God. God does not dwell in the Ka'bah but, just as a man desires all that is connected with a friend, so Muslims have left home, wealth, country and family to visit the Ka'bah out of love for God.

Muslims have been commanded to perform inexplicable acts, such as throwing stones and running between Safa and Marwah.

Man understands that by giving Zakat the poor are helped, there is meekness shown in worship, then, by fasting, the hosts of Satan are defeated. Yet perfect servitude requires unquestioning obedience and the running and stone-throwing come in that category.

It is for this reason that the Prophet said "At Thy service, with a true Hajj, obediently, and as a slave". He thus called it worship and servitude.

(1) Reference to Introduction of K.
Men wonder about the significance of the works of the Ḥaṭṭ because they are indifferent towards the true nature of those works. Its meaning is meaningless and its purpose is without purpose. One thus shows servitude and attends to the King's commands, and there is no intrusion of human reason or nature here. Men's felicity lies in "not-being" and in utter dependence, so that nothing else may remain but God and His command.

The warnings which the Ḥaṭṭ affords.

This journey is like the journey to the future life. It is a going to the House, and the other is a journey to the Master of the House. While performing the former, the latter must be kept in mind. When a man says farewell to his family and property he should understand that this is like the leave-taking at death. In the Ḥaṭṭ a man is freed of all attachments and a man must also empty his heart of the world so that the journey to the hereafter may not be difficult.

When one prepares provision for the journey over jungle and desert, one should remember the fearful plain of gathering at the resurrection and that one needs provision for the future life. Just as food that putrefies is of no use for the Ḥaṭṭ, so also hypocrisy and error in any act of worship is not fit provision for the future life.

When one sits on one's dromedary (jumāzah) one should think on the bier (janāzah). Before one descends from the mount, the time for the bier may have come! The provision for the journey should be such that it may be provision for the hereafter.

One must first put off one's clothes in order to don the two white sheets of the Ihram. One should then think on the shroud which is also the opposite of the garments worn in this world.

On seeing the terrors of the desiles through the mountains and the terrors of the jungle one should think on Munkar and Nakīr and the snakes and scorpions of the grave. There is a great jungle and there
are many mountain passes between the grave and the resurrection. As one cannot save oneself from the terrors of the jungle without a guide, so one cannot save oneself from the terrors of the grave without worship. As one is alone after leaving family and friends, so also one is alone in the grave.

One says "At Thy service" in response to the call of God, and this call will also come to one on the day of resurrection. One should think on this terrible thing and remain engrossed in the thought of this calling.

Story of 'Ali bin al Ḥusain and his falling senseless from his camel.

Story of Ahmad bin Abū al Ḥawārī, the disciple of Abū Sulaimān al Dārāmī and how the latter remembered a story about Moses and a revelation which he received.

The circumambulation and the running resemble the wanderings of a poor man as he wanders around in a palace seeking to present his petition. Then he comes into the royal presence, seeks for mediator and hopes that the king will notice him.

The plain between Safa and Marwah resembles the royal presence chamber. The standing on 'Arafat and the circumambulation when people throng and offer supplications in many tongues resemble the courts of the resurrection. On that day the whole world will gather, each man full of his own concerns and in a state betwixt hope and fear, wondering whether he will be accepted or rejected.

By throwing stones one demonstrates one's state of servitude through worship. Abraham took up stones to throw at Satan, when Satan appeared to him in order to inspire doubt in his mind. If one thinks that Satan may have appeared to Abraham but he does not appear to us, then this also is Satanic suggestion, so break Satan's back by
throwing stones! Be God's obedient slave and believe that, by throwing stones, you undoubtedly conquer Satan.

**Conclusion.**

The warnings afforded by the Hajj have been dealt with at length in order to enlighten the mind of the reader and bring his purpose and effort to maturity. This is the spirit of worship and those who are perfect thus advance by means of the external forms to the understanding of their inner meanings.

The materials in this section of K. are, in bulk, about three-tenths the amount of material to be found in Volume One, Book Seven of I.D.
PILLAR ONE, SECTION EIGHT.

The recital of the Qurān. (1)

The recital of the Qurān is the most excellent of all forms of servitude, especially while one is standing in the act of worship.

Tradition. The recital of the Qurān is the most excellent of all forms of servitude.

Tradition. To despise the gift of the recital of the Qurān is to despise what God has honoured.

196f. Tradition. Fire will not envelope the Qurān if it is kept in a leather case.

197 Tradition. The Qurān will be the best intercessor on the day of resurrection.

Qudṣī tradition (1). God grants a reward to one who is too engrossed in the recital of the Qurān to offer supplications.

Tradition. Rust is removed from the heart by the recital of the Qurān and the remembrance of death.

Tradition. The Prophet declared that, on departing from this world he would leave two things which would preach and advise, one speaking and the other silent. They are the Qurān and death.

Saying of ibn Mas‘ūd. A dream of ibn Ḥanbal's. The Qurān should be recited whether understood or not.

The recital of those who are careless.

He who reads the Qurān has attained to a great rank if he remembers the dignity of the Qurān, and behaves in a seemly manner etc.

Otherwise, the Qurān will be his enemy.

Tradition. Muslim hypocrites will be the reciters of the Qurān.

Kāmil Yā adds "You people have made the recital your works, have followed the vowels and letters but are slow to act upon it. It is not enough merely to recite the Qurān, one must act upon it. Those who read and do not act are like a slave who receives a letter from his master, reads it accurately and in an excellent fashion, but does not act upon it. He merits punishment.

The proprieties to be observed in the recital of the Qurān.

Six things are to be observed. (1)

Firstly, one should read with reverence, perform ṭawāf before reading, face the Qiblah and read with humility.

Saying of 'Abdullāh bin 'Abd al-Muṣṭāfa.

Secondly, one should read slowly and reflect on its meaning.

Some people hasten in order to read it in one day!

Tradition. One should take three days to read the Qurān.

Saying of ibn 'Abd al-Muṣṭāfa.

Saying of 'A'isha on seeing someone read the Qurān quickly. If one cannot understand Arabic, it is better and more seemly to recite the Qurān slowly.

Thirdly, (1) one should weep when reading.

Tradition in support of this.

Saying of ibn 'Abd al-Muṣṭāfa.

Tradition. The Qurān came down to bring sorrow.

If one is not careless and one pays heed to the promise and threat in the Qurān, then one will be sorrowful.
 Fourthly (2), one should give to each verse that which is due to it.

What the Prophet did on reciting verses which refer to punishment, mercy and the Tansih. The Prophet's supplication at the close of his recital.

When one reads verses in which sijdah is mentioned one should perform it after reciting the Takbir. All the conditions pertaining to ceremonial purity must be fulfilled for this sijdah. The Tashahhud must also be recited in addition to the Takbir and performance of the sijdah.

Fifthly, (3) if there is any danger of hypocrisy, or one disturbs another by reading aloud, then one must read softly. Just as it is more excellent to give alms secretly than to give openly, so also it is more excellent to read softly than aloud.

There is no danger of hypocrisy or of disturbing another then one should recite the Quran aloud so that others may hear, be benefitted and remain awake. There is a reward for each one of these Intentions when one has them in mind.

It is better to look at the text and recite. The eye is also made to work. To read once in this way is equal to seven other forms of recital.

Story of one of the alquahah of Egypt and his conversation with al Shafi'i. Story of the occasion when the Prophet found Abu Bakr reading quietly at night.

There is a reward which is in keeping with one's Intention.

199 (2) This is the seventh point in I.D.
(3) This is the ninth point in I.D.
Story of the occasion when the Prophet found Abū Bakr reading quietly at night.

There is a reward which is in keeping with one's Intention.
Sixthly, (1) one should try to recite in a pleasant voice.

Tradition. Adorn the Qurān with a good voice.

Tradition. The recitation of the freedmen of Abū Hudhaifah (2).

The effect of the Qurān is increased by means of a good voice. It is sunnat to recite with a well-modulated voice.

The excessive modulations of the voice employed by professional story tellers is disapproved.

The inward proprieties to be observed when reciting the Qurān.

There are also six of them (3).

Firstly, one should recognise the dignity of the Speech of God. It is eternal and is an attribute of God. It is established in His essence. Letters only proceed from the human tongue.

One may say "fire" and no power of fire be in the utterance. Human utterance of the Qurān does not contain its qualities as the Speech of God.

If the verity of the meaning of the letters of the Qurān were known, the seven heavens and earths would not be able to endure it.

Quotation of Sūrah 59.21.

The glory and greatness of the Qurān is concealed by the raiment of letters. There is no other way in which that glory and greatness could be brought to men.

200 (1) This is the tenth point in I.D.

(2) I. D. offers ten points. No reference is made at all in K. to the materials under points seven and ten of I.D.

(2) See W.M.Watt. Muhammad at Medina. p.344.
There is therefore, something which is greater than the
letters themselves.

Animals cannot understand human speech, and so we make
noises approximating to their speech, so that they may work for us.

201. The Qurān is to be understood in this light.

Animals do not understand the inward significance of their
work. On hearing a noise the ox works and makes the ground soft. It
does not know why. It does not know that ploughing is done so that air
may penetrate the soil and water, combine with both and thus nourish
the seed.

Some men know no more of the Qurān than the sound of it
and the exoteric meanings. This is to regard the word "fire" as a mere
combination of sounds and letters, and to forget that it has the power
to burn paper. The letters of that word can, of course, be written
on paper without any visible effect following.

Just as every body is lifeless if it lacks a spirit, so
also, the letters being the body and the meaning the spirit, the spirit
imparts dignity and honour to the body, and the letters have honour by
virtue of the meanings.

Secondly, one must magnify God, for it is His Speech. We
must be "present in heart" before reciting the Qurān and understand
how great it is inasmuch as it acts on behalf of God.

Quotation of Surah 56,78. One should take it with clean
hands. Only the pure in heart discover the nature of that Speech,
those whose hearts are illumined by magnification of and reverence for
God.

Story of 'Ikrimah who swooned on hearing the Speech of God.
One magnifies the Speech when one magnifies God, and to magnify God
one must know of His attributes, His acts, the sedile and the throne,
the seven heavens and seven earths, the angels, jinn, men and beasts,
etc.
One should consider that the Qurān is the Speech of One who has power over all these things, and that if they were all destroyed, His perfection would not be impaired. He is the Creator, Guardian and Sustainer of all these. By thinking on these things one arrives at some idea of His greatness and dignity.

Thirdly, when reciting, the heart must remain "present" and inward speech should not distract it. If one is careless when reciting, then one should recite the passage again.

Just as one is not indifferent to the wonders of a garden, so also the Qurān should be regarded as a place of wonders. If one pays attention to the wonders of the Qurān one will be indifferent to all else. One should remember its majesty so that one's thought may not wander.

Fourthly, one should keep the meaning of every word in mind and, if the meaning is not grasped at once, then one should go over the passage again. There is pleasure in this, and one should read the Qurān often.

Abū Dharr's testimony to the Prophet's repeated recitation one night of Sūrah 5.118. He also repeated the Bismillah twenty times. Sa'īd bin al Jubair repeated Sūrah 36.59 all night long. One should not read one verse and be thinking of the meaning of another.

'Amir bin Qais' complaint of Satanic suggestion (1). For this man even an intrusive thought about religious matters was a Satanic suggestion if it interfered with his concentration on worship.

202 (1) E. (supported by B.M.Ms. fo.76a. despite a scribal error in the text of the Ms) reads "If you pierced me with a knife..." The Arabic reads "spear", not "knife".
One should not think of anything but the meaning of a verse. When one reads of God's attributes one should ponder on them and ask, "What is the meaning of 'Azīz, Jabbar, etc.?" (See Sūrah 59, 23) (2).

When one reads of the acts of God, e.g. "He created the heavens and the earth" (Sūrah 16, 3) one should ponder on the Creator and on His power and knowledge until one sees God in everything. One sees all with Him and sees all by means of Him.

When one reads "Verily, We created man from lymph" (Sūrah 76, 2) then one should think of the members, the head, eye, hand etc. that He thus formed and the powers of life, hearing and sight.

One cannot think of all the meanings of the Qurān but one may be guided by the above statement.

The meaning of the Qurān is not understood by three kinds of men:— (1).

One is the man who has not read a commentary on the exoteric meaning of the Qurān (and does not understand Arabic).

The second is he whose heart has been darkened by some mortal sin or by an innovation. The third is he who derives an opinion through 'Ilm al-Kalām and adheres to it blindly and literally.

Fifthly, (2), one's heart should change in accordance with the changes in the meaning of the Qurān. One should fear whenever fear is mentioned.

When one reads of the divine mercy, one's heart should rejoice. When reading of the divine attributes, one's heart should be humbled. When one reads of infidelity or that God has a son one's voice should be low and one should feel ashamed.

202 (2) This is the fifth point in I.D.

203 (1) I.D. reads four kinds of men. The first kind in I.D. is omitted in K. and the order is changed.

(2) This is the eighth point in I.D.
There is therefore a meaning for every verse, and one should respond in an appropriate fashion.

Sixthly (3), when one reads the Qurān, one should imagine that one hears it if from God Himself.

Story of a saint who first supposed that he heard the Prophet reciting the Qurān, then heard it as though from the angel Gabriel and then, finally, as from God Himself.

203 (3) This is the ninth point in I.D.

This section of K. contains, in bulk, about one-fifth of the amount of text to be found in Volume One, Book Eight of I.D.
The essence and end of acts of devotion is the remembering (dhikr) of God. Worship is itself a pillar of Islam and the purpose of worship is dhikr.

Quotation of Surah 29.44.

The recital of the Qur'an is the most excellent of acts of devotion because this is the bringing of God to one's remembrance and the Qur'an is the Speech of God. This therefore renews dhikr.

The heart is purified and made a fit place for dhikr by means of fasting, for fasting destroys lusts, and dhikr is impossible when the heart is full of lust.

Hajj is pilgrimage to the House of God and the aim of Hajj is to quicken remembrance of the Lord of the House, and to arouse desire to meet Him.

Dhikr is therefore the essence of all acts of devotion. The root of Islam is the Kalimah "There is no deity etc.," and this is the source of dhikr. All other acts of devotion confirm this dhikr. The fruit of dhikr is that God remembers the worshipper, and what could be better than this?

Quotation of Surah 2.147.

One should always remember God, and if this is not done at all times it should be done at most times. Man's security depends on this.

Quotation of Surah 62.10. One's security depends on frequent dhikr.

Quotation of Surah 3.188

Quotation of Surah 7.204.

(1) Dhikr. See art. Ency. of Islam.
Tradition. The best work is to keep the tongue fresh until death by means of dhikr.

Tradition. Dhikr is a work which is better than giving gold and silver in alms and is better also than Jihād.

Qudai tradition concerning dhikr which engages a man in things other than petitions. (1)

Tradition. One who remembers God is like a live man among the dead.

Saying of Ṭaḥth about the people of Paradise.

The true nature of Dhikr.

There are four degrees of dhikr. Firstly, there is that dhikr which is merely verbal and wherein the heart is careless and unconcerned. It is better for the tongue to be busy with this than with senseless talk.

Secondly, there is a fitful dhikr of the heart. The heart is engaged in concern for other things. If this were not the case the heart would be in accord with its own nature instead of being careless and busy with inner speech.

Thirdly, this dhikr may be so established in the heart that the heart is not easily distracted.

Fourthly, there is that degree wherein He who is remembered dwells in the heart. God dwells there and not the dhikr. In perfect dhikr there is no idea of performing dhikr; He who is remembered dwells Alone. The heart is empty of Persian or Arabic speech, and there is no place in the heart for anything but Him.

Excess of love and desire follow from this, and he who desires always looks to the Beloved. At the thought of Him the very name of the Beloved is forgotten. In this, the first path of Taṣawwuf,

205 (1) K.I.S. Nos. 88 and 223.
one forgets oneself and all other than God. The Sufis call this "annihilation" and "not-being". By means of this dhikr all else ceases to be and the self is forgotten and becomes non-existent. Just as unknown worlds are non-existent for us, so when one forgets this world it becomes non-existent to one. When one remembers God, sees nothing but God and says "He is all, and there is nothing but Him", then, at this station, God is not separate from oneself and one attains to "oneness". This is the first realm of Taupn and Wahdaniyat and, at this stage, there is no awareness of separation and "two-ness". One ceases to be aware of oneself and one knows none other but Him.

It is at this stage that the forms of angels become apparent and the spirits of angels and prophets appear to one in excellent shapes. Matters are disclosed which are the peculiar province of the prophets and one enters into ecstatic states which defy description. When this state ends and one comes to oneself, the longing for those ecstatic states remains. One lives in this world in the body, but one is absent in heart and is surprised that men could be busy with this world. One is sorry for them that they are denied the experience one has enjoyed. They, in their turn think that we have wealth in that we are not busied about the things of this world!

These ecstatic states come at this stage of "annihilation" and "non-existence". Here the dhikr prevails and controls one, and this is the alchemy of happiness. In this dhikr, the divine fellowship and control are dominant and overshadow the heart until one loves God more than the world and all that is therein.

In accordance with this love one also finds pleasure in the thought of death. He who loves the old hag of this world suffers anguish on being separated from her - as we have already noted in the Introduction to this work. (1)

207 (1) Reference to Introduction of K. p.67.
However, if one does not enjoy these ecstatic states as a result of dhikr, one should not be despondent for happiness does not depend on such experiences. The heart is prepared, by the light of dhikr, for such experiences after death.

One should therefore, be assiduous in one’s dhikr, and not careless, for constant dhikr is the key to the divine presence and to the wonders of the lofty realm. For this reason, the Prophet enjoined dhikr as the means of access to the gardens of paradise.

Dhikr, therefore, is the very essence of all acts of devotion. When the things of this world are presented to one, then one should perform dhikr and remember God, and thus refrain from sin and observe the divine command. If this does not result from dhikr then it proves that this dhikr is inner speech, and that it is not genuine dhikr.

The excellence of Tasbih, Tahli, Tahmud, blessing of the Prophet, and asking forgiveness of God.

Tradition. At the last, deeds are weighed and the Kalimah outweighs the seven heavens etc.

Tradition. Sincere confession of God’s Unity saves a man from sins as numerous as the dust.

Tradition. There is a paradise for the sincere confessor of God’s Unity.

Tradition. He who daily, one hundred times, confesses God’s Unity...equal to freeing ten slaves.

Tradition (Sahih) (1) To repeat the Kalimah is to perform an act equal to freeing four Arab slaves.

Tradition. The repetition of the Tasbih and Tahmud one hundred times daily gains forgiveness of sins equal to the foam of the sea.

208 (1) K. notes a Sahih tradition.
Tradition. He who says the Tasbîh, Tahmād and Takhîr thirty three times each, and the Kalimah once after every time of worship, foam of the sea.

Tradition. The man who was told to recite the Tasbîh and ask forgiveness one hundred times daily before the daybreak worship in order to gain sustenance. God creates an angel at every saying.

Tradition. The Kalimât which are the Ṣaqlâyāt al Ṣalihât (See Sūrah 18.44).

Tradition. The Prophet loves these Kalimât more than anything else under the sun.

Tradition. God esteems these Kalimât more than all other sayings.

Tradition. Two Kalimât which come quickly to the tongue and weigh heavy in the scales...

Tradition. The Prophet’s reply to the poor man who complained that the rich not only performed acts of devotion, but gave alms. The Takhîr etc., become alms for the poor...also the food a man gives his wife. (1)

The Tasbîh and Tehlîl of a poor man are most excellent when his heart is pure and not darkened by the world. His single utterance of the Kalimah is like a fruitful seed sown in good soil. The dhikr of one whose heart is full of the cares of the world is like seed sown in barren soil.

Blessing the Prophet.

Tradition. Gabriel informed the Prophet that God will bless ten times the Muslim who blesses the Prophet...

Tradition. Whoever blesses the Prophet is blessed by all the angels in return.

Tradition. He who often blesses the Prophet is nearest to him. (1) K. omits the reference to sexual intercourse.
Tradition. For every blessing invoked on the Prophet, ten good deeds are added to one's account and ten evil deeds cancelled.

Tradition. Angels ask pardon for one who writes a blessing in a book so long as the writing endures.

Asking forgiveness of God.

Ibn Mas'ud's quotation of Surahs 3:129; 4:110; and 110.3. The reason why the Prophet used to say often "Glory be to Thee... the Merciful".

Tradition. The promise of felicity and daily sustenance for one who often asks forgiveness of God.

Tradition. The Prophet repented and asked for forgiveness seventy times daily.

If the Prophet found this necessary then others certainly need to ask God's forgiveness. (1)

Tradition. All a man's sins are forgiven him if he says three times when lying down to sleep...

Tradition. Sins are forgiven after thorough ritual purification, two rak'a of worship and the prayer asking for forgiveness. (2).

The proprieties to be observed when one is making supplication.

Tradition. Supplication is the pith of all acts of devotion. The creature recognises his infirmity and the majesty of God, and as the greater the element of humility and lamentation there is in his supplication the better.

Eight proprieties must be observed. (3).

Firstly, supplication should be made on the noblest days, e.g. the 9th day of Dhu'l Hijjah, in Ramadan, on Friday, and at dawn and in the middle of the night.

210 (1) In I.D. we read that he asked forgiveness in spite of the fact that his former and latter sins were forgiven. K. has another comment as we see from this passage.

(2) K. again changes the order of the materials in I.D. and reverts to passages found at an earlier stage in I.D.

(3) I.D. mentions ten proprieties. K. omits 4th and 5th of I.D.
Secondly, supplication should be made at auspicious times, e.g. when men go to war for the faith etc.

Tradition. At such times the gates of heaven are opened.
The heart is tender at such times - and the door of mercy is open - when one hears the Adhan, the Takbir and when fasting.

Thirdly, one should raise both hands and bring them down to the face.

Tradition. God does not allow such hands to return empty that are raised in supplication.

Tradition. Sins forgiven etc. of one who makes supplication.

Fourthly, (1) when making supplication, one should not doubt but believe that it will be accepted.

Fifthly, (2), the heart must be "present" in humility and lowliness.

Tradition. The supplication of one whose heart is careless is not heard.

Sixthly, (3) there must be importunity and repetition in one's supplication, and one should offer it without ceasing. One should not despair for God knows the time when supplication is accepted.

When it appears that a supplication has been accepted, one should say the Tahmid etc. If there is any delay one should say "All praise...under every circumstance".

Seventhly, (4) one should say the Tahmid before supplicating, bless the Prophet and say "Glory to my Lord, the Most High, the Giver".

Tradition. One invokes blessing upon the Prophet because...

God is not One to reject one supplication and to accept another.

Eighthly, (5) one should repent before making supplication, moving away from sins in order to place the heart in God's care.
Many supplications are not accepted because of carelessness of
the heart, and the darkness of sin.

Story told by Ka‘b al Ablr about Moses and the prayers for
rain offered by the children of Israel.

Story told by Malik bin Dinar about the drought which befell
the children of Israel when they had eaten unclean food and their hands
were defiled with blood unlawfully shed. (1)

Various Supplications.

It was the usage of the Prophet to employ prayers for
various occasions. Some of them are to be found in I.D. and some most
efficient prayers are quoted in the Bidayah al Hidayah. (2) It would
take too much space to quote them all, and so we propose to mention
those which it is sunnat to recite, that they may be committed to
memory.

On leaving one's house one should say "In the name of God..."

On entering at the door of a mosque one should say "O God
peace be upon Muhammad etc..."

On entering the bazaar one should say "There is no deity..."

On donning new clothes one should say "Thou, O God, hast
clothed me..."

On seeing the new moon one should say "O God, bring forth..."

When a storm wind comes one should say "O God, I ask of Thee..."

On hearing of somebody's death one should say "Glory be to the
Living One..."

On giving alms one should say "O God, receive from us..."

(1) At this point K. changes the order of I.D. materials and closes
with a collection of supplications selected from I.D.

(2) Reference to I.D. and Bidayah al Hidayah; for Bidayah al Hidayah
see Bouyges, Essai etc. pp 47f.
On suffering any injury one should say "May our Lord give in return..."

On commencing a new task one should say "O Lord, grant mercy..."

On looking on the heavens one should say "O our Lord, Thou hast not created..."

On hearing thunder one should say "Glory be to Him..."

When lightning falls one should say "O God, do not slay us..."

When rain falls one should say "O God, make this rain..."

When one is angry, one should say "O God, forgive my sin..."

In dread or fear, one should say "O God, we set Thee in their throats..."

When in pain, one should put one's hand to the place, and say three times "In the name of God". One should then say seven times, "I take refuge..."

When in sorrow, one should say "There is no deity..."

When in any difficulty, one should say "O God, I am thy slave..."

On looking into a mirror one should say "All praise be to God..."

On buying a slave, one should take him by the forelock and say "O God, I ask of Thee..."

On going to sleep, one should say "O Lord, I lie down..."

On awaking, one should say "All praise be to God who causes..."

This section of K. contains, in bulk, about one-fifth of the materials to be found in Volume One, Book Nine of I.D.
The private reading of the Qur'an. (1)

Man was placed in this world that he might make use of it, as we noted in the Introduction to this work (2), but his spirit is from above and will return thither. Man is to use his lifetime in order to make use of this world, and the capital of this life is always decreasing. If he does not use this capital at every moment it wastes away.

Quotation of Surah. 103. 1.

Such a one is like a man whose wealth consists of ice. This melts away in the heat. He appeals to men to buy it because it melts away.

The few breaths of this life, whose number God knows, also melt away, and those who know this and are aware that these few moments may gain one eternal happiness, treat them as a rich man treats gold and silver. Such people appoint times in the night and day for good works and for the private reading of the Qur'an. (wird).

This capital of private readings is arranged that no time is without employment. Love for and fellowship with God prevail in such hearts. Such fellowship is attained through continuous dhikr. There is no love without gnosis and this is gained through reflection (fikr)(3).

Continuous dhikr and fikr therefore are the seed of felicity. One must repel the world, lusts, and acts of disobedience, in order to have leisure for dhikr and fikr.

215 (1) See Calverley, op.cit. pp 32f for "wird" here, also art. Wird, Ency. of Islam.
(2) Ref. to Introduction of K.
(3) For "fikr" see Massignon, La passion..... (index), and art. Sprenger D.T.T. pp.1122f. for this word as a Sufi technical term. For differences among Sufis over the superiority of fikr to dhikr see Kitāb al Tawāsin, al Hallaj. (Observations by L. Massignon pp.169f).
There are two modes of continuous dhikr. One is when one says "Allah, Allah", continuously, with the heart and not the tongue. The other is when one does not even speak in the heart, for that is inward speech, but one remains in a state of mushahadah. One is never careless under such circumstances.

This is very difficult, and not every man can keep his heart in one state all the time. This grieves most people. For this reason private readings are arranged. Some are performed by means of the whole body - as in the case of worship - and some are performed by the tongue, as when one reads the Qur'ān and recites the Tasbīh. Some, like fikr, are performed in the heart. In this way, the heart is not distressed for there are fresh occupations from moment to moment, and one moves through these states to tranquillity. Another separate form is provided for one busy with daily needs.

Thus, even when one is not employed perpetually with works of the hereafter one may so use one's time that the scale of good works is heavy.

However, if half of one's time is devoted to lawful worldly works and the other half to works of the hereafter, this may weigh down the scale of worldly interests. One's nature aids that which suits it and it is contrary to human nature to apply the heart to works of religion. It is therefore difficult to be sincere over religious matters, and insincere works are without value. Many works must therefore be performed in the hope that some, at least, may be done in sincerity. One should therefore give most of one's time to works of religion so that the works of the world may be subordinated to those of religion.

Quotation of Sūrahā 20.130, 76.25, and 51.17.

One should therefore be busy with dhikr for most of the time, and the hours of the day and night must be divided up for this purpose.
Private readings of the Qurān to be performed in the daytime.

There are five times for private reading in the daytime (1).

(a) The first period is from the true dawn to the rising of the sun. God has sworn by this blessed time. Quotation of Surahs 81.18; 103.1, and 6.96.

One must keep watch over all one's words at this time.

On awaking one should say "All praise be to God Who brings etc.,"

When donning one's clothes one should be busy with dhikr and supplication. At this time one should announce the Intention to have clean privities. One should observe God's commands and avoid hypocrisy and pride.

One should then go to the privy, coming out first with the left foot. Then, with the appropriate supplications and dhikr, one should perform wuqūf and use the miswak.

Following the example of the Prophet, one should recite the sunnat daybreak worship at home, and then go to the mosque.

One should then recite the supplication handed down on the authority of ibn 'Abbas and which is mentioned in the Bidāya al Hidāya (1) One should go slowly to the mosque, putting the right foot in first and offering the appropriate supplications.

216 (1) I.D. 1/300 says that there are seven times for private reading in the daytime:-(a) between dawn and sunrise, (b) between sunrise and mid-morning, (c) between mid-morning and the declination of the sun, (d) between noon and the time for mid-day worship, (e) between noon and afternoon worship, (f) just prior to afternoon worship, (g) at close of day. K. compresses the last four of the above into two periods.

217 (1) We follow the B.M.Ms. fo. 81b here. The Teheran text appeals to I.D. but there is no reference to it in the B.M.Ms. and we have adopted the harder reading.
After the Intention to form ranks, one should perform the
daybreak worship. If the sunnat worship has been performed at home
one should offer the prayer of salutation to the mosque and sit, busy
with Tasbīḥ and asking for forgiveness, awaiting the assembly.

After the worship one should sit in the mosque until sunrise.

Tradition. The Prophet preferred sitting in the mosque until
sunrise to setting free four slaves.

Before the sun rises one should be busy with four kinds of
dhikr, i.e. Supplications, Tasbīḥ, Tilawat and Fikr.

After the salutation at the close of the worship one should
begin the supplications by saying "O God, have mercy etc."

Then one should offer the supplications referred to above (in
Section Nine).

After the supplications, one should be engaged in Tasbīḥ and
Tahллл, saying each a hundred times or seventy or ten times. If the
following ten dhikr are uttered ten times they make a hundred. There
should not be less than this.

There are many traditions concerning the excellence of
uttering these ten dhikr but they are too lengthy to be mentioned here.

The first dhikr is "There is no deity...He is Powerful over
all".

The second dhikr is "There is no deity...the One Who makes
clear (2).

The third dhikr is "Glory and praise to God...The Mighty". (3)

The fourth dhikr is "Glory to God...and praise be to Him".

217 (2) This is seventh in I.D. (3) This is second in I.D.
(4) This is third in I.D. (5) This is fifth in I.D.
(6) This is sixth in I.D. (7) This is eighth in I.D.
The tenth in I.D. is not in K.
The fifth dhikr is "The Glorious, the Holy... and The Spirit (4) 1/303
The sixth dhikr is "I ask forgiveness of God... repentance (5)
The seventh dhikr is "O Living One, O Self Subsistent! I cry for Thy mercy. Do not leave me to myself. Make all my works righteous".
The eighth dhikr is "O God, none can forbid... the Bodiless One". (1).
The ninth dhikr is "O God, have mercy... the family of Muhammād"
The tenth dhikr is "All praise be to God... the Hearer, the Knower". (2).

These should be repeated ten times each or to the utmost of one's ability. Each one of them has its own excellence, and brings communion with God and pleasure.

After this one should be busied with the private reading of the Qurān. If this is impossible then one should recite the Qawārī (3) of the Qurān. These are Sūras 2.256: 2.285: 3.16: 3.25: the beginning of Sūrah 57 and the end of Sūrah 59.

Story of the "seven tens" which al Khīdr taught to Ibrāhīm al Ta‘īrī, and in which supplication, dhikr and private reading of the Qurān are combined. This story is found in I.D.(4).

After this, one should engage in fikr. There are many kinds of fikr and they will be mentioned at the end of this book. (5).

217 (4) This is third in I.D.
(5) This is fifth in I.D.
218 (1) This is sixth in I.D.
(2) This is eighth in I.D.
The tenth in I.D. is not in K.
(3) These are verses which are repeated incessantly when one is in danger.
(4) Ref. to I.D.
(5) Pillar Four, Section Seven, on Tafakkur and Pillar Four, Section Ten on the Remembrance of Death.
One should reflect on the nearness of death, and remember that not more than a day may remain of one's appointed time. One who is engrossed in this world hopes for an extended period of life. Some even plan for ten years of life! Quotation of Surah 7.184. When one reflects on this one should make provision for the hereafter.

One should ponder on the good deeds which one may perform in a day, the sins one should abstain from, and the faults for which reparation must be made. This requires reflection and provision.

Nevertheless, to reflect on the wonders of the heavens and the earth is better than all other acts of reflection, for by this means the thought of God prevails in the heart. Love does not prevail until the thought of the majesty of God prevails.

If one cannot do this - and this is not possible for every man - then one should reflect on one's blessings and the fact that one has been kept safe from afflictions. One may then express one's thanks by keeping God's commands and shunning sins.

One should be busied with ḍhikr and these reflections from the true dawn until sunrise, for no other formal worship is permitted until the time comes for sunnat prayers and dawn worship.

(b) The second period for private reading of the Quran during the daytime is from sunrise to mid-morning.

If possible, one should stay in the mosque until the sun is a spear's length above the horizon. One should be engaged in Tashhīḥ.

At the time of the declination of the sun one should perform two rak'a of worship.

Mid-way between sunrise and the meridian, i.e. when a quarter of the day has passed, one should offer worship of four, six or eight rak'a.

When the sun is high, after performing two rak'a of worship, one should perform good works, such as visiting the sick, following a
bier, serving Muslims or associating with scholars.

(c) The third period for private reading of the Qurān during the daytime is mid-way between sunrise and noon, up to mid-day worship.

The reading varies in accordance with one's circumstances and four circumstances may determine the non-observance at this time. They are as follows:

A man may be a scholar and be engaged in the acquisition of knowledge. No act of devotion is superior to this. The scholar should be employed in study which is profitable for the hereafter as soon as the daybreak worship has been performed. Such sciences make the hereafter attractive, and commend sincerity. Argument and contention may sow the seeds of envy and pride in the heart. That science which is profitable is mentioned in I.D. the Jawāhir al Qurān and this present work.

A man may be a devotee who is engaged in dhikr, Tasbīḥ, and acts of devotion. It is a great station when that dhikr abides in the heart.

A man may be busy engaged in providing sustenance for the poor. This is more excellent than an act of supererogation in worship. Such a man also gets help and blessing from the prayers of the recipients.

A man may have to work to support his wife and children. If he is honest and others are safe from his hand and tongue, and he is not attracted towards seeking the things of the world, then he will be numbered among the worshippers and be "among those on the right hand".

219 (1) I.D. 1/316f says that there are six such circumstances: one may be a worshipper, a scholar, a student, an administrator, a tradesman, or one who is busied with the confession of God's Unity.


(2) See Surah 56.7.
If a man falls short at this point and does not come under one of the above categories then he is one of the followers of Satan.

(a) The fourth period for private reading of the Qur'an during the daytime is from the declination of the sun to the time of afternoon worship. (3).

One should take a siesta before the declination of the sun. This siesta is, in respect of night worship, like the meal taken before daybreak when one is fasting. Nevertheless, a siesta is not approved of when one does not worship during the night.

On awaking from the siesta one must perform wuḍū before reading. One should then make every effort to reach the mosque, hear the Ādām, offer the prayer of salutation to the mosque, answer the Mu‘ādhūn and recite four rak‘a before the prescribed worship. These four rak‘a should not be performed hastily, for the Prophet used to linger over them and say "At this time, the gates of heaven are opened".

Tradition. Seventy thousand angels pray with one who performs these four rak‘a, and they pray for the worshipper until night comes.

One should then follow the Imam in worship, and after that recite two more sunnat rak‘a.

One should be engaged in helping Muslims or teaching or performing dhikr and reading the Qur'an, or earning what one needs - shunning worldly interests - up to the time of afternoon worship.

(e) The fifth period for private reading during the daytime is from afternoon worship to the setting of the sun (1).

One should enter the mosque before afternoon worship and recite four rak‘a.

Tradition. God has mercy on him who recites four rak‘a before afternoon worship.

220 (3) This combines the fourth and fifth periods in I.D.
221 (1) This combines sixth and seventh in I.D.
After this worship one should be engaged in no other worldly pursuits than those mentioned above.

One should again enter the mosque before the sunnat worship and offer Tasbih and ask for forgiveness. In dignity, this time equals the morning.

Quotation of Surah 20.130.

One should read Surahs 91, 92, 113, and 114.

One should be asking for forgiveness when the sun is setting. These times should be observed habitually for otherwise one's lifetime is wasted.

Times for the private reading of the Qur'an at night.

There are three times for the private reading of the Qur'an at night (2).

(a) The first period is between sunset worship and evening worship. It is an excellent thing to remain awake between these two times of worship.

Tradition concerning the sending down of Surah 33.16.

Eminent saints regard this as more excellent than fasting during the daytime for they eat food then (and after sunset).

When one has performed the voluntary (witr) prayers one should end all conversation or jesting.

(b) The second period of private reading at night is to sleep (3).

When sleep is ordered in accordance with the proprieties and sunnat observances it is an act of worship.

One should sleep on the right side, facing the Qiblah after the manner of a corpse.

221 (2) I.D. 1/300 states that there are four such periods. Two are from sunset to the time that one sleeps and two are from the latter half of the night to the sunrise. K. omits the second of the first pair.

(3) This is the third in I.D.
Sleep should be regarded as the brother of death, and waking as being like the resurrection.

It is possible that the spirit which is taken (by angels) during one's sleep may not return.

One should therefore prepare for the hereafter by sleeping after ritual purification.

One should repent and resolve not to sin again if one awakes.

One should put one's last will and testament beneath one's pillow.

One should not practice such austerities that sleep is denied one.

Sleep is life's leisure, but one must not sleep for more than a third of the twenty-four hours. If one does this then twenty years of a lifetime of sixty years will be wasted, and one should not waste more than this.

Water and the miswāk should be placed close to hand, so that one may use them in the night for wuḍū before the dawn worship.

One should make the Intention to rise in the night or at dawn, so that one may get the reward for the Intention even when sleep prevails.

On lying down one should repeat the supplication "I lie down on my side in Thy name etc."

One should recite Sūrahs 2.256: 2.285 and Sūrahs 113 and 114.

One should repeat Sūrah 67.1. One thus sleeps, ritually purified and after ḥikr. The spirit of one who sleeps thus is taken to heaven, and he is recorded as being engaged in worship until he awakes.

(c) The third private reading of the Qurān at night is the night worship. (1)

222 (1) Tahajjud. See Calverley, op.cit. index and art. Tahadjud, Ency. of Islām.
One should rise at midnight, for to recite two rak'a of worship for the remaining part of the night is better than many acts of worship.

At such a time the heart is pure of worldly concerns, and the gates of the divine mercy are open. There are many traditions which declare the excellence of the night worship, and we have mentioned them in I.D. (2).

**Conclusion.** There should be a task for every part of the day, and one should order one's life in this manner. One is on a journey to the homeland, and the traveller should cheer his heart with the reflection "What ought not a man to suffer for this brief period in order to gain endless ease?"

222 (2) Reference to I.D.

The amount of material in this section of K. is, in bulk, slightly more than a seventh of that to be found in Volume One, Book Ten of I.D.
PILLAR TWO.
Section on the proprieties to be observed when eating.

To eat is part of the path of religion.

The aim of the "Marchers" is the vision of God. This is attained through knowledge and works, and a healthy body is needed for this. Food and drink ensure the health of the body.

To eat is part of religion.

Quotation of Surah 23:53. Eating is an act of worship when the eater eats in order to have strength to pursue knowledge and works.

Tradition. There is a reward for all good works, even for the morsel a Muslim eats or gives to his wife.

Sunnah observances before eating.

Firstly, one should wash the hands and mouth. This is ṭuḥū as for the act of worship. (1) Tradition. Such washing saves from poverty.

Secondly, food should be placed on a table cloth. (1)

The Prophet and the "fathers" of Islam did this. The table cloth (ṣufrāḥ) should remind one of the journey (ṣafr) to the next world.

The placing of food on a tray is not forbidden.

Thirdly, one should sit correctly, with the right knee raised, the left horizontal. (2).

Tradition. The Prophet did not lean against anything, but sat and ate like a slave.

(1). This is the second observance in I.D. The first prescribes lawful food. There is no reference to mouth-washing in I.D.

(2). This is the fourth observance in I.D.
Fourthly, one should announce the Intention to eat in order to have strength to worship and not for the sake of appetite. (3). Saying of یحیی بن یاهی بن یافریم that much eating keeps a man from worship.

Tradition. The few morsels which straighten a man's back are enough etc.

Fifthly, one should eat only when hungry. (4). It is reprehensible to eat before one is hungry. He who rises from food while still hungry will not need a physician.

Sixthly, one should be satisfied with the food provided, and not demand delicacies. (5). The virtue of bread is such that one should not wait for a relish to it. If the time for eating food coincides with the time for prayer one should defer prayer until one has eaten.

Seventhly, one should wait for a companion, and not eat alone. The more hands there are in the dish, the greater is the blessing. (6).

Anas said that the Prophet never ate alone.

227. Proprieties to be observed at the time of eating.

One should begin by saying "Bismillah" adding "All praise be to Allah" at the close. It is best to say "Bismillah" with the first mouthful etc. This should be said aloud so that others may hear. One should eat with the right hand, beginning and ending the meal with salt.

226 (3) This is the fifth observance in I.D.
226 (4) This is the latter part of the fifth observance in I.D.
226 (5) This is the sixth observance in I.D.
226 (6) This is the seventh observance in I.D.
Tradition. In order to remove greed one should eat that for which one has no appetite.

Each morsel should be chewed well and one should not take a second morsel until the first has been swallowed.

One should not find fault with the food. The Prophet never found fault with food.

It was the Sunna of the Prophet to eat of that dish which was nearest him, except in respect of fruit, which he took from various dishes.

One should neither eat from the centre of a dish of broth nor the sides.

Bread should not be eaten from the centre but from the outer edge. Meat and bread should not be cut with a knife.

A plate, or other inedible thing, should not be placed on bread.

The hands should not be cleaned on bread.

Every morsel which falls to the ground should be cleaned and eaten. Tradition states that if it is left it becomes the property of Satan.

Fingers should first be licked and then cleaned on a cloth. There may be blessing there in the food sticking to one's fingers.

One should not blow on hot food but wait for it to cool.

When eating dates etc., one should eat an odd number. (1)

The date stones should not be collected on the same tray as the dish of dates, nor should one, after eating, hold the date stones in one's hand.

A lot of water should not be drunk when one is eating.

227 (1) K. notes that God Himself is One - an odd number. We thus remember Him when eating.
Propsities to be observed when drinking water.

One should take the vessel in the right hand and say "Bismillah"; drinking slowly and standing the while. One should ensure that there is no straw or worm in the water.

One should not breathe or belch into the vessel.

One should drink water in three sips, saying "Bismillah" each time and ending with the Tahmid.

One should ensure that drops of water do not fall from the base of the jug.

After drinking, one should say "All praise be to God who, by His mercy, has made this water sweet...."

The propieties to be observed after eating.

One should avoid eating to repletion and one should suck one's fingers after eating. One should eat the crumbs from the tablecloth. A tradition on this latter point.

The picking up of the crumbs provides a dower for the houris of Paradise.

After using the tooth-pick (and this is enjoined) that which falls on the tongue should be swallowed and that which adheres to the tooth-pick should be thrown away.

One should clean the dish with one's finger. A tradition that the vessel so cleaned prays that the doer be saved from Hell.

If, after cleansing the vessel, one drinks the washing-up water, there is a reward for this equal to that for freeing a slave.

After eating, one should offer thanks saying "All praise be to God who has fed us and given us drink in sufficiency....."

After eating, one should say Surahs 112 & 106.

One should offer thanks if one has eaten lawful food.
If one has eaten food concerning whose lawful nature one has doubts, then one should weep and lament. Such a person should not eat and jest.

When washing the hands with ʿasrān one should take it in the left hand etc.

The proprieties to be observed when one is eating with another person. They are seven in number:

Firstly, one should wait for the most eminent person to begin eating. When one is oneself the most eminent, one should not keep others waiting.

Secondly, one should not remain silent but should engage in edifying conversation.

Thirdly, one should not eat more than one's companion. If it is necessary, one should urge one's companion to eat more, but not urge him more than thrice. One should not take an oath by swearing by the food.

Fourthly, it should not be necessary for one's companion to urge one to eat and one should not eat less than one is in the habit of eating. One should eat in company as one does in private and behave in private as one would in company. Nevertheless, it is good if one eats less in public in order to give to others or one eats more in order to encourage others. Story about ibn al-Mubarak and the dates.
Fifthly, one should keep one's eyes downcast, and not watch others eat. (1). One should not cease eating before others have finished, and one should allow one's companion full access to any small dish. If one cannot eat, one should make one's apologies so that one's companion may not be discouraged.

Sixthly, one should not eat in a manner which is abhorrent to others. (2).

One should not spit into the wash-basin after one has washed one's hands and when in the presence of others. The basin should be placed before the most eminent person and one may accept it from him if he so honours one. The basin should circulate to the right. All should wash the hands and the water should collect in the basin. One's mouth-wash should be expelled with care so that it may not fall on the carpet or on the company. The one who pours the water should stand rather than sit. (1).

All these proprieties are observed by men but not by animals. A man who does not act in accordance with his discernment does not follow reason and is unthankful for benefits bestowed on him.

The proprieties to be observed when eating with friends and brethren in the faith.

To provide hospitality for a friend is more excellent than almsgiving.

Tradition. One is not called to account for breaking the fast before dawn in Ramadan... when one eats with friends.

229 (1) This is the sixth in I.D.
(2) This is the seventh in I.D.

230 (1) These observances are mentioned under the fifth in I.D.
Saying of Ja'far bin Muhammad.

Saying of Hassan al Basrit.

Practice of one of the "fathers" of the faith to put more food before his guests than they could eat, and, referring to a Tradition which asserts that no account is to be rendered for food placed before friends, he would then eat what was left over.

Saying of 'Ali about giving a Sa' of food to brethren.

Tradition concerning the day of resurrection. God will say to His servant "O son of man, I was hungry..." (Cf. St. Matthew 25).

Tradition. God places a man seven ditches from the fire of Hell. There is a journey of five hundred years between each ditch.

Tradition. He is best among you who gives others food to eat.

The proprieties to be observed in eating when one friend visits another. One should not go deliberately at meal time to another's house.

Tradition. It is unlawful to eat food to which one was not invited.

If one arrives, by chance, at meal time, one should not eat without being invited. If one is invited to eat because the householder feels obliged to ask one, then one should make one's excuses.

It is a good thing, deliberately, to go to the house of a friend in search of food. The Prophet, Abu Bakr and 'Umar did this at the houses of Abu Aiyub Ansari and Abu'l Haitham bin al Tihhan. (1)

This helps the host to do a good deed when one knows that he is willing to do this. One man had three hundred and sixty friends and stayed with each for a day of the year, one man had thirty... one had seven... and they were thus at leisure to engage in worship.

231 (1) Ansari - a title used for those of Madinah who befriended the Prophet. See W. M. Watt, Muhammad in Medina (index). See also art. Ansar, Ency. of Islam.
When there is friendship in the faith then one may eat a friend's food even when he is not at home. The Prophet did this in the house of Farīrah. Muhammad bin Wāsi' and his friends also went to the house of Hasan al Bagrī and ate the food they found there. Hasan al Bagrī was pleased that they had done this. A group of people did the same thing at the house of Sufyān al Thaurī.

The second propriety is that when a friend comes to see one, one should set before him whatever one has and not stand on ceremony(2). If one has nothing then one should not get into debt. If one has enough only for one's wife and family then one should not give it to the visitor.

'Alī's saying concerning the three conditions to be fulfilled before one accepts an invitation.

Sayings of al Fuḍail bin 'Iyād about formality.

Saying of one of the "fathers" on his being received in a formal manner when visiting another and his assertion that if the host did not forsake this formal behaviour he would not visit him.

Salman reports a saying of the Prophet about formality.

The Companions put pieces of dry bread and dry dates before those who visited them.

Jonah put bread and vegetables before his friends.

A long story about Zachariah and his beautiful wife, his eating food after his daily labour and not inviting others to share in it, and his walking barefoot (1).

231 (2) This is the first propriety in I.D.

232. (1) No reference in I.D. 4/319 to his wife or his walking barefoot.
The third propriety is that the guest should not be high-handed with the host and put him into difficulties (2). He should not ask for anything which cannot be easily supplied. When the Prophet was given a choice he asked for whatever could be easily supplied.

Story of Salman who pawned his wudu ewer in order to provide food which would gratify a guest.

The host may be requested to provide what one desires when one knows that he is able readily so to do. Story of al Shāfi‘ī and al Za‘farānī.

The fourth propriety is that the host should ask his guests what they want if he is willing to supply their needs. (1). There is great reward for this. Tradition about the million good deeds credited....

It is improper to ask a guest whether one should provide food or not. One should offer whatever one has and the guest may then take it or leave it. (2).

The excellence of offering hospitality. One should offer whatever is within one's means and not burden oneself.

Tradition. There is no good in anyone who is not hospitable. The Prophet also said that undue formality leads to enmity with one's guest and, therefore, with God.

If a poor guest arrives then it is proper to raise a loan if necessary and go to some trouble on his behalf... One should however, not do this for one's friends.

Story of Abu Ḥāfi‘ concerning the Prophet.

Story of Abraham's going on to the highroad in search of a guest to entertain. For this reason, villages were bequeathed as alms (for entertaining travellers).

232. (2) This is the second propriety in I.D.
233. (1) This is the third in I.D.
(2) This is the fourth in I.D.
The proprieties to be observed in the issuing and acceptance of an invitation.

One should invite only the pious.

To give food to an evil-doer is to aid him in his evil-doing.

One should invite the poor to a feast without the rich.

Tradition on inviting the rich and excluding the poor.

One should not forget one's kinsmen and near friends, for this causes grief. The intention when one offers hospitality should not be one of a desire for ostentation but in order that one may fulfil the Sunna and give pleasure to the poor. One should not invite somebody whom one knows is unable to accept the invitation or invite somebody who will accept reluctantly and with loathing.

The proprieties to be observed in accepting an invitation.

Firstly, one should not make any distinction between rich and poor. One should not ignore the invitation of a poor man, for the Prophet used to accept the invitations of the poor.

Story of Ḥasan bin 'Alī.

Secondly, one should excuse oneself when one knows that the host will cast the favours he confers into one's teeth. The host should regard the guest's acceptance as a favour conferred upon him. Moreover, if there is anything doubtful about the food or unlawful in the place when one should not go there (1)

If one has accepted an invitation and sees an evil thing which one cannot forbid, then one should leave the place.

Thirdly, one should not refuse an invitation on the grounds that acceptance would involve a long journey (2).

Reference to the Taurīt.

235 (1) This is the fourth propriety in I.D.
(2) This is the second in I.D.
Fourthly, one should not refuse an invitation on the grounds that one is fasting. One should break one's fast when one knows that this will please the host (3). The reward for pleasing a Muslim is greater than that for fasting. The Prophet rebuked a man for refusing hospitality on the grounds that he was fasting.

Fifthly, one should not accept an invitation merely with a view to filling one's belly. One's intention should be to follow the Sunna of the Prophet. The Prophet said that anyone who refuses an invitation has sinned against God and His Apostle.

One should accept an invitation with the intention of pleasing one's Muslim brother. Traditions:— "He who shows regard for his brother who is a believer becomes one who shows regard for God". 
"He who has made a believer happy has made God happy".

Sixthly, one should also have the intention of meeting the host. This is a means of gaining nearness to God. One also saves oneself from being deemed proud. One lies under this imputation when one does not go to a meal when invited.

These are the six intentions that one should hold when accepting an invitation. There is a reward for each intention. All works and intentions should be such as to merit a reward.

The proprieties to be observed on coming to a meal.

One should not make the host wait. One should go quickly. One should accept the host's seating arrangements, and one should not sit in front of the women's apartments from which the food is brought. On sitting, one should salute the person seated next to oneself.

235 (3) This is the third in I.D.
If one sees anything unlawful then one should object. If one cannot forbid it then one should leave the place. The saying of ibn Ḥanbal on this point.

When a guest comes to stay the night the host should show him the Qiblah and the place for purification.

The proprieties to be observed in the serving of food.

Firstly, the food should be brought quickly. One should not keep others waiting except when the belated one is a poor man and one has the intention of pleasing him.

The saying of Ḥātim al Aṣamm. The food should also be brought quickly to a marriage feast.

Secondly, the food should be presented in its proper order, the fruit first when there is any. Vegetables should be on the table.

Tradition. Where there are green things served then angels are present.

The most delicate food should be set out first and not the "heavy" food. (1)

Some people serve all kinds of food so that one may eat what one desires.

The dishes should not be removed quickly for somebody may not be satisfied (2).

Thirdly, one should not serve a little food, for this is unkind, nor should one set out too much, for that is ostentation; unless one has the intention that no account may be rendered for what is left.

Ibrahīm bin Adham's generous hospitality and the saying of Ḥasan al Baṣrī.

237 (1) This is the third point in I.D.
(2) This is the fourth point in I.D.
One should first set aside the portion for one's family, lest they curse the guests. The guest should not take food away from the table, except when the host approves and one's fellow-guests are not deprived.

It is theft to take food away in this way without permission.

One should not remove that which one's fellow-guest - out of bashfulness - has left.

The proprieties to be observed when one is taking leave of one's host.

Firstly, one should get the host's permission to leave. (3)

Secondly, the host should accompany the guest to the door (4).

The Prophet did this. The host should speak in an affable manner to his guest and be of a cheerful countenance.

Thirdly, if the guest notes any shortcomings in the hospitality he should make allowances for it out of good-will (5).

Story of the invitation given by a boy to al Junayd which was countermanded by the boy's father, al Junayd regarded the acts as proceeding from God.

(The final section in the I.D. (2/17ff) on various proprieties and prohibitions is not represented in K.)

237 (3) This is the third point in I.D.

(4) This is the first point in I.D.

(5) This is the second point in I.D.

The materials in this section of K are, in bulk, about half the amount of text to be found in Volume 2, Book I of I.D.
As eating food is part of religion, so also is marriage. Mankind is sustained by food and perpetuated by means of marriage. Marriage is a secondary cause of man's being. Food ensures the continuance of life. God created lust that man might be brought to birth. Man is brought to birth that he might follow the path of religion. Quotation of Surah 51,56. The people of the Prophet are thus increased in number by means of marriage.

Tradition. The Prophet commended marriage that he might take pride in the numbers of his people on the day of resurrection. The right of a teacher is greater than that of a father. The former begets but the latter leads to the path of religion.

Some hold that marriage is better than acts of supererogation in worship.

This subject will be dealt with in three chapters:

Chapter One. The blessings and banes of marriage. Chapter Two. The marriage contract. Chapter Three. The married state.

Chapter One. The benefits and banes of marriage.

There are five benefits in marriage.

(a) The first benefit is children.

There are four kinds of reward through children:

Firstly, the human race is perpetuated. God approves of this. Story of the slave who cultivated his fields at his master's command. God also commands the tilth of copulation.

(1) Translated by H. Bauer under the general title of Islamische Ethik (Halle 1917) from I.D. Recently translated, with notes on Bauer, by L.Bercher and G.H.Bouquet, Le livre des bons usages en matière de mariage. (London-Paris 1953). This latter translation is referred to above under the letter B.B.
The Companions and saints dreaded dying unmarried.

Story of Ma'adh.

Secondly, a Muslim should strive to increase the Muslim people so that the Prophet may take pride in them.

Tradition. Marriage with a barren woman is forbidden.

Saying about the date-palm mat.

Tradition. A fecund ugly (l) ugly woman is preferable to a barren lovely woman.

One should not marry because of carnal desire for in that case a beautiful woman would be preferable.

Thirdly, one's children offer up prayers for one.

Tradition. Children pray for a father after his death and this is one of man's acts which continue after him.

Tradition. Prayers are presented to the dead in bowls of light.

Fourthly, a child may die before his father and make intercession for the father on the day of resurrection.

Tradition. A child refuses to enter Paradise without its parents.

Tradition. A child pulls its parents into Paradise

Tradition. Children will gather at the gates of Paradise, will call for their parents... and lead them into Paradise.

Story of the unmarried man who took heed of a dream he had in which he saw children giving water to their parents on the day of resurrection.

239 (1) I.D. reads 'fecund black woman'. B.M. Ms. Fo.92.a. supports Teheran text here.
(b) The second benefit through marriage is that a man protects his religion thereby, removing lust, the weapon of Satan.

        Tradition. The married man has protected half of his religion.

        The unmarried man may be chaste but his eye is not kept safe from glances nor his heart from Satanic suggestions.

        One should not marry merely for carnal pleasure but for the sake of progeny, nevertheless, the pleasures of intercourse have been likened to those of the future life. God also created fire in order that man might have some conception of the pain of Hell. Such things are insignificant by comparison with the joys and pains of the hereafter - but only scholars and saints understand this!

        Tradition. There is a Satan with every woman etc.

(c) The third benefit is the social pleasure which one has with women through marriage. This refreshment gives man new zest for worship.

        Saying of ‘Ali: "Do not snatch the heart away". (1).

        The Prophet, wearied by the burden of revelation, sought the company of 'A'isha in order to converse with her. He informed Bilal that he had found refreshment.

        The Prophet loved scent, women and worship. Scent and women made his pleasure in worship possible.

        Replying to ‘Umar, the Prophet associates dhikr and thanksgiving with women as being among the good things of this world(2).

241 (1) Emend Teheran text here to read with B.M. Ms.fo96.b.

241 (2) There is no reference to ‘Umar in I.D. This comes under (a) in I.D.
(d) The fourth benefit is that a woman cares for the household and thus frees a man for works of devotion. A woman thus helps her husband in the path of religion.

Saying of Abū Sulaimān al Darāh

Saying of 'Umar "After faith etc."

(e) The fifth benefit lies in the effort required in being patient with the ways of women and establishing them on the path of the religious law.

Tradition. The provision of food for one's family is a better act than almsgiving (1).

To earn lawful provision for one's wife and family is the work of the Abdāl (2)

When on Jihād, ibn al Mubārak declared a man's care for his family to be a better work than Jihād.

The praise of Bishr al Hāfīr for ibn Ḥanbal.

There is a sin for which there is no atonement but the distress of having a large family.

Story of a man who refused to marry again. In a dream he learned that his previous acts had lost their original merit.

243. The Banes of Marriage.

There are three:

(a) Firstly, one may not be able to earn lawfully, and thus bring ruin on one's family.

Tradition. A man's good works may be as weighty as a mountain, but will be useless if he has not provided lawful sustenance for his family.

242 (1) I.D. equates it with almsgiving.
Tradition. On the day of resurrection, a man's family will be the first to contend against him if he provided them with unlawful food and if he failed to instruct them.

Only when he fears adultery may a man marry who is unable to provide lawful food for a family.

(b) Secondly, not every man is able to show urbanity, and be patient when dealing with his wives. He may either grieve them or let them go to destruction.

Tradition. He who flees from his family is like a runaway slave.

A man should not accept responsibility for the soul of another until he has dealt with his own sensual nature.

Bishr al-Halī's comment on Surah 2:228

Saying of Ibrahim bin Adham

(c) One's heart may be engrossed in working for one's family and one ceases to think on God and the hereafter.

Whatever interferes with one's recollection of God brings destruction.

Quotation of Surah 63.9.

If a man wishes to be busied about God's service always it is better for him not to marry. He should marry if he fears adultery but not otherwise. If a man can serve God through marriage he should marry. God knows best!

Chapter Two. The Marriage Contract.

There are five conditions:

(a) The woman must have a guardian (ważīl).

When a woman has no guardian the Sultan acts on her behalf.
(b) The woman's consent is required. When a woman is a virgin and her father or paternal grandfather arrange the marriage, her silence after she has been informed of the arrangement, is understood to be consent (1).

(c) Two reputable witnesses must be present. It is approved that a large pious company be present at the ceremony, nevertheless, if two witnesses are present who are not notoriously impious, the contract is valid (2).

(d) The word "marriage" must be mentioned in the contract. The woman's guardian and groom should use the words "acceptance" and "proposal". Such words may be spoken in Persian.

It is a sunnat practice for a sermon to be preached (3). The guardian, after uttering the Bismillah and the Tahmud, should say "I have married so and so to thee for (so much) mehr". The groom, after uttering the Bismillah and the Tahmud should signify his acceptance and confirm the mehr.

245. The woman should be seen before marriage so that the groom may approve of her and there be hope of love and companionship (1).

The purpose of marriage should be the procreation of children, the protection of the heart and eyes from evil. It is not for the gratification of lust (2).

244 (1) The latter part of this comes under the third sunnat practice in I.D. 2/33.
(2) This is the fourth sunnat practice in I.D. 2/33.
(3) The first sunnat practice in I.D. is omitted in K.

245 (1) This is part of the third sunnat practice in I.D. 2/33.
(2) This is the fifth sunnat practice in I.D. 2/33.
The woman should be in such a state that she may lawfully be married. (3). A woman is unlawful for twenty reasons. (4). She must not be in a state of ‘iddah, or an apostate, an idolstress, a Zoroastrian, an Ibadit (5), a Christian, a Jewess, or a slave girl (when a man may marry a free woman). A man may not, by reason of property, marry a slave who is wholly or partly owned by him.

The groom must not be related to the bride by marriage, or by reason of fosterage, nor must either have married a near relative of the other. A man may not have a fifth wife, nor may a woman be a co-wife of her sister, paternal or maternal aunts or nieces or of another woman who, were the latter a male, she could not lawfully marry. If a woman has been divorced with a triple divorce she must marry another before returning to the husband who divorced her.

A woman is divorced if the husband has given a threefold Khul divorce. She must marry another before she can return to her former husband. (6).

A man and woman may not re-marry if there has been mutual cursing.

A man who has donned the Ihram may not marry.

An orphan girl must reach puberty before marrying.

There are eight qualities to be looked for in a woman before one marries her:-

(a) The woman must be virtuous. Life is bitter if she is beautiful but unchaste.

This is the first part of the second sub-section in this chapter in I.D.

Nineteen points in I.D., including marriage to one of the wives of the Prophet, omitted in K. All other points in I.D. are found above.

See footnote (1) K. 30

See 2/51. B.B. 100 for reference to Khul'. Lane, Arabic-English Dictionary, states that al Shafi'i indicates a difference of opinion among scholars as to whether Khul' is an annulment of a marriage or a divorce. If the latter, it is not irrevocable unless preceded by two divorcements. K. seems to regard it to be a divorce.
Tradition. The Prophet advised that an unchaste wife be either divorced or strictly watched.

Tradition. The man who marries a woman for either her beauty or property loses both.

(b) A woman must have good habits. She must not be unthankful or talkative.

(c) Beauty in a woman inspires affection and she should therefore be seen before marriage.

Tradition concerning Ansārī women.

Shame and sorrow follow when a woman is not seen before marriage.

Comment on the tradition which states that one should marry for the sake of religion and not for beauty. The woman's piety is the more important.

It is closer to scrupulousness in such cases if a man marries for the procreation of children, in obedience to the Sunnah and has no concern for beauty.

Ibn Ḥanbal preferred an intelligent one-eyed woman to her beautiful sister.

(d) The best woman is one whose mahr is small.

Tradition. The best woman is one whose beauty is great and whose mahr is small.

The Prophet married a woman for a mahr of ten dirhams.

The mahr of the Prophet's daughters was not more than four hundred dirhams.

(e) Fecundity is necessary.

Tradition. An old date palm mat etc.

(f) Virginity is desiderated

A woman who has been married will incline to her former husband as a rule. The Prophet disapproved when al-Jābir married a woman who had married twice before.
(g) She should come of a pious family. A woman of bad morals has a bad influence on her children.

(h) She should not be a near relative.

Tradition. A weak child is born of such a woman. The reason for this is that little lust is engendered between relatives.

One who is responsible for a girl should find a husband for her who is of a good disposition. He should beware of an evil ugly man who cannot provide for her. The man should be of the same social standing as the woman.

Tradition. Marriage is slavery etc. (1).

Chapter Three. The proprieties to be observed when living with women in marriage.

A. Ten proprieties must be observed. These distinguish human marriage from the coupling of animals.

(a) The marriage feast is sunnat.

Tradition concerning the marriage of 'Abd al Rahman bin 'Auf.

The marriage feast consists of any food that makes a fair show.

The feast at the Prophet's marriage with Safiyyah.

The feast should not be prolonged beyond the first three days.

Not more than a week should elapse between the marriage and the feast.

It is sunnat to beat the tambour, to rejoice and publish the marriage.

Rejoicing is proper because man is the crown of creation and is brought to birth through marriage.

247 (1) I.D. notes here that to make a bad marriage for one's daughter is a misuse of Ikhtiyâr.
Saying of al Rubayyi' bint Mu'amwr.  

248 (b) Men should show benevolence to their wives, endure the trouble they give and be patient in the face of their demands and ingratitude.

Tradition. Women was formed of a weak and secret thing. The cure for the former is silence and provision for the latter is to imprison them in houses.

Tradition concerning husbands and wives who are patient, with reference to Job and to Asiyah, Pharaoh's wife.

On his death-bed, the Prophet urged his followers to behave well towards women.

The Prophet used to endure women's unreasonable behaviour.

Account of 'Umar's quarrel with his wife and his warning to his daughter, the wife of the Prophet.

Story of the wife of the Prophet who struck him on the chest.

The Prophet's claim that he was the best of men in his treatment of his wives. (1)

(c) The husband should jest and play with his wife.

The Prophet excelled in this respect. He used to run races with 'A'ishah.

Story of the Prophet and 'A'ishah watching the negroes at play.

'Umar's advice that a man behave like a boy at home, but control his household like a man.

A man should jest at home, be silent outside. He should eat what is given to him at home and not ask for what is not in the house.

(d) There should not be too much jesting, lest wives cease to fear the husband.

The husband should not be led into evil by women but correct them lest he share in their evil.

249 (1) This comes under (c) in I.D.
Quotation of Surah 4, 33.

Tradition. He who is the slave of his wife is ruined.

One should take counsel of women and act to the contrary.

A woman is like man's rebellious soul and should be kept under control.

Man, in the face of woman's weakness, must be kind. The cure for their perversity is discipline. The man must be like a skilful physician.

Tradition. Woman is like a rib bone (1).

(e) There should be a nice sense of proportion in respect of jealousy. A husband should forbid his wife whatever may give rise to trouble.

The husband should not allow her to go out of the house or to watch men's sport from the window. If she does not see such things, trials and troubles may be avoided.

There is no harm if she sees a little entertainment.

The husband should not be unduly suspicious or make his wife ashamed.

Tradition. Two men, contrary to the Prophet's command, returned to their houses at night and without warning and saw evil at home.

Saying of 'Ali. One should not be too jealous over one's wife.

A woman should not see a man whom it is unlawful for her to see.

The Prophet's conversation with his daughter Fatimah.

250 (1) This is under (e) in I.D.
Maʿadh found his wife peeping out of a casement and giving a piece of apple to a slave. He beat her.

'Umar's advice that women be kept poorly clothed.

Women went into mosques in the Prophet's time but were forbidden to do so in the days of the Companions.

Saying of 'A'ishah about women going into mosques.

There is no harm in old women going into mosques.

Women should not be allowed to go to assemblies where they may be tempted to sin.

A blind man entered the Prophet's house. The Prophet chided 'A'ishah and the other women because they looked on the blind man (1).

(f) The husband should be neither too niggardly nor too prodigal in providing living expenses for his wife.

The reward for providing maintenance for a wife is greater than for what is given as alms.

Tradition. The reward for a dīnār spent on a wife.

The husband should not eat food alone or tell his wife about food he has eaten elsewhere. The husband should not speak to his wife about food which he does not intend to provide.

Saying of Ibn Sirān concerning the provision of sweetmeats every week,

God and His angels bless the family that eats together. (2)

There is nothing more pernicious and cruel than to give to one's family that which has been earned unlawfully.

251 (1) Umm Salmah and Mezmūnah are mentioned in I.D. not 'A'ishah.
(2) This saying is ascribed to Sufyān al Thaurī in I.D.
(g) The husband should instruct his wife on matters affecting worship, purification and menstruation.

If the husband does not instruct her she may consult a scholar.

Whoever fails to instruct his wife in matters of religion is a sinner

Quotation of Surah 66, 6.

The woman should be instructed by her husband about the rules applying to worship when menses cease before sunset or dawn etc.

(h) If a man has two wives he must treat them equally (1) Tradition. The physical deformity seen in a man at the resurrection when he does not keep this rule.

Equal provision should be given to each and an equal time spent with each. This rule does not apply to love and sexual intercourse for they are not in one's power.

The Prophet spent a night with each wife in turn, but he loved 'X'ishah most. The Prophet's prayer concerning this.

The unwanted wife should be divorced. The Prophet did not divorce the aged Saudah, but, at her request, transferred her night to 'X'ishah.

The husband should, at first, correct the disobedient wife in a kindly fashion, (2). If she is obstinate he may turn his back on her at night or beat her. He must not strike her on the face or wound her.

If she is at fault over matters of religion he may follow the Prophet's example and show his displeasure to her for a month.

252 (1) I.B. reads "many wives".
(2) I.B. mentions the need for a third party's good offices in reconciling the pair.
(k) The *Aqīqah should be recited in the right ear of the new-born child (1).

Tradition. A child is protected from convulsions when the *Aqīqah is repeated etc.

A good name must be given to the child (2)

Such names as 'Abd Allah and 'Abd al Rahman are approved by God. (3)

A name must be given to an abortion.

The 'Aqīqah ceremony is sunnat. One sheep to be sacrificed for a girl, two for a boy. One sheep may be sacrificed for a boy. (3).

*X*īshah said that the bone of the 'Aqīqah sacrifice should not be broken.

Something sweet should be put into the child's mouth. (4).

The hair on the head should be shaved off on the seventh day after birth and alms of gold and silver equal in weight to the hair should be given away. (1)

A man should not rejoice excessively at the birth of a boy and express displeasure at the birth of a daughter (2). One does not know in which is the more good. A girl is a great blessing and the reward (for rearing her) is great.

252 (3) All the passages in K. are derived from I.D. and the conclusions and comments therein in no way differ from those found in I.D.

253 (1) Under this sub-section this is treated as the second observance in I.D.

(2) Under this sub-section, this is the third observance in I.D.

(3) " " this is the fourth observance in I.D.

(4) " " this is the fifth observance in I.D.

254 (1) This is connected with the 'Aqīqah ceremony in I.D.

(2) This comes under the first observance in this sub-section in I.D.
Tradition. A man finds paradise if he treats three daughters or three sisters well... or even one daughter or one sister.

He who has one daughter is afflicted, he who has two is burdened. Befriend him who has three. O Muslims, for he will be close to me in paradise (3).

Tradition. When one buys fruit in the bazaar it should be given first to one's daughter and then to one's son. He who makes his daughter happy... is safe from Hell.

DIVORCE.

(1) This is permitted but whenever possible, it should be avoided. It displeases God if one divorces a wife and each use of the word "divorce" grieves the wife. How can anything be good which gives grief? Divorce is only permitted when necessary.

It is reprehensible to utter the three-fold formula of divorce on one single occasion. They should be uttered at three separate times.

It is unlawful to pronounce a divorce on a wife when she is menstruating or at a time when she is "clean" during which intercourse has taken place.

Some kindly pretext should be offered when divorcing a wife. She should not be divorced in anger or hatred. One should give the woman a present after divorce in order to please her.

A divorced wife's secret affairs should not be disclosed to another. Story to support this concerning a man who was divorcing his wife.

254 (3) A tradition, on the authority of Anas, has been omitted in K. and the above substituted for it. I.D. 2/59, footnote 3 (Cairo text) notes that the isnaq of the I.D. tradition is weak. K. appears to be following the directions found in in I.D.1/16 where we read that the weak tradition must be distinguished from the strong! In the Tehran text this tradition is joined to the preceding tradition. The B.B. Ms of K does not help here. There is a lacuna in the text (fo 100 a).
Chapter Three. B. The rights of a husband over his wife.

The foregoing sets forth the rights of the wife. We now consider the rights of the husband. His claims are stronger for the wife is the slave of the husband.

Tradition. If it were right to make prostration before any other than God... wives would be commanded etc.

The wife should sit at home. She should not go out without her husband's permission, or go to the window or roof. She should not gossip with her neighbours nor be on friendly terms with them, nor go to their houses.

She should not talk with others about her husband or discuss the intimacies of their marriage.

She should seek to please her husband.

She should be kind to her husband.

She should observe purdah before her husband's friends so that they may not recognise her.

She should be satisfied with whatever she receives from her husband and not demand more.

She should consider her husband's rights over her to be greater than those of her relatives, and should keep herself clean for marital relations.

She should work in the house with her own hands as far as possible.

She should not give herself airs in her husband's presence on account of her beauty.

She should not be ungrateful to her husband nor reproach him for his dealings with her.
She should not ask for *Khul* (1) nor seek a divorce for no reason.

Tradition. Many women are in Hell because of ingratitude to their husbands.

255 (1) See K, page 245, footnote. (6)

This Section Two, Pillar Two, of K. contains, in bulk about a quarter of the amount of material to be found in Volume Two, Book Two of I.D.
Man secures his livelihood in this world by means of Trading, and this world is a stage on the road to the hereafter. He who is wholly engrossed in this world is unfortunate, and he who is busied about the works of the future life is blessed. The middle path here is to hold the intention of working for the future life by means of earning one's livelihood.

The proprieties to be observed in connection with earning will be discussed in five chapters.

Chapter One. The reward for earning and the proprieties to be observed.

To be busied about supporting one's family is better than many acts of worship.

The comments of the Prophet and the Companions concerning a strong young man who went early every morning to his workshop.

Tradition. The face of the man who earns lawfully will shine like the full moon at the resurrection.

Tradition. On the day of resurrection, the honest merchant will rise among the martyrs and the just.

Tradition. God loves the believing artisan.

Tradition. The most lawful are the earnings of the sincere workman.

Tradition. Trade is nine out of every ten portions of risq.

Tradition. God opens seventy doors to poverty when a man opens one door to begging.

Saying of Jesus to a devotee about his industrious brother.
'Umar urged men to earn a living because God does not send gold and silver from heaven.

Luqman's advice to his son about the virtues of earning a living.

Saying of one of the fathers of the faith about the virtues of trading as opposed to worship, (1).

'Umar declared that he wished to die while earning lawfully for his family in the bazaar.

The judgement of ibn Hanbal on the man who sits in a mosque worshipping, in the belief that God will provide for him.

The conversation between Awzā'ī and Ibrāhīm Adham.

Question and answer concerning the possible objection that the Prophet was sent to bring a divine revelation, and not to be a trader.

Four people are excused from trading:

Firstly, the man who is busy with legal or medical science. (1).

Secondly, one who is busy with judgements, bequests, and other matters relating to the general welfare of society (2).

Thirdly, one who enjoys Ṣūfī ecstacies and revelations (3).

Fourthly, the recluse who seeks union with God by means of acts of worship (4).

If the times are such that these people need not beg nor acknowledge their indebtedness to others, then they should not be engaged in trade.

257 (1) I.D. gives this man's name as Ibrāhīm.
258 (1) Third in I.D.
(2) Fourth in I.D.
(3) Second in I.D.
(4) First in I.D.
Story of one of the fathers of the faith who, every year, enjoyed the hospitality of three hundred and sixty friends.

Story of another who had thirty friends and spent a night every month with one of them in turn.

If such a person has to suffer humiliation when begging it is better to earn a living.

A little humiliation in begging may be beneficial in the case of one who has a high degree of spirituality.

If a man is capable of nothing more than the external acts of worship then he should earn his living. If a man can be busied with dhikr while in the act of earning then that is the best course for such a one (5) for dhikr is the essence of all acts of worship.

Chapter Two. The science of earning and matters to be studied in order that the Law may be observed herein.

The points raised in this chapter are important and have been dealt with in works of Fiqh.

All men should know the things touched on here in order to avoid unlawful things and usury.

Earning is generally associated with six matters: buying and selling, profit, money paid in advance, letting on hire, a "sleeping partnership", and partnership. The conditions which apply to all these forms of contract will now be set forth.

The first contract is buying and selling.

One must be aware of all that is relevant here.

258 (5) I.D. advises that one seek a fatwā from one's heart in such a situation, having due regard to one's circumstances. One should exercise Ijtihād (2/59) concerning the advisability of begging. K, by contrast, proffers definite guidance. For this "fatwā of the heart" see 1/63 and the footnote on K. page 295.
'Umar used to beat men with a scourge and tell them that they should know the legal requirements connected with commerce lest they be guilty of usury (1).

There are three bases to commerce:

The buyer and the seller, i.e. the contracting parties, the merchandise which is the object of the contract, and, finally, the use of the word "sale".

(a) The first basis is the contracting parties. The merchant must not do business with five persons:— A child, a madman, a slave, a blind person, a corrupt individual. (2).

al Shāfi‘ī held that a business transaction with a child is null and void even when entered into with the consent of the guardian.

This also applies to a madman. Compensation must be given for whatever is received from such people which is used by the other party. If the other party gives anything into the hands of such people he may not claim compensation.

A slave's business transactions which are conducted without the permission of his master are also null and void. Merchants should ensure that such permission has been granted, or get testimony from some just person to the effect that the master has given his slave this right. Compensation must be given for anything received from a slave without the master’s permission, but compensation cannot be demanded from the slave until he becomes a free man.

Trading with a blind man must be done through a deputy who is sighted. Compensation may be required for whatever the merchant receives, providing that the person concerned is capable of discharging legal obligations and is a free man (3).

259 (1) In I.D. 2/73 there is a similar story told about 'Ali in the bazaar at Kufah. When this story is retold in K. the whip is not referred to (E.280).

(2) I.D. says "four persons" but mentions the last-named without placing him in a separate category.

(3) There is no reference to his legal status or freedom in I.D.
It is not right to do business with a corrupt person, i.e. tyrants, thieves, a usurer, a seller of intoxicants, a free-booter, a professional musician or mourner, a false witness, or one who accepts bribes (4). Trade with such people is lawful when one has ascertained that they are doing business with their own personal property. One may do business with them when only a small part of such property is unlawful, although this is a dubious course to follow. There is great danger involved when much of their property is unlawful.

One may do business with Jews or Christians, but not sell a Qurān or a Muslim slave to them. It is a sin to sell weapons to them if they are warriors.

The Ḥibatī (1) should be slain; also the Zindiq (2). They should be treated like apostates, slain and their property sequestrated - for they have no right to it - and their marriages declared invalid. A Zindiq is one who drinks intoxicants, associates with unlawful women and does not worship. He is guilty of heresy under the seven heads mentioned in the Introduction to this work (3). One should not do business with or marry such a person.

(b) The second basis is merchandise. There are six conditions applying to this.

The first condition is that the merchandise be not an unclean thing such as a dog, pig, dung, ivory, intoxicating drink, carrion flesh or fat. If impurity falls into clean fat it is not rendered unlawful.

There is no reference in I.D. to sellers of intoxicants, professional musicians or mourners, or one who accepts bribes. Turks etc. are specifically mentioned in I.D. at the point where K. reads "thieves".

See footnote to K. 30.

See article, Enqy. of Islam, Zandakat.

See K. pp. 56-60. A reference to the Introduction to K.
The sale of dirty clothing is not unlawful.
The sale of musk (4) and silk-worm eggs is also not unlawful.

The second condition is that there be benefit in the merchandise and so the sale of rat, snake, or scorpion, is irregular. This also applies to the gains of jugglers who make use of snakes.
The sale of a single valueless grain of anything - e.g. of wheat - is also irregular.

A cat or honey bees may be sold and also a lion, cheetah or wolf may be sold for the skin. The sale of parrots, peacocks and other beautiful birds from which man derives pleasure is also regular.

The sale of the lute, harp or rebek is irregular and any profit derived from such things is unlawful (5).

The sale of children's toys which are made from clay in the shape of an animal is also unlawful. Such things should be smashed.

A tree or some form of vegetation may lawfully be fashioned in this way.

The sale of a tray or a cloth on which a figure is worked is lawful and it may be used as a cushion or floor covering, but not as an article of apparel.

The third condition is that the merchandise must be the vendor's property. If the owner allows another to sell it he must give this permission before the sale takes place. If property belonging to another is sold without his permission, the sale is invalid, even though it be the property of a husband, father or son.

260 (4) I.D. insists that the musk sac must be removed from the deer while it is still living.

(5) I.D. makes no reference to the rebek here. H.G. Farmer says that the rebek appears to have been especially favoured in Khorasan. See p. 210, A History of Arabian Music (London, 1929).
The fourth condition is that the thing for sale must be of such a kind that it can be handed over to the buyer. The sale of an absconded slave for example, is unlawful (1).

The fifth condition is that the quantity and nature of the property must be made known. The sale by means of a vague description, of an unspecified goat, piece of cloth or land, is null and void. Even when the object for sale cannot be shown the quantity and price must be specified.

If one says "I have sold you this wheat for a small sum" and the buyer can see the goods, then the sale is regular.

If a thing offered for sale has been seen some days before and its condition is now changed, then the sale is irregular.

The sale of fine cloth wrapped up in sacking or of folded cloth or wheat in the ear is irregular.

When buying a slave girl the buyer must make the customary examination of her hair, head, hands, etc. If anything is overlooked then the sale is irregular.

For reasons of expediency, the sale of walnuts, almonds, beans pomegranates and hen's eggs in the shell is deemed regular (2). If necessary, unripe walnuts or beans, which have a double skin, may be sold.

The sale of beer (3) is irregular because it is enclosed when sold. Custom has made it a lawful drink.

261 (1) K. follows I.D. very closely here.
(2) There is no reference to hen's eggs in I.D. but the hen is referred to in I.D. 2/205
(3) Fuqqāṭ. It is made from barley and water or dried grapes. (Steinrücke, Persian-English Dict.). See also observations on buzāh in E.W.Lene's The Modern Egyptians, Vol I, p,115 (London 1901).
The sixth condition is that whatever is sold must come into the possession of the purchaser. The sale is then completed.

(c) The third basis is the verbal statements of the parties to the contract. It is necessary that one should say "I sell this thing", and the other one should say "I buy this thing". Some other form of words conveying the same meaning may be used. It is customary now to ignore this condition.

Some of the school of al Shafi'i permit this laxity in respect of the sale of trifles.

There are three reasons for this laxity (1).

Firstly the need for it has become general. Secondly, this practice may have been established in the time of the Companions. If the Companions had been obliged to use these words under all circumstances then they would have handed down a tradition in support of it. Thirdly, as in the case of the giving and receiving of a gift, the action itself suffices without any verbal exchanges.

The Prophet used to accept gifts without employing a form of words.

An exact parallel, however, cannot be drawn between a sale and a gift because, in the latter case, the value of the thing does not matter.

The above words should be employed when costly wares are sold. If they are omitted then the sale is irregular. One has to decide whether the thing sold is a trifle or not. Caution must be exercised over doubtful matters.

262 (1) K. offers a fatwa. I.D. urges the pious reader to take a fatwa from his heart over doubtful matters. K. also does this subsequently (K. 286. I.D. 2/78), but not in this context.
It is irregular to acquire a large amount of food - e.g. an ass's burden of wheat - without the use of such words. One may nevertheless use some of the wheat without such verbal exchanges, providing that the seller consents.

A guest may lawfully be fed with wheat when the seller has received payment or he agrees that use be made of some of it, and the payment be made later. The act of the transference of the property itself regularises this transaction.

When these verbal exchanges do not take place the goods do not truly become the property of the buyer. He may not sell them and the original owner may take them back, even though they be placed before the buyer's guest.

It is not lawful to attach any conditions to the sale. One cannot make it a condition of purchase, for example, to require that the goods be delivered to the house of the buyer.

There are, however, six conditions which may lawfully be imposed: a pledge may be demanded, witnesses may be called, a guarantor may be required, payment may be deferred for a specified period, both parties may revoke the sale within three days, a slave may purchase providing he is secretary for his master or is a craftsman.

The second contract concerns profit.

This arises in respect of cash and food.

Two things are unlawful in a cash sale. One thing is to allow credit. The buyer must also take possession of the goods in the presence of the seller. Secondly, when one buys gold with gold or silver with silver, it is not lawful to give in excess of the gold and silver acquired.

One should not sell a dīnār for another dīnār plus a filing of gold or silver. Good and counterfeit coins must be accorded an equal value in business transactions.
One may buy cloth for a dinār and sell it in exchange for a dinār and grain cross. This is the object of trading.

One must not sell gold alloyed with silver in exchange for gold with an unknown amount of alloy in it. One should buy some other thing and then barter. This applies to all alloys of gold. A thread of pearls in which there is gold should not be sold in exchange for gold. Cloth of gold must not be sold for gold except when one would not get an equivalent amount of gold if the cloth were destroyed by fire.

Food should not be sold on credit. Goods and cash should change hands in the one transaction. When grain is exchanged for grain there should be neither credit nor profit.

Such grains should be equal in measure, for this is the customary way of selling. No consideration should be given to weight.

A butcher may not exchange flesh for a goat nor a baker exchange bread for wheat etc.

If the baker consents, one may lawfully eat bread acquired in exchange for wheat, but it is not one's property and one may not sell it. The baker may use such wheat but he also may not sell it. If one party grants rights to another in his heart and he holds to this then he is right with God. If each does not grant this freedom to the other then there may not be litigation in this world, but there will be hereafter—price and quantity being equal. If the quantities are not equal there may be both litigation in this world and complaint hereafter.

One must not barter something made of grain in exchange for the same grain, even though it be equal in quantity. Grapes must not be bartered for vinegar, etc. Grapes may be bartered for raisins and dates for dried dates.
All men should know the above facts and, where there is doubt, one should consult the scholars, avoiding action until the problem has been resolved. As one must act on knowledge, so also one must seek knowledge.

The third contract is a matter of money paid in advance. 
Ten conditions must be observed.

Firstly, one must state explicitly the amount given and the quantity and nature of the commodity to be exchanged. One should employ expressions in current use, so that the other party may understand and then voice his acceptance.

Secondly, (1) one should keep a careful record of whatever one gives, weighing or measuring it, so that it may be taken back if required.

Thirdly, (2) one should hand over the deposit while one is face to face with the other party.

Fourthly, (3) a deposit may be given only for goods whose condition and quality are known. One cannot give a deposit for a composite or manufactured article whose qualities are not susceptible of definition. One may, however, give a deposit on bread since the amounts of salt and water therein are negligible.

Fifthly, the exact date of final payment must be specified. One should refer to a specific day such as New Year's Day etc.

265 (1) This is the fourth in I.D.
(2) This is the second in I.D.
(3) This is the third in I.D.
Sixthly, a deposit may only be given on account of goods which will be available on a specified date. When fruit ripens before the specified date and there is an excess of it then the deposit is valid. If the fruit comes late then the owner should grant a respite or return the deposit.

Seventhly, a place should be fixed at which the property is to be handed over.

Eighthly, one should not single out any specific thing such as the dates of a particular palm tree etc.

Ninthly, a deposit may not be given for some rare, and as yet, unrealised commodity, such as a peerless pearl.

Tenthly, food may not be given as a deposit for food.

The fourth contract is a matter of hiring. This has two pillars, Hire and Benefit.

In hiring, the words "contracting party" and "contract" should be used. The hire should be mentioned.

The work involved in building a house may not be the hire for its occupancy, for the work in the course of the building is not known (1).

The skin of a goat should not be given as hire to the flayer etc. One should not give as hire out of that which one gets from the work of the labourer. The amount of the hire and the specific period it covers should be mentioned.

The second pillar under this head is benefit. (1). Five conditions apply to labouring for a specific and lawful work.

Firstly, there must be some value in such work.

266 (1) Emend Teheran text to read with B.M. Ms. fo 106a
267 (1) I.D. remarks that more details are given in works of Fiqh.
K gives additional guidance on certain points in this subsection.
One may not hire a tree in order to dry clothes on it. The hire of a broker who sells by a word is also unlawful for there is no toil connected with this. There may be toil of course, if he sells after a good deal of effort. It is also unlawful to take a percentage of the amount realised on the sale of property rather than to base the emolument on the labour involved.

In order to avoid unlawful earning, the auctioneer should ask for wages in relation to his labour. He should fix the rate beforehand and not demand a percentage on the sale.

Secondly, the hire should be in keeping with the benefit desired and not with a view to some other end. One may not hire an orchard in order to acquire the fruit, etc. One may hire a wet-nurse in order to provide milk for a child, for that was one's object in hiring her. Latitude is permitted here.

Thirdly, the work for which hire is paid should be lawful and the hired man should be capable of it. A weak man should not be hired for heavy work.

A menstruous woman may not be hired to sweep a mosque, for such work is unlawful in her case. A man may not be hired to extract a sound tooth etc.

It is unlawful to hire a man to pierce a child's ear in order to put ear-rings in. It is unlawful to hire a man to tattoo. A man may not be hired to sew a conical cap on which brocade is worn nor be hired to teach the unlawful work of rope-dancing. It is also unlawful to watch such dangerous tricks. It is a sin to give money to those who perform such dangerous and unprofitable work. The hire of a buffoon, musician, mourner and poet is unlawful. One should not pay a Qad'i for his judgement or a witness for his evidence, except when the Qad'i does a work he is not obliged to do such as recording in the court register. The Qad'i may not forbid another to write and demand
a fee for this. The Qādī should not demand a recompense for a
record he has signed and which it was his duty to sign. It is lawful
to make a gift to the Qādī's counsellor-at-law when he is a person of
probity. It is not right that one who reconciles two parties should
be paid a hire. A man may be given hire if he lawfully and truth-
fully pleads the cause of a party in a law suit.

He must not however, conceal the truth nor must he browbeat the
disputants in order to make them come to terms. Moreover, when he
knows that one party has justice on his side, he should not persuade
him to accept less than is his due. He may of course, browbeat one
of the litigants whom he knows will try to wrong the other. Of

Of course, a man who has an honest and good heart does not need the
services of such a reconciler. When an advocate works before
governors and labours at his work, he may lawfully hire providing that
he behaves in a proper manner and does not seek honour and position.

He should not lie nor conceal the truth.

One should know this much about hiring. Where there is any
difficulty, the common man should consult a scholar

Fourthly, one may not hire a man to do a work which he is
obliged to do on his own account, e.g. to go on Jihad.

It is not lawful to pay hire to a Qādī or a witness in a
case, nor may another be hired as one's deputy in worship or fasting.

One may not go on Hajj on behalf of another when one has yet to go on
one's own account.

It is lawful to pay another to recite the Qurān, teach a
science, dig a grave, wash a corpse, etc. Opinions differ concerning
the lawfulness of taking hire for acting as the Imam in the Tarawīh
worship or for acting as Mu'adhdhin at that time.
The fact is that such hire is lawful according to the school of al Shafi'i, if it is given in accordance with the labour involved and not because it is for worship and calling to prayer. Nevertheless, there is some doubt about this point.

Fifthly, the nature of the work involved must be known. A hired animal must be examined and the hirer must enquire concerning the work it is expected to do, the load to be carried etc.

If land is taken on hire one must state what one intends to sow therein. Millet is more harmful to land than wheat.

One must be informed about all kinds of hire in order to avoid strife. That hire which gives rise to strife is irregular.

The fifth contract is the matter of trading with another's capital.

There are three pillars.

The first pillar is capital. This must be in cash, cloth or equipment. The amounts must be known when they are placed in the hands of the active partner. The owner, in such cases, may not retain control of the capital.

The second pillar is profit. The active partner must fix the amount he is to get from the profits, whether it be a half share or a third.

The third pillar is the work of trading. This must be buying and selling, not craftsmanship. It is not in order to give wheat to the baker so that one may share in the profit from the sale of the bread etc. If conditions are imposed by which sale or purchase is to be restricted to certain parties, then they also are irregular.
It is improper to impose conditions which make trading difficult. The owner should say "I have given this property into your charge for the purpose of trading and we shall divide the profit equally". The active partner, after signifying acceptance, then becomes the agent of the owner. The owner may cancel this contract whenever he wishes. In that case, if the property is in cash, it should be divided. If there is merchandise, the agent must hand it over to the owner. He may sell it if he is able to sell it at a profit. When the contract is cancelled and the property in hand is entirely merchandise, the agent should sell sufficient to be able to hand back the cash capital he received. After this the remainder should be divided. The agent is not obliged to sell it. At the appropriate time, the value of the property must be known for the purposes of Zakāt. The agent must then give what is due from his own portion.

The agent may not travel in order to trade with the property without the owner's permission. The agent will then be responsible for the safe keeping of the property. Under such circumstances his travelling expenses will be met from the capital, just as the hire of a shop, cartage etc. is taken out of the capital. On his return from the journey the travelling equipment is included in the capital.

The sixth contract is the matter of an active partnership. When the partners invest an equal amount of money in the business then the profit should be shared equally. The profit should be shared in proportion to the capital invested.
The one who labours the more may take more profit. This is n.f. then like trading with another's capital.

Three kinds of partnership are irregular:

First, the pooling of their earnings by day labourers or craftsmen. This is irregular because each man's hire must remain his own property. (1).

Second, the pooling of all their property by two men on the understanding that profit and loss be equally shared, is also irregular. (2).

Third, that type of partnership is irregular when one man possesses the property and another sells the property by virtue of his social standing, and then they share the profit.

One should know all that has been stated above and enquire about other matters. A man is not excused unlawful practices on the plea of ignorance.

Chapter Three. Equity and Justice in Business.

Certain business methods may be regarded as being right and proper, and yet the business man be accursed in God's sight, since such methods bring injury and trouble to Muslims. There are two kinds of such dealings, one being of general relevance and the other applying to particular cases.

The general type of transaction has two branches:

The first branch is the hoarding of goods such as grain in order to sell when the commodity is scarce. Such a monopoly is accursed.

K.272 (1) This is the second in I.D.
(2) This is the first in I.D.
Tradition. The Prophet said that there can be no atonement for the hoarding of grain for a period of forty days etc.

Tradition. The Prophet said that that grain is counted as alms which a man takes into a city and sells at the current rate. One form of this tradition equates this action with the freeing of a slave.

A saying of 'Ali and his order that a hoarder's grain be set on fire.

Story of one of the fathers of the faith who sent an agent with grain from Wasit to Bagrah.

Men suffer injury by reason of hoarding because they depend on food.

To hoard food is like hoarding water so that people may pay a great price in order to slake their thirst. Nevertheless, a cultivator has a right to keep his produce and to sell when he wishes. It is better, however, if he does not delay over the sale.

It is a bad thing if a cultivator keeps his grain in the hope that it will become scarce. Medicine may lawfully be kept with a view to selling it when it is scarce, but one may not do this with grain. Opinions are divided concerning the lawfulness of hoarding meat and butter etc. It is however, an execrable practice.

Some scholars hold it unlawful to hoard grain when there is scarcity but that it is lawful in times of abundance. We hold it to be an abominable practice for the end in view is to gain advantage from the misfortunes of others.

It is for this reason that the fathers of the faith disliked both the selling of grain and that of shrouds because the profit therein was derived from the loss of others. They held butchering to be bad because it hardens the heart, and also abominated the work of a goldsmith because he adorns this world.
The second branch in this type of transaction is the circulating of a debased coinage. The one to whom it is passed may be deceived by it, or he may use it to deceive others, and thus set up a chain of deceit. The man who first practised the deceit here will be held responsible for its entire course.

Saying of one of the fathers to the effect that to circulate a false dirham is worse than pilfering a hundred, since the sin may find continuance after one has died. The man who was first responsible will be punished in the grave.

Five (sic) things should be known in connection with spurious gold and silver coinage. Firstly, whoever receives a false coin should cast it into the well lest another get it and practise deceit with it. Secondly, the shopkeeper should learn how to assay coins. If he accepts and puts a false coin into circulation he is a sinner for he is obliged to learn this art of assaying.

Thirdly, it is a good thing to accept a spurious coin when one obeys the behest of the Prophet to make easy the payment of a debt. One should however, accept it with the intention of casting it into the well. Otherwise one should not accept it. Fourthly, if a coin is not wholly spurious but contains some gold and silver, one should not cast it away. One should not conceal the fact that it is not genuine and, if one puts it again into circulation, one must give it to someone who will not conceal this fact. If one fails in this one is like a man who sells grapes to a person whom he knows will make intoxicating liquor from them.

It is like selling weapons to the highway robber and is unlawful.
Honesty in business is difficult (1) and so the fathers of the faith used to say that the honest merchant is better than the devotee.

The second type of transaction we have in mind concerns a particular kind of injustice. This occurs when any individual suffers injury through a transaction. One should not do to others what one dislikes if done to oneself, for to do so denotes an imperfection in faith.

There are four things to note:— Firstly, one should not deceive by too fulsome praise of the goods. Indeed, when the buyer is aware of the nature of the goods one need not say anything.

Quotation of Sūrah 50.17.

A man will be held responsible for every idle saying and false oath. To take God's name over a trifle is to dishonour Him.

Tradition. Woe to the merchants who say "No, by God etc.," and the craftsmen who say "Tomorrow etc."

Tradition. On the day of resurrection, God will not look towards the one who sells goods by means of an oath.

Story of Yūnas bin 'Ubad and what he did when his apprentice opened a box containing silk and spoke of the clothing of paradise (2).

Secondly, one should not conceal a defect in the merchandise, nor should one display cloth etc. in a dark place or with its better side uppermost.

275 (1) Several pages of text have been omitted by the copyist of the B.M.Ms. at this point, i.e. Fo 109 b, line 21. The copyist, possibly disturbed by the wind and a guilty conscience, began again at random (?) with (See Teheran text, p. 278, line 10).

(2) There is no reference to clothing in I.D.
Tradition. The Prophet's reproof of a grain merchant for selling moist grain.

Story of the action of Wāthilah bin al Asqa when he saw a man, in ignorance, buying a defective camel.

There may be difficulty here but one may avoid this to some extent if one does not buy faulty merchandise. If one does so then one should hold to the intention of making the fact known. One should not make another suffer for one's mistakes or bring oneself under the curse of another.

The blessing of whatever one gains by deceit passes away from one's property and calamity comes upon one. Story of the man who mixed water with the milk and a flood carried away his cow.

Tradition. The prophet said that blessing passes from business when perfidy enters in. True blessing lies in great felicity and little property.

A great deal of property may be the cause of a man's destruction in this world and in the life to come.

Blessing lies in religion and the abundance of faith.

All men wish to do business with the man of faith, and to shun the perfidious man.

Moreover, one should remember that one's lifetime will not exceed a hundred years, but that the future life has no limit.

Temporary possessions should not be allowed to jeopardise immortality. Deceit becomes an unpleasant thing when one thinks on this truth.

Tradition. The Prophet said that man's refuge from the wrath of God lies in the confession "There is no deity but God, etc."

One should neither deceive over one's selling nor one's handicrafts.

Ibn Ḥanbal approves of the mending of clothes but not when such clothes are offered for sale.
Thirdly, one should not deceive over one's measuring but weigh correctly.

Quotation of Surah 83.1.

The saying of the fathers of the faith who used to accept half a Ḥabbah of grain less and add half a grain when giving to another.

Tradition. The Prophet used to demand slightly short weight when he bought anything.

al-Fudail bin 'Iyād found his son cleaning dirt from coins before weighing them, and declared that this was better than two Ḥajj and two 'Umrah (1).

The fathers of the faith regarded it as the worst of sins to keep two sets of false scales so that one might overweigh when purchasing and under-weigh when selling. This judgement also applies to the cloth merchant, the butcher and the grain merchant who cheat in buying and selling.

One should act justly in all one's dealings, both in speech and in business, not looking to one's own interests in order to cheat another. This is difficult.

Quotation of Surah 19,72.

All men will pass through Hell, but the pious will find a quick release.

Fourthly, one should not deceive about the price of goods nor keep it a secret. The Prophet forbade people to meet a caravan and deceive about the current prices in a city.

277 (1) I.D. reads "twenty 'Umrah".
He also forbade a traveller to leave his goods with someone in a city until they brought a higher price. He forbade the buying of goods at a high price in order to deceive others into paying more. When these things occur the buyer should cancel the sale.

It is unlawful to cheat a simple person over buying and selling. A fatwa may justify such practices but they are sinful.

Story of a merchant of Basrah who returned thirty thousand dirhams unlawful profit on sugar.

In conclusion, one should not deceive about the price or the defects of merchandise. When one overlooks faults when buying from a relative, one should say that this is the case.

One should not declare a false price on goods. If one bought goods cheaply and the current rate has not changed, one should not deceive about this. In ignorance, merchants often practise a good deal of deception.

The touchstone of conduct is that a man treat another as he would wish to be treated himself.

When a man buys he thinks that he is getting value for his money. He is not pleased when cheated, and the one who sells to him has been guilty of deceit.

Chapter Four. Kindness and Benevolence in one's dealings.

God has enjoined kindness as well as justice in one's dealings.

Quotation of Surah 16,92.

The previous chapter deals with justice and here we are concerned with benevolence.

Quotation of Surah 7,54.

Justice preserves the capital of religion and kindness is the profit. A wise man does not lose sight of the profit of the future life in the midst of business. Such kindness is not, however, an obligation which is laid upon one.
The rank of kindness is gained by six means:

Firstly, one should not exact a great profit from the buyer merely because he needs one's goods.

Story of Sarrī al Saqatī who sold almonds in his shop and refused to take more than five percent profit.

Story of Muhammad bin al Munkadir whose apprentice sold a robe from his shop at ten dinārs instead of five. The Arab customer's comment when five dinārs were returned to him.

The fathers of the faith sought little profit and many transactions.

'Ali's injunction to the shop-keepers of Kūfah (1).

Abd al Rāhmān bin 'Auf's story of how he gained wealth through little profit and many transactions.

Secondly, one should buy from the poor at a high price in order to please them. It is more excellent than almsgiving if one buys thread from widows and fruit from children and the poor in this manner.

The prayer of the Prophet for one who makes selling and buying easy. There is no reward or praise for buying at a high rate from the rich. This ruins the market. One should wrangle with such people over the price and buy as cheaply as possible. The methods of Imāms Ḥasan and Ḥusain and their wrangling in the bazaar.

Thirdly, there are three ways in which one can show kindness when accepting the price of goods:

280 (1) I.D. states that he carried a whip. See footnote on 'Umar, K.259.
Firstly, one may accept a little less. Secondly, by accepting broken and spurious coins. Thirdly, by deferring the payment of the money (1).

The Prophet prayed that God would have mercy on him who makes giving and taking easy. He also said that God will make matters easy (at the resurrection) for one who makes business dealings easy.

There is no greater kindness than to allow the poor to defer payment. When the poor man is insolvent this is also a matter of justice, not kindness. If he is not insolvent one should either reduce the price or defer the acceptance of the money until he is better able to pay. This is a great alms.

Tradition. The Prophet said that, at the resurrection God will forgive the man who can state that he told his apprentices to deal leniently with the poor debtor and to grant a respite to him.

Whoever defers the acceptance of money loaned gains a reward, each day, which is equal to the amount in alms. This was the practice of the fathers of the faith.

Tradition. The Prophet reported that he had seen it written on the gates of paradise that the reward for a loan exceeds that for alms. The needy seek a loan, but alms are seldom given to the needy.

Fourthly, when paying a debt one should not put the creditor to the trouble of dunning one. One should, oneself, quickly take the money to the house of the creditor and not send it by the hand of another.

281 (1) I.D. makes "secondly" the third, "thirdly" the second.
Tradition. That man is preferred who discharges his debt in a proper manner.

Tradition. God appoints angels to watch over a man who takes a loan with the intention of repaying it in a proper manner.

The borrower who delays for an hour when he is able to discharge his debt is a sinner and is under God's curse in fasting and worship, in dreaming and at all times. If the debtor has anything he can sell in order to discharge a debt and he does not sell it, he is a sinner. If he repays the creditor with spurious money and disgusts him then that debtor is a sinner, for he is a tyrant and is guilty of a mortal sin until he has regained the goodwill of his creditor.

Fifthly, if the other party wishes to cancel a transaction, one should consent.

Tradition. The Prophet said that God forgives the sins of one who consents to the annulment of such a sale.

This is an act of kindness, not an obligation.

Sixthly, it is an act of kindness to hand over one's goods to the poor with the intention of never demanding the purchase price and with the intention to excuse the debt should the poor man die before payment can be made.

Some of the fathers of the faith kept two sets of accounts and the debts of the poor were recorded separately. Some did not keep a record of poor debtors so that no claims could be made on their heirs. The best among them were those who kept no records of the debts of the poor but only accepted what the poor gave them.

These were the devout and he is such who, for the sake of religion, has spurned even a dirham.
Chapter Five. The need for concern for religion in the midst of worldly affairs.

He is unfortunate whose commence with the world makes him careless in matters of religion.

The imperishable golden vessel of the future life is not to be bartered for the fragile earthen vessel of this world.

One who is engrossed in this world is not worthy of what the future life provides and will escape from Hell with difficulty.

Religion and the future life are a man's capital and he should be concerned about this and not give all his time to worldly things. He should show this concern in five ways:

Firstly, he must renew the good intention in his heart every morning to go to the bazaar in order to secure his independence, provide for his family, and gain provision so that he may have leisure for worship and the path of the future life. He should also have the intention to deal honestly with men, to advise them and show concern for them, and to command the lawful and forbid the unlawful. These are among the works of the future life, and any worldly profit here is of benefit to religion.

Secondly, other men work for him and he needs the services of the baker, cultivator etc.

Men are travellers in this world and travellers must help each other. One should have the intention to work for others, remembering the services that others render oneself. One should serve men according to their need and not busy oneself with the adornment of this world.

The fathers of the faith used to avoid certain trades, such as the selling of grain and shrouds etc. Surgery may or may not benefit the patient, and the cleaning of hides is a dirty occupation which betokens a mean mind.
The same may be said of camel driving and horse grooming.
The work of a broker involves foolish talk,

It is reported in a tradition that the best trade is cloth-sellng and that the best handicraft is to stitch with an awl and to sew leather bottles etc.

Tradition. If there were trade in paradise it would be cloth-selling...in Hell it would be money changing.

Four callings are despised because one deals with children and women and this weakens the intellect. They are weaving, selling cotton, making distaffs and teaching.

Thirdly, the bazaar of this world should not keep one from the commerce of the future life. The bazaar of the latter is the mosque.

Quotation of Sūrah 63.9 (1)

'Umar advised merchants to devote the first part of the day to works of the future life.

The fathers of the faith used to be engaged, morning and evening, in the mosques, and boys and Dhimmūs used to sell pottage and roasted heads in the bazaar (2).

Tradition. The angels record men's deeds but God forgives the evil deeds of the day when it is begun and ended with good deeds.

Tradition. God calls the angels to witness that He has forgiven the man who is busy with worship in the morning and evening.

During the day, when one hears the call to prayer, work should be left and one should go to the mosque.

284 (1) Sūrah 24.37 is quoted here in I.D.
(2) In I.D. the heads are not "roasted". See 1/62 for a reference to roasted heads and the footnote to K.316, and also I.D. 3/223.
Commentary on Sūrah 24:37 in support of the above.

Fourthly, one should keep the heart and tongue busy with Ḍhikr and Ṭasbīḥ when one is in the bazaar. There is a great reward from Ḍhikr when one is among careless people.

 Tradition. The Prophet likened the man who remembers God among the careless to a living man among corpses.

 Tradition. The Prophet declared that the man who bears testimony to God's Unity when in the bazaar is one to whose credit the angels record two million good deeds.

al Junayd's statement that there are many in the bazaars who, if they sat with the Sūfis, would be of their company. He refers to his own prayers.

If a man enters the bazaar with this good intention concerning the future life he will keep to it. On the other hand, one who seeks the things of this world when in the bazaar will be distracted by the thought of his accounts when he is in the mosque.

Fifthly, one should not keep one's shop open as long as possible or go on a long journey in search of gain.

Maša'ih's statement concerning Satan's son Zalambūr.

 Tradition. The bazaar is the worst of all places etc.

The shopkeeper should not go to the bazaar until he has performed morning worship, sat with the learned and read the Qurān.

One should close one's shop and go to the mosque after earning sufficient provision for that day.

Hāmād bin Salmah, the teacher of Abū Ḥanīfah, was content with two Ḥabbah's of profit per day.
Conversation between Ibrāhīm bin Bashshār and Ibrāhīm Adham.

Some of the fathers of the faith went to the bazaar for no more than two days weekly. After earning enough for each day they then sent to the mosque.

Sixthly, one should shun unlawful property. If one is in doubt about anything and one is numbered among "the people of the heart" one should seek a fatwā of one's heart about such things and not go to the Muftī for advice (1).

One should not do business with tyrants or those connected with them. To do business with such people is to share in their tyranny.

One should not sell paper to an unjust accountant.

The fathers of the faith used to say that at one time one might have done business with anyone... the time will come when it will be inadvisable to do business with anybody.

Possibly that time has now come for even reasonable people have imperfect knowledge and an imperfect religion. They do not discriminate between lawful and unlawful property.

Seventhly, one should deal with others justly, by word and deed in giving and receiving. Enquiry will be made under this head on the day of resurrection.

A merchant, after his death, was seen by someone in a dream who asked how God had dealt with him. The merchant spoke of the record kept in heaven of all his transactions.

286 (1) See also K. 258 and 259 for footnotes on this.
Conclusion.

One should be scrupulously honest in one's dealings.

Tradition. The Prophet told the Companions that they had a helper in him. The days will come when it will suffice if people take one tenth part of the precautions taken by the Companions. Such people will be living in a careless age.

One should endure poverty in the hope of future reward. People endure much for the poor wealth of this world. Treat others as you would have them treat you.

The materials in this section of K are, in bulk, about four-sevenths of the amount of text to be found in Volume Two, Book Three of I.D.
We are concerned with the recognition of what is lawful, what is unlawful and what is doubtful.

Tradition. A Muslim is obliged to seek what is lawful. One must know what is lawful in order to seek it.

Tradition. Things lawful and unlawful are conspicuous. Dubious and difficult matters lie between these two (2).

Dubious matters therefore lie on the fringe of unlawful things. These things have been discussed in detail in I.D. (3).

In this present work we write for the common people (4). There are four chapters (5).

Chapter One. The excellence of seeking what is lawful, and the reward for this.

Quotation of Surah 23, 53.

It is for this reason that the Prophet said that it is a Muslim's duty to seek what is lawful.

Tradition. The Prophet said that he who eats food, lawfully earned, for forty days... God fills his heart with light etc.

According to another form of this tradition, we read that God removes the love of the world from his heart (instead of "God fills his heart etc").

Sa'd's request for the Prophet's prayers.

288 (1) Volume Two, Book Four of I.D. has been translated by Hans Bauer. See Islamische Ethik, Part 3, Halle 1922. This translation is referred to under the index B.

(2) This is not described as a tradition in I.D.

(3) Reference to I.D.

(4) K. is designed for the common man.

(5) Seven chapters in I.D.
Tradition. The Prophet said that the worship of those whose food and clothing were unlawfully earned would not be accepted.

Tradition. The Prophet spoke of God's angel in Jerusalem who proclaims... what is obligatory and what is sunnat (1).

Tradition. While a man wears a garment, one-tenth of the price thereof being unlawfully earned, his worship will not be accepted.

Tradition. Flesh nourished by unlawfully earned food will burn in Hell.

Tradition. God will not care where He flings a man into Hell when the man does not care etc. (2)

Tradition. Worship has ten parts. Nine parts of it etc.

Tradition. The weary man who sleeps after seeking lawful food is forgiven his sins etc.

Tradition. God is ashamed to call to account the man who abstains from unlawful things (3).

Tradition. A dirham of interest taken by a Muslim is worse than thirty acts of adultery.

Tradition. Unlawful property given as alms is not acceptable to God etc.

Abū Bakr vomited milk which a slave provided from an unlawful source.

289 (1) I.D. speaks of obligatory works and works of supererogation (nafl). K. reads "summat" instead of "nafl". Sprenger, D.T.T. art. Nafl, states that "nafl" means an act of devotion which is not obligatory. The meaning includes what is summat. (K. restricts the meaning to summat matters).

(2) I.D. states that this saying is from the Ta'rat. (2/82).

(3) I.D. does not describe this as a tradition but states that it is to be found in one of the Books of God.
'Umar did the same thing when milk, bestowed as alms, was given to him in error.

Saying of 'Abdallāh bin 'Umar about fasting

Saying of Sufyān al Thaurī about alms given from unlawful property.

Yahyā bin Ma‘ād al Hārī said that worship is God's treasury etc.

Saying of Sahl al Tustarī that the essence of faith is gained by four things etc.

It is said that if one eats doubtful food for forty days, the heart becomes black and gathers rust. (1).

Ibn al Mubārak said that he preferred to return one dirham gained by doubtful means, to giving a hundred thousand dirhams in alms.

Sahl al Tustarī said that a man's whole body falls into sin if he eats unlawful food etc.

The traditions and annals indicate that the pious exercised great care over these things.

Story about Wehb bin al Wird and his close questioning of his mother.

Story of Biahr al Ḥari, who wept as he ate and ate as little as possible.

Chapter Two. Degrees of scrupulousness over what is lawful and what is unlawful.

There are degrees of lawfulness and unlawfulness. There is that which is lawful, that which is perfectly lawful and that which is most perfectly lawful. There are similar degrees in respect of what is unlawful.

290 (1) I.D. does not mention the gathering of rust here but see 3/10.
As an increase in degrees in temperature may injure the sick, so an increased degree of unlawfulness brings the greater injury. Muslims, in accordance with their abstention from unlawful and dubious matters, are to be classified under five heads (2).

Firstly, there is the abstaining of the scrupulous just man. This is the scrupulousness of the generality of Muslims who follow Fiqh and fatwa. To fall below this is to be a sinner. There are many sub-divisions in this class.

One may profit from an unlawful agreement - even when the other party consents to this. It is even more unlawful to appropriate the goods of the poor or orphan by force. The sin is even greater and the hope of pardon less when an unlawful agreement made with another involves usury.

When a sick man drinks honey he injures himself more than if he consumed sugar. The more he drinks, the greater the injury. The same applies to degrees of unlawfulness.

To be familiar with all the dangers would involve a complete study of Fiqh. A man need only know what affects him personally.

Secondly, there is the degree of scrupulousness of the righteous. He is one who abstains not only from what is unlawful but what the Mufti declares to be dubious.

There are three kinds of doubtful things: - Firstly, that which one is obliged to shun. Secondly, that which it is desirable one should shun. Thirdly, that which, to shun, would involve one in fruitless questioning - as when a man indulges in all sorts of questioning about the game he kills.

290 (2) I.D. mentions four such classes.
Thirdly, there is the scrupulousness of the God-fearing. They even refrain from that which is lawful because of their fears about it.

Tradition. The Prophet defines the God-fearing in these terms.

Saying of 'Umar concerning the forsaking of nine out of ten lawful things.

This is the reason why people accepted only ninety-nine out of a hundred dirhams returned by a debtor.

The conduct of 'Ali bin Mu'abbid over the dust from a wall which he wished to use in order to sand a letter. His dread afterwards.

The God-fearing shun worldly things lest they should desire more. They also shun them that they may not lose their status hereafter.

How the Prophet dealt with Husain over a date.

'Umar 'Abd al 'Aziz closed his nose lest he smell musk that was the property of the State.

Story of the father of the faith who put out a lamp when someone died because only the heirs had a right to the oil.

Story of 'Umar when he found the smell of musk on his wife's coif. 'Umar might have allowed himself some latitude here because of his position, but he refused to do so.

The ruling of ibn Hanbal over the sweet odour which may cling to a man's dress from the use of a Sultan's censer in the mosque.

Ibn Hanbal also ruled that if one found a leaf on which a tradition was written one might not copy it without the owner's permission.

When 'Umar became Khalifah he divorced a beloved wife lest she influence him unduly.

Even lawful things may draw a man towards the world. Lawful food may excite lust. By looking on the wealth of others one may be
drawn towards the world.

For this reason the Prophet said that the love of the world is the root of all sins.

One may love lawful things until they take control of the heart, and because they interfere with the remembrance of God, one becomes indifferent to Him.

Sufyān al Thaurī forbade a companion of his to look at the door of a great house they were passing.

The judgement of ibn Ḥanbal on the subject of plastering the walls of houses and mosques.

The fathers of the faith used to say that delicate and fine clothing betokened a weak religion.

One should therefore refrain from lawful things lest one fall into what is unlawful.

Fourthly, there is the scrupulousness of the truthful ones who refrain from lawful things which do not even lead to unlawful matters but which have some sin connected with the acquisition of the lawful thing.

Bishr al Ḥāfī, for example, refused to drink water from a canal which a Sultan had constructed.

Some Hajjis refused to drink water from cisterns constructed by a Sultan.

Some people refused to eat grapes from a garden which had been irrigated from such a source.

Ibn Ḥanbal execrated the use of a mosque as a place wherein to work for one’s livelihood and also the sitting under the domes of tombs to find shelter when spinning.

A man extinguished a lamp which his slave had kindled at a Sultan’s house. A man’s sandal thong broke and he refrained from attending to it in the light from a Sultan’s flambeau.
A woman was spinning thread and she stopped when a Sultan's torchbearer passed by.

The story of Dhu'l Nūn al Miṣrī who, when in prison, refused to eat lawful food from a tyrant's dish. This betokens a great degree of scrupulousness.

Someone who does not grasp the truth of the matter in this connection may go so far as not to accept any food from the hand of a sinner!

In the above instance we refer to a tyrant who ate what was unlawful and was strengthened by it.

By comparison, an adulterer does not derive his nourishment from adultery and so if he provides one with food it will not be furnished through his unlawful acts.

Sarī al Saqāṭī was in a desert and found herbage near a spring. He determined to eat and drink esteeming it to be lawful food etc.

This is the degree of scrupulousness of the truthful ones.

There is a complete change of emphasis today, for now people are more concerned about cleaning clothes and the use of clean water. The fathers of the faith thought little about such things. They walked barefoot and purified themselves with whatever water they found. Men may be deceived by the outward purification; God sees the more difficult inward purification.

294. (1) I.D. states that he ate the grass (hashish) and drank water on a mountain. K. avoids the use of the word "hashish" and states that he was on a desert plain. Is it possible that these deliberate changes in the story result from the fact that Ḥasan ibn al Saḥbān had established himself in his eyrie on Al-anār in A.D. 1090? This occurred during the lifetime of al Ghazālī. Was the writer of K. unwilling to mention any details in a story which might be interpreted in favour of the Isma'ili? If al Ghazālī is the author of K. this may be regarded as a terminus a quo for the date of the book.
Fifthly (2), there is the degree of scrupulousness of those who are "brought near". They confess God's Unity and regard anything not done for God as unlawful. These people have a simple quality and aspiration.

Story of Yahya bin Ma'adh and his refusal to take his wife's advice after taking medicine.

Such people do not enter into any activity without a religious motive, whether it be to eat or to speak.

These are the degrees of scrupulousness (1), and one should not fall short of the first degree.

In all one's speech one should avoid affectation, and any superficial observation on the religious law.

Tradition. The Prophet said that the worst of men is the richly clad, well-fed affluent person who utters pious words. May God keep us from such evils!

Chapter Three. What is lawful, what is unlawful, and how to distinguish between them.

Three groups of people deem all, or most of this world's property to be unlawful. The first group are extremely scrupulous and eat nothing but desert herbs and the game they hunt. The second group make no distinctions in respect of property and therefore eat all things. The third group occupies an intermediate position and eats only to the degree that is necessary.

All these attitudes are wrong, for, as the Prophet has said the lawful and unlawful are quite evident.

294 (2) This division not made in I.D. The story of Yahya bin Ma'adh in the next paragraph is found under the fourth head in I.D.

295 (1) I.D. 2/100 advises the reader to seek the advice of a competent scholar before busying himself with the subtleties of scrupulousness.
A great deal of this world's property may be unlawful, but, even so, it does not predominate.

We have referred to these matters in I.D. (1) and one may easily learn what is lawful and what is unlawful.

The Prophet performed wudū from the ewer of a Mushrik and 'Umar used that of a Christian woman. It is unlawful to drink defiled water, but one may drink that water which comes to hand.

The hands of the Mushrik and the Christian may have been unclean, since they drink intoxicants and eat carrion, but, because the Prophet and 'Umar saw no uncleanness they regarded the water as pure.

The Companions bought food and did business in whatever city they came to, despite the fact that there were thieves and drinkers of intoxicants in their day. They did not abstain from this world's goods, but were satisfied with what they received, and regarded all property as being equally lawful (2).

296 (1) K. refers to I.D. but, unlike I.D. offers definite guidance. I.D. (2/105) states that, in regard to food, one must follow the directions which a scholar whose heart has found divine guidance may give. It then asks "Where may such a heart be found?" I.D. also urges the reader to seek a fatwā from his own heart (2/93) but, later, insists that one may seek such a fatwā only on indifferent matters, and if the Muftī says that anything is unlawful, one must refrain from it (2/105). In 2/104, I.D. notes that the Prophet did not advise everyone to take a fatwā of their heart, but gave this advice to a particular person whom he knew well. Both K (286) and I.D. (2/78) state that if one is numbered among the "people of the heart" one may seek a fatwā of one's heart over doubtful matters and need not go to the Muftī. It may be that K. offers specific guidance in the passage above because the writer regards himself as one whose heart has found this guidance.

296 (2) Emend Tehran text here to read برايم بانونستندะ ... قناعت بکروند گنام with B.M.Ms. fo 119a.
There are six kinds of men therefore, to be considered in connection with property:— (3)

Firstly, there is the man who is not known to be either good or unrighteous — as when one enters a strange city. One may do business with such a man.

The fact that the property is in his possession is to be taken as proof that it is his, except when there is some indication that it is not. One is not obliged to be scrupulous and to seek out somebody whom one knows to be righteous.

Secondly, there is the person whom one know to be righteous. One may eat of his property. To hesitate here is not scrupulousness but mere morbid anxiety. To grieve such a person by one's questioning is itself a sin.

Thirdly, there is the person whom you know to be a tyrant, such as a Turk or royal agent, whose entire property, or most of it, is unlawful. Such property should be shunned unless there is some indication of it a lawful nature.

296 (3) I.D. proposes two main divisions under this head, with two sub-divisions in the first of them. I.D. discusses knowledge of the owner of property in the first main division. He may be an unknown person and one cannot assume anything about him on the basis of his clothing. Or, one may be doubtful about him, or there is something which indicates that he is either good or evil.

In the second main division I.D. discusses the property itself rather than the owner. After noting that lawful and unlawful property are mingled in the bazaar I.D. states that one should enquire about it only when one know that most of the property there is unlawful. I.D. makes six points in respect of the mixture of lawful and unlawful property:

1. One knows that most of the property is unlawful. 2. One has an idea which is confirmed by certain tokens — that most of it is unlawful. 3. One has a suspicion that most of it is unlawful.

There are three more such points made concerning property which is less unlawful.

The arrangement in K. is one which, by concentrating the attention of the reader on the owner of the property, commits itself as being of more practical value than that found in I.D.
Fourthly, there is the man whose property one knows is lawful in the main but not wholly so. Such a man may be a farmer who derives his rights through the Sultan, etc. One may accept most of his property, nevertheless, a very scrupulous person would abstain from it.

Story about *Abdallah bin Mubarak whose agent wrote from Basrah stating that he was doing business with people who were themselves doing business with those connected with the Sultan.

Fifthly, there is the man about whom, and about whose property, one knows nothing. Yet one can see the tokens of tyranny in his clothes or he may look like a soldier. One should discover the source of his property before having any dealings with him.

Sixthly, there is the man who shows signs of vice in that he wears silken clothing or ogles a strange woman etc. One need not assume that his property is unlawful because of these things, and one cannot pass a legal judgement about his property for no man is innocent of sin (1). A man may sin and yet refrain from injustice.

These rules should be kept in mind, and yet, if a man unwittingly accepts unlawful property, he will not be called to account for it - just as a man's worship is sound even when there is some uncleanness about him of which he is unaware.

If he finds out about the impurity at the conclusion of his worship he is not obliged to make up for an omitted act of worship. The Prophet took off his sandals in the course of worship because the angel Gabriel told him they were unclean. The Prophet did no more than this.

297 (1) I.D. states that one should take a fatwā of one's heart in such cases. See footnote on this on K.296.
This is what we mean by saying that a scrupulous person may abstain over certain matters but one is not obliged to do so.

One may ask another person where he got a certain thing, providing that one does not grieve him by the question. If one feels that he may be grieved then one should not ask such a question. One should practice some deceit and not eat the thing. If this is impossible, then one should eat it rather than give grief to the other. One should not enquire of a third party about the lawfulness of the thing for that is spying and fault-finding, and that also is unlawful.

When the Prophet was entertained, he did not enquire about the food. He accepted presents without interrogation, except in cases where there was some doubt. When people brought things to him in Medīnah he would ask "Is this a present or an alms?" and nobody was grieved by his questioning.

If a king's merchandise or stolen goods are offered for sale, then one must enquire about them. The same rule applies to the bazaar wherein most goods are known to be unlawful. If most of the merchandise is not unlawful then one may buy without enquiry, although one may enquire if one is scrupulous.

Chapter Four. Concerning the acceptance of stipends from the Sultan, saluting him (with the salutation reserved for Muslims) and the things which are lawful of his property.

Whatever a Sultan amerces by way of fines from Muslims in these days is unlawful.

Nevertheless, there are three kinds of royal property which are lawful (1)

298 (1) I.D. states that there are two kinds, but the first and second kinds in K. come under the first kind in I.D.
Firstly, there is the war booty taken from misbelievers.
Secondly, there is the poll-tax taken from Dhimma - if taken in accordance with the ordinances of the religious law.
Thirdly, there is escheated property.
One should enquire about the nature of the property which they offer. It is lawful if derived from the above sources or from lands which the Sultan has made fertile.

If such land was made fertile by means of forced labour then such property is dubious but not unlawful. If the Sultan buys a farm out of unlawful property, then whatever accrues is dubious. If the Sultan gives a stipend from his own personal property then one may accept it.

A Qadi or Mufid or administrator of a bequest, or a physician, or anyone engaged in public service, may not lawfully accept a stipend derived from escheated property or from any other property which is devoted to the general welfare of Muslims. A student of religion, an incapacitated person or a needy person, however, has a right to such property. Scholars and others must not be sycophants when dealing with kings, nor should they consent to the misdeeds of rulers, but they should approach them in the fashion which the religious law requires.

Section on how one should treat Sultans and their governors.
There are three circumstances affecting scholars and others in their relations with kings and governors.

Firstly, they may neither go near such people, nor do such people go near them (1). Religion is thus preserved.

299 (1) This is the third circumstance in I.D.
Secondly, they may go to kings and salute them (2). The religious law disapproves of this except when absolutely necessary. The Prophet spoke of unjust princes and said that salvation lies in shunning them.

Tradition. The Prophet said that whoever consents to the lies and acts of injustice of unjust princes is not of Isâlm.

Tradition. The Prophet said that scholars who go to princes are the enemies of God. The best princes come to scholars.

Tradition. The Prophet said that those scholars are loyal followers of the prophets who do not associate with princes etc.

The statement of ABÙ Dharr to Salmah.

He (3) said that there is a valley in Hell into which none enters but the scholar who goes to meet kings.

'Ubaðah bin al Šâmit said that the friendship of scholars and ascetics with kings is the proof of hypocrisy.

Ibn Mas'ûd said that if a man of sound religion meets a king he comes away without any religion etc.

al Fuqâ'il bin 'Iyâq said that the nearer one is to a king the further one is from God.

Saying of Wahb bin Munabbih that scholars who go to kings do more injury to Muslims than gamblers.

Saying of Muḥammad bin Salmah that the fly resting on excreta is cleaner than the scholar in the court of a king.

One may be involved in certain sins through coming into the presence of kings.

299 (2) This is the first circumstance in I.D.

(3) I.D. ascribes this saying to Sufyân al Thaurî
One may fall into sin in respect of action, speech, silence or belief.

The sin connected with action lies in the fact that a king's dwelling is the object of divine wrath. Even in the desert their tent or carpet is unlawful. If one stands on lawful ground and does reverence to a king then one has bowed to a tyrant.

One part of that person's religion is ruined who goes to a rich man, even though he be not a tyrant. One should therefore do no more than salute such a person. One must not bow the head, bend one's back, or kiss his hand. Such respect may only be shown to a just king, a scholar, or any other worthy person. Some of the fathers of the faith would not so much as salute a tyrant.

One may sin in respect of speech by praying for the welfare of a tyrant.

Tradition. The Prophet said that he who prays for the long life of a tyrant begs long life for one who disobeys God.

One may pray that God will reform such a person etc.

If one then proceeds to express a desire that one may always remain in the presence of the tyrant then one may have lied and acted the hypocrite. If one has such a desire in one's heart then that heart is void of the light of Islam. A man who is under God's displeasure must be abhorred. It is also hypocrisy to praise a king for his justice and kindness. One also makes the tyrant happy by this. It is also a sin to nod one's head in agreement with a tyrant's absurdities.

One may sin through silence when one sees satin, carpets and pictures etc., in a king's dwelling or when one hears lewd speech or lies there. If, for reasons of fear, one fails to rebuke him then one is excused; but one is not excused going into his presence without necessity.
There may be sin in heart and belief in that one may love a prince or believe in his empty compliments. One may also, on seeing his wealth, be moved towards the world.

Tradition. The Prophet told the Muhājirīn(1) not to go to the people of this world etc.

Jesus said "Look not upon the wealth of the people of this world, for the light of their world will remove from your heart the sweetness of faith".(2)

One may therefore go to a king for only two reasons. Firstly, for reasons of personal fear when one is summoned to his presence, and because one wishes, for the good of the State, to show respect as a subject.

Secondly, when one wishes to intercede for the oppressed. One should not lie nor be rough or mild in speech. One should not lie nor flatter because one fears the king's refusal. One should not be chagrined if some other person intercedes and is successful.

Thirdly, it may be that one does not go to kings but they approach one. In this case one should reply to the king's salutation. (1).

The kind also merits respect for this good act of his, and so one should remain standing before him. It is approved also that a scholar remain seated in order to show his contempt for the world but consideration for his own personal safety, coupled with his desire to show respect as a subject, may prompt him to stand.

The scholar may then offer three kinds of advice. Firstly, if the king is unwittingly guilty of any unlawful act the scholar should inform him of the fact.

301 (1) See Ency. of Islam, etc. Muhājirīn.
(2) Not found anywhere in Asim's collection of the agrapha.
302 (1) This is the second circumstance in I.D.
Secondly, if the king knowingly performs an act which is unlawful, the scholar should daunt him and urge him not to jeopardise his future felicity for the sake of this world.

Thirdly, the scholar should urge the king to do whatever is beneficial for his subjects, when he is sure that the king will listen and that his advice will not meet with derision. If this is possible then he should remain silent.

Story told by Muqatil bin Salih (2) concerning Hamad bin Salmah, when he was called to the presence of the Sultan and refused to accept his gift of money.

Story of the manner in which Fa'us went to Hisham bin 'Abd al Malik. (1)

Story of Sulaiman bin 'Abd al Malik and his summoning of Abu Hazim to his presence (1).

Worldly scholars do not offer such counsel to kings, but flatter them, seek legal devices in order to justify the royal intentions, and only admonish them in order to gain honour.

It is better to avoid kings and to shun the society of their associates. A retired life is to be preferred.

Tradition. The Prophet said that his people would be under God's defence so long as their scholars are not on friendly terms with princes.

The ruin of subjects follows upon the ruin of kings and the ruin of kings is due to the ruin of scholars who neither correct nor contradict kings.

302 (2) I.D. reads "Muhammad bin Salih". B.M.Ms. fo 122b supports the above reading in the Teheran text.
303 (1) K. follows I.D. apart from a small detail at the end of the story where we read in K. that there are scorpions in Hell as big as camels. I.D. states that they are as big as mules. 304 (1) Reported faithfully from I.D. up to the quotation of Sūrah 7.54.
If a king sends money to a scholar for distribution as alms, and it is known that a particular person is the true owner of the property, the scholar should tell the king to return it to the owner.

Opinions are divided over the course of action to be taken when the owner is not known. We maintain that it is better to distribute it as alms than to leave it in the hands of a tyrant. It may be accepted and given to the poor providing that the king is not left with the impression that his conduct is condoned. He may – if given that impression – collect more unlawful property and evil may thus increase.

Secondly, the scholar should not be a person whom others will imitate by accepting such property and distributing it. Some people have followed the example of al Shafi’I by accepting property from kings and they are ignorant of the fact that he distributed it among the poor.

Story of Wahb bin Munabbih and Ta’us who visited the brother of Hajjaj. Ta’us refused to accept the wrapper given to him by the prince.

Thirdly, one should not entertain any feelings of love towards a tyrant because of his gifts, nor should one be pleased with his dominion.

Prayer of the Prophet that God would not permit any vicious person to show him kindness.

Quotation of Surah 11. 115
Story of the Khalīfa who sent ten thousand dirhams for distribution as alms to Malik bin Mānār. The latter confessed to Muhammad Wāsī that, as a result of this, he had begun to love the Khalīfa.

Story of the saint of Basrah who took a present from a king and gave it away as alms but stated that he would regard a sinner as an enemy even if the sinner led him into paradise etc.

Conclusion (1) When a man has this power over his heart then it is right for him to accept the property of kings and distribute it.

(1) This is a more apt conclusion to the story than that found in I.D. where one reads that it is a calamity and a mistake to accept such property from kings in these days, even though the property be lawful in itself, because of the attendant evils.

This section of K. contains, in bulk, about one-seventh of the amount of text to be found in Volume 2, Book 4 of I.D.
This world is a stage on the journey to God and all men must travel through it. The object of all these travellers is the same, and so there should be amity among them. Each should protect the interests of the other. These things are discussed in three chapters.

Chapter One. Friendship and brotherhood for the sake of God.

This is one of the best acts of worship and is among the most lofty stations.

Tradition. The Prophet said that God bestows a friend on man in man's own best interest.

Tradition. The Prophet said that the religion of two believers is improved by their meeting.

Tradition. The Prophet said that men attain the highest possible rank in paradise through friendship.

Conversation between Abū Idrīs Khūlah and Maʿṣūm, and the latter's reporting of a saying of the Prophet concerning those who love for the sake of God.

Tradition. The Prophet said that he who loves his friend deeply is greatly loved of God.

Qudṣī tradition. Those who associate together for God's sake have a right to His love (1).

Qudṣī tradition. On the day of resurrection God will place in His shadow etc. (2).

307 (1) K.I.S. No. 239
   (2) K.I.S. No. 243.
Tradition. The Prophet spoke of seven men who will be in God’s shadow on the day of resurrection.

Tradition. The Prophet said that an angel calls out blessing on one who visits his brother for the sake of God.

Tradition (3). The Prophet spoke of one who was on his way to visit a friend and God sent an angel to meet him and to assure him of paradise.

Tradition. The Prophet said that the strongest handle of faith is to have friendship and enmity for the sake of God.

God sent a revelation to one of His prophets commending his austerity and enjoining love for the friends of God and enmity towards His enemies.

God sent a revelation to Jesus enjoining love for God’s friends and enmity towards His enemies. A saying of Jesus to this effect.

God sent a revelation to David urging him to make friends of those who would help him on the path of religion.

Tradition. The Prophet spoke of an angel made half of fire and half of ice etc.

Tradition. The Prophet spoke of the red ruby pillar set up in paradise for those who love one another for God’s sake and from which the light of their faces falls on the people of paradise.

The saying of ibn al Samāk when dying.

The saying of Mujahid.

307 (3) There is a lacuna in the Teheran text, p.307, bottom line - Read with B,M,Ms. fo 125a
The nature of the love which one must have for the sake of God.

We are not now considering the love one may have for another because he happens to be a neighbour or an associate in a writing school or while on a journey or in a madrasah.

Now do we refer here to one whom we love because of his beauty or charm of speech (1). We are not concerned here either with a friend by whom we gain honour, property, or worldly aims (2).

Such love as that may be aroused for one who has no faith and the love that we have in mind is for God, through faith.

There are two degrees of such love:

The first is where one loves another with some religious end in view and for the sake of God. One may love one's teacher for the sake of God when he imparts to one knowledge concerning the hereafter, and one is not interested in wealth and honour, (3).

If one hopes to get worldly ends by means of knowledge then one's love for one's teacher is not for the sake of God. (4).

When a teacher makes a friend of his pupil because the knowledge imparted ensures his acceptance with God, then such love is for the sake of God (3). If the teacher makes a friend of him for the sake of honour, then such love is not for the sake of God.

When one makes a friend of the person who distributes one's alms and food to the poor, then this love is for the sake of God. When one accepts alms in order to be free for worship, and one loves the donor for this reason, then such love is for God's sake (3).

Many scholars and devout persons have formed friendship with the rich with this in mind (3).

309 (1) I.D. discusses four kinds of love and sets them out according to a different arrangement in this section of the chapter. The above is the first kind of love.

(2) This comes under the second kind of love in I.D.

(3) This comes under the third kind of love in I.D.

(4) This comes under the second kind of love in I.D.
When a man loves his wife because she saves him from sin and brings him children who will pray for him, then such love is for God's sake. The living expenses which he provides for her have the value of alms. (3)

One may love a disciple because he serves one and affords one liberty and leisure for worship (1).

The second degree is greater than the first. Here one loves another for the sake of God alone, without any ulterior motive (2).

One may love another because he is obedient to and is a friend of God, or one may love another merely because he is a slave and a creature of God.

Such love springs from an abundant love for God and it attains to such a fervour that one loves the lane and area in which the beloved lives, the wall of his house and the dog in his lane (2).

One also loves all who love or serve the beloved, his relations and friends (2).

One who loves God fervently also loves the slaves of God, especially those who love Him. One also loves all God's handiwork.

The Prophet used to rub first-fruits on his eyes because they had but recently come from God.

Love for God is of two kinds (3). There is love for the sake of the world and the blessing of the future life. The second is for God's sake alone to the exclusion of all else. This is the most perfect and will be described in the fourth pillar of this book.

309 (3) This comes under the third kind of love in I.D.
310 (1) This also comes under the third kind of love in I.D.
(2) This comes under the fourth kind of love in I.D.
(3) I.D. gives the same definition of such love as is given here but states that this love is of three kinds.
Love is therefore strong to the degree that faith is strong. It embraces also the friends of God. If there were no love apart from worldly profit, then love for the dead among the prophets, saints and scholars, would be inconceivable.

One who loves the wise, the Sufis, the pious and their servants and friends, loves them for the sake of God (1).

A man may demonstrate his love by giving all his wealth. Such a one was Abu Bakr who gave all his property. Or a man may give half of his property as did 'Umar (2).

Enmity for the sake of God.

One who loves those who obey God will hate unbelievers, tyrants, sinners etc. One should hate the enemies of one's beloved - and God hates the unbelievers. When a Muslim is vicious one should be angry because of his vice, and yet be his friend because he is a Muslim. Thus, friendship and enmity will be joined, just as a man may have three sons and, because of their different characters, may respect one, despise another and show both respect and contempt to the third.

One should treat an enemy of God as one would treat one's own enemy. This should be shown in one's speech and behaviour. When a person is outrageously evil one should reprove and oppose him. One should go to even greater lengths in this respect in the case of a tyrant than in the case of a vicious person. If however, anyone has treated oneself unjustly then one should forgive him.

(1) This comes under the fourth kind of love in I.D. but I.D. makes no reference to Sufis under this head.

(2) This contrast between Abu Bakr and 'Umar is made in I.D. 1/192 but not in I.D. 2/146.
In olden times, people differed in these matters. Some went to great length in their severity of speech. They did so for the general good of religion and the Law.

Ibn Ḥanbal reproved al Ḥarīth al Maḥāsibī because he wrote about Kāfām and refuted the Muʿtasīlabī by referring to their opinions.

Ibn Ḥanbal was also angry with Yehyā bin Muʿayyin because he said, in jest, that he would accept a gift from a king. The Imam held that one should not jest over matters of religion.

On the other hand, there are those who see all men as being under the constraint of God and who therefore view their actions with a tolerant eye. This is the way in which they understand Taḥfīd. Nevertheless, a man may be deceived by Satan in this. Does he still think in terms of Taḥfīd when he himself is injured and robbed?

The misbelievers broke the Prophet's teeth and the blood ran down his face. He prayed that God would guide this ignorant people.

It is mere hypocrisy, and not belief in Taḥfīd, when a man is angry over his own loss and silent over the sufferings of others. There is therefore, weakness in faith when one is not angered by vice and evil. If someone speaks ill of one's friend and one is not angered thereby, then one's love is without foundation.

One should show severity to the enemies of God in accordance with the degrees of their enmity. The first degree of enmity is to be shown towards the misbelievers. When one is at war with them one should, as a matter of religious duty, kill and enslave them (1).

The second degree of enmity is to be shown to the Dhimmīs. It is a religious duty to be at enmity with them and to show contempt for them. One should make life difficult for them. To show friendship to them may lead to unlawful ways.

312 (1) Both the first and second degrees in K. are included under the first degree in I.D.
Quotation of Surah 53.22.

Tradition. The Prophet said that those who believe in God and the day of resurrection will not be friendly towards God's enemies. It is a mortal sin to trust them and make them royal agents and judges to rule over Muslims.

The third degree of enmity is to be shown to the innovators who invite others to follow them (1). One must hate them and teach others to hate them. One should not salute them nor answer their salutation.

If however, this person is unwittingly guilty of innovation and does not invite others to follow him, he may be dealt with leniently. (2).

The fourth degree of enmity is to be shown to sinners (3). Such are those who are guilty of tyranny and false witness and unjust judgements on others. There is also the sin of speaking ill of another behind his back and causing distress among people. It is an odious thing to be on friendly terms with such people and one should deal harshly with them.

The fifth degree of enmity is to be shown to one who acts viciously without injuring another (4). One may act leniently here and offer advice when there is hope that he will accept it.

If he does not accept advice, then one must shun him. Nevertheless, one must return his salutation and not curse him.

313 (1) This is the second degree in I.D.
(2) This is placed under the third degree of enmity in I.D.
(3) This is dealt with in a new section in I.D. which speaks of three kinds of sin. The fourth degree in K. comes under the first kind of sin in I.D.
(4) This is the third kind of sin in I.D. under the new section referred to in (3).
Tradition. The Prophet forbade the cursing of a drunkard by the Companions and urged them not to help Satan by cursing the drunkard.

Chapter Two. The rights of friendship and the conditions applying thereto.

Not every man is worthy of friendship. One should make a friend of a man who possesses the following three qualities (1):

Firstly, he should be intelligent, for one may be injured by a fool. To remain far from a fool is to be near to God, and to look on the face of a fool is sin (2). A fool neither knows nor understands the truth of any matter.

Secondly, he must be a man of good moral qualities for there can be no peace with the vicious. The vicious person oppresses and has no concern for another.

Thirdly, he should not be one who sins habitually, for such a one does not fear God and cannot be relied on.

Quotation of Surah 18.27.

If he is an innovator one must remain far from him lest his evil ways affect one (2).

No innovation is more sinful than the opinion which is current to-day that one should not interfere with God's creatures or restrain them from vice and sin.

This is the source of Ibañat (3), and the root of Zandaqat (4) and follows from the promptings of Satan.

313 (1) I.D. gives a list of five qualities. K. omits the fifth and includes the fourth of them under the third above. K. follows the order of I.D. in other respects here.

(2) This is the fourth quality in I.D.

(3) For Ibañat see K. p.30, footnote 1.

The five types of men whom, according to Ja'far al Sadiq one should not befriend.

al Junayd preferred a good-natured sinner to a bad-natured reader of the Quran.

If one looks for social graces one should seek a man as a friend who has a good disposition. If one has worldly aims then one should seek a generous man. If one's purpose is religious then one should look for knowledge and sobriety.

There are three kinds of men. Some are like food and one cannot dispense with them. Some are like medicines and are needed only occasionally. Some are like a disease and one should escape from them with courtesy. One should seek that comradeship with others which brings benefit to religion.

The rights of comradeship and friendship.

The knot of comradeship is like the contract of marriage.

There are rights connected with it.

Tradition. The Prophet likened brotherhood to two hands, each washing the other.

There are ten kinds of rights here (1).

The first right concerns property.

The highest rank of brotherhood here is where one prefers one's brother to oneself.

Quotation concerning the Ansar from Surah 59.9.

The next rank is when one shares one's property equally with one's brother.

The lowest rank is when one treats him like a slave or servant; and gives him what remains after one has satisfied oneself.

315 (1) I.D. materials are re-arranged. According to I.D. there are eight kinds of rights.
Even here one should meet his needs without his asking, for otherwise one has ceased to think of him as a friend.

Story of ʿUtbat al Ghulām and his friend.

Story of the Sufis who were to be slain and who were saved by the action of one named ʿAbūʾl Ḥasan Mīrī.

Story of Fath al Maṣūdī and the action of a friend whose house he visited in his absence.

Story of ibn ʿUmar, one of the Companions, to whom a roasted head was sent. He sent it on and it eventually came back to him (1).

Story of ʿAbū Hurairah and the man who failed to satisfy the conditions of friendship.

Story of the friendship of Masrūq and Khāithmah.

ʿAlī preferred giving twenty dirhams to a friend to giving a hundred dirhams to dervishes.

When the Prophet got two toothsticks on one occasion he gave the straight stick to a Companion and kept the bent one for himself (1).

The Prophet said that when two men are friends, the better friend is most loved by God.

The second right concerns aid.

One should give assistance with a joyous heart before the other solicits it.

316 (1) I.D. does not state here that it was a roasted head, but a similar story is told in I.D. 1/62 and a roasted head is mentioned there.

317 (1) K. comments that one should show preference to a friend. I.D. 's comment here is that, by this act he showed his awareness of what was due to God. The comment of K. is the more appropriate in this context.
The fathers of the faith visited the houses of their friends daily, and offered service, goods and aid. Any service they could render they regarded as a favour conferred on themselves.

Saying of Hasan al Baṣrī that he loved his brethren in the faith more than wife and family etc.

'Ata's saying that one should enquire after one's brethren when one has not seen them for three days.

Saying of Ja'far bin Muhammad.

One of the fathers of the faith looked after the family of a deceased friend for forty years after the friend's death.

The third right concerns the tongue.

One should praise one's brethren and conceal their defects.

When anyone attacks them in their absence one should defend (2) them, behaving as though they were unseen listeners to the conversation.

One should behave in this respect as one would wish them to behave in one's absence. One should avoid hypocrisy here. Whatever a friend says should be heeded without any disputation. One should not divulge any secret of his after he has affronted one, for that would be an act of meanness.

One should not find fault with his family or property. One should conceal the dispraise of others from him and report their praise. If he is at fault one should not complain but remember one's own failings in the service of God. If one is looking for someone who has not sinned against Him then one must renounce human society.

317 (2). Read بجواب دم with B.M.Ms fo.129b.
It is said that the believer always seeks to excuse, the hypocrite looks for a fault.

Ten faults may be hidden by one good deed.

Tradition. The Prophet said that one should seek the protection of God from an evil acquaintance etc.

One should excuse a fault where possible and think well of the other person. It is unlawful to think evil.

Tradition. The Prophet said that God has declared four things to be unlawful in a believer etc.

Saying of Jesus about making another's faults known.

The fathers of the faith advised that one should anger any new friend and then send another to him to speak about oneself and thus test the friend.

It is also said that one should make another one's friend who knows about one as God does and yet keeps it secret.

A certain man asked a friend if he remembered a secret matter and the friend declared that he had forgotten it.

One who changes towards one under four circumstances ... is not a friend.

The advice of 'Abūs to his son 'Abdallāh.

Contention is the main reason for the ruin of friendship.

One should not adopt a superior attitude to a friend, nor lord it over him on the assumption that one is more wise than he.

Tradition. The Prophet said that one should not refute what one's brother says nor make fun of him etc.

The fathers of the faith said that should one ask a friend to arise and he question one's purpose over this, one should not regard him as a friend.

Saying of Abū Sulaimān al Darādī about one who ceased to be a friend because of his (the friend's) ungenerous behaviour.
The fourth right concerns giving expression to affection.

Tradition. The Prophet said that one should inform a brother of one's love for him.

Love then arises in the other's heart toward oneself, and it is thus doubled. One should enquire into his circumstances and make his joys and griefs one's own. One should call him by the name which he likes best.

'Umar states three means by which love remains strong. One should praise a friend in his absence, speak well of his family and whatever is connected with him. One should thank him for every kindness he shows.

'Ali said that he who does not thank a brother for his good intention will not thank him for a kindness.

If anyone speaks ill of a friend in his absence one should not remain silent but rebut the statement. To keep silence would be like seeing him beaten and not giving him aid. A wound inflicted by speech is most grievous.

Someone has said that when he heard anyone speak ill of his friend he imagined the friend to be present and gave answer accordingly.

The saying of Abū'l Dardā' when he saw two bullocks getting up together.

The fifth right concerns teaching him what he needs to know of religion and science (l).

It is better to keep one's friend from the fire of Hell than from the sorrows of the world. If he does not act on one's teaching one should counsel him and admonish him to fear God. One should advise him in private for to do so in public is humiliating. One should also speak gently and not with severity.

Tradition. The Prophet said that the believer mirrors the believer.

320 (l) This is the second part of the fourth right in I.D.
Believers should mention each other's faults in private and the one who is being admonished should not be angry.

A friend who acts thus is like one who informs one of a snake or scorpion in one's clothing. Every evil trait in a man is a snake or scorpion. It will be manifest in the grave and will wound the spirit in a more grievous manner than the wounds inflicted by such creatures on one's body.

'Umar called down blessings on one who told him of his faults.

Salman's advice to 'Umar.

Hudhaifah al Mar' ashî wrote a letter to Yusuf Aslāf and urging him to awake from the sleep of carelessness (2).

Anyone who, after gaining knowledge of the Qurān, seeks the world may possibly be holding the verses of the Book of God to ridicule.

Good advice should be regarded as a favour.

Quotation of Sūrah 7, 77.

Whoever does not love his adviser is one whose religion has been overcome by pride. One should hint at a man's faults rather than refer directly to them. When one is guilty of the same thing one should ignore the fault in the other. If he persists one should rebuke him in private rather than withdraw from his friendship—although that is better than strife and abuse. By tolerating the faults of one's brethren one should aim at correcting one's faults of character rather than have hopes for material benefits.

320 (2) I.D. reads "sleep of death".

This Hudhaifah al Mar' ashî was the disciple of Ibrahim bin Adham (d 160-68) the famous ascetic of Basrah. See K 815, and art. on Ibrahim, Ency. of Islam.
Story of Abū Bakr al Kitān who invited a friend to put his foot on his face.


The sixth right concerns forgiveness of a friend's fault and error (1).

The fathers of the faith say that if a brother sins against one then one should plead seventy excuses for him. If one is not persuaded by this one should put it down to one's bad temper.

When his fault involves sin one should admonish him gently. If he acts on one's advice his sin should be forgotten. If he persists, one should exhort him. The Companions differed over the course of action to be followed when someone persisted in his sin.

Those who followed Abū Dharr said that one should cease to have such a person as a friend. Having made him a friend for the sake of God one should now regard him as an enemy for God's sake.

Those who follow Abū'1 Darda' hold that one should not cease to be his friend, for he may turn from his sin. One should not form, or discontinue friendships, quickly.

Saying of Ibrahim Nakha’ī in support of this.

Traditional saying that one should beware of the fault of a scholar but not cut oneself off from him. One should hope that he will soon abstain from the failing.

Story of two brothers, one of whom fasted until the other had been cured of his lusts.

A certain person was asked why he did not break off intimacy with a sinning brother. He replied that he felt obliged to help him and try to save him from Hell.

Story of two friends among the children of Israel, one of whom associated with a prostitute.

321 (1) This is the fifth right in I.D.
The school of thought of Abū Dharr is more correct but that of Abū'l Darda' is the more kind and in keeping with Fiqh. It gives a man an opportunity to repent and, from the point of view of Fiqh, this is a relationship that may not be easily severed.

Quotation of Surah 26.216.

This implies that one may say that one is free of a man's works, but one is not free of the man. Saying of Abū'l Darda' about being at enmity with the sinner but not with the sinner.

It is advisable therefore, to be cautious. It is no sin not to form a bond of friendship but, when sin does arise, one may not cut oneself off from the sinner. If a brother sins against one, one must forgive him and accept his excuse, even when one knows it to be a lie.

Tradition. The Prophet said that one who does not accept a brother's excuse is like a tax gatherer. Tradition. A Muslim is quickly happy, quickly angry.

The advice of Abū Sulaimān al Dārānī to his disciples.

The seventh right (1) concerns praying for one's friend during his life and after his death. One should also pray for his family for that is like praying for one's own family and for oneself.

Tradition. The Prophet said that an angel prays for one in return when one prays for an absent brother. In another form of this tradition God says that He will begin by blessing the one who prays.

The Prophet said that a prayer for absent friends is not rejected.

Abū'l Darda' said that he mentioned the names of seventy friends in his prostrations and prayed for them.

It is said that he is a true friend who, when you are dead and others are busy about your estate, prays for you, and is concerned about God's dealings with you.

323 (1) The sixth right in I.D.
Tradition. The Prophet said that the dead are like a drowning man who clutches at anything... the prayers of the living reach sepulchres like mountains of light.

It is said that prayers are brought to the dead on dishes and that the dead are pleased etc.

The eighth right concerns keeping faith with friends (1) This includes not neglecting a friend and his family after his death.

Story of the old women who came to the Prophet and was treated with honour. The Prophet regarded the honouring of past friendships to be part of faith.

A friend is more affected by the kindness which is shown to his family and friends than by that which is shown to him personally.

When one prospers one should not change in one's attitude to one's friends.

One should not put an end to friendship, for the greatest work of Satan is to cause brethren to be enraged against one another.

Quotation of Surahs 17.55 and 12.101.

One mark of loyalty is that one should also regard a friend's enemy to be one's own. It is a weak friendship which includes both a friend and his enemy. Another mark of loyalty is that one does not listen to slanders against a friend. Such slanders should be treated as lies.

The ninth right (2) concerns the setting aside of formality. Where there is diffidence the friendship is defective.

324 (1) The seventh right in I.D.
(2) The eighth right in I.D.
'Ali said that the worst friend is one to whom one must make excuses or with whom one must stand on ceremony.

al Junayd observed that diffidence arises between two brethren when one of them has a weakness.

It is said that one should deal with the worldly with formality, with the other-worldly with knowledge, and as one pleases with the gnostics.

Some Sufis associated with one another on the understanding that each might fast or eat, pray or sleep, without being questioned about his conduct by the others. There is no place for formality in friendship which is for the sake of God.

The tenth right (1) concerns the looking upon oneself as being less than one's friend. One should not expect any worldly benefit from one's friend but fulfil all that is due to them.

Saying of al Junayd that if one is seeking as a friend one whom one may feed or suffer for, then there are many such people.

It is said that when one thinks oneself to be better than one's friends, one sins and they will sin against one. One will be grieved if one thinks of oneself as their equal. One will find repose in thinking oneself to be less than they.

Saying of Abū Muʿāwiyah al Aswād.

Chapter Three. The rights of Muslims, relatives, neighbours, slaves, etc.

The nature of a right depends upon the closeness of a relationship. The closest relationship is that which is established for the sake of God and the rights of that relationship have been set out above.

325 (1) This is based upon materials drawn from I.D.
When there is no such relationship, there is only the bond of Islam, nevertheless, there are many rights to be considered (2).

**The Rights of Muslims.**

The first right that a Muslim has over one is that one should not desire for him what one would not like for oneself.

**Tradition.** The Prophet said that when one member of the body of Islam suffers, all the other members suffer also.

**Tradition.** The Prophet said that, in order to escape Hell, a Muslim must recite the Kalimah when dying and also treat others as he would wish to be treated.

Moses asked God who was more just than He and God said "He who deals justly with himself".

The second right of a Muslim is that he should not be hurt by one's hand or tongue.

**Tradition.** The Prophet's definition of a Muslim, a believer and a Muḥājir (1).

**Tradition.** The Prophet said that it is not lawful to grieve a Muslim by sign or glance etc.

**Saying of Muḥājirūn about the scab and itch that will be visited on the dwellers in Hell.**

**Tradition.** The Prophet spoke of a man who walked wherever he wished in paradise.

The third right of a Muslim is that one should not deal arrogantly with him. God is at enmity with the proud.

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(2) I.D. arranges this section under twenty-six rights. K. arranges the material under twenty-three rights.

(1) See art. Muḥājirūn, Ency. of Islam.
Tradition. The Prophet spoke of a revelation enjoining men to act humbly and not to esteem themselves better than others.

It was for this reason that the Prophet walked with widows and the poor and supplied their needs.

One must not look on another with contempt for he may be a saint of God. God veils His saints.

The fourth right of a Muslim is that one should not listen to slander about him. The speech of a slanderer is unreliable. One should give ear only to the righteous.

Tradition. No slanderer shall enter paradise. He who speaks ill of others to you will speak ill of you behind your back.

The fifth right of a Muslim is that one should not fail to speak to a friend for a longer period than three days.

Tradition. The Prophet said this also and added that the better of two friends is he who first greets the other.

What God said to Joseph, according to 'Ikrimah (2).

Tradition. When one forgives the sin of a Muslim brother, God increases one's honour and dignity.

The sixth right of a Muslim is that, as far as possible, one should not discriminate, but one should deal kindly with the sinner and the righteous.

Tradition. Deal kindly with all. Although somebody may not be worthy, yet you are worthy.

Tradition. The source of reason, after faith, is to show friendship to both the good and the unrighteous.

326 (2) Jeffrey does not give this as a variant reading in "Materials for the History of the text of the Quran" (Leiden, 1937).
Abū Hurairah reported that the Prophet held on whenever anybody took his hand and gave his entire attention to whoever talked with him.

The seventh right of a Muslim is that one should honour the aged and show kindness to children.(1)

Tradition. The Prophet said that anyone who fails at this point is not of his people. To show honour to white hairs is to honour God.

Tradition. The Prophet said that the youth who honours the aged will be honoured in his old age.

The Prophet thus indicated that reverence for the aged ensures a long life.

When the Prophet returned from a journey he would lift up children to ride with him.

A child was brought to the Prophet so that he might name it. The child urinated. The practice of the Prophet under such circumstances.

The eighth right of a Muslim is that one should be sociable and urbane in one's dealings with him.(2)

Tradition. The Prophet said that God loves courtesy in man.

Tradition. The Prophet said that a means of finding forgiveness (3) of God is a pleasant countenance etc.

Anas reports that a woman met the Prophet in the way and begged a favour. He sat and talked with her.

327 (1) K. changes the order at this point. This is the ninth right in I.D.
(2) This is the tenth right in I.D.
(3) Emend the Teheran text to read مغفرة with B.M. Ms fo. 134b.
The ninth right of a Muslim is that one should not act contrary to one’s promise when dealing with him (1).

Tradition. The three things to be found in a hypocrite...

The tenth right of a Muslim is that each Muslim should be honoured according to his degree (2). One should recognise the fact that anyone who rides in pomp upon a horse is a great man.

‘A’ishah, when on a journey, dealt with a passing beggar and a horseman according to their degrees.

Tradition. Honour him whom the people honour.

The Prophet used to spread his mantle for people of consequence that they might sit on it. The story of his gift to his foster-mother, who sold the gift to ‘Uthmān.

The eleventh right is that when two Muslims are at loggerheads, one should try to reconcile them (3).

Tradition. The Prophet said that such a work was better than fasting, worship and alms-giving.

Anas reported that the Prophet laughed. God enjoins a Muslim to forgive his brother and He Himself makes peace among Muslims on the day of Resurrection.

The twelfth right of a Muslim is that one should conceal all his faults and secret affairs (1).

Tradition. Whoever puts a veil over Muslims in this world will be veiled by God at the resurrection.

328 (1) This is the eleventh right in I.D.
(2) The thirteenth right in I.D.
(3) The fourteenth right in I.D.

329 (1) The fifteenth right in I.D.
Saying of Abū Bakr that he wished that God would forgive every thief he apprehended.

Tradition. The Prophet told his people not to spy into the faults and secret matters of Muslims, lest God disgrace them.

Ibn Mas‘ūd’s report of an occasion when the Prophet ordered a thief’s hand to be cut off. The Prophet’s comment on this.

When ‘Umar was patrolling at night he heard singing in a house. He entered and was rebuked for spying etc.

Tradition. The Prophet said that whoever listens to a story about someone else’s secret affairs when that person is not present will have molten lead poured into his ears at the resurrection.

The thirteenth right of a Muslim is that one should avoid such conduct that may cause others to slander one or entertain suspicions about oneself (1).

Whoever causes another to sin participates in the sin.

Tradition. The Prophet said that whoever abuses another’s parents and thereby brings down abuse on his own in return has himself abused his parents.

‘Umar said that one should not blame another if one causes others to have suspicions about oneself.

Story of the Prophet’s behaviour when someone saw him talking with his wife in the mosque in Ramadan.

‘Umar’s beating of a man whom he saw talking to a woman. When the man declared it was his wife, ‘Umar rebuked him for not talking to her in private.

330 (1) The sixteenth right in I.D.
The fourteenth right is that a man of influence should intercede for another Muslim (2).

Tradition. The Prophet told his Companions to intercede in this way and gain merit thereby.

Tradition. The Prophet said that the most excellent alms is verbal alms, i.e. interceding for another and saving him from distress.

The fifteenth right of a Muslim is that one should defend him when anyone defames him or casts aspersions on his property behind his back. (1).

Tradition. The Prophet said that God will befriend the man who acts thus when he needs help. Whoever fails in this respect God will despise etc.

The sixteenth right of a Muslim is that one should show civility to an evil Muslim so long as one is in his company (2).

Ibn 'Abbās comments on Sūrah 13.22
‘X’ishah reported that the Prophet allowed an evil man to approach him.

Tradition. That by which one’s honour is kept safe from slanderers is alms.

Abū’l Dardā’ said that the heart curses many a one in whose presence one laughs.

The seventeenth right is that one should associate with beggars and avoid the rich. (3)

Tradition. The Prophet said that one should not sit with the dead, i.e. the rich.

330 (2) The seventeenth right in I.D.
331 (1) The nineteenth right in I.D.
(2) The twenty-first right in I.D.
(3) The twenty-second right in I.D.
Solomon sat with every poor man he saw etc.

Jesus liked best to be called a poor man.

The Prophet prayed that he might be poor in life, death and at the resurrection.

God told Moses to seek Him among the poor in spirit.

The eighteenth right of a Muslim is that one should endeavour to gladden his heart and satisfy his needs (1)

Tradition. The Prophet said that to satisfy the needs of a Muslim was like serving God for a whole lifetime.

Tradition. The Prophet said that God will gladden the heart of the one at the resurrection who has gladdened the heart of a Muslim.

Tradition. The Prophet said that one who goes to serve a Muslim for an hour... does better than retiring to a mosque for two months.

Tradition. The Prophet said that God grants the utmost forgiveness to one who comforts the sorrowing.

Tradition. The Prophet said that one must do good to both the tyrant and the oppressed. One befriends the former by restraining him from oppression.

Tradition. The Prophet said that the most acceptable act of worship is to gladden a Muslim's heart.

Tradition. The Prophet said that the worst of sins is Shirk and tormenting others. To have faith and to comfort men is as good as any act of worship.

Tradition. The Prophet said that one who feels no grief on behalf of a Muslim is not of Islam.

332 (1) The twenty-third right in I.D.
Story of al Fuṣūl bin ‘Iyād who wept for the Muslims who oppressed him.

Saying of Ma’rūf al Karkhi about calling down blessings on Muslims. One who does this will be one of the Abīdāl (2).

The nineteenth right of a Muslim is that one should salute him with "peace" before conversing or shaking hands with him (3).

Tradition. The Prophet said that one should not give answer to a person's observations until he salutes one.

When someone came in to the Prophet without saluting him, he told the man to come in again and salute him.

Anas recounts the advice which the Prophet gave him when he first associated with the Prophet.

The Prophet told a man who saluted him that he had been credited with ten good deeds for this. The Prophet told another that twenty good deeds had been credited to him when he saluted the Prophet with "Peace be to you and mercy from God". For the greeting "Peace be to you and mercy from God and His blessing" another was told that he had been credited with thirty good deeds.

Tradition. The Prophet said that one should say "Peace" when entering and leaving one's house. The first greeting is not more excellent than the last.

When two Muslims shake hands, seventy mercies are divided among them and sixty-nine are for the one who smiles the more. When two Muslims say "Peace" to each other, a hundred mercies are divided among them, ninety of them being for him who first utters the greeting.

It is sunnat to kiss the hand of the fathers of the faith.

Abū 'Ubaidah bin Jarrah kissed the hand of 'Umar.

(3)The eighteenth right in I.D.
The Prophet told Anas that one should not bow to a friend or kiss him but one should shake hands.

On returning from a journey, however, it is sunnat to kiss a friend on the face and embrace him.

Anas said that the Prophet was the best loved of men but they did not stand up for him.

Where the practice is current, one may stand for another in order to do him honour, but one should not remain standing.

Tradition. The Prophet promised Hell to the one who, while seated himself, likes to have others stand before him.

The twentieth right is that one say "All praise be to God" when one sneezes (1).

Ibn Mas‘ud reports a saying of the Prophet about this and the manner of replying when one hears him say "All praise etc."

If the one who sneezes does not say this, one should not reply "May God have mercy on you".

When the Prophet sneezed he suppressed the sound and put his hand over his face. Should anyone sneeze when evacuating or urinating, he should say "All praise...." in his heart.

Ibrāhīm al Nakha‘ī says that under these circumstances it does not matter if one says it aloud.

Ka‘b al Ahbār’s report of a conversation between God and Moses in which God told Moses to remember Him, whatever condition he might be in.

(1) Also twentieth right in I.D.
The twenty-first right is that one enquire after the health of a sick Muslim even when he is not a friend (1).

Tradition. The Prophet said that one who visits the sick sits in paradise.... seventy thousand angels call down blessings on him until evening.

It is sunnat to place one's hand over the hand or forehead of the sick and enquire after his health.

One should say "In the name of God... from the evil thou dost experience".

'Uthmān reports that the Prophet came to him many times when he was ill and prayed that prayer.

It is sunnat for the sick to pray "I take refuge... from the evil I experience".

When a sick man is asked about his condition, he must not complain.

Tradition. God appoints two angels over the sick to note whether he complains or gives thanks. If he gives thanks and then dies, he is taken into paradise. If he is restored he is forgiven his sins and his flesh and blood are made better than before.

'Aī's prescription for a pain in the stomach.

The sick man must not complain nor be impatient, but hope that his sickness will be an atonement for his sins. He must also trust in the Creator of the Medicine, and not in the Medicine itself.

When one visits the sick, one should not sit by him for long or ask him a lot of questions. One should pray for him and show one's concern. One should keep one's eyes averted from the rooms and doors of the house.

334 (1) This is the twenty-fourth right in I.D.
One should ask permission to enter the house, standing to one side of the outer door and knocking gently. One should not call for the servant but say "Glory be to God etc." When they ask who knocks one should not say "It is I". This applies to every house one visits.

The twenty-second right of a Muslim is that one should follow his bier (1).

The Prophet said that whoever follows a bier gains one Qirat (2) of reward etc. Each Qirat equals Mount Uhud in size.

One should not laugh when following a bier, but keep silence, taking warning from it and thinking on one's own end.

al A'mash reported that they followed a bier, not knowing whose it was, but each grieving more than the other.

People were told to grieve for themselves when they grieved for the dead. The dead man had passed three terrors which they had still to face etc.

Tradition. The Prophet said that the family, property, and works follow a bier. Only works remain with the dead.

The twenty-third right of Muslims is that one should visit their graves and offer prayers for the dead that they may be forgiven (3). One should also take warning and remember that one must soon follow them.

Sufyān al Thaurī said that, in the case of one who often thinks on the grave, his grave will be one of the flower-gardens of paradise. The grave of the careless will be one of the caves of Hell.

335 (1) This is the twenty-fifth right in I.D.
(2) Four grains weight.
(3) This is the twenty-sixth right in I.D.
One of the Followers (4) named al Rabi' bin Khuthaim is buried in this. He had a grave dug in his house and used to lie in it when he became careless.

‘Umar reported that the Prophet went into a graveyard, sat on a grave, and wept bitterly. It was the grave of his mother. God had not permitted him to pray for her and so he wept.

The Rights of Neighbours.

Tradition. The Prophet said that a neighbour who was a unbeliever has one right, a Muslim neighbour two. One who is both a Muslim and a kinsman has three rights.

Tradition. The Prophet said that the angel Gabriel exhorted him so much about the rights of a neighbour that he contemplated making the neighbour his heir.

Tradition. The Prophet said that one who believes in God and the resurrection should be told to respect his neighbour.

Tradition. The Prophet said that one from whose malice a neighbour is not safe, is not a Muslim.

Tradition. The Prophet said that two adversaries for a man on the day of resurrection will be his two neighbours.

Tradition. The Prophet said that he who hits his neighbour's dog with a stone has afflicted his neighbour.

People spoke of a woman who fasted and was very devout, but who plagued her neighbour. The Prophet said she would go to Hell.

See art. Tabi', Ency. of Islam
The Prophet said that the right of a neighbour applies to forty houses in each direction, right, left, front and rear.

One should not merely refrain from troubling a neighbour, but should treat him with kindness. It is reported that the poor neighbour will complain against those who show no beneficence to him on the day of resurrection.

A man who was plagued by mice refused to keep a cat lest the mewing disturb his neighbours.

Tradition. The Prophet, defining the right of a neighbour said that one should help him if he needs help, give him a loan if he asks it, not annoy him with the smell of one's cooking, but send some of the food to him.

Tradition. The Prophet swore by God that God has mercy on one who fulfils the rights of a neighbour.

One should not look into a neighbour's house from one's upper storey.

If a neighbour puts a beam against one's wall, one should not forbid him.

One should not close a neighbour's water-channel, nor should one quarrel with him if he puts rubbish before one's door. One should keep secret whatever one learns of his secret affairs and not slander him. One should not look on the women of his household or ogle his slave-girl.

Abū Dharr said that one should put more water into the dish one was cooking and send some to the neighbour.

The advice of 'Abdallāh bin Mubārak to one who asked him how to treat a slave about whom a neighbour had complained.
The Rights of Kinsmen.

Qudsx tradition in which God says that He is merciful, and kinship is derived from His name etc. (1).

Tradition. The Prophet said that if one desires a long life, one should deal kindly with one's kinsmen.

Tradition. The Prophet said that no act of worship has a greater reward than intercourse with kindred, even when it involves one in iniquity etc.

Tradition. The Prophet said that no alms is better than the gift given to kinsmen who are one's enemies.

If kinsmen cut themselves off one should keep in touch with them.

The Rights of Father and Mother.

This relationship is closest and they therefore have the greatest rights over one.

Tradition. The Prophet said that one could only fulfill one's duty fully to a father if one found him a slave and made him a free man.

Tradition. The Prophet said that to treat one's father and mother kindly is better than worship, fasting, Hajj, etc.

Tradition. The Prophet said that the unnatural son will not know the fragrance of the gates of paradise.

God sent down a revelation to Moses concerning the man who disobeys his father and mother.

Tradition. The Prophet said that whoever gives alms in the name of his father and mother shall not suffer loss.

The Prophet advised a man to offer worship on behalf of his dead parents, pray for their forgiveness...and deal kindly with their kinsmen.

Tradition. The Prophet said that the right of a mother is double that of a father.

338 (1) See K.I.S. No.228.
The Rights of Children.

The Prophet advised a man to treat his parents kindly. When the man declared that they were dead the Prophet told him to treat his children kindly, since the rights of children are like those of a father. One should not make the child rebellious by one's bad temper.

Tradition. The Prophet said that God has mercy on a father who does not cause his son to be refractory.

Anas reports that the Prophet said that one should perform the 'Aqīqah when a boy is seven days old, give him a good name etc. A father should arrange for his son's marriage when the boy is sixteen etc.

Kisses and gifts should be divided equally among children. It is sunnat to kiss and caress small children. The Prophet used to kiss Ḥasan.

The reply of the Prophet to al Aqra' bin Ḥabis when he said that he had never kissed one of his ten sons.

Ḥasan fell down one day when the Prophet was in the pulpit. The Prophet came down, picked him up and recited Surah 8.28.

Story of the occasion when Ḥusain put his foot on the Prophet's neck as he was worshipping. The Prophet lingered over his prostration rather than disturb the boy.

Greater stress should be laid on the rights of father and mother. The children should honour them.

God has connected the honouring of parents with worship in Surah 17.24.

The rights of parents are such that one is obliged to eat any food they offer one - even when there are doubts about its lawfulness, rather than displease them. Secondly, one may not go on a journey without their permission - except when one is obliged to do so, as when one has to journey in order to find a teacher who can instruct one about worship and fasting.
One may not go on Ḥajj without the permission of one's parents - even though this is a religious duty.

Tradition. A man once asked the Prophet's permission to go on Jihād. He told the man to sit with his mother, for paradise for him lay under her feet.

A man from the Yemen once asked the Prophet's permission to go on Jihād and the Prophet told him first to return home and get his parent's permission etc.

The rights of an elder brother are close to those of a father. This is supported by tradition.

The Rights of Slaves.

Tradition. The Prophet said that, in respect of the rights of slaves, one should fear God. One should feed them with one's food, clothe them with clothing like one's own and not give them work which is beyond their strength etc.

Tradition. The Prophet told a man to forgive his slave seventy times daily.

al Ḥnafa'ī bin Qais told the story of his learning patience from the example of Qais bin 'Āṣim whose slave girl occasioned the death of his son.

One of the fathers of the faith used to say to his disobedient slave that he had adopted the habits of his master who also sinned against his Lord in the same way.

The Prophet rebuked Abū Mas'ūd al Ansārī when the latter beat his slave.

One should not deny a slave or slave girl food and clothing or regard them with contempt, but remember that they also are human. They may sin against their master, but he in turn sins against God. When one is angry with a slave one should think of God's power over oneself.
Tradition. The Prophet said that, when a slave girl has prepared food .... one should put some into her mouth and say "Eat".

This section in K. contains, in bulk, about a third of the amount of text to be found in Volume Two, Book Five of J.D.
The Retired and Cloistered Life.

Scholars differ about the comparative merits of a cloistered life, and life in society.

Sufyān al Thaurī, Ibrāhīm bin Adham, Dā'ūd al Tā'I, al Fūqā'il bin 'Iyād, Sulaimān al Khawāṣṣ, Yūsuf bin Asbāq, Ḥudhayfah al Mar'āshī, and Bishr al Ḥāfi', along with many of the pious and fathers of the faith, prefer retirement from the world.

Those who are scholars of the external Law maintain that it is better to mingle in society (1).

'Umar said "Take your share of retirement" and ibn Sīrīn said "Retirement is worship".

Dā'ūd al Tā'I advised flight from the world and mankind.

Ibād al Banī's appeal to the Taurī in support of this point of view.

Wahb bin al Wird said that wisdom has ten parts, nine of them silence and the tenth retirement from the world (1).

al Rabī' bin Khuthaim and Ibrāhīm Nakha'I said "Seek knowledge and retire from human society".

Mālik bin Anas (2) used to visit his brethren at one time...

but he became a recluse.

al Fūqā'il bin 'Iyād said that he was grateful to the man who left him etc.

Sa'd bin Abī Waqqās and Sa'd bin Zaid were great Companions who lived near Madinah at 'Aqiq, and did not mingle with others etc.

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1) I.D. mentions their names and includes also the names of al Shafi'I and ibn Ḥanbal. Sufyān al Thaurī (see above) is not numbered among those who are "scholars of the external Law" in I.D. 2/237 (See J.R.A.S. 1901, p.201f), but he is so described in I/18.

2) In I.D. Wahb bin al Wird offers this as a quotation. In I.D. 3/95 Jesus is declared to have said that worship consists of ten parts etc.

(2) Reading "Mālik bin Anas" here with I.D. and B.M. Ms fo.142a.
Hatim al Aqsa mentioned that all he desired was that neither should see the other.

Sahl al Tustari rejected another's offer of companionship, preferring to be with Him from Whom death brought no separation.

People differ over the comparative merits of life in society and the retired life, just as they do over marriage and celibacy. The condition of the person concerned determines one's judgement here also and it may be advisable for one man to seek seclusion, and for another to mingle in society.

The Benefits in Retirement from the World. (3)

There are six benefits in all:—

The first benefit is that one has leisure for the remembrance of God and for reflection. The greatest act of worship is reflection on the wonders of God's handiwork etc.

Indeed, it is best for a man to give himself wholly to the remembrance of God and be unaware of all else but God. Privacy, and freedom from distraction are necessary for this.

Seclusion is necessary for one who is unable to associate with men and also to be with God. The prophets were able to attain to both. Before his mission, the Prophet sought seclusion on Mount Hira until he was able to be with men in the body and with God in heart.

Tradition. The Prophet said that he would not make anyone his friend, not even Abu Bakr, because of his love for God.

The saints also attain to this rank. Sahl al Tustari talked with God for thirty years and men thought that he was holding conversation with them.

(3) K. omits a section found in I.D. in which this question is examined more closely.
A man's heart may be so centred on the Beloved that he may move among men and not hear or see them. Nevertheless, most men are far from God when they are among men.

Story of the monk who declared that he was not alone, but talked with God in worship etc.

Somebody was asked what benefit there was in forsaking the world and he replied "Fellowship with God".

The account of Ḥasan al Basri's conversation with a man who sat apart, behind a pillar.

Story of Harm bin Ḥayyān and his visit to Uweis al QaránI, al Fuqail bin 'Iyāq said that he rejoiced with the onset of darkness, for he would then be alone with God.

Mālik bin Ebnār said that he who does not prefer talking with God in his private devotions to talking with men has little knowledge, etc.

One of the wise has said that to seek to converse with other men indicates a deficiency in the heart of the seeker.

It is said that one who seeks fellowship is one of the poor.

Thus, to remember God and gain gnosis by means of reflection is better than all the acts of worship. The final stage of felicity is reached when love for God and communion with him prevail. Love and communion are perfected through remembrance of God; love being the fruit of gnosis and gnosis being the fruit of reflection. These are attained through seclusion with God.

The second benefit is that a man is saved from many sins through retirement from the world. There are four sins which arise through association with men. The first is fault-finding, and listening to fault-finding. The second concerns commanding the good and forbidding the evil. If one remains silent, one sins, and if one speaks one is involved in troubles and altercation. Thirdly, it is
difficult to be affable with men and not to be a hypocrite. If one does not deal with friend and enemy alike, one is not safe from their enmity. If one speaks as though one were concerned for all men and one asks after their welfare one may be guilty of hypocrisy and deceit.

Saying of ibn Mas‘ūd about one who so praised another as to ruin his religion and anger God.

Sa'd al Saqāṭ said that, whenever he smoothed his beard on meeting somebody, he feared he might be numbered among the hypocrites.

al Fuḍail bin ‘Iyāq was once seated alone. Someone came and flattered him. Fuḍail rebuked him for his hypocrisy.

In the early days of Islam, when men met they asked about the state of religion and not about worldly matters.

Ḥatim al Aṣama told Ḥāmid al Laffāf that one is safe only after crossing the Bridge, and one is sound only in paradise.

A saying ascribed to Jesus.

The reply of al Rabī' bin Khuthaym when asked how he fared and also those of Abū’l Dardā', Uwais al Qarashi and Malik bin Dinar. In response to such a question, a wise man stated that he ate God's provision, but obeyed Satan. Similar questions (1) were asked of Mu‘āmmad bin Wāsī and Ḥāmid al Laffāf. Someone, when dying, was asked how he fared? He spoke of the journey before him, the grave, and the just King before Whom he would appear. The replies of Ḥassān bin Sinān and ibn Sīrīn when asked how they fared.

346 (1) Both the B.N.Ms. and the Teheran text are faulty here. There are lacunae in both, and we suggest the following reconstruction of the text:
The fathers of the faith report that they knew people who never saluted one another but would withhold nothing from each other. In these days, people meet and even enquire about the household hen, but give each other nothing. If one mingles with such people and acts as they do, then one becomes a hypocrite. If one does not act thus then they regard one as an enemy.

The fourth sin that follows from association with others is that one is influenced by them. When one sees vice often enough, it appears to be trivial.

People disapprove when they see a scholar robed in silk, but they do not disapprove of the scholar who calumniated another. This latter thing is worse than adultery, but it is so common that men do not think it to be evil.

It is good to listen to stories about the Companions for it is said that mercy descends from heaven when the righteous are remembered. This mercy descends because one inclines to religion and the attraction of the world is diminished. Curses come down when careless people are mentioned.

Tradition, the Prophet said that to sit with the evil is like sitting with a blacksmith. Either one's clothing is burned or the smoke clings to it. Good companions are like scent.

It is better to sit alone than to associate with evil people, and it is better to sit with the good than to be alone. One should associate with a person who calls one towards God and away from the world. One should avoid a scholar who covets the world, and whose actions are not in keeping with what he says. Such a one is deadly poison. People are emboldened to sin by the action of sinful scholars.
One should not make a scholar's sin a matter of public knowledge. This is calumny and, secondly, other people are emboldened to sin and Satan encourages them by pointing out the scholar as a pattern of piety.

When a scholar sins, one should remember that his knowledge may be an atonement for his sin.

Moreover, it does not follow that when a scholar sins, others are free to follow his example. A scholar may know of some justification for his action which is not apparent to the common man. The common man, therefore, should pay no regard to a scholar's sin for it may destroy the common man. It is for this reason that one should shun the greater part of mankind. To become a hermit is the best course for most men.

The third benefit in retirement from the world is that, since no city is devoid of iniquity, altercation, and bigotry, whoever associates with men is in danger.

Tradition on the authority of 'Abdallah bin 'Amir bin al 'Aq, who tells of the Prophet twining his fingers by way of illustrating the close connection between men. He warned his followers against such a place, and urged them to stay in their houses.

Tradition on the authority of 'Abdallah bin Mas'ud who tells us that the Prophet warned his hearers that a time would soon come when a man's religion will not be safe unless he flees from one place to another etc.

This tradition commends celibacy and the monastic life and applies to the present time.

Sufyaan al ThaurI used to say that it is now lawful to avoid mankind.
The fourth benefit in retirement from the world is that one is safe from men's evil and is at peace. One will thus be safe from men's slander etc., and their misunderstanding of one's actions. When one is busy fulfilling the rights due to men one is not able to attend to one's own affairs. When one favours some more than others enmity arises. One is safe from this when in retirement (1).

Someone preferred a graveyard, a book and solitude because he found in them an adviser, a companion, and peace.

The letter of Thabit al Bennāri, one of the saints, to Haṣān al Basrī.

Through retirement, the veil of politeness remains in place and secret matters are not revealed.

The fifth benefit in retirement from the world is that men cease to seek after one, and one ceases to yearn after mankind. When one sees the rich then cupidity is aroused because of such yearning.

Quotation of Sūrah 15,88.

Do not look on the adornment of their world, for that is their trial (2).

Tradition. The Prophet said that one should not look on those of a higher station in life lest one despise the gifts God has given one.

If, as a result of this looking, one seeks the wealth of the rich, then one’s life hereafter suffers loss. If one does not seek it then one has to forbear, and this involves strain.

349 (1) This paragraph comes under the fifth benefit in I.D.
(2) This appears to be derived from Sūrah 20,31.
The sixth benefit in retirement from the world is that one is saved from foolish people.

al A'mash ascribed his weak eyesight to his looking at bores.

A saying of Galen about bores.

al Shafi'i said that the side of his body nearest a bore became heavy.

When one calumniates another with the tongue and in one's heart, this has an effect on one's religion. When one dwells alone one is kept safe from this.

Difficulties which ensue after retiring from the world.

Some religious and worldly ends are realised only through association with others and they are lost to one when one retires from the world.

Six difficulties follow such retirement (1).

The first difficulty is that man is denied both the teaching and acquisition of knowledge. It is unlawful for a man to retire from the world when he has not acquired the knowledge he is obliged to learn. If he is not able to learn it, however, and wishes to retire for the sake of worship, then such retirement is lawful.

If one is capable of learning the sciences of the religious Law and one retires before doing so, then it is a great loss for such a person may waste his time in dreams and idleness. Without knowledge, his worship may be tainted with pride, and sin and absurdity may surround his beliefs. His thoughts about God may be infidelity and innovation and he not know it!

350 (1) I.D. gives seven difficulties. The seventh is omitted in K. which follows I.D. here in other respects.
Retirement from the world, therefore, is fitting in the case of scholars, but not for the common men.

Teaching also is a great work. A saying ascribed to Jesus.

Teaching is better than retirement when the aim of both pupil and teacher is religious and not a seeking for wealth.

When the teacher instructs another on the subject of purification, he should inform the pupil that the purification of clothing and body is a small matter. The heart must be purified of all that is other than God.

A man should not serve his desires, for then he had made his lust his god (1). We refer to the destruction of desires in Pillars Three and Four of this work. (2).

Satan laughs at one who wishes to gain knowledge merely in order to debate with the Mu'tazilah and the Carmathians (3), and to discuss points of law over marriage etc.

Tradition. The Prophet said that whoever correctly performs Ijtihad gains two rewards, if he performs it incorrectly he gains one.

If one does not remove the evil qualities of pride and greed from one's heart one's religion is destroyed.

It is better for a teacher to retire from the world rather than instruct a pupil who seeks knowledge in the interests of worldly gain.

351 (1) This phrase is in Arabic and appears to be derived from Surahs 25.45 and 45.22.
(2) Reference to Pillars Three and Four of K.
(3) See articles on Mu'tazilah and Carmathians in Ency. of Islam
One would as readily instruct such a student in the hope that he will eventually incline towards religion as one would sell a sword to a highway robber in the hope that he may one day use it on Jihad. Legal studies and 'Ilm al Kalam and grammar do not call a man to God. Consider the people who are interested in such sciences and the manner of death that they die!

The sciences which call a man away from the world to the hereafter are the sciences of Tradition and Quranic commentary.

If anyone studies these sciences for the sake of fame, then, although he is destroyed, he will be a ransom for others.

Tradition. The Prophet said that such a person is like a lamp, the whole house is lighted by it, but it is itself burnt out (1).

Bishr al Háfi buried seventeen boxes (2) of books of Traditions. His saying on this.

The fathers of the faith (3) say that reciting Traditions gives access to the world and he who offers to recite a Tradition seeks the chief seat.

'Alí passed by one who was seated in the teacher's chair.

'Alí remarked "This man says "Know me"."

'Umar refused a man permission to preach after morning prayer because he feared that the man's pride would be as exalted as the Pleiades.

Kābī'ah al 'Adawiyah accused Sufyān al Thauri of worldliness because the latter loved to recite Traditions.

(1) This is not given as a tradition in I/49
(2) Emend to ʼešeq following B.M.Ms. fo.147a. I.D. 1/54 reads "ten boxes of books" I.D. 2/211 reads "seventeen boxes" I.D. 3/280 reads "many boxes of books"
(3) I.D. ascribes this saying to Bishr al Háfi.
The saying of Abu Sulaiman al Khithabī, who advised that, in this age, one should flee from anyone who seeks association with one or knowledge from one etc.

The teacher to-day cannot satisfy the material requirements of his students and so he has to appeal to tyrants in order to get money. He loses his religion for the sake of his pupils and he gains nothing.

Nevertheless, when a teacher can avoid these pitfalls, teaching is better than retirement from the world. The common man must not think ill of a teacher or assume that he teaches for the sake of wealth or fame. He must believe that the teacher teaches for God's sake alone.

May the teacher not fail in his duty and the common man not be destroyed because of an evil opinion he entertains concerning the teacher!

The second difficulty which arises from retirement from the world is that one ceases both to provide benefit for others and to derive it from them.

By "deriving benefit" we mean to earn for one's wife and family. Only when a man has no family and enjoys independent means is retirement to be preferred.

By "providing benefit" we mean giving alms and fulfilling the rights of Muslims. If one is engaged in nothing more than external forms of worship when in retirement, then to give alms is better. If, however, through retirement one can gain gnosis concerning God and get fellowship with God through prayer, then this is better than all almsgiving.

The third difficulty which arises from retirement from the world is that one is denied the discipline of exercising patience over the ways of men. A good disposition is the foundation of all acts of worship and this is attained through enduring the absurdities of mankind.
Those who serve the Sufis approach mankind in order to subdue their own pride. They defray the expenses of the Sufis in order to cure themselves of avarice. They serve the Sufis in order to gain benefit from their blessings and their aspiration. This, at least, was their intention in former days.

If however a man has already disciplined himself, then retirement from the world is the best course for him. One need not then subject oneself to the bitterness of the world's grief and trouble. Another object of discipline is to attain to fellowship with God and to remove that which hinders fellowship is the service rendered by discipline.

To instruct others in discipline is also among the pillars of religion, and so the guide must mingle with the novitiates. He must also avoid pride and hypocrisy. When this is possible then this is preferable to retirement from the world.

The fourth difficulty which arises through retirement from the world is that Satanic suggestions may prevail. The heart may hate the remembrance of God and become languid. This condition is removed by means of fellowship with mankind (1).

Ibn 'Abbās (r) said that if he did not fear Satanic suggestions he would not associate with men.

‘Ali said that one should not remove comfort from the heart, for a heart forced against its inclination becomes blind.

Thus a man derives pleasure from human society, but the friend with whom one converses should speak about religious matters.

354 (1) In I.D. fourth difficulty is that companionship with men ceases. The fear of Satanic suggestions is of secondary interest in I.D.
One should not associate with the careless.

Tradition. The Prophet said that every man assumes the attributes of his friends.

Care should be exercised over the making of friends.

The fifth difficulty which arises from retirement from the world is that one forsakes the good works of visiting the sick, following biers, accepting invitations etc.

When a man is guilty of hypocrisy and formality in such things then, of course, retirement from the world is better in his case. Many of the fathers of the faith did this.

The sixth difficulty which arises through retirement from the world is that it may lead to pride. There is a kind of humility involved in meeting people and fulfilling their rights.

The story of the Jewish philosopher who wrote three hundred and sixty books on philosophy and was rebuked by God for his clamour (1).

A man may retire from the world because he fears that men will no longer honour him in assemblies or may find fault with his learning. He has hopes that people will come to him for a blessing when he has renounced the world.

There are two signs that a man has retired from the world for God's sake. One is that he is not idle, but is busy with the remembrance of God and with reflection. The second thing is a dislike for visitors other than those who are interested in religious matters.

355 (1) Here K. finds support in the Lucknow lithographed (1869) text, Vol. 2, page 134, which reads "clamour", "mere talk" - See Lane. The Cairo text reads here and also where this story is told in 1/67. The Edinburgh Ms of I.D. supports the Cairo text of 1/67. (Edin. Univ. Or. Ms. No. 394 fo. 23b). The Ithaf al Sada on I.D. 2/213 (6/370) reads but says it means This indicates that was the original reading.
The story of Abū'1 Ḥasan al Ḥatimī of Tus who went to visit Sheikh Abū'1 Qasim Gūrgānī. (1) He apologised because he seldom visited the Sheikh. The Sheikh told him that he regarded it as a favour when left alone. He waited one visitor: the angel of death.

Story retold of the governor who went to see Ḥatim al Agamm.

One should have no interest in human opinions. If one goes on to a mountain top then some censorious person will call one a hypocrite. Should one go into a wine-shop a friend will say that one has become one of the Malāmatiyyah (2). Men will have a variety of opinions about one whatever one may do, and so one should devote one's heart to religion and not to men.

Sahl al Tustari asked his disciple to perform a certain task and he refused because he feared the censure of men. Sahl al Tustari's comment.

Ḥasan al Baṣrī's comment when told that men listened to his sayings in order to find fault with them.

Every man must consider his own circumstances in order to determine whether association with men or retirement from the world is better in his case.

356 (1) Abūl Qasim b. 'Ali b 'Abdallah al Gūrgānī (al Jurjānī) d.469 A.H. He was a contemporary of al Hujwīrī who records his association with al Gūrgānī. (See Kashf al Mahjub pp 169, tr. Nicholson).

For his connection with al Ghasalī through al Faraḍī see I.D. 4/155 where he is called al Kirmani (not Jurjānī).

(2) I.D. 3/249 (K.p.566) shows a certain approval of some of the aims and practices of the Malāmatiyyah. See also Goldziher (Vorlesungen.... p.168f).
The Proprieties to be observed when one retires from the world.

One should seek to save others from one's own mischief, and to be safe from the evil of mankind. One should be busily engaged in the remembrance of God, with reflection, science and practice. One should not permit others to approach oneself, nor should one enquire about the world, for whatever one hears in this way takes root in one's heart.

One should be satisfied with little food and clothing.

One should endure the injury that others may inflict on one and be indifferent both to their praise or blame. One should be wholly immersed in thinking of the hereafter.

The materials in this Section of K. are, in bulk, about two-fifths of the amount of text to be found in Volume Two, Book Six of I.D.
There are two journeys. One is an inner journey, and one an outer journey.

The inner journey is the movement of the heart among the kingdoms of the heavens and the earth, among the wonderful works of God and on the stages in the road of religion.

A map may be, bodily speaking, in his house, and yet his heart may wander in a paradise wider than creation, for the angelic realm is the paradise of the gnostics and God calls men to that journey.

Quotation of Surah 7, 184.

Whoever fails to do this journey must do the outer journey in the body. He is like the man who journeys to the Ka'bah on foot. The other one is like one who sits at home and the Ka'bah comes to him and it circumambulates him.

There is a great difference between these two persons.

Saying of Sheikh Abu Sa'īd Abū Khair (1).

We do not propose to discuss the inner journey in this section but to describe the outer journey of the body. There are two chapters:

Chapter One. The Intention to make a journey, the types of journey and the proprieties thereof.

There are five types of journey. (1).
Firstly, there is the journey of the student. When a man is obliged to learn a science this journey also may be an obligation. There are three kinds of journey in the interests of the acquisition of knowledge.

The first is in order to learn the religious Law. 

Tradition. This kind of journey is "on the path of God", until one returns home.

Tradition. Angels spread their wings for the student.

In the early days a man made a long journey merely to learn one Tradition.

Saying of al Sha'bānī about a man who journeys from Syria to the Yemen (2).

One must, however, journey in search of that knowledge which calls a man to the future life. Any other knowledge is injurious.

Another kind of journey is that which is taken that a man may know himself and his disposition, in order to remedy any evil qualities he may have. He may be confident of himself while at home, but the trials of a journey will reveal his weaknesses.

Saying of Bishr al Harīrī that scholars should travel in order to be purified, etc.

Finally, one may travel in order to see the wonderful works of God, all of which bear witness to His Unity.

One may hear the speech of minerals which has neither letter nor sound. One may read the divine handwriting in all creation and perceive the secrets of the divine dominion. There is no need to travel round the earth to do this for the kingdoms of the heavens move around one.

Quotation of Surah 12, 105.
A man may devote a whole lifetime to this study, passing from outward vision to the vision of the heart.

Saying of one of the fathers of the faith about the vision of the inward eye.

One first beholds the outer world and then passes to inner vision.

The realm of the outer world is limited, but there is no limit to the inner realm as one passes from the outward form of things to their inner quiddity. The form of the heart or tongue is a piece of flesh, but their quiddity includes far more than this. This also applies to all the atoms of existence.

He who has only the outer vision is no better than an animal. Nevertheless, the outer eye is the key to inward vision.

Secondly, there is the type of journey which is undertaken in the interests of acts of worship, such as Hajj, Jihād, pilgrimages to tombs and visits to scholars and saints.

One of the benefits in visiting the latter is that the inclination to follow them is born in the heart. The sight of them is itself an act of worship, and the seed of many acts of worship.

It is lawful to go on pilgrimage to the tombs of the fathers of the faith.

Tradition. The Prophet said that one should journey only to the three mosques, i.e. the Meccan, Madīnah and Jerusalem mosques.

This implies that one should not visit buildings other than these.

Since it is lawful to visit living scholars, so also to visit the tombs of scholars and saints is lawful.
Thirdly, there is the type of journey that one takes in order to flee from things which harm religion, such as the wealth and other things of this world.

This type of journey is incumbent on a person who finds it difficult to follow the path of faith. One should be as lightly loaded as possible with the things of this world. Pomp and fame may employ a man with what is other than God.

Saying of Sufyan al Thauri in which he describes the evils of his time and says that one should flee to a place where one is unknown. Report of the occasion when he was seen carrying a bag in order to buy food more cheaply in another village, and thus reduce his worldly cares.

Ibrahim al Khawwas. used not to live in any one city for more than forty days.

Fourthly, there is the type of journey that is taken in the interests of trade and the things of this world. This is lawful when the trader is seeking only to support his family, but when he journeys for reasons of greed, then he is travelling on the path of Satan.

He may of course be robbed or a king may appropriate his property - which is better than his heirs spending it on their lusts! He may die insolvent or some bequest in his will may not be fulfilled and then, after all his pain and trouble, he is punished and somebody else gets the benefit of his wealth!

Fifthly (1) There is the type of journey which is taken for pleasure and enjoyment. It is lawful if one does little of this. Scholars are not agreed concerning the lawfulness of wandering from city to city. Some say that a man brings unnecessary trouble on himself by this. We hold that a journey for pleasure is not unlawful, but the object of such a journey is paltry! An abject man has a mean purpose.

361 (1) There is no fifth type mentioned in I.D. but the materials here are derived for the most part from I.D.
There are some who, dressed like the Sufis, wander from place to place, yet they are strangers to the stations of Tasawwuf. They do not stay in any one place under the direction of a spiritual guide, but only wander in search of food, staying where it is most plentiful.

They may visit a tomb for appearance's sake, but in reality this is only a cloak for their greed. Although such a journey cannot be said to be unlawful, yet it is odious!

Not everyone who wears ragged clothes and prays five times daily is a Sufi. He is a Sufi who is on quest and who has either attained his goal or is striving to attain it. Another man may be the servant of such people. Only these three groups may lawfully eat the bread of Sufis. One who does not satisfy these conditions is merely a pickpocket and a hypocrite.

The worst of such false Sufis is the man who commits many Sufi sayings to memory and then thinks that he has the wisdom of the ages. The nature of these sayings may bring him to the place where he regards science and learning with contempt, holds the religious Law to be a trifle and says that it is for the weak. It is better to slay him than to kill a thousand misbelievers of Rum or India. Men are on their guard against misbelievers, but this accursed person calls himself a Muslim and he ruins Islam with his tongue. He is one of the snares of Satan in this present age.

The proprieties to be observed by the traveller.

There are eight in all (1) 2/223.

362 (1) I.D. gives eleven proprieties.
Firstly, one should redress any grievances others may have against oneself and restore whatever has been deposited with one. One should provide living expenses for one's dependents. Lawful provision for the journey should be collected together, also something extra for one's fellow-travellers. One should converse cheerfully with one's companions, and it is also approved that one deal generously with the person from whom one hires the animals.

Secondly, one should get a travelling companion who will aid one in matters of religion. The Prophet forbade travelling alone and said that three people were a company. The Prophet also said that travellers must appoint one of their company to be the leader. Every task which is not in the hands of one person is ruined. Reference to the content of Surahs 21.22 and 23.93.

The person chosen for this office should be the best dispositioned person, and he should be one who has made the journey before.

Thirdly, one should say farewell to one's friends and offer the prayer which the Prophet used. Those who are left behind should also use the Prophet's prayer of leave-taking.

Story of 'Umar who, when giving alms, saw a man with a child which greatly resembled the father. The father told the story of the child's miraculous preservation while he was absent on a journey, and after the death of the mother.

Fourthly, before the journey begins, one should pray for the divine favour. When one is ready to set off one should perform four rak'a of worship.

Anas reports a tradition in which the Prophet spoke of these four rak'a etc. Such prayers ensure the safety of the traveller's household, pending his return.
Fifthly, when one reaches the outer door, one should say "In the name of God... or am made ignorant". On mounting one's beast one should say "Praise be to Him Who caused this to be subject to us..." (1)

One should begin one's journey (2) early on Thursday. The Prophet used to begin a journey on Thursday.

Ibn 'Abbās, quoting a prayer of the Prophet, said that whoever wishes to go on a journey etc.

The Prophet also said "O Lord, bless my people in the early morning, on Saturday".

So the early morning of both Thursday and Saturday is a blessed time.

Sixthly, one should put a light load on one's beast (1).

One should not stand on its back, sleep on it, or strike it with a stick. One should afford the beast some relief by taking exercise and walking for an hour morning and evening. This will gladden the heart of the man from whom it was hired.

Some of the fathers of the faith would stipulate, when hiring a beast, that they should not walk. They would then alight by way of giving an alms to the animal. If one illtreats an animal it will be one's adversary on the day of resurrection.

Abūl Dardā' 'āddress to his camel when it died.

One should make an arrangement with the owner about the load that the animal is to carry and one should keep to this arrangement.

Ibn al Mubāarak refused to carry a letter on his camel because it was not so provided for in the agreement he had made with the owner of the camel. He did not follow the ruling of the Fugahā' over this but showed a perfect scrupulousness in the matter.

363 (1) This is the second part of the prayer in I.D.
(2) The sixth propriety begins with this in I.D.
364 (1) This is the ninth propriety in I.D.
Seventhly, 'A'ishah states that the Prophet used to take a comb, a mirror, a tooth stick etc., on the journey (2).

In another form of this tradition, nail-parers and a glass bottle are mentioned.

The Sufis add a rope and a bucket to their equipment. This was not the practice of the fathers of the faith. They practised Tayammum and used stones for their abstentions. They performed ritual purification with any water which they regarded as not being impure. Nevertheless, it is good for people in these days to exercise care over such matters.

The people of earlier days journeyed on raids and on Jihad etc., and so did not need to exercise such care.

Eighthly, when the Prophet, returning from a journey, saw Madinah, he used to say "O God, give us a settled place in it etc." Then he would send on somebody to give notice of his coming. (3).

The Prophet forbade his followers to enter their houses without warning. Two persons disobeyed him and were displeased by the sight of unlawful things.

On returning from a journey, the Prophet first entered the mosque and prayed two rak'a. On entering his house he used to say "I repent, I repent etc."

It is sunnat to bring back a present for the household. It is reported in a tradition that if a man has nothing to offer he should put a stone at the bottom of his horse's nose-bag.

364 (2) This is the tenth propriety in I.D.
(3) This is the eleventh propriety in I.D.
These then are the proprieties to be observed on this outer journeying. The proprieties peculiar to the inner journey are that one should not go on a journey except in order to benefit religion. When the traveller perceives any defect in his heart he should visit the tombs of saints and visit spiritual guides wherever he goes. The traveller should not stay for more than three days in the house of a brother, — unless pressed to do so — for this is the limit of hospitality.

The traveller should not stay with a spiritual guide, for more than a night and a day. When he comes to the preceptor's house he should not knock (1) on the door but should wait for the preceptor to come out. The traveller should then say nothing until he is questioned and he should do no more than answer questions. The traveller must first ask permission before making any request.

The traveller should not enjoy the social life of such a place as this, for that would mar the visit.

While on the journey, the traveller should be busily engaged with the remembrance and praise of God. He should recite the Quran silently, but should not fail to answer anyone who addresses a remark to him.

If one is happy in one's circumstances at home then one should not travel, for to travel in this case would be ingratitude to God.

365 (1) Read اخیر سراى در نگوید with B.M.Ms. fo.154b and amend Teheran text. The negative is required here.
Chapter Two. Things which should be known before going on a journey.

The would-be traveller must learn the indulgences he is granted in respect of legal observances so that he may avail himself of them when necessary.

He must learn the position of the Qiblah and the times for worship.

There are two indulgences connected with purification, the one in respect of rubbing the boots and the other in the matter of Tayammum.

Two indulgences may also be claimed in respect of worship, i.e., the shortening and joining of prayers. There are also two indulgences allowed in respect of prayers of supererogation, i.e., one may perform them while riding or while walking.

There is an indulgence allowed in respect of fasting, i.e., one may break one's fast.

The above are the seven indulgences.

The first indulgence is in respect of the rubbing of one's boots. After the entire ritual purification has been completely performed one may for three days and nights, remove defilement from the boots merely by means of rubbing. This applies to accidental defilement. When one tarries in a place one may rub them once during a day and night.

There are five conditions connected with the rubbing of the boots. The first is that the entire purification must first be performed and then the boot be donned. One may not wash one foot and then don the boot, then wash the other and don the other boot. Al Shafi'i says that should one do this then one may not rub the boots until one has taken off the first boot and put it on again.
The second condition is that the boot must be something one has been accustomed to use for walking. It must be a leather boot.

Thirdly, the boot must be in a sound state up to the ankle, i.e. the point up to which one would normally wash. If there is any impurity above this point, then rubbing does not suffice. Al Shafi'i says that one may not rub a boot which has a hole in it. Imam Malik (1) says that if the boot can be used for walking, then one may rub it even though there be a hole in it. We hold that the opinion of al Shafi'i is correct for boots often split on a journey and it is not possible to sew them up on every occasion that they require sewing.

Fourthly, when a boot has been rubbed one should not take it off. Should one take it off then it is better to perform the entire purification afresh and not merely to wash the feet.

The fifth condition is that one should not rub the shanks, but only the upper part of the foot. One may rub with one finger, but it is better to rub with three fingers and to do so not more than once. When one has rubbed before starting the journey one need only rub once in a day and a night.

It is sunnat that whoever wishes to wear boots should first turn them upside down and shake them. Story of an occasion when a crow snatched up a boot of the Prophet and a snake fell out of it.

The second indulgence is in respect of Tayammum. We have described this in detail in the Section on Purification.

The third indulgence is in respect of the act of worship of four rak'a which the traveller may compress into two rak'a.

There are four conditions here (1).

366 (1) He is also referred to in K. as Malik bin Anas (See K. 342).

367 (1) I.D. offers three conditions, but K. arranges the I.D. materials as above.
Firstly, the prayer must be offered at the appointed time. If one has to make up for the act of worship omitted, then one may not shorten the prayer.

Secondly, one should make one's intention to shorten the prayer. If one makes the intention to offer the whole prayer, or one is not certain about the intention that has been made, then the whole prayer must be offered.

Thirdly, one must not follow another as Imam lest the other has formed the intention to perform the whole prayer. Even though one may see the Imam it is proper to shorten the prayer - since he does not know of the Imam's intention - so long as he does not speculate as to what the Imam may do.

Fourthly, the journey must be lengthy and it must be lawful. There is no indulgence granted to a runaway slave etc. A journey should not be less than one hundred and ninety two paces.

The journey is begun once the traveller is outside the buildings of a city, even beyond the empty houses and gardens. The journey ends when the traveller arrives at the buildings of his own city or any other city in which he intends to dwell for three days or more. When one tarries in a city on business and one is detained there for more than three days, then one may shorten the prayers. An analogy may be drawn between one's state and that of a traveller, since one does not intend to reside there.

The fourth indulgence is in respect of the joining together of two acts of worship. On a long and lawful journey, a man may delay the mid-day worship and recite it along with the afternoon prayer.
Alternatively, one may advance the afternoon prayer to mid-day and recite both then. The same thing applies to the prayers of sunset and the first watch of the night.

When one avails oneself of this indulgence, one should first recite the mid-day prayer and follow it with the afternoon prayer. One should also recite the appropriate prayers of supererogation, so that the reward may not be lost. These prayers of supererogation may be recited while one is on one's beast or while walking. In the case of the prayers of supererogation, the first four rak'a for mid-day should be followed by the first four rak'a for the afternoon. Then one should say the Takbir and the Takbir for the prescribed mid-day worship and the Takbir for the afternoon worship. If one has had recourse to Tayammum one should use it again before the prescribed afternoon prayer, but there should be no long delay over the Tayammum and the Takbir between the two acts of worship. The two rak'a of supererogation which follow the mid-day prayer should be recited after the prescribed afternoon prayer. This is also the practice when the prescribed mid-day worship is delayed until afternoon.

If, after reciting these prayers, the traveller arrives home before sunset, he should not repeat the afternoon prayer. This also applies when he arrives home after uniting the sunset prayer with that of the first watch of the night. It is said that one may also unite such prayers when one is on a short journey.

The fifth indulgence is in respect of the reciting of prayers of supererogation while on the back of one's beast. When riding, the direction that one follows is then one's Qiblah. If one deliberately forsakes the path and does not turn then to the Qiblah, the worship is invalid. There is no harm done in turning inadvertently or when the animal is refractory. Under these conditions, one should perform rak'a and sijdah by bemiding the back
a little for the former and more for the latter, but in such a
fashion that there is no danger of one falling off. When one reaches
one's sleeping place one should perform rak'a and sijdah in a proper
manner.

The sixth indulgence is in respect of performing the prayers of
supererogation while one is walking. One should turn one's face to
the Qiblah at the first Takbir. This is easily done while walking.
The traveller should employ signs for the rak'a and sijdah and recite
the salutations and the confession of the Unity of God while walking.

One should be vigilant lest there be impurity on the path but
one is not obliged to leave the path in order to avoid it.

When one is fleeing from an enemy or in the battle line or
fleeing from a wolf, one may recite the prescribed prayer while
travelling just as we have described under the prayers of
supererogation. One will not be obliged to make up for any prayers
that are omitted.

The seventh indulgence is in respect of the breaking of a fast.
If the traveller has made the intention to fast, then he may break his
fast. If however, he left the city after dawn he may not break his
fast. If he reaches a city after breaking his fast then he may eat
food there during the daytime. If he has not broken his fast and then
reaches a city, he may not then break his fast.

In order to avoid perplexities, it is better to shorten the
prayer than to recite it in full.

Abū Ḥanīfah declares that it is not lawful under such
circumstances to recite it in full.

Fasting is preferable, if one has the strength for it, to
breaking one's fast.
Three of these seven indulgences are for long journeys only. They are the indulgences in respect of the shortening of prayers, the breaking of one’s fast and the rubbing of the boots for three days and three nights.

There are three indulgences which apply to both long and short journeys. They are the indulgences in respect of the reciting of prayers of supererogation while one is on one’s mount or while walking, the not joining in the prayer assembly, the use of Tayammum and not making up for the prayers one omits.

There is a difference of opinion about the uniting of two times of worship and it is quite clear that this should not be done when one is on a short journey.

The traveller must learn these branches of knowledge before he sets out for there may not be anyone to instruct him in times of need.

One must also be able to find the Qiblah and one must know the times of worship for there may be no towns on the road. One must know where the North is and the position of the sun at mid-day etc. One must know whether the Qiblah is to the right or left of any mountains which lie by the roadside.

This section of K. contains, in bulk, about two-sevenths of the material to be found in Volume Two, Book Seven, of I.D.
This section is divided into two chapters.

Chapter One. That music is allowed and what is lawful and unlawful in it.

There is something which lies concealed in the heart of man and, just as fire comes from iron, so also is the heart of man moved by music without man's volition.

There is a relation between the heart of man and the spiritual realm. Glorious things in that realm have their counterpart in this world, and sweet harmonious agreeable sounds are in harmony with the wonders of that realm. Thus, by means of music, sensitivity is quickened and interest aroused in the heart of man, he does not know how.

Music causes the fires of love for God to blaze more brightly when a man's heart has the quality to which we refer.

Music can also be a deadly poison in the case of one whose heart is full of vain desires.

Scholars differ concerning the lawfulness of music.

Those who hold it to be unlawful cleave to the external observance of the Law and love for God occupies a lower place in their estimation (1).

A scholar of this type would hold that man is only capable of loving that which is of his own genus. They ask "How can man love that which is unlike him in all respects?". They therefore hold that the human heart can love only creation.
They add that if there is love for God then it is vain for there is here implied some resemblance to human love.

They therefore hold music to be an instrument of human love, or to be used for enjoyment and state that by affirming human love for God we mean man's obedience and worship (2). This is a great error.

The fact of the matter is that music only quickens what is dormant in the heart. When music establishes that which is lawful, then the listener gains the reward for this. When it strengthens that which is unlawful the listener will be punished. In the case of one who merely finds pleasure in it, music is an indifferent matter.

There are three kinds of music (1).

Firstly, there is that which is used by the careless merely for pleasure and for enjoyment. Music is no more than this for such people.

Nevertheless, one must not deem music unlawful on the grounds that it gives pleasure. All pleasant things are not unlawful. The singing of the birds, verdure, running water and flowers are pleasant and they are not unlawful. A sweet sound strikes the ear as pleasantly as these sights do the eye and as sciences appear to the mind.

The proof that pastimes and sport are not unlawful is to be found in the tradition which reports that some Abyssinians were playing in the mosque.


371 (1) The statement which follows is based largely upon I.D. materials. The I.D. order is not followed.
The Prophet asked 'A'ishah if she wished to watch them (2). She rested her chin on the Prophet's hand (3) and watched until she had had enough.

We learn of five indulgences from this Sahih tradition (4). One is that sport and the witnessing of it are not unlawful. The second is that they played in the mosque. The third thing is that the Prophet commanded them to continue and therefore it cannot have been unlawful. Fourthly, the Prophet took the initiative and asked 'A'ishah if she wished to watch. He may not, of course, have wished to grieve her and therefore made this suggestion. Fifthly, he himself watched it for a long time. It also appears from this that one should act in such a fashion in order to give pleasure to women and children.

Sahih traditions on the authority of 'A'ishah concerning, firstly, her playing with other girls with her dolls and, secondly, her conversation with the Prophet about her dolls, ending with a reference to Solomon's winged horse.

To adopt an austere manner over children's playthings is not part of religion. Yet, this tradition does not prove that it is lawful to make an image of anything. The two toys were made of wood and cloth and the wings of the horse were made of cloth.

Tradition on the authority of 'A'ishah concerning the two maidens who beat the tombour on a festal day in the Prophet's presence. Abū Bakr's rebuke and the Prophet's comment.

(2) The comment which follows is based on the assumption that the Prophet did ask this question and so K. reports the tradition accordingly. It is interesting to note that in I.D.2/314 the Prophet is reported to have declared all play, singing and musical instruments as being unlawful in Islam. This statement is to be found in Vol.2, Book 10 of I.D. and this is not represented in K.

(3) I.D. does not give this detail here, but see 2/40.

(4) I.D. gives five also and adds three others, derived from a tradition to which K. does not appeal.
It is therefore permissible to beat the tambour and to sing. The Prophet heard it but did not allow Abü Bakr to forbid it.

Secondly, the heart of the hearer may contain some evil quality. One may listen to music in order to inflame carnal passion for a slave girl or a youth.

There may be reference to mole or ringlet which may lead the hearer to think on the slave girl. This music is unlawful because it excites carnal passion for an unlawful person.

It is lawful, however, if a man is led to think of his own wife or slave girl - until he divorces the one or sells the other.

Thirdly, there may be a laudable quality in the heart, which is strengthened by means of music. Such music is of four kinds:

The first is the pilgrim song which is sung in praise of the Ka'bah. A desire for the Ka'bah may lawfully be strengthened by music when one is lawfully on pilgrimage. The song which inspires Muslims to war against the infidels is also lawful, as also are the verses recited before the battle. It is not lawful, of course, to fight against believers.

The second kind of music under this head is the lament which evokes sorrow over one's failings and sins. David lamented over sin, and those who heard him died of anguish. It is not lawful to lament over the death of friends or over what God has decreed for one. Surah 57.23.

The wage of a hired mourner is unlawful and one who hires the mourner or listens is a sinner.

The third kind of music under this head is that which is designed to increase the joy of a happy heart, as on the occasion of a marriage, an 'Aqīqah ceremony, the birth of a son or circumcision. The people also rejoiced when the Prophet returned to Makkah, and beat the tambour and recited verses.
It is lawful to rejoice on festival days and to employ music for this, as also when friends eat together.

The fourth kind of music is that which is used when one's heart is full of love for God. Music is employed to deepen this love. The reward for that which increases one's love for God is greater than the reward for many gifts of alms.

The music of the Sufis was of this kind, and was used to this end. It has now become nothing more than a practice among those who, though outwardly Sufis, have little knowledge of the significance of Tazawwuf.

This passion is aroused in the Sufi by means of music. By it the Sufi enjoys revelations and delights which are evoked by nothing other than music. These sweet states which descend from the higher realm by means of music are called ecstasy. It may be that the heart is purified through music just as silver is purified by fire. Music is the fire which removes the impurities from the heart. There is an affinity between the spirit of man and the spiritual realm (1) and music revives this and carries man's spirit away from this world. The Sufi may become insensible when in such a state. When such states of ecstasy are genuine they are to be held in high honour.

The novitiate has no right to make use of music merely because the impulse arises in his heart. Only the experienced spiritual preceptor who is able to distinguish between the genuine and the spurious may employ it. One of the disciples of Abū'l Qasim al Gurgānī, named 'Alī al Ḥallāj, asked for permission to employ music. The preceptor told him to fast for three days and if, after that time, he preferred music to appetising food, he might then employ it.

374 (1) I.D. also declares that there is an affinity in respect of certain attributes - not in respect of place - between God and man. See 4/263.

No analogy of being is implied here, see also I.D. 1/89.
There is more injury in music than benefit in the case of one who has not overcome his appetites, and the preceptor must forbid him the use of music.

Anyone who denies the genuineness of these states of ecstacy merely because he has not experienced them is like an hermaphrodite who denies the pleasure of copulation, the blind man who says that there is no pleasure to be had from verdure, or the boy who, being incapable of it, denies the reality of the pleasure of power and dominion. One who is wise will admit that others may indeed have this state of ecstacy and will also admit that it is a lawful state. One who declares such states of ecstacy to be impossible may be compared with those referred to in Surah 46.10.

Section on that which makes music unlawful.

Music may be unlawful for five reasons (1).

Firstly, the music may be heard from an unlawful source such as a woman or a youth who excite carnal passion.

When a fair form is seen then Satan comes through lust. Music is permissible however when one hears it from a youth who does not excite one's lust.

One may not see an unlawful woman and hear music from her, even though she be ugly (2).

Where there is any danger of sin arising then it is then it is permissible to hear her from behind a curtain.

376 (1) This is not in accordance with any I.D. arrangement. The materials are derived from I.D.
(2) There is no reference to ugliness in I.D.
The proof of this is, as we have already noted, two girls sang in 'A'ishah's house and the Prophet heard them. The voice of women is not unlawful, but it is unlawful to look even upon a little girl with lust. A man may hear the voice of a woman without any lust being aroused and may differ from another man in this respect. One man may lawfully kiss his wife in the month of Ramadan whereas another may suffer pollution thereby and it is therefore unlawful for him.

Secondly, music may be unlawful because it is accompanied by the playing of the rebek, the harp, the lute, a stringed instrument or 'Iraqi reed. The use of strings is unlawful because it is the habit of drunkards to use such instruments and they may lead one to think of wine and arouse the desire for it.

The drum and the fife (3) and tambour - even with bells on it - are not unlawful. They have no strings and are not used by drunkards.

The tambour was played in the presence of the Prophet.

The Prophet ordered the tambour to be beaten at weddings.

It is not an unlawful act to add more bells to the tambour (4) n.f.

People on Hajj and warriors use the drum. The long drum, which is thin in the middle and wide at the ends and is used by hermaphrodites, is unlawful.

The fife, whether it be turned down at the end or not is lawful. Shepherds play on it. Al Shafi'i maintains that the fact that the Prophet put his finger into his ear and told ibn 'Umar to
listen to it is proof that it is lawful (1).

We note therefore, that the Prophet gave ibn 'Umar permission to listen to the fife. The Prophet put his fingers in his ears on that occasion because his heart was full of love for God, and the stimulation of music was not needed. The music might have been a distraction rather than a help to him. The fact that he allowed another to listen proves that it is permissible to use this instrument.

Thirdly, music may be unlawful when it is associated with obscenity, with satire and the slander of men of religion as we find in the Sahih poems about the Companions. It is also unlawful to sing before men in praise of some famous beauty. Poetry, however, which, as in the case in love poetry, mentions mole and ringlet in general terms, is not unlawful. When a man connects them with some unlawful women or youth then they are unlawful. They are not unlawful if associated in his mind with his wife or slave-girl.

When a Sufi hears such things he interprets them in his own way. "Ringlet", for him, symbolises the darkness of unbelief, and the phrase "the light of the face" symbolises the light of faith. The poet may speak of that ringlet which, as it wreathes, leads one's mind astray. So also the Sufi thinks of man's mind as being bemused when he attempts by means of reason alone, to follow the series of the manifestations of divine majesty. When the poet speaks of wine and intoxications, the Sufi does not understand this in a literal sense, but understands that by tasting, and not merely by teaching, is religion made sound.

377 (1) I.D. states that ibn 'Umar put his fingers in his ears and asked a companion of his to tell him when the sound was no longer audible. He stated that the Prophet had acted in this manner. The instrument mentioned in the I.D. account was a zammarat, i.e. a fife or flute. There is no reference in I.D. to al Shafi'i's interpretation of the incident nor is he mentioned in this context in I.D. K. appears to identify the shahin with the zammarat.
When the poet speaks of evils lying at the root of religion, the Sufi thinks of those corrupting qualities of human nature with which religion is concerned.

We mention these facts because those who do not understand the Sufis blame them for using such expressions.

Music from the fife may be a sound without meaning, and yet it may induce ecstacy. So also, one who does not understand Arabic may be seized with ecstacy on hearing Arabic verses.

Those who deride such things ask how this is possible? We reply that the camel does not understand the words of the camel-driver's song and yet it forgets its fatigue and presses on to its destination when the song is heard. The camel does not understand Arabic!

A Persian-speaking Sufi may hear Arabic verses on a lay theme and he may interpret the sounds as though hearing Persian, and take warning from them of spiritual peril. Whatever such a person hears of music may become a means of inducing ecstacy and it finds its way into his heart. One who has not known the fire of such passion cannot comprehend this.

The fourth reason for music being unlawful is that the hearer may be a young man over whom lust prevails. He has no love for God and so Satan and lust overpower him when he hears of ringlet and mole.

Those who are not true Sufis, but merely wear the Sufi dress, speak of such carnal passion as being God's snare. They call pimping "wit" and sin and sodomy they call "profit and fame". They plead that a certain preceptor looked on a youth with love.

Nevertheless it is not sodomy to do this! They merely say such things as a cloak for their vices. Such a person is an Iblisat (1) and it is lawful to kill him.

A preceptor may look on a youth with pleasure and this is not a sin. Should a preceptor sin it is not therefore lawful. The story of David's sin is told in the Qur'an, and we also read of his weeping and repentance. One cannot hold oneself to be excused in such matters.

It may be of course, that an exceedingly lovely form appears to the Sufi when he is in a state of ecstasy, for angelic substances and the spirits of prophets may appear at such a time.

No Arab was more handsome than Dihyah al Kalbi, and the Prophet saw Gabriel in his shape.

When a Sufi sees a beautiful form in ecstasy he may desire the entity which it embodies. When, after such an experience, his eye falls on a beautiful form, the ecstasy is renewed. The ignorant man should not, in his ignorance, assume that this is a lustful look. They do an injustice to the Sufi when the entertain such opinions about him.

The fifth reason for music being unlawful is when the common man uses it for pleasure and sport. It is of course permissible, even here, providing that he is not addicted to its use and does not earn his living by it. When venial sins are practised continually, they become mortal sins.

The Prophet did not forbid the Abyssinians to sport in the mosque on the occasion we have noted, and yet he would not have allowed them to make a playground of a mosque. He would also have forbidden 'A'ishah to watch such play continually.

One may frolic occasionally, but it is improper to become a buffoon.
Chapter Two. The effects of Music and the proprieties to be observed here.

There are three stations in the matter of music. The first is understanding, then ecstasy and thereafter activity.

The first station is that of understanding. We are not concerned here with the ordinary man, but with one in whom the love for God prevails.

There are two stages here:

The first stage (1) is that of the novitiate who experiences varying states of stringency and ease, and sees signs of both acceptance and rejection. When such matters are mentioned in his hearing, even in the "lay" connotation which such words have, he associates the words with himself and then conflicting states arise within him.

If his belief is not firm he may entertain ideas which border on infidelity when he hears verses which suggest that God changes even as a lover changes. There is no change in God. Things may be veiled to the novitiate which once seemed clean, but the change here is not in God. A man may stand in the shadow. There is no change in the sun! Whatever changes may appear are due to defects in the novitiate.

The second stage (1) is when one has passed beyond discipleship and one reaches a state known as "annihilation" and "not-being" - as they call it when speaking of all that is other than God. When they speak of God Himself they employ the terms of "Tauhid" and "Unity". On hearing the music, such a person has an experience in which he passes away from himself and is not aware of this world. He may even fall into the fire and not feel it.

1) This is classified as a third state in I.D.
382 (1) This is classified as a fourth state in I.D.
The story of the end of Abū'l Ḥusain al Nūrī.

In this state of ecstasy one is taken outside oneself, just as the women who, on seeing Joseph, cut their hands. It should not be maintained that this kind of annihilation is impossible, merely because the person in this ecstatic state is still visible! When such a person is not aware of himself he is non-existent to himself, and nothing remains for him but God.

When some Sūfis speak of the Unity of God, then they say "All is He and I am not". Others say "I am He". Some have erred in interpreting these things in terms of Ḥulūl, and others through holding Ittiḥādī doctrines (1).

We hold that if a man sees himself in a mirror he is not entitled to think that he has entered the mirror.

The second station is where one passes from a state of understanding to that of ecstasy. This means that one enters into an ecstatic state and an experience which one has not had before. Many statements have been made about the nature of this ecstasy.

Broadly speaking, this ecstasy may be said to be of two kinds. One kind is that which comprises ecstatic states, the second kind is one in which one has ecstatic revelations.

383 (1) For Ḥulūl and Ittiḥādiyyah see art. Tasawwuf, Ency. of Islam, where reference is also made to al Ghazālī's Maḳṣād (*74).

For I.D. judgements on these matters see 4/263.
The ecstatic states occur when an emotion prevails and overpowers one. Such an emotion as desire, or fear, may prevail, or it may be the fire of passion. Sometimes there is a longing, sometimes revulsion and grief. The emotion may be one of many kinds, but when its fire prevails in the heart, the fumes overpower the mind, the senses are subdued and, like one asleep, one sees and hears nothing. Should one see or hear anything then one is as indifferent to it as a drunken man is.

In the course of the ecstatic revelations things appear to the Sufi. Some assume a shape, and some are pure light. Music purifies the heart for this experience, and by cleansing the rusty mirror of the heart, makes it possible for such forms to be reflected therein.

One may attempt to interpret this by means of analogy or similitude, but this stage can only be understood by one who has himself attained to it. One may understand another, then, by analogy with one's own station, but even this is not the same as understanding by means of a natural faculty (1). We have described this experience in these terms in the hope that even one who does not possess this natural faculty may accept the fact that these things do occur. One should not be foolish and deny the reality of something merely because one has not oneself experienced it.

There may, of course, be a forced ecstasy, but this is essentially hypocrisy. It is however possible, to stimulate ecstasy so that the genuine thing may follow.

384 (1) "Thauq". See footnote 1. K.p.24
Tradition. Weep when you hear the Qurān. If tears do not come, then force them. One may thus, by effort induce an emotion.

Question. If music is for the sake of God then should not the Qurān be recited in assemblies rather than poems? Is it not better to listen to the speech of God?

Answer. The Qurān is often recited in assemblies and people do become senseless through listening to the Qurān. Some have died on hearing the Qurān and we have mentioned such cases in I.D. (1).

There are five reasons why singing is employed instead of the recitation of the Qurān (2).

The first reason is that not all verses of the Qurān are suited to the states of the lovers of God. There are stories about misbelievers and worldly people in it, statements about inheritance and divorce etc. These things do not arouse the fires of passion, except in the case of unusual people.

The second reason is that one may know the Qurān by heart and familiarity with it dulls one's perception. The reading of the Qurān may induce ecstasy on one occasion and not on another. Abū Bakr's comment on the Arabs who wept when first they heard the Qurān. A new thing makes a fresh impression. 'Umar told the pilgrims to return quickly to their own cities lest they become so familiar with the Ka'bah that the sense of its greatness pass away.

The third reason is that most hearts are only moved by sounds and melodies, and a tuneful voice, induces ecstasy.

The Qurān is not to be recited to music (1). The Qurān may induce the fires of passion even when read in a normal voice.

385 (1) Reference to I.D.
(2) I.D. gives seven reasons.
386 (1) This comes under the fourth reason in I.D.
The fourth reason (2) is that melodies are accompanied on reed (3), tambour, drum and fife. These are also the instruments of sport and must not be associated with the Qur`an.

Tradition. The Prophet rebuked the slave girls who sang his praises in the house of al Rubayyi' bint Mu`awwiyah.

The fifth reason (4) is that everyone seeks verses which he feels to be appropriate to his condition, and he dislikes whatever is not in accord with it. The Qur`an must not be subjected to such treatment. One may understand poems as one pleases but the Quran must not be reduced to the level of one's whims.

We have set forth these reasons in order to indicate the human weaknesses of the hearers. Another purpose (5) which we have had in mind has been to magnify the sacred Qur`an and to guard it against being made the instrument of human whim and fancy.

The third station (6) connected with music is activity, dancing and tearing of clothing. This should be an involuntary action, and not done in order to impress others, for that would be hypocrisy and is unlawful.

Sayings of Abu'il Qasim al Nasrabadi and Abu 'Amr bin Najid.

The perfect Sufi is one who has such self-control that he makes no movement at all. Weeping etc. may arise from weakness. Such strength as this is seldom found. Abu Bakr's words to the Arabs who wept over the Qur`an and his statement that hearts were now hard may imply that his heart was strong and controlled! One should exercise self-control.

386 (2) This is the fifth reason in I.D.
(3) Qasab. H.G. Farmer says it is a wand used to mark the measure of a song. (op.cit p.14)
(4) This is the sixth reason in I.D.
(5) This comes under the seventh reason in I.D.
(6) Macdonald's translation of this book of I.D. is to be found from this point in J.R.A.S.1902
The story of al Junayd and the disciple's fate whom Junayd rebuked for crying out when he heard music.

One may dance spontaneously, just as the Abyssinians danced. At the Prophet's expression of favour. 'Ali hopped for joy, as also did Ja'far and Zaid bin Harithah. Whoever dances in order to increase his ecstasy behaves in a praiseworthy manner. It is not unlawful to do so in sport.

One should not deliberately tear one's clothing, for that is wilful destruction of property. This may occur in a state of ecstacy, when it is done involuntarily.

A dervish may tear up his garments deliberately, providing that the pieces are put to some use. A man may tear up his linen garment into four hundred pieces and give the pieces to a hundred dervishes, providing that every piece is put to some use (1).

The Proprieties to be observed when hearing music (2).

There are three things to be kept in mind, i.e. the time, the place, and the company. It may be a time for prayer or for food, and when the heart is distracted music is unprofitable. The place also may be a public thorough fare, be dark or unpleasant or a tyrant's dwelling. Such things distract the heart. As for the company, all present should be people who enjoy music. If a proud worldly person is present, or somebody who, because he is a reciter of the Qurān, refuses to make use of music, or there is somebody present who labours in order to induce ecstacy, or there are foolish people present who indulge their own fancies and have no respect for the company, then in such cases, music is of no value.

388 (1) I.D. mentions a king tearing his garment into a hundred pieces and distributing them among the poor

(2) This is K's arrangement of I.D. Materials.
al Junayd said that a suitable time, place and company were necessary for the use of music.

It is unlawful to be in a company of young men and women. Each looks at the other and this is the seed of sin and depravity.

When music is employed, all should sit with head bowed, and not look at one another. Head and hand should not be moved nor should one labour to induce activity. All should sit as they do when the confession of faith is recited in worship. All should set their hearts upon God and await the blessings which, through music, descend from the heavenly realms.

One should be careful not to stand up or voluntarily to commence any activity. When anybody stands up under the constraint of ecstacy, then all should stand. If his turban falls off, then all should discard their turbans.

These things may be innovations, and yet not every innovation is improper (1).

al Shafi'i says that ‘Umar first introduced the Tarawih worship, and this is a good innovation (2).

A bad innovation is one which is contrary to the Sunna. But good morality, and making men happy is approved by the Law. Each people has its own habits and practices.

Tradition. The Prophet said that one must live with others in accordance with their habits, etc.

The Companions did not stand up in the presence of the Prophet because he loathed such things, but if it gives pleasure to others when one stands then one should comply.

389 (1) For this see also I.D. 1/20
(2) See Calverley, Worship in Islam, pp 23 & 208 (Madras 1925).
The Arabs have one custom, the Persians another.

This section of K. contains, in bulk, slightly less than three-eighths of the amount of text to be found in Volume Two, Book Eight of I.D.
PILLAR TWO: SECTION NINE

Commanding the Lawful and Forbidding

What is Unlawful.

This is an "axis of religion". All the prophets were sent for this purpose, and the religious Law is based upon this.

We shall deal with this subject in three chapters (1).

Chapter One. That one is obliged to do this.

One who, without excuse, neglects to command the lawful etc. is a sinner.

Quotation of Surah 3.100.

This verse of the Qur'an establishes the fact that it is one's duty to do this. Nevertheless, it is a general obligation, and it is sufficient if some people fulfil it. The whole populace fall into sin when this is neglected.

Quotation of Surah. 22.42.

In this verse, God has connected the commanding of what is lawful etc., with worship and almsgiving as being one of the tokens of piety.

Tradition. The Prophet enjoined the commanding of what is lawful.... God will hear the prayer of the best among you (1).

Tradition, related on the authority of Abū Bakr, that the Prophet said that God sends a punishment on every one of a sinning people when sin is not forbidden among them.

Tradition. The Prophet said that Jihad excels all good works, just as commanding the lawful excels Jihad.

Tradition. The Prophet said that every word a man utters injures him, except commanding the lawful etc.

389 (1) There are four chapters in I.D. and the fourth chapter deals with commanding kings etc. See also I.D. 1/60. Under Pillar Two, Section Ten, the writer of K. advises kings directly.

390 (1) Emend Teheran text to read لش with B.M. fo. 167a.
Tradition. The Prophet said that one of the sinless elite is punished for the sins of the common people only when he sees an evil work... and remains silent.

Tradition. The Prophet said that one should not stand where men are being unjustly beaten or killed... for whoever sees such things and does not hinder them is accursed.

Tradition. The Prophet said that whoever sees an abominable act must exercise Hisbah (2). This does not bring the hour of death closer nor decrease one's daily provision.

One should not therefore go into the houses of tyrants where unlawful (3) things are to be found and where one cannot exercise Hisbah.

It is for this reason that, in the early days, people chose to retire from the world.

Tradition. The Prophet said that when one sees a sin and detests it, it is as though one were not present, etc.

Tradition. The Prophet said that, in every instance, prophets and their companions have been followed by sinners. One must fight against such people with hand, tongue and heart. Should this fail then there is no Islam remaining.

Tradition. The Prophet said that God sent an angel to destroy a city in spite of the angel's objection that a sinless man lived there. That man had not reproved others etc.

390 (2) See Sprenger, D.T. T. art. Hisbah and Ihtisāb. "When used in connection with the religious Law, both these terms mean commanding what is lawful when it is manifestly neglected, and forbidding what is unlawful when one sees it being performed".

391 (3) Emend Teheran text to read With B.M.M.s. fo.167b.
Tradition, on the authority of 'A'ishah, that the Prophet spoke of God’s punishment of a city which contained eighteen thousand sinless men.

Abū 'Ubaidah bin al Jarrah's report of his conversation with the Prophet about one who was better than the martyrs.

The revelation sent down on Yusuf bin Nūn (Joshua, the son of Nun?) in which God declared that He would destroy a hundred thousand of his people.

Chapter Two. The conditions under which Hisbah is to be exercised. (1)

This is a duty laid upon every Muslim and so the conditions under which it is to be exercised must be understood.

There are four pillars:

Firstly, there is the Muhtasib who forbids etc.

Secondly, there is the thing which is the object of the Hisbah. Thirdly, there is the person who is the object of the Hisbah. Fourthly, there is the act of Ihtisab.

The first pillar is the Muhtasib.

The only condition here is that he be a Muslim, and is capable of discharging legal obligations.

Anyone who is of the faith may be a Muhtasib. There is a difference of opinion as to whether or not he should be righteous and whether or not he should derive his authority from the Sultan. We hold that such conditions do not apply.

Righteousness cannot be a condition, for nobody is sinless and therefore, if such a condition did apply, nobody would be able to exercise Hisbah.

91 (1) Emile Tyan connects it with municipal administration. See his "L’organisation judiciaire en pays d’Islam" Part Two, Chapter Four for the Hisbah and office of the Muhtasib (2 volumes, Paris 1943).
Saying of Sa'īd bin Jubair to this effect.

Hasan al Basri was asked about this and he replied that Satan n.f. had suggested this idea in order to put an end to Iḥtisāb.

There are two kinds of Ḥisbah.

Firstly, there is advice and exhortation. He who exhorts will be met with derision if he does not himself act according to his advice. It may also be sinful to bring the religious Law into contempt by failing to act in a fitting manner oneself. The preaching of one who is openly immoral injures the people.

Tradition. On the night of the Mi‘rāj (1) the Prophet saw people whose lips were being cut with scissors of fire.

Revelation sent to Jesus, advising Him first to advise Himself.

The second kind of Ḥisbah is by means of force and wrath.

When one sees wine, one should pour it out. One should break the harp or rebek that one hears. One should daunt anyone who proposes to sin, by means of anger.

Even a sinner may exercise this Iḥtisāb but he is obliged however, to refrain from the sin in question.

It may be asked "Why may one exercise Iḥtisāb over one thing when one sins in respect of another?" The answer is that one should shun the morally reprehensible course of failing in respect of Iḥtisāb. This is the more important, rather than the matter of failing oneself over some trifle. Moreover, if a man fasts but does not worship, he sins, not because fasting is unimportant, but because worship is the more important. One should do the more important thing in every instance.

392 (1) See art. Mi‘rāj. Ency. of Islām.
Virtue is not therefore a condition for the exercise of Ihtisâb. It is absurd to say that one may not forbid the drinking of wine when one has once drunk it.

The second condition we mentioned in connection with Ihtisâb is a Sultan's mandate. We do not hold this to be a condition for the fathers of the faith used to exercise Ihtisâb against kings and khâlißahs.

There are therefore four stages in Ihtisâb (1).

The first stage is to give advice and to put the fear of God into the culprit. All Muslims are obliged to do this and there is no need for a royal mandate.

The second stage is to employ harsh speech saying "O sinner etc.," There is no need for a royal mandate here either.

The third stage is the use of force, the throwing away of the wine, breaking of the rebek etc. There is no need for a royal mandate here.

The fourth stage is to daunt the culprit by beating. If one gathers helpers and one does not have a royal mandate for this there may be a riot. This should not be done without a royal mandate.

The order of these stages may be changed about. When a son exercises Ihtisâb in regard to his father he must be gentle in speech.

Hasan al Baṣrî says that one may offer advice to a father, but one should remain silent when one fears that it may anger him.

A son should not use harsh words or beat or kill his father, even though the father be a misbeliever. If the son is able, he should remove the silken garment etc., which is the object of Ihtisâb.

₃₉₃ (1) I.D. gives five, K. omits the first, which is the definition of the sin, and begins with the second. But see K.400 for a full statement.
Nevertheless, some do not approve even of this action should it give
grief to the father, as we have noted in connected with the saying of
Hasan al RasuIl.

The Ijtisab of a slave in respect of his master, of the wife
respecting her husband, and the subject in respect of his ruler,
should be like that of a son in respect of his father.

The pupil has more freedom in respect of his teacher, for
he acts in the light of the knowledge which he has gained through the
other.

The Second Pillar is that which is the object of the Hisbah.
One may exercise Ijtisab in respect of anything one sees at
that moment, without spying into anyone's affairs.

Four conditions apply here.

The first condition is that the thing must be unlawful, even
though it be a venial sin. A youth or madman is not obliged to
observe the Law, but such a one must be forbidden to sin. All venial
sins must be forbidden such people.

To wear a golden ring, silken garments, and to drink water
from a silver vessel are all venial sins.

The second condition is that the sin must occur before one's
eyes. If a person is known to have sinned already, one should do no
more than exhort them. Only the Sultan may punish such a one. If a
man proposes to drink wine during the coming night, one may do no
more than exhort him. If however he intends to pass that time with
women, one should exercise Ijtisab. One may exercise Ijtisab in
respect of a man who does no more than stand by the door of the
women's Hamam.

The third condition is that one must become cognisant of the
sin without any prying. One may not force one's way into the house
of another.
One must not listen at another's door or from his roof. When one can hear from within the revelry of drunkards and the sound of instruments, then it is proper to exercise Iḥtisāb. Wine should be poured away when one can detect the smell without prying. When the shape of a lute may be detected beneath the clothing of another, then it is proper to break it.

‘Umar once came down from a roof and found a man and a woman drinking. We have already mentioned this.

The story of ‘Umar and his seeking the advice of the Companions about inflicting the legal penalty when the ruler sees an unlawful act. ‘Abd’s insistence that there must be two witnesses.

The fourth condition is that one must be quite certain of the unlawful nature of the thing. One of the school of al-Shafī‘ī may not object if one of the followers of Abū Ḥanīfah marries a woman without a wali being present to act for the woman. Nevertheless, one is oneself bound by the rule of one’s own school.

A man who thinks the Qiblah to be in a certain direction, and then turns his back upon it, is a sinner even though his opinion about the direction of the Qiblah is mistaken.

Abū Ḥanīfah and Imām Mālik (1) do not exercise Iḥtisāb in respect of a heretic who holds that God is corporeal etc. We believe that this is a case where Iḥtisāb should be exercised, so long as the Sunnīs are in the majority in that place. Where the heretics are many, and there is reason to fear a tumult, one should seek a mandate from the Sultan.

396 (1) I.D. does not mention the names of Abū Ḥanīfah and Imām Mālik in this context.
The Third Pillar is the person who is the object of the Ḥisbah.

In order to be deemed a sinner, the person concerned must be capable of discharging legal obligations. He must be dealt with in an appropriate manner, i.e. a father should not be threatened or treated with contempt.

Nevertheless, it is approved that one forbid ribaldry in a madman or a youth.

An animal should be forbidden if found eating the grain of our Muslim neighbour, even though this is not our duty. When the property of another is about to be wasted one is obliged to inform the owner for the sake of Islam - providing that a long journey is not involved.

When an adult sins by wasting the property of another then one should exercise Ḥitisāb even though it grieve him. One must proclaim the sacred Law of Islam even though the sinner suffer.

One may feel that it is a waste of time to protect another's property, but one is obliged to do it for the sake of the faith.

One is not obliged to suffer all kinds of grief when exercising Ḥitisāb.

When one is unable to exercise Ḥitisāb then one is excused. When one is able, but one fears that the sinner will offer violence, then there are four things to be considered:

Firstly, when one knows that he will strike one and not refrain from his sin, then one is excused Ḥitisāb. Nevertheless, it is better to use hand or tongue and to endure his blows. There is a reward for this.

Tradition. No martyr is better than one who speaks against a tyrant king and is killed.

Secondly, when one is not afraid and one is able to exercise Ḥitisāb and yet fails to do so, one is a sinner.
Thirdly, when the culprit cannot beat one and continues in his sin, one should speak against him and exalt the Law. He may listen to one’s words.

Fourthly, one may be able to frustrate the other’s sin, but they may beat one. One is not obliged to exercise Iḥtisāb here, but it is better to do so.

Should anyone quote Sūrah 2:191 at this point we reply that ibn ‘Abbās declares that this verse means that one should use one’s property in the path of God in order to escape destruction. The opinions of al Bara‘ bin ‘Azīb and Abū ‘Ubaidah on this.

A Muslim may hurl himself at the ranks of the misbelievers and meet with death in order to daunt them. It would not however, be proper for a blind or impotent man to do this.

It is not proper to suffer injury without profit or to suffer affliction from sinners who do not forsake their sin.

It may be of course, that one has fears for one’s personal safety, and dreads to exercise Iḥtisāb. Or, alternatively, one may not fear for oneself but for one’s dignity, property or relatives. When one is certain that one will be beaten then one is excused, but one is not excused if one only surmises that they may beat one. One should exercise Iḥtisāb when one is certain of one’s own safety.

Fear for one’s status, relatives and dignity etc., is a subject which we propose to discuss shortly. We now proceed to discuss the two kinds of fear which a man may entertain on his own account.

One is not excused exercising Iḥtisāb merely because one fears the loss of something that one hopes to gain.

If one is poor and fears to exercise Iḥtisāb against a rich benefactor then one should look to one’s religious faith. One may exercise caution when it is not necessary.
The second kind of fear is the dread of losing wealth, safety and honour. One is excused under such circumstances, but one is not excused if one fears injury to one's adornment or pride. One is not excused either if one fears that, after dishonouring and reviling one the sinner will continue in his sin. Such troubles are connected with Iḥtisāb. Nevertheless, when one fears that they may add to their sin by slandering one, one is excused the exercise of Iḥtisāb.

For example, when anyone who is a hermit fears that sinners may injure his relatives since they cannot despoil him, then it is proper not to exercise Iḥtisāb. One may lawfully bring injury to oneself, but not on another, for it is a religious duty to have the rights of relatives in mind.

The Fourth Pillar is the Iḥtisāb itself.

There are eight stages in Iḥtisāb:-

Firstly, one must know the circumstances, then there is the defining of the nature of the sin, then there is advice to be offered, then comes harsh speech, then one must change the state of things by force, then one must arouse fears in the mind of the culprit of physical injury and threaten him, weapons may be drawn and helpers summoned.

This order must be adhered to.

Firstly, one must know the circumstances with certainty and yet avoid prying by listening from a roof etc. One may not search a suspect. When one hears music or smells or sees wine, then one may exercise Iḥtisāb. The testimony of two just persons may be accepted and one may enter a house on their testimony. One may not do so on the testimony of one just person, for rights over property are not abrogated by the testimony of one witness.

The legend engraved on Luqmān's ring.
Secondly, one must define the sin, for the person concerned may not know that he is sinning. When, for example, a rustic errs over his worship one should instruct him gently, for men do not like to be shown to be ignorant. One should employ tactful speech and not grieve him, for otherwise one is like a person who uses urine to wash blood from clothing.

Thirdly, one may offer advice in a benign manner. When the offender is aware of his sin however, one should inspire him with fear.

One should exercise caution here for one may imagine that one obeys the Law in advising another, and one may be merely ministering to one’s pride. One should examine oneself and ask oneself if one would prefer another to correct the culprit. One may give advice when one is averse to giving advice. One must persuade the sinner to follow God, not to follow oneself.

Saying of Da‘ud al Ta‘I about the danger of conceit when one exercises Iḥtisāb against a king.

Abū Sulaimān al Darāzī feared to admonish a Khalīfah lest he be killed and die in his insincerity.

Fourthly, one may speak harshly. One should not, of course do this when benign speech would suffice. In speaking harshly one must not be guilty of obscenity or exaggeration. One may use such words as "tyrant".

Tradition. The Prophet said on this point that the wise man considers his own end and the fool follows his desires etc.

Harsh speech may be employed only when one believes that the culprit will benefit from it.
Fifthly, one may destroy the sinful thing with one's own hand. If possible, one should persuade the sinner to destroy the thing himself.

If this is not possible then one should take him outside from the place where he sits, taking him by the hand and not dragging him by the foot or beard, or employing unnecessary violence.

One may break a harp, but not into splinters. One should remove the stitches of the brocade, but not tear it. When one can pour out the wine one should not break the vessel. If the culprit holds on to the vessel one may break it with a stone. When the vessel pours slowly and one fears a beating in the process of the pouring, then one may break the vessel. One is not required to pay compensation for the vessel.

When wine was first forbidden in Islam, the order was given that the wine-jars be broken. This command has now been abrogated (1). Scholars state that in the olden days such vessels were fit for nothing but wine. In these days one may not break such vessels without compensating the owner for his loss.

Sixthly, one may threaten the culprit with violence when he does not respond to gentle speech. One may not threaten him in an improper manner by uttering threats against his family etc. One should only threaten what one is able to perform and only exaggerate when such a policy ensures success.

Seventhly, one may beat the offender with hand, foot and staff, but only when necessary, and not to excess. Any legal punishment or beating that is required is the province of the Sultan.

401 (1) This applies to the private person. I.D. 2/291 adds that the Sultan still has the power to do this and the command is not abrogated in his case. K. is concerned with the action of a private person here.
When beating with the hand suffices one should not use a staff. One should not strike the offender on the face.

One may draw one's weapon when all else fails or shoot an arrow when the culprit is not within arm's reach. One must not aim at a vital spot.

Eighthly, when he needs it, the Muḥtasib may call for assistance. The friends of the culprit may then assemble and a broil ensue. Some say that one may not do this without the permission of the Sultan, others hold that since one may fight the misbelievers without the Sultan's mandate, so one may also fight the sinner and the Muḥtasib who is killed is a martyr (1).

The qualities necessary in a Muḥtasib.

A Muḥtasib must have knowledge, piety, and a good disposition. He requires knowledge in order to distinguish between what is lawful and what is unlawful. Piety alone can keep him free from selfish motives and a good disposition ensures that when he is angry he is angry for God's sake and not on his own account.

Story of 'Alī, who refrained from killing a misbeliever who spat on him, lest he kill him for personal reasons and not for God's sake.

A story of 'Umar who stopped beating a man who abused him lest he should no longer beat the offender for God's sake.

Tradition. The Prophet said that only the scholar who is gentle and friendly should exercise Iḥtisāb.

Hasan al Basrī stated that one must first observe what one requires another to perform.

403 (1) Cf K.393, I.D. 2/277 and K.396, I.D. 2/287 where it is stated that the Sultan's mandate is required when there is any danger of a public disturbance.
This latter thing is a propriety to be observed before exercising Iḥtisāb, not a necessary condition for it.

Tradition. The Prophet said that one need not wait until one fully observes the Law before exercising Iḥtisāb.

The Muḥtasib must also be patient and endure any affliction that comes his way.

Quotation of Surah 31.16.

One cannot exercise Iḥtisāb without this.

Another important quality in a Muḥtasib is that he have little covetousness and few attachments.

The story of a shaykh who removed his cat in order to be able to exercise Iḥtisāb in respect of a butcher who gave him coarse meat for the cat.

Conversation between Ka‘b al Ahbār and Abū Muslim al Khaulānī in which appeal is made to the Taurīt.

The root of the matter is that the Muḥtasib should grieve for the sinner and pity him. He should forbid the offender in the manner in which he forbids his son.

When somebody spoke harshly to the khalīfah al Ma‘mūn he reminded the Muḥtasib that God had told Moses and Aaron to speak gently to Pharaoh.

Quotation of Surah 20.46.

Tradition. A long story of a young man who came to the Prophet and asked his permission to commit adultery. The Prophet advised him in such a fashion that the young man was free of such desires thereafter.

Story of al Fuḍail bin ‘Iyāq and his dealings with Sufyān bin ‘Uyainah over a robe of honour which the latter had received from the Sultan. The reply of Sufyān to his reproaches.
Story of Silet bin Ashym who, despite the promptings of his disciples, spoke gently in his correction of a proud Arab whose clothing was trailing on the ground. He then pointed out to his disciples that, had he spoken harshly, the Arab would not only have disregarded his advice but would have abused him.

Story of a man who molested a woman and threatened the bystanders with a knife. Bishr al Haff came up and spoke gently to the man who thereupon fell down unconscious and died within a week.

Chapter Three. Unlawful things which are commonly found.

The world is so full of evil that the pious despair of it ever being corrected and they refrain from doing what they ought to do in order to reform it. Those who are careless welcome this state of affairs.

It is not lawful to remain silent when one witnesses sin. Some of these unlawful things are to be seen in mosques, some in the bazaars, some on the open highway, some in the Hammam and some in people's houses.

Unlawful things to be seen in Mosques.

When worshipping, someone may not perform the sijdah and rak'a correctly.

In the recitation of the Qur'an, someone may chant it. The Mu'adhdhins may call in unison and lengthen the call with modulated voices. They may also turn away from the Qiblah when they say "Come to salvation".

The preacher of the Friday sermon may wear black silk clothing and his sword may be inlaid with gold.

Some people cause a hubbub in mosques, tell stories, recite poems or sell charms etc.
Youths, madmen or drunkards may annoy those who are in the mosque. One is not obliged to forbid a boy or madman to be in the mosque, providing that they behave properly. A boy may occasionally play in the mosque just as the Abyssinians played in the Madinah mosque with their weapons and were watched by 'T'ishah. Children must not play there all the time however.

Needlework and writing are permitted in the mosques so long as nobody is troubled by these things, but one should not habitually make the mosque one’s place of business.

Legal judgements may not be habitually given in a mosque nor may legal documents always be written therein. Judgements may be pronounced there occasionally. The Prophet did this occasionally. It is unlawful for the washerman to dry clothes in a mosque or for a dyer to dye and dry them there. Those who tell stories or recite traditions which are not in the standard collections of traditions must be put out of the mosque.

The over-dressed preacher who uses rhymes because young women are in the mosque sins mortally, and in a fashion which is heinous outside a mosque also. The preacher must be virtuous in life and modest in behaviour. Young men and women should not sit in a mosque unless separated by a screen.

'T'ishah forbade women to enter the mosques. Her saying on this topic.

A mosque must not be used as a council chamber or a place where goods are divided up. It must not be used as a place where the affairs of the village are settled. It must not be the scene of slanderous or unseemly talk. These are all forbidden things which are unworthy of a mosque.
Unlawful things to be seen in the Bazaar.

The vendor tells lies to the buyer and conceals the defects in his goods. The seller does not keep a correct scale, weights and measuring stick.

The harp and the chaghānah (1) are sold.

Toys in the shape of animals are sold on festival days and wooden swords and shields for children at the New Year.

Earthen trumpets are sold at the time of the Sadah (2) festival.

Silken Tartar caps and shirts for men are sold.

Darned and washed clothing is sold as new clothing.

Silver and gold chafing dishes, gugglets, inkholders and vases are sold.

Some of the above things are unlawful and others are disapproved of. Anything which is made in the shape of an animal is unlawful. The things which are sold at Sadah and the New Year are not in themselves unlawful, but it is unlawful to perpetuate Zoroastrian practices. These two festivals and their observances should be blotted out!

Some of the fathers of the faith have said that Muslims should fast on these days so that the food from such people may not be eaten. They also urged that one should not display lamps or fire of any kind on the night of Sadah. The very day and its name should not be mentioned but it should be treated as an ordinary day.

407 (1) A stick with bells on like a tambour. See Steingass, Persian-English Dictionary.

(2) A festival night on which the Persians light a number of large fires. For further details see Steingass op.cit.
Unlawful things to be seen on the Highway.

People set up pillars in the highway and display their wares on them, obstructing the road. They plant trees, and the eaves of their houses jut out, placing any rider in jeopardy.

They cause an obstruction by depositing loads from asses on the road and tying up their beast there. This should only be done with a view to transferring the goods into the house. Asses laden with thorns should not be driven down narrow streets, unless this is unavoidable.

An animal should not be burdened beyond its strength. A butcher should not kill a sheep in the highway, but in his shop. There is danger for the passer-by from this practice.

The skin of a watermelon should not be thrown on to the highway, nor should water be thrown down, for people may slip.

Whoever throws ice on the road or from whatever roof water falls on to the road, the person responsible must clean it up.

There is also a public responsibility for cleaning the roads and the governor should appoint men to this work.

A dog should not be put at one's door in order to frighten people. Even if it gives no trouble, it defiles the roadway. A dog must not be allowed to occupy the road by sleeping thereon. Its owner should not sit or sleep on the road either.

Unlawful things to be seen in the Hammām.

People do not keep the pudenda covered from the navel to the knee and they expose the thigh in order to remove dirt. It is not lawful even to put the hand inside the waistcloth.

It is also unlawful for the Hammām wall to be decorated with pictures of animals. One should either obliterate them or leave the place.
According to the school of thought of al-Shafi’i, it is unlawful to put one’s unclean hand or ladle into a small amount of water. This is, however, permissible in the case of one who is of the school of Imam Malik.

It is unlawful to use a lot of water and such things have mentioned already in the Book of Purification (Pillar One, Section Three).

The unlawful things one may see when being entertained as a guest.

One sees silken carpets, silver chafing dishes and vessels for rose-water. Curtains are hung on which figures are embroidered.

A picture on a carpet or a cushion is lawful.

A censer shaped in the form of an animal is unlawful.

Where there is singing, and young women are seen by young men, it leads to evil. One should exercise Ihtisab at such times and if one is unable to do this one should leave the company.

Ibn Hanbal once left an entertainment because he saw a silver collyrium box (1).

One should not sit in a company where a man is wearing brocade (2) or a gold ring, nor should a boy who has reached years of discretion be dressed in silken clothes. This, like wine, is forbidden to the males of Islam. A boy may also develop a taste for such things. It is disapproved that an immature boy be so dressed even though it may not be described as unlawful in his case.

One must not sit in a company where someone provides amusement by recounting obscene stories.

408 (1) I.D. adds that there is a difference of opinion among scholars over this point. See also I.D. 2/14.

(2) I.D. 2/331 states, in the I.D. section not represented in K, that the Prophet wore a brocade gown.
A lengthy statement is required concerning such things but the reader may apply these directions to schools, monasteries, judicial assemblies, royal courts, etc.

This section of K. contains, in bulk, about two-ninths of the amount of text to be found in Volume Two, Book Nine of I.D.
PILLAR TWO, SECTION TEN.

Introductory Note.

The tenth book of the second volume of I.D. is devoted to a study of the disposition, dress, habits and miracles of the Prophet. K. departs from the I.D. arrangement here. The topics of the above book of I.D. are not to be found either here or elsewhere in K.

At this point K. offers a short section on the subject of government and the exercise of authority. This final section of the second pillar of K. is more moderate in its language than Chapter Four of Book Nine, Volume Two, of I.D. in which the reader is advised on how to exercise Ihtisâb before kings. The irenic approach that one finds here is consonant with the advice to be found in I.D. 2/300 where we read that, when exercising Ihtisâb before kings, one should employ the first two stages of Ihtisâb (see previous section) and merely define the sin and give advice. The final section of the second pillar of K. is quite obviously designed for a royal reader and this may give us some indication of one of the aims underlying the production of this entire work in Persian.

As we shall now see, there are very few passages in the tenth section of the second pillar of K. which are also to be found in I.D. It is however possible to discover a similarity, in arrangement, language, style and matter, between this section of K. and certain passages to be found on pages 1-26 of a Persian work entitled "Nasîhat al Mu'ak" which has also been ascribed to al Ghazâlî. (1)

(1) Nasîhat al Mu'ak, edited by Jalâl Humâ'î, and published, with an introduction and notes, Teheran 1317.A.H.
The editor of the Teheran edition of Nasṣīḥat al-Mulk declares in his introduction (page 3) that the literary style and the arrangement of the topics in Nasṣīḥat al-Mulk are such that they cannot have come from the pen of any other person than the author of K. He also affirms that the syntax and style suggest that Nasṣīḥat al-Mulk was written at the end of the fifth or the beginning of the sixth century A.H. This may possibly be true, and, if his estimate is correct then Nasṣīḥat al-Mulk was possibly written to offer guidance to the young Seljuq ruler Muhammad bin Malik Shah (reigned 498/1105-511/1118). The editor offers his own opinion (introduction, page 6) that Nasṣīḥat al-Mulk was probably written in 499 A.H. The editor also notes (introduction, page 15) a certain dependence on sections four and five of the third pillar of K.

The Persian text of Nasṣīḥat al-Mulk was translated into Arabic under the title of al-Tibr al-Masbūk fī Nasṣīḥat al-Mulk. This latter work, referred to in the introduction (page 2) of the Persian Nasṣīḥat, is available in manuscript in the British Museum (1), and the topics are identical in both works. The Tibr al-Masbūk declares itself to be a translation from the original Persian work by al-Ghazālī.

There are a number of anecdotes in the Teheran text of the Nasṣīḥat which are not to be found in the Arabic Tibr, but, on the other hand, there is a short section in the Arabic Tibr (2) which is to be found in K., but which is not in the text of Nasṣīḥat al-Mulk.

We shall note this fact again in the course of our analysis.

(1) B.M. Ms. Or. 1528.
(2) B.M. Ms. fo. 186b-187a. A translation of this, into Persian, is offered by the editor of the Teheran edition of Nasṣīḥat (footnote 4, page 19) and it is interesting to compare his style with that of the passage in K., 419f.
It may not be altogether inappropriate at this point to observe that the translator of the Tibr - if we are correct in assuming with the editor of the Teheran text of Nasīḥat that the passage in question is to be found in no Ms. of that work - had no hesitation in inserting a passage from K, at the appropriate point in his translation. This may imply that the materials in section ten, pillar two of K, were a "pilot scheme", written up, re-arranged and added to later when the Nasīḥat was produced. The Arabic translation of this work may be designed, at this point, to come into closer agreement with that which the translator may have regarded as the original text from which Nasīḥat was developed. It seems reasonable, at all events, to suppose that the translator of the Tibr may have had access to both the Nasīḥat and K, and it is very certain that he regarded both of these works to be from the pen of al Ghazālī. The editor of the Teheran text of Nasīḥat has drawn our attention to other similarities between the Nasīḥat and K. We propose to deal with these points in greater detail now. We shall note also that the Nasīḥat offers a different arrangement of those materials which are common to it and K.

In closing, we would draw attention to the remarks of Bouyges (3), and his opinion that the Tibr (i.e. the Nasīḥat al Mulūk) was written from 498-499/1104-06. The section in K, to which we now refer was, we believe, written before that date. We have also examined the Kitāb al Arba'īn fī Uṣūl al Din of al Ghazālī (2nd edn. A.H.1344) and find that it does not contain a section on the subject of "Advice to princes". In this respect it resembles L.D. and differs from K. This Kitāb al Arba'īn constitutes the third section of Jawāhir al Qurān (see Bouyges, Essai. p.50)

(3) See Bouyges, Essai, pp.61-63.
Concerning Government and the Exercising of Authority.

Introduction. The dignity of the office of a ruler as one who is the vicegerent of God on earth.

The governor should first understand that this world is his temporary, not his permanent abode. He is like a traveller and every year, month and day brings him a stage nearer to his permanent abode.

Everyone must pass over the bridge (2) (of this world). One should remember that this is only a temporary abode, and seek here nothing more than provisions for the future life. Anything more than this is a deadly poison. When a man accumulates possessions in excess of his needs they increase his agony at death, even when such properties are lawfully acquired. If the property is unlawful, then the future torment will exceed present grief!

Only the man whose faith is sound is able to refrain from lusting after the world.

To refrain from the world is, for a man of sound faith, like refraining from pleasure for one night in order to have pleasure for a thousand nights! And yet, the space of a thousand nights in comparison with one is not an adequate analogy when one compares this world with the everlasting future!

If the seven heavens and earth were filled with grains of millet and a bird took away one grain every thousand years.... those grains would be exhausted but eternity will not. Though a man live for a hundred years and enjoy great dominion, yet the future life is greater and the dominion of the world is a poor exchange for an everlasting kingdom.

(1) The index "N" refers to the Teheran text of Nasihat al-Mulk, 1317 A.H.

(2) This is reminiscent of a famous saying ascribed to Jesus and found in I.D. 3/187. See Asin y Palacios "Logia et Agrapha Domini Jesu", no. 46.
A governor should ponder on these matters so that he may refrain from the lusts of the world and be merciful to his subjects as he acts as vicegerent for the greatest King. No act of worship is greater, in God's estimation, than just rule.

Tradition. One day in the life of a just king is more excellent than sixty (1) years of worship.

Tradition. Seven men will be in God's shadow on the resurrection morn. The first among them will be a righteous king (2)

Tradition. Every day, the angels take up to heaven, in the name of a just king, acts of worship equal to those of sixty sincere persons.

Tradition. The just Imam is the man who is best loved and nearest to God.

Tradition. Every day, the angels take up to heaven on behalf of a just ruler, acts equal in number to those of all his subjects.

To be a ruler is a great dignity, divinely bestowed, in that one hour in the life of a ruler is equal to the lifetime of other men. A ruler who does not realise this fact merits divine punishment.

There are ten rules to be observed by a ruler.

The First Rule in administering justice is that the governor should suppose that he himself is the subject (1). He should not approve in respect of another that which would displease him were he so situated. Gabriel, on the day of the battle of Badr, rebuked the Prophet because he was sitting in the shade while his Companions were exposed to the sun.

410 & 103 (1) See I.D. 1/155 and 2/29. There we read "seventy years"
(2) Found in I.D. 1/193

411 (1) This is the fifth in N.
Tradition. Whoever desires paradise should repeat the Kalimah when dying and not approve in respect of another that which he would dislike for himself (2).

Tradition. He is not God's who, when he rises in the morning, desires any other than God. He is no Muslim who has no sympathy for Muslims.

The Second Rule is that one should not despise the poor and needy who seek at one's door. The governor should not perform acts of supererogation in his worship while any Muslim remains unsatisfied. To satisfy Muslims is better than such acts, (3).

Story of the Khalifah 'Umar bin 'Abd al 'Aziz and the reproach brought against him by his son in respect of the above.

The Third Rule is that the governor should be frugal in matters of dress and diet (4).

Story about 'Umar and the reproach of Salmān in connection with 'Umar's two vests and two kinds of food (5).

The Fourth Rule is that the governor should deal gently with his subjects as far as is practicable (4).

Tradition. God will deal gently on the day of resurrection with the kind governor.

The prayer of the Prophet.

Tradition. Government is good in one who does what is right.

Story about the Khalifah Hishām bin 'Abd al Malik and Abu Hàsim.

411 (2) Found in I.D. 2/175
(3) This is the sixth in N.
(4) This is the seventh in N.
(5) This story is found also in I.D. 3/55
The Fifth Rule is that, so far as the Law permits, the governor should strive to please all his subjects (1).

Tradition. Those rulers are best who love you etc.

A ruler should not be misled by the praise of his subjects. He should appoint spies in order to discover people's real opinions about him.

The Sixth Rule is that the ruler should not act in a manner contrary to the Law in order to gain somebody's approval (2)

Story about 'Umar and his saying that half the people were displeased with him. One cannot hope to please both parties in a dispute and he is foolish who displeases God in order to please men.

'Axishah's response to the letter of Mu'tamiah.

The Seventh Rule is that there is great peril in the office of a ruler. Properly to administer the affairs of God's creatures is no small matter (3). To succeed is to find great happiness.

Tradition on the authority of ibn 'Abbās concerning the Prophet's statement about the government of the Quraish.

Tradition. He is accursed who, when judging between two men, acts unjustly.

Tradition. The three men on whom God will not look on the day of resurrection.

Tradition. The Prophet spoke to his Companions of the Muslim conquest of the East and West and of the punishment to be visited on those who rule unjustly...

Tradition. God will deny that ruler paradise who deceives his subjects and does not show mercy.

Tradition. One who governs Muslims will go to Hell if he does not care for them as for his own household.

412 (1) This is the ninth in N.
(2) This is the tenth in N.
(3) This is the first in N.
Tradition. The intercession of the Prophet will be denied the unjust Muslim king and the innovator in matters of religion who spreads dissension on a large scale.

Tradition. The unjust king will be very severely punished on the day of resurrection.

Tradition. The five men with whom God is displeased. He may either visit His anger upon them in this world or put them into Hell.

Story about 'Umar at a graveside and the encounter there with al Khidr.

Tradition. Woe to governors, deputies and tax collectors etc. Anyone who has had authority over ten men will have his hands chained to his neck on the day of resurrection. He will be freed if he has acted righteously etc.

'Umar said "Woe to the rulers of this world when they meet the Ruler of heaven...."

Tradition. Rulers who acted with too great severity or too leniently will be put into Hell.

Story of Hudhaifah (1) who refused to praise any ruler whether good or bad. He quotes a tradition by way of justification of his attitude.

Story about the prophet David who moved in disguise among his subjects. God taught him how to make coats of mail after his encounter with Gabriel.

'Umar went the rounds at night in his concern for all that was in his care, even for the sick goat etc. (1) The unique record of 'Umar in the administration of justice.

413f (1) Hudhaifah bin al Yamam. See Massignon, Lexique pp 159f.

415f (1) See also I.D. 2/306.
Dream in which 'Abdallah bin 'Amr bin al-'As saw 'Umar in a dream and questioned him (2). 'Umar had no other instrument of government than a small scourge.

Story of the sending of a messenger by Busurj-al-Mihr (3) to 'Umar.

The ruler should associate with pious scholars and thus avoid the pitfalls of government.

The Eighth Rule is that the ruler should always be eager to meet pious scholars and to listen to their advice (1). He should avoid worldly people, for they will mislead him. This, a pious scholar will not do.

Story of Harun al Rashid's meeting with Shaqi (bin Ibrahima) al Balkhi (2).

Story of the visit of Harun al Rashid and a certain al-Abbás to al Fuqail bin 'Iyad.

'Umar bin 'Abd al-'Aziz questions Muhammad bin Ka'ab al-Qarasi about the nature of justice.

Story of the ascetic who went to the khalifah of his day and told him a story about a king of China (1).

The advice given by Abu Qillabah to 'Umar bin 'Abd al-'Aziz.

The circumstances under which the khalifah Sulaiman bin 'Abd al Malik begat 'Abd al-'Aziz, and the part which Abu Hārizim the ascetic played in this.

The story of the repentance of 'Umar bin 'Abd al-'Aziz after he had beaten his slave.

415 (2) This story is also to be found in Jarrett, History of the Caliphs, page 152 (Calcutta, 1881).


416 (1) The second in N.

(2) He was the Shaikh of Kitab al-Asma (See I.D. 1/57).

(3) Probably al-Abbás bin al-Ahmad. See art. Ency. of Islam, 2nd edn.)

417 (1) See also I.D. 2/308.
The story of Harūn al Rashīd calling upon God for mercy on Mount 'Arafāt.

The advice given by Abū Hazim to 'Umar bin 'Abd al 'Azīz that he should always keep death before his eyes.

A governor should keep these anecdotes in mind, and he should seek advice from pious scholars. Such scholars should exhort him and speak the truth before him.

The Ninth Rule is that the governor should see that his deputies and officials act justly. He will be called to account for their actions (1).

The letter of 'Umar to Abū Musa al Ash'arī (2).

A governor should control his officials and also control himself. He should subdue his own lust and anger, bringing them under the control of reason and religion. Reason is an angelic substance and is numbered among the hosts of God. Lust and anger belong to the hosts of Satan. Justice is first found in oneself and thereafter applied to one's household and subjects.

A man of perfect understanding sees things as they really are and is not deceived by outward appearances. To neglect justice for the sake of food is to be a beast, and to do so for the sake of clothing is to behave like a woman. When one acts in anger then one is a carnivorous beast in human form (2). If, by one's actions, one hopes to commend men's service then that is the mark of ignorance for

418 (1) The third in N.

(2) This is not the famous letter on legal procedure which 'Umar is supposed to have sent to him. For this see Margoliouth's translation of Ibn Qutaibah's text (J.R.A.S.1910.pp 311f).

419 (1) This paragraph is to be found at this point in the argument in the Tibr al Mabūk, B.M.Ms. fol 186b-187a.

(2) A man may assume the form of a wild beast at the resurrection. For I.D. authority for this see 1/44.
men only serve themselves even when they appear to serve the ruler. They forsake his service when his power is removed! The reasonable man sees things as they are, and the capital of happiness is reason.

The Tenth Rule is that it is pride in a ruler which gives rise to wrath and leads him to wreak his vengeance on others (1).

Wrath is the demon of reason (2). To forgive is to resemble the prophets, their companions and the saints. To give way to anger is brutish.

al Mubarak bin Fuzalah recounts a tradition on the subject of forgiveness for the benefit of the khalifah Abu Ja'far.

When subjects abuse a governor and his anger and pride are aroused, he should remember the words which Jesus addressed to John the Baptist.

Tradition. It is the strong man who triumphs over his anger.

Tradition. The three things to be found in one whose faith is perfect.

'Umar's advice that one should not put one's trust in another until one has seen him in an angry mood.

'Umar also said that one should not rely upon the piety of another until one has seen him in a covetous mood.

The story of the behaviour of 'Ali bin al Husain when he was abused in a mosque.

'Ali bin al Husain thanked God when he learned that his slave did not fear his anger.

Another story about 'Ali bin al Husain who freed a slave instead of punishing him when the slave deliberately broke the leg of an ewe.

420 (1) This is the fourth in N.
(2) See K.50b. The editor of the Teheran text of N. refers to this passage (Introduction, p. 15). It is found in I.D. 3/144.
The story of 'Ali bin al Ḥusayn's reference to the ascent which he must pass which lies between him (1) and Hell, when he was reviled by somebody.

Tradition concerning the merit of a man who is meek and forgiving.

Tradition concerning a door to Hell which is entered only by one who is unlawfully angry.

The story of Satan's coming to Moses.

Tradition. Blessing is bestowed on one who swallows his anger.

Tradition. Woe to the angry man who forgets God's anger toward him.

Tradition. The advice of the Prophet to a man on how to enter paradise. The merit that accrues when one asks God's forgiveness seventy times after afternoon prayers.

Story told by 'Abdallāh ibn Mas'ūd about the Prophet when he was dividing up some property and somebody declared his division to be unjust.

Conclusion. These stories have been told for the guidance of rulers and the condition of the ruler's faith will determine the nature of the effect of these stories upon him. What may the state of faith of a ruler be when he acquires many thousands of dinārs unlawfully every year! He will then be questioned about them on the day of resurrection.

421 (1) N. states that the ascent lies between heaven and Hell. Tibr al Masbūk (Ms. fo 14b) agrees with K. here.
FINAL OBSERVATIONS

AND

CONCLUSION.
We were concerned at the outset to enquire into the possible dependence of K. upon the Arabic text of I.D. The aim of this study has, at this stage, largely been achieved, for, as the references in the right-hand margin of these studies of parallel passages have revealed, it would not be at all difficult to prove a dependence of K. upon I.D. It would indeed be both tedious and unnecessary at this stage to offer any other proof of K's dependence upon I.D. than the references we have given. The weight of numbers of such references would, if taken alone, be of little value in establishing dependence, were those references made merely to numerous minor and scattered parts of I.D. In this case however, the great mass of the text of K. has been connected with I.D. sources, not only in the Pillars but also in the Introduction to K.

If K. is dependent upon another work than I.D. then that work would be so like I.D. as to be itself derived from it, and so similar to K. as to furnish but another link between K. and I.D. We shall offer some further observations upon the possibility of K. being derived from another work in due course.

It is now our purpose, - having assumed on the basis of the foregoing evidence that K. is dependent upon none other than I.D. - to proceed to discover the nature of that dependence and the manner in which, as our references may reveal for us, K. has made use of I.D. materials. We also feel obliged to offer some general observations upon the internal unity of K. in the light of its declared aims, internal references and content.
We propose therefore, first to discuss the unity of K. and then to enquire in the second part of these observations into the nature of K.'s dependence upon I.D. Finally, in the third and closing part, we plan to discuss the authorship of K. and to offer certain observations upon the approximate date at which it was written.

**Part One. The evidence for the unity of K.**

We remarked in the preface to this thesis that, in a number of places, K. has mentioned I.D. and has appealed to it directly. There are more references and appeals to I.D. than to any other work by al-Ghazâlî, references to other works being so few as to be of little significance for us from the point of view of K.'s dependence upon another work. These references to I.D. are informative not only as affording testimony to the authorship of K. (a subject which we propose to discuss in the third part of these observations) but they also bear witness to the internal unity of the entire work. Such impressions which they create of an internal unity are further strengthened as one follows the argument of K. throughout and, in particular, when due consideration is given to the cross-references in K. itself, to other parts of that book.

We find an appeal to the Book of Love in the Introduction (K/33) and to this is added the comment that it will be found at the end of the work. A little further on in the Introduction (K/79) our author also mentions one of the topics of the Pillars which is to be dealt with later. The Introduction thus appears to be set within the framework of the entire book; a book which is therein envisaged. This, we feel is an important evidence of its unity.

We also mentioned in the preface to these studies that the dependence upon I.D. which we were concerned to establish in the case of the Introduction to K. is not exactly similar to that which we
find in respect of other sections of K. By this we imply that, in the Introduction, the author of K. has felt free and able to make use of materials from all those passages in I.D. which provide support for his argument concerning the spiritual aspect of man's nature and rewards or punishments. This Introduction is itself an essay, arranged under four heads, upon such themes, and we have been able to refer to works other than I.D. as the source of the ideas presented in the Introduction. In addition to the numerous passages in I.D. which contain parallel ideas to those found in K. we have also found it necessary to indicate that there are certain passages not to be found in I.D. There is one such long passage, for example in K/37 which speaks of man's helplessness. We have marked it as being not found in I.D. but it may be found, in substance in K/837. There is another long passage in K/86 which we have noted as being not found in I.D. It deals with the subject of anger, the fire of Hell and men's actions being returned to them. This passage is to be found again in K/804f.

The Pillars of K. on which this study is based follow the general outlines of I.D. on the whole - apart from the long passages whose omission we have noted above - and they reveal, both in their style and general design, a homogeneity which is derived partly from their general dependence upon I.D. and partly from their allegiance to K's declared policy of presenting a work which will be suitable for the common man. This policy, was enunciated in the Introduction to K. as we have already noted (K/5). We shall note the use, adaptations and additions to I.D. materials by the author of K. in the course of our various statements to be found in the second part of these observations. This policy, we are concerned to stress here, which is followed out in the Pillars, was laid down in the Introduction to K. The other passages to which we have referred above (K/837 & 804f) also serve to confirm the fact of the unity which exists between
the purposes of the Introduction and the Pillars which follow it. It is also surely not without significance that, where K/37 is echoed in K/337, and K/36 in K/804f, that no attempt is made to draw our attention to the fact that these passages in the Pillars are to be found also in the Introduction. If the Introduction to K. were a lengthy essay added by a hand other than that of the author of the Pillars, it would have been a temptation to a forger to add a reference calling attention to the similarity of these passages. Such references are not rare in this work and might be inserted in a natural fashion. One gets the impression, however, that these passages (not derived from I.D.) were written in the Introduction and then used again by the author in the course of his argument, without his being aware of the fact that he was being somewhat prolix. If he discovered that he had repeated himself, it would be natural for one who was the author of both - in order to avoid any charges of prolixity - to allow the similarity between these passages to remain unnoticed. A forger, we feel, would have drawn attention to their similarity. It is also possible that the author may have forgotten at that stage where he first used such arguments. At all events, there appears to be an obvious connection between them and the Introduction.

The unity of the entire work seems to be clearly established when one considers not only the obvious dependence of the Introduction upon the teachings of I.D. but also the more massive dependence of the two Pillars which we have studied. The fact that the materials in the Pillars are, as we shall shortly see in greater detail, set forth in pursuance of the policies laid down in the Introduction to K., confirms one's impression that the scheme of the work is one, just as the sources which give content and form to it are predominately one.
Content and policy, aims and sources all combine to suggest the unity of K. and, in order to throw further light upon the relation between the Introduction and the Pillars, we have studied the whole of K. and now offer the following list of passages throughout the Pillars in which reference or appeal is made to the Introduction.

These passages are as follows:-

Pillar Two:-- pg.260.
Pillar Three:-- pp.435, 521, 629.
Pillar Four:-- pp.719, 802, 835, 875.

Although the Introduction may be read as a separate treatise embodying the "high-lights" of I.D. (supported by other works) yet, it was not, we believe, primarily designed to be an independent treatise. The unity of the whole of K. is, we feel, established by the above facts; all parts of the book making their contribution to the general aims of the whole as these aims are set forth in the Introduction.
Part Two. The nature of K’s dependence upon I.D.

In the opening paragraph of the first part of these observations we maintained that the references indicating parallel passages in I.D. to those of K. were so numerous that, representing as they do the great mass of the text of K., they clearly establish the dependence of K. upon I.D. Such references not only appear in profusion in the foregoing studies - the index which shows that a passage is not found being seldom used - but, taking each section, chapter by chapter, we find that K. has followed the I.D. arrangement in the great majority of cases. It would be very difficult to offer any explanation of these facts on other grounds than the existence of a close dependence on I.D. of K. The author of K. makes no secret of his dependence upon I.D. and he has referred to I.D. in a number of places. We have given a list of all such passages on page 2 of the preface to this thesis, and have drawn attention to the fact that, in those passages the author of K. claims to be the author of I.D. - a fact which we shall be considering again in the third part of these observations. (One early example of K’s appeal to I.D. and an acknowledgement that I.D. materials are being offered in an abridged form is to be found in K/73).

The fact of dependence therefore, we hold to be clearly established, and we now propose to study certain features of K’s dependence upon I.D.

The late M. Bouyges, in his "Essai de chronologie..." describes K. as being either a translation or an abridgement of I.D. (1). This statement, we feel, should be accepted with certain reservations, for the foregoing studies will, we hope, have made it abundantly clear that K. is not merely a translation of I.D. Indeed, the author of K., in his Introduction, does not offer a translation of I.D. for our perusal,
but rather a study of matters which are dealt with in greater detail in I.D., the Jawahir al Qur'an and other works by al GhasalI. The author of K. then adds that this study is designed for the common man. The fact that the outlines, content and conclusions of K. are not identical with those of I.D. - as we shall shortly discover - should also afford us with sufficient reason for not accepting M. Bouyges' description of K. as being a work which is either a translation or an abridgement of I.D. There are, of course, parts of K. which may be described as a translation of I.D. Other parts may justifiably be stated to be abridgements of parts of I.D., but K. was certainly not designed to be either a translation or an abridgement of I.D.

We have already noted certain places where K. follows I.D. very closely (K/261(1) and K/304(1)). There are also other sections where K. has freely re-arranged the I.D. materials - as in Pillar Two, Section Eight - or added to them - as in Pillar Two, Section Three. These are matters which will again engage our attention in these final observations, and we mention them now merely to emphasise the fact that there is not only an obvious dependence of K. upon I.D. but also to show that the author of K. has exercised his own judgement over the use and arrangement of I.D. materials. K. occupies an important place in the line of development of GhasalIan thought for, while leaning a good deal upon materials which are from I.D. and being dependent for the most part upon I.D., it yet contains elements which were used in later GhasalIan works, as we shall note again in the third part of these observations. We have already noted that there is a similarity between K. and the Imal at a certain point (2), and that there are materials common to K. and the Maghan al Saghir(3) (1) Bouyges, op.cit.pg.59. (2) See K/35 (1) (3) See K/45(1).
and the Nasihat al Mulik. We shall mention these things later on when discussing the date and authorship of K. and mention them here in order to substantiate our claim that K. is no mere abridgement or translation of I.D. It was written with another purpose, employs the materials it uses in an imaginative and creative manner, and, to the Western reader at all events, it appears to be a more mature literary composition than the rather discursive work from which it has so largely been derived (4).

At this stage in our observations we are concerned to examine the nature of K's dependence upon I.D. and to draw attention to any significant features of that dependence. The significance of our footnotes to the foregoing studies will also be the better appreciated when analysed and correlated.

We also propose, in this part of our final observations, to consider the nature of K's re-arrangement of I.D. materials, the expansions offered by K. in elucidation of I.D. materials, the points where K. has compressed I.D. materials, and the awareness of the writer at all points of the type of person to whom this work is addressed. These, and other relevant matters will shortly engage our attention but there is one more question which should be answered before we proceed further. Is it possible that in K we have a translation or abridgement of any other of al Ghazali's works, and ought we to be comparing it with some work other than I.D.? The only other work of al Ghazali which might be described as being similarly arranged under forty heads is the work Kitab al Arba'in to which we have already referred in the introductory notes to Pillar Two, Section Ten. We have examined this work, and find that, as Robson points out in his notes on the tenth section which he has offered in translation (Moslem World, 45, 1955), the first part of this small work is similar to (4) The discursive nature of I.D. may be due partly to the fact that it was not only arranged after the style of a work of Figh (I.D.1/4) but was addressed to students of that science.
Appendix One of Macdonald's Muslim Theology (a creed of al Ghazâlî) and that the other three parts of the Kitâb al Arba'în do no more than offer short studies on various topics found in I.D. The fourth part of the Kitâb al Arba'în, for example offers studies on materials found in Book One, Book Three, Book Four, Book Two, Book Five, Book Seven, Book Six (divided into two separate portions) and Book Ten of Volume Four of I.D. This should be compared with our analysis and comparison of the sections of K. in relation to I.D. which we have offered at the end of the preface to this thesis.

We therefore conclude that, in the absence of any other work of this nature and size, and in the light of K's own appeals to I.D. which we have also noted in the preface to this study, that K. may be said to be arranged in the main, in accordance with the outlines of I.D. and to depend upon that work.

(a) Where the general aims of K. may be said to be revealed through its re-arrangement of I.D. materials.

One aim of K. which immediately suggests itself is that, since K. is a much shorter work than I.D., the author must have been concerned, in doing justice to the topics of the original, to have selected from it those matters which were best adapted to his purpose. We have estimated that K. is slightly less than a third of I.D. in bulk and, since I.D. materials are being used in it for the most part, this fact alone would require some reduction and adjustment of the materials available.

We do not propose to discuss the Introduction to K. at this juncture but to discuss it shortly. It is quite obviously a part of K. which should be discussed separately because of the manner in which I.D. materials have been drawn on to furnish the materials found therein. We also find that, although it is possible to offer general conclusions about the rest of the text of K. which we have studied, yet
Sections One and Two of the first Pillar require separate consideration.

The first comment which we have to offer in connection with these two sections is that, in K. the I.D. order of their presentation is reversed. The discussion on knowledge, in I.D., precedes any formal creedal statement. One is also obliged to remark that, in K., we find compressed within the space of six pages of the Teheran Persian text, a statement on knowledge which, in I.D. contained materials which might be fittingly arranged in the form of several short treatises, and which covers eighty pages of the Cairo edition. There is an obvious disparity in the size of these two parts of the works under review, and the reason for this, we feel, is twofold. Firstly, the Introduction to K. discusses Gnosis rather than Knowledge in the sense in which it is presented in the first book of I.D. K. asserts (p.24) that scholars may study the gnostics of the heart but their approach is of a more restricted and circumscribed kind by comparison with that of the prophets and the saints. Since therefore K. devotes the whole of a long Introduction to the subject of Gnosis (nearly an eighth of the entire work), it would have savoured of bathos to follow the order of I.D. and make the section on the knowledge of worldly affairs in K. follow immediately after an Introduction which had as its theme the magnification of a nobler kind of knowledge. This latter point is, we feel, the second reason why the order of K. has been changed here, and it commences its Pillars with a statement on Beliefs. There is a reference, it may be urged, to knowledge of the "states" of the heart in the second section of K. but this slight contribution to the subject would in no way justify a placing of those few words of practical advice on the knowledge which the ordinary man is required to gain, in order to fulfill the Islamic Law, beside the long exposition on the Gnosis of the self, God, the world and the future life, which the Introduction to K. sets forth.
The first section of Pillar One of K. deals with Beliefs, but this first section itself intrudes no formidable barrier between K's Introduction and the second pillar. Although K. might conceivably have offered a translation in Persian of the treatise which, in the second book of volume one of I.D. is described as the Risālat al Qudsīya yet it offers but a few pages based for the most part, but not wholly, from a shorter credal statement in the same book. There is however, a good reason for this if I.D. 1/36 is consulted. In that part of his work al Ghasalī discusses the amount of 'Ilm al Kalām that a Muslim is required to study in order to protect the Sunna which the fathers of the faith had communicated. I.D. states that some such study is necessary when this end is to be served. By contrast, K. is concerned to direct the common man into other fields of endeavour and, indeed, - as we shall soon have occasion to notice - prefers to advise the reader directly on most matters rather than require him to exercise his own judgement. On page 109 K. informs the reader that one or two scholars are sufficient to inform the common people about the problems connected with 'Ilm al Kalām. The author of K. therefore, does not appear to find it at all necessary to offer a lengthy statement on the subject of Beliefs.

The author of K. thus separates his statement on Knowledge from his long discourse on Gnosis by means of this slender barrier on Beliefs and thus, having accorded some recognition to the opening topics of volume one of I.D. - thereby adding two topics to the score of K. and preserving the symmetry of the work - he then proceeds to do rather more justice to the attitudes and content of the books of I.D. which make up the remainder of the first volume of that work.

Among the main general aims which the author of K. appears to have had in mind is the ordering of I.D. materials in accordance with their themes, placing allied matters in juxtaposition to each other.
We find, in K/142, for example, that a great deal of I.D. material is omitted at that stage and the author takes up the argument at a later point in I.D. The reason for this, we believe, is quite clear from an examination of his topic there. The writer has brought together two statements from I.D. on the subject of the inward nature of worship. On page 210, K. so arranges his materials that supplications follow upon prayers for forgiveness, and on page 249, K. places stories about the Prophet in juxtaposition. Directions concerning the treatment of children are also placed together in K/253f. One of the subsidiary and yet not unimportant aims of K. has been to collect and present under one head, or in close proximity, materials which, although similar or identical, were scattered and separate in the pages of I.D. (5). 

Another very important general aim of K. has been to stress the inward and spiritual aspects of its topics.

Under this head of the spiritual interests of K. it is appropriate that we notice here the arrangement and choice of materials which are presented in the Introduction to K. We have offered later on (footnote (21)) a complete list of all the I.D. passages which are parallel with K. here, and it is quite clear, from the scattered nature of these references, that we are here dealing with a type of dependence which is unlike that of the sections in the first two Pillars of K. The I.D. passages which we have noted in the above-mentioned footnote, and which are connected with the Introduction, constitute more than four-fifths of the number of passages designated as being quoted "out of context". 

It is quite evident that the author of K. has selected his materials with some care, and has used I.D. as a mine from which to quarry his ideas. We have already noted on page 3 of the preface to this thesis that K.'s dependence here is a dependence upon the ideas of I.D. rather than the kind of literal reproduction of I.D. materials that we find everywhere in the Pillars. These ideas express the spiritual nature of man, and the spiritual nature of his felicity or suffering hereafter. Such materials, culled from the pages of I.D. for the most part, represent man's nature at its highest as being akin to that of the angels, and as being as "lofty" and mysterious a matter as the nature of Spirit itself.

The very fact that the author of K. places these observations at the forefront in his work, indicates most clearly that this interest in spiritual matters is one of the significant general aims of this work. This fact, which is illustrated in so marked a fashion by the topics of the Introduction to K., is in evidence elsewhere in the Pillars which follow it.

In the final comment on Ḥajj, K. observes (p.196) that one should advance from the study of the external observances of the Ḥajj, to an understanding of their inner meaning. In this particular instance we have not been able to indicate a parallel passage in I.D. but there are a number of other instances where, from the use that K. has made of I.D. materials, it is clear that this bringing into prominence of otherwise obscured passages in I.D., has occupied an important place in the thought and scheme of the author of K. In the section on Purification, K. (120) places as the first and second among the degrees of purification, one, the cleansing of the heart from all other than God, and two, purification of the heart from all evil moral qualities. In I.D. these points are numbered fourth and fifth respectively, but K. first stresses the inward aspect of such things
before discussing the outward. This, we regard to be one of the
important and significant features of the Persian work.

It is also clear, from a study of the materials in Pillar
One, Section Four in K. that the author has been concerned to select
from I.D. those portions which bring into prominence the spiritual
aspects of worship, and to give them a worthy place in his scheme.

In one passage (p.258) K. so arranges his materials that
those who are engaged in public duties are placed first in his scheme.
This concern to improve upon the arrangement of I.D. by placing the
points therein in their proper or chronological order, is also one of
the aims of the author of K. On page 237 of K. the directions for the
placing of dishes before guests are given before details concerning the
clearing of dishes. The reverse order is followed in the parallel
passage in I.D. K. also states that one should ask the host's
permission before rising from a meal. This is the correct procedure
and is placed first in K. It is accorded the third place in the I.D.
scheme of etiquette for leave-taking. On pages 244f. K. follows more
closely than I.D. the actual stages preliminary to the marriage itself
and on pages 265 and 281 K., - but not I.D. - follows the actual stages
of the transactions mentioned there, point by point and in order. This
placing of matters in their correct order we regard to be an indication
of the greater maturity of the author of K. of his great familiarity
with the materials in I.D. and of the creative and imaginative way in
which he has made use of those materials (6).

(6) e.g. See K.p.372, footnote (3).
When giving directions about approaching kings (p. 299), K. places the direction that one should not approach kings at all, in a separate category from that which speaks of saluting them (7). By contrast, both these directions come under the first head in I.D. (2/125). This is another instance, we hold, of K.'s more mature handling of I.D. materials, and this same superiority of judgement is to be seen in the final comments of K. (p. 306 footnote (1)) to this section. We have already noted that, in giving advice on how to approach kings, K. adopts a more reasonable tone than I.D. (8). This is also, we feel, another indication of the more mature judgement of the author of K. in the general pursuit of his aims.

(7) See footnotes (1) & (2) K. 299.

(8) See introductory remarks to Pillar 2, Section 10 of K.
(b) Passages which support the claim of the author of K. that his book is addressed to the common man. (9).

We regard this as the main purpose underlying K's use of I.D. materials, and the instances of his concern to make his work intelligible to all are numerous. He is not only concerned however, to make his work intelligible to all - a simple precis would have sufficed had this been his sole concern - but he is also concerned to remove all those demands which, as they are presented in I.D. might be construed as making unreasonable demands upon the ordinary "layman". K. is also aware of the type of environment in which his Persian work will be read, and he adds to or modifies I.D. accordingly.

It seems quite clear from a study of both I.D. and K. that K. has made it one of his aims to simplify as far as possible the legal demands made upon the layman, and to offer simple directions in place of the more exacting and often uncertain attitudes of I.D. In this connection it is interesting to compare the statement in I.D. (1/114) about pure and impure water and that found in K. (p.126).

I.D. - as one might expect - touches on matters which are not mentioned in K. such as the purity or otherwise of running water. I.D. also questions the soundness of Şafi'ite opinion which holds that if less than 250 man of water is collected in one place than it is impure if soiled, even when colour, taste and smell of the water have not changed. It will be evident, from a study of our summary of K. at this point, that K. offers the Şafi'ite demand without any question. It does not follow I.D.'s uncertainty, nor affirm, as does I.D. that it would have been difficult for the Prophet and the Companions to observe such rules.

(b) (9) See K. p.5.
K. certainly does not add further to the confusion of the "common man" by offering the I.D. opinion that the position of the Ṣalīḥī school is to be preferred here, which holds water to be pure when taste, smell and colour are not changed. In actual fact, K. follows the direction given at an earlier stage in I.D. (1/38f) where Ghazalī tells the reader that a man is not free to forsake the ruling of his Ἰḥām on legal matters, but must believe that his Ἰḥām would have an answer to his objections. Here, as at other points where I.D. offers a choice of opinion for the delectation of the scholars of Fiqh to which it was addressed, K. is content merely to offer a simple direction, based upon the Ṣalīḥī 'ite position. This fact, again, lends force to our contention that K. is not a summary of I.D. nor may it justly be interpreted as such.

We have also noted (K. p. 258, footnote 5) that where I.D. advises its readers to seek a ḥaḍā from the heart in the light of one's circumstances, K. offers definite guidance to the common man. There are a great many more such passages and, since we have drawn attention to these matters in our footnotes we merely offer the references below for further examination. They all point to instances where, by contrast with I.D., K. offers a simple direction to the reader (10). We would not, of course, claim that K. is devoid of ambiguity and confusion at all points (11) but there are certainly many indications of his care to ensure that there is as little confusion as possible. K. reveals a good deal of common-sense over many things. We see, for example (K.p.225 footnote (1)) that, unlike I.D., K. does not hold up an admonitory finger before the hungry man at the outset and require

(10) See K. 148(1), 159(1), 170(1), 262(1), 295(1), 297(1), and 402(1) and 405(1)
(11) See, for example, K. on the subject of the need for a Sultan's mandate before exercising Ihtisab, K. 403(1).
that he be sure to eat lawful food. K. does refer to such questions later but in another context. (pp.251 and 290 ff). K's wisdom is also revealed by his directing the attention of a would-be purchaser to the aspect of the seller rather than to other problems largely insoluble - connected with the goods which are offered for sale (12).

In all these respects K. shows a concern to make of the common man those demands which he may be expected to satisfy. I.D. is either modified, or large sections are omitted. We find in such minor matters as the care of the beard that K. does not follow I.D. in giving specific guidance about the length of that adornment. K. (p.135) is not so exacting as I.D. (1/127) K. not only refuses to perplex the reader about his outward appearance, but also modifies the rather exacting demands of I.D. considerably. K. (p.200) makes six out of I.D.'s ten points, and makes no reference at all to point 7 of I.D. where the reader is required to regard all injunctions of the Quran as applying to him personally, nor does K. echo point ten of I.D. where the reader is informed that, when reading the Quran, he must apply all of its strictures, but none of its praise to himself. Such things are liable to discourage the reader and possibly this is another example of the greater maturity and experience of men and life which underlies the production of K. in comparison with I.D. We find the same kind of thing on page 216 where I.D.'s daytime seven "wird" periods are compressed into five in K. and also on page 221 where K. omits the time when one goes to sleep from among the periods when the Quran should be read at night, reducing the four periods of I.D. to three. Among the examples of exacting demands, impossible of fulfillment, which are found in I.D. but which are omitted by K. we give pride of place to that found in I.D. (1/197) which requires that the donor

(12) See K.296, (2)
have knowledge of the motives which prompt somebody in accepting Zakāt from him. K. (168) omits this.

K.'s concern for the "common man" to whom this work is addressed has prompted the author not only to compress and modify the materials of I.D. in the manner which we have indicated above, but also to add certain explanatory details where he deems these additions to be necessary. We have indicated them by the use of the index "n.f." in the course of this thesis. Some are very minor points (13), but others are directions of some importance which have obviously been added by K. We have noted (K.219 (1)) that K. omits references to scholars, administrators etc., who are mentioned under that head in I.D. and speaks instead of those engaged in providing sustenance for Śī'is, Fuqāḥā', and the poor (K.220). Such a person, no doubt, is the "common man" that K. had in mind when he provided this work. Further details, discussion and advice are also found on page 117 of K. where, speaking of the consequences which follow upon the breaking of one's fast, K. not only changes the I.D. order, but gives greater detail and practical advice (footnotes 2 & 3). We have also noted in the course of this study (K.p.181, I.D. 1/235f) that I.D. gives directions only about a hired deputy for the Hajj, whereas K. tells the reader how the person who deputises for another in the Hajj must act. K. also informs the reader how to deal with an offer from somebody outside one's family who offers to act as a deputy, free of charge. These are details additional to those found in I.D. There is a greater amount of such additional advice to be found in Section Three, Pillar Two of K. (See K. 267 (1)) than in any other single section of the parts of K. on which we have based this study. In this section the author is dealing with (13) e.g. references to the bee and scorpion, (p.125) and nuts and flax (K.158). A woman may sit in the shade of a litter (K.183). Also see K.204,275,284 (2).
the very important matter of earning and trading and, from page 263 onwards K. adds a good deal of additional material. This is a particular field in which the "common man" might be expected to take a most lively interest and the author of K. appears to be well aware of this fact. We have indicated the passages in that section by the use of "n.f." in the right-hand margin.

There are certain little touches where K's concern for the "common man" may be seen in his injunction to wash the mouth before eating (K.225) and eat an odd number of dates (K.227) because God is One - an odd number - and one thus remembers Him even in eating. (We are reminded of the three sips by which Browning's monk frustrated the Arian!) These things are not found in I.D. K. also applies the significance of a tradition more directly to the reader than does I.D. (14).

We have noted on several occasions that K. reduces the amount of material which it extracts from I.D. but, in this present context we must also note that there are occasions when K. expands the number of divisions according to which the I.D. materials are arranged and thus offers a more logical and readable statement. We have noticed that K's author is capable of exercising his own judgement on the matter of presentation of I.D. materials and reports a tradition in a manner which is not supported by I.D. but in a fashion which accords with the argument at that point (15). We also find him exercising the same freedom elsewhere (16). Most of K.'s expansions however, were, we feel, actuated by a desire to improve upon the I.D. arrangement, and to keep matters separate in the argument which were not directly related to one another. We find K. (p.361 (1)) rearranging the four types of I.D.

(14) See K.210 (1).
(15) See K.371. (2).
(16) See K.377 (1)
under five heads, and thus improving the presentation of the materials of I.D. There are a number of other passages which we have noted where the same type of treatment is given to I.D. materials, and the author of K. appears to be concerned to expand the heads of the argument rather than reduce them (17). This, we feel, was actuated by a desire to present his materials in a form which the "common man" could readily understand.

(c) Passages found in K. only which refer to a local situation.

In the course of our study we have noticed that K. is not addressed to the "common man" in general, but to the Persian-speaking laymen. In his introductory remarks the author of K. tells us that he has written his book for the Persian reader and elsewhere (e.g. K.230) he remembers that he may be dealing with Muslims who recite the Quran and yet do not understand Arabic.

K. is therefore addressed to the Persian-speaking Muslim who may not understand Arabic very well. Being a Persian it is possible that he may have a greater respect for the memory of 'Ali than for the reputation of 'Umar (K.pp.259 and 260(1)), and any supporter of the claims of the family of 'Ali would also, doubtless, think it more fitting that, if one of the Prophet's wives is to be shown to be a little forward, it should be 'A'ishah rather than a senior matron (K.251 (1)).

It was also possibly the close proximity of Almūt to his readers which led the author of K. to make the changes in the story (.294 (1)) which we have noticed, and made him avoid the use of the (17) See K.290f (2), 293 (1), 313 (1), 314 ff, 315 (1).
words "hashTsh" and "mountain". The Persian reader of that area may also have been more familiar with a misbeliever than a "dhimmī" (K.158) and have been in greater dread of the assassin's knife than any spear (K.202 (1)).

Zoroastrian and Persian practices are mentioned specifically on page 407 of K. and the fact that the rebek is numbered among unlawful instruments in K. and not in I.D. (K.260 (5)) - an instrument which was greatly favoured in Khurasan - may afford some general indication of the area which the author had in mind when he produced this work.

A great deal of the above is pure conjecture of course, and we would not press any of the points we have mentioned as yielding conclusive proof of the work being written with a particular area in mind. It would seem very probably to have been an area of mixed population (see K.396 (1)) where schools of Fiqh other than that of al Shāfi‘ī were represented. It may also be that folk there were a little race-conscious (K.239 (1)). This is largely conjecture however, and we do not come closer to the identification of the locality for which K. was designed until we consider the names of persons who are to be found in K. but not in I.D. We have already noted the name of Shaikh Abū Sa‘īd Abū’l Khair (K.38 (1) and 357 (1)). He was a Persian Sufi poet and was likely to be best known among those who knew little other than Persian, or who preferred the poets of Persia to those of other lands. A more interesting and instructive reference however, is to the name of Shaikh Abū’l Qāsim Gurgānī (see K.356 (1) and 375). We have identified this name with Abū’l Qāsim b. ‘All b. ‘Abdallah al Jurjānī and, although we do not find the stories concerning him in I.D. that are related about him in K., there is one reference which we have found in I.D. to a certain al Kimānī (sic) in volume 4, page 155, who was the spiritual preceptor of Abū ‘All al Fārābī - the preceptor of al Ghazālī himself. This short story is found again in K. - not in the
fifth pillar as one might expect it, but in the third pillar (K.450) and it is told again in Persian in the first person singular as in the original Arabic. It is quite clear then that he is given the name of al Khirrū in error in the Cairo text of I.D. which we have used (18) and is to be identified with Abūl Qāsim al Jurjānī. He is of particular interest to us here because he is reported by Massignon to be the founder of a Sufi order (19). This was the order of the Kubrawīyah which was, so Massignon says, a Khurāsānī order.

It is natural therefore that one should find stories about the shāikh in K. which are not to be found in I.D. for there were, no doubt, followers and admirers of the shāikh in plenty in Khurāsān. Stories about him would certainly give an added interest to the Persian work and since Tus itself was in Khurāsān this may not merely give us some clue as to the region for which it was written, but also to the identity of the writer of K.

(d) The compression of I.D. materials in K.

We have already indicated the passages in K. where, by virtue of his re-arrangement of the text of I.D., the author gives us an indication of the general aims of his work. There are of course, in a work of this size which is - as we have remarked - less than a third of the size of the original, a great many other passages in K. which cannot be treated in this way, but which should be noticed as affording evidence that K. depends upon I.D. These are passages where K. has compressed I.D. materials and re-arranged their order. The weight of evidence supporting our claim that K. depends upon I.D. is quite

(18) This is a pardonable error if we consider the transliteration of the name in Goldziher's Streitschrift (p.103) where reference is made to the Maqṣad and a quotation is given of a saying of al Karkashī (sic) on the authority of al Fārābī. See also texts of Streitschrift p.30, line 16.
massive, and we intend to refer to all the passages which we have noted in the footnotes to our study of K. and I.D.

We have already noticed the compression of materials found in K. in Pillar One, Section One, and have remarked that this supports the general aims of the book in providing only the type of guidance which the common man may require. We should now note that the corresponding book in the I.D. arrangement comprises fifty pages of text in four sections. The six pages of Persian text on the subject of knowledge also provide some token representation of the first book of I.D. which in the Arabic Cairo text, covers eighty pages. In these two cases we have examples of K.'s selection of I.D. materials for a particular purpose, but in the passages which we are now about to discuss we find that there is a much closer similarity, both in bulk and arrangement, to the original Arabic text of I.D.

There have been a number of instances noted in this study in which we have remarked that, although K. has made use of I.D. materials he has made his own arrangement of them. This type of creative and selective compression is not a rare feature of this work. We find, for example, that K. offers his own arrangement of the I.D. materials on the subject of various kinds of love (K.309). The same plan has been followed in dealing with passages which have as their theme "enmity for the sake of God", (K.313). In the important section on Music and Ecstasy we have noted in several places that K. has made use of I.D. materials, but has not followed the I.D. order (K.371ff.footnotes throughout). The effects of music are discussed very briefly in K. and that very remarkable passage which Macdonald notices (see refs. to K.381ff.) is omitted in K. Possibly this was too lofty a subject for the common man? At all events it bespeaks the strength of mind of the writer of K. to omit so fine a passage from his work - particularly so if he were (as he claims to be) the author of the
of the original Arabic also. In the section treating of that which makes music unlawful the author of K. has again made his own arrangement of I.D. materials (K.376ff. notes). There are a number of other such passages (20).

In a number of other cases there is less obvious interference with the I.D. order, and yet there is some slight change. On page 231, K. makes the first propriety in I.D. into the second when one visits the house of a friend. On page 233, the third and fourth points are compressed into the fourth in K. and K. also in content to give five reasons why singing should be employed to induce ecstasy rather than the recitation of the Quran (K.385f).

Elsewhere we find not only a reduction of the number of points which I.D. offers, but also a re-arrangement of I.D. materials in K. We note on page 198f that K. reduces the ten points of I.D. to six, re-arranging the materials in order to stress those matters which are germane to its purpose. On page 210f, K. reduces the ten points of I.D. to eight, omitting any reference to formal and elaborate rhyming in one's supplications (a fault of which the ordinary laymen was hardly likely to be guilty), and a rather obscure direction about the pitch of the voice. On pages 325 ff, K. reduces the twenty-six rights mentioned in I.D. to twenty-three (see footnotes throughout for changes of order also), and on page 363ff K. reduces the eleven proprieties to be observed by the traveller as propounded by I.D. to eight, re-arranging the materials here also.

These details not only give some guidance to the degree of compression of I.D. materials which K. has found necessary, but they also indicate that, as in the case of the first two Sections of (20)See K.136, 217f, 225, 229, 235, 241(2), 272(1) & (2), 349(1).
of the First Pillar, there has been a good deal of freedom exercised in the selection and the arrangement of I.D. materials throughout K.; a freedom however which in no way destroys the impression of dependence upon the original work, I.D.

(e) Passages from I.D. which are quoted in K. out of their original context.

We do not of course, refer here to such passages from I.D. which, by virtue of K.'s re-arrangement of I.D. materials, are not found in the same order in a particular section of K. as that in which they appear in the parallel book of I.D. Our purpose here is to give some indication of the number of passages quoted in K. which have been taken from parts of I.D. other than the book under discussion at that point, and we offer below our analysis of these passages (21). They have been noted either in the right-hand margin of this study or in the footnotes and we have arranged them, not in the order of their appearance in K. but under the heading of the volume of I.D. from which they have been derived. The page of K. on which they are found then follows each I.D. reference, and is given within brackets. For purposes of convenience we have noticed under the various heads of K. the I.D. passages quoted out of context.

| (21) | Introd. to K. | Preface | I.D. Vol 1: | 43(2); 81(3); 24.0(4); 242(2). |
| Part One | I.D. Vol 2: | 43(2); 81(3); 24.0(4); 242(2). |
| I.D. Vol 3: | 18(24); 31(11); 49(2); 60(5); 174(2); 24.5(2). |
| I.D. Vol 4: | 415(2); 49(2); 60(5); 174(2); 24.5(2). |
| Part Two | I.D. Vol 5: | 18(24); 31(11); 49(2); 60(5); 174(2); 24.5(2). |
| I.D. Vol 6: | 415(2); 49(2); 60(5); 174(2); 24.5(2). |
I.D. Vol. 3.  
194(36); 243(12); 243(17); 243(24); 243(21f); 245(33); 245(33); 326(9); 326(12); 345(31f); 326(9); 326(12);

I.D. Vol. 4.  
23(9); 23(12); 127(35f); 370ff(35f); 429(22f); 429(23);

Part Two.  
I.D. Vol. 1.  
194(36); 20(49); 263(49); 27(50); 74(45); 79(44); 79(45);

I.D. Vol. 2.  
23(54); 89(59);

I.D. Vol. 3.  
2(41); 2(48); 15(49); 23(41); 50(57); 199(56f); 243(48);

I.D. Vol. 4.  
23(41); 23(45); 23(48); 71(53); 130(43); 131(43); 156(43); 371f(42);

Part Three.  
I.D. Vol. 1.  
10(70); 12(66); 16(65); 48(64); 48(65); 184(66);

I.D. Vol. 3.  
175(70); 177(66); 181(63); 181(66); 181(68); 186(66); 186(67); 186(67);

I.D. Vol. 4.  
151(68); 156(64); 253(63f);

Part Four.  
I.D. Vol. 1.  
188(79); 35(79); 44(80); 51(79); 18(73); 88(79); 48(76); 72(51);

I.D. Vol. 2.  
160(93); 161(95); 187(61); 187(61); 161(91);

I.D. Vol. 3.  
188(91); 188(84f); 191(77); 191(88);

I.D. Vol. 4.  
151(83); 151(84); 151(84f); 151(85); 152(81); 152(82); 153(88); 216(100); 232(76); 332(97); 395(83); 420(73);

240(81); 420(81); 420(82); 420(84f); 420(91);

420(93); 420(98); 425(90); 422(84); 425(85); 425(87f); 426(83); 426(86); 426(91); 426(91);

426(95); 426(97); 441(84f); 444(90); 440(83).
(21) continued:

**Pillar One of K.**

| I.D. Vol. 1. | 13(109); 98(222); 156(124); |
| I.D. Vol. 2. | 11(142); 106(102f); 95(122); 203(183); 200(123f); 246f(206f); 256f(206); 264(206f); |
| I.D. Vol. 3. | 11(207); 30(133); 58(207); 66(207f); 227(164); |
| I.D. Vol. 4. | 13(163); 384(218); |

**Pillar Two of K.**

| I.D. Vol. 1. | 8(358); 9(350); 14f(291); 20(389); 32(361f); 49(352); 61(352); 64(347); 111f(350); 112(394); 113(293); 181(389); 192(311); 248(389); 280(312); |
| I.D. Vol. 2. | 40(371); 99(275); 142(364f); 136(269); 298f(268); 299(268); |
| I.D. Vol. 3. | 10(290); 34(380); 58(293); 87(241); 88(251); 95(342); 157(403); 180(283); 206(325); 208(357); 251(312); 280(252); 344f(379); |
| I.D. Vol. 4. | 175(301); 252(370); 316(275); 319(232); 321(354); 447(326). |
The inclusion in K. of "Advice to princes" (Pillar Two, Section Ten), and the omission of materials found in Vol. 2, Book 10 of I.D. on the moral virtues etc. of the Prophet.

One of the problems which arise from the study of K. for which it is not possible to offer a wholly satisfactory solution is that the contents of Vol. 2, Book 10 of I.D. which inform the reader on what, for a Muslim, is a topic of great interest, are not given the place in K.'s arrangement that one might expect. Instead of a section on the Prophet, his morals, dress, manner of eating, disposition and miracles, K. offers a short section in which the author offers advice to princes. Had the author felt that this section in K. was absolutely necessary in order to commend his work to a wider public and gain for it princely notice then he might, had he no other intention than this, have compressed the two slight sections on Beliefs and Knowledge into one at the beginning of the first Pillar, and then placed the eulogy of the Prophet at the end of that Pillar where it would make a fitting climax to the first Pillar, and offer a most apt introduction — one would hope — to the second Pillar. The legal requirements of the first Pillar would then be furnished with a practical illustration from the life of the Prophet himself — who was the source of the Sunna — and the arguments of the second Pillar might have been made even more cogent by an appeal to the habits and morals, courtesy and conduct, of the Prophet. It is hard at first sight, to understand why no notice was taken of this most important topic in K.; particularly so since I.D. devotes an entire book to the subject.

One possible explanation of this omission may be that a great deal of the material found in Vol. 2, Bk. 10, has already been noted in the preceding sections of K. al Ghazzali tells us (I.D.2/313) that at that particular stage in his work he had originally intended to attempt to write a complete guide to Muslim morals and etiquette but
that, after reflection, he had decided that it would be tedious to repeat things which had already been mentioned in the preceding pages of I.D. Those preceding books of his great work contain a great deal of information and guidance on this particular topic since they deal with the beliefs and religious and legal observances of Islam. al Ghazâlî then adds that, in order to avoid prolixity and tedious repetitions, he had decided, in the 10th book of the second volume, to write only about the moral character of the Prophet, his appearance and his miracles, as these things are reported upon in Sahîh traditions.

Some of the materials which are thereupon presented are certainly not to be found elsewhere (2/312-345). The quotation of prophecies about him in the Torah and Injîl (2/321), the Prophet's enduring of slights and wrongs as matters which were ordained by God (2/320), the Prophet's eating of melons, grapes, bread and cucumbers (2/327f), the parts of a goat which he relished and those parts which he did not eat (2/329), his use of names for his weapons (2/334), and his personal appearance - all these are points which have not been touched on in the preceding pages of I.D. and might, conceivably, have been given some place in K. as being matters connected with the very important question of the Sunna.

On the other hand, however, there are a number of things in Vol.2, Bk.13 of I.D. which are merely repetitions of previous statements. In the preceding pages we have read about the Prophet's generosity, his simple manner of life, his acceptance of invitations to meals without entertaining suspicions concerning the lawfulness of the food provided (2/314-317). We have already been informed of his love of scents and have learned, under the appropriate heads, of his jovial conduct with his wives (2/319). We are also aware that he was affable in his dealings with others, that he gave each person in his company the impression that his attention was directed wholly to them, that he sat
among his Companions like one of them. We also know that he did not interrupt others when they were speaking, that he sat like a slave and ate like a slave. He licked his fingers after eating, and did not approve of two vegetables in the same dish.

In spite of al Ghazâlî's avowed intention to avoid repetition we find a good deal of repetition in this tenth book. Had the author of K. wished, however, he could quite easily have avoided such tedious repetitions and still contrived to offer the reader a fairly lengthy statement on the Prophet, for the long section in the tenth book which treats of the miracles of the Prophet has not been noticed in our observations above. This itself, if translated into Persian, would have given him a good deal of material for a separate section.

As one reads the I.D. account of the miracles of the Prophet one senses a certain reluctance on the part of al Ghazâlî to mention such things at all. He begins by drawing the reader's attention away from the topic, and points out that it would be sufficient grounds for faith and belief in the Prophet's mission had he merely reported his revelations, and imparted his knowledge of the heavenly books. In other words, al Ghazâlî is informing us at the outset that the miracles are not the ground of faith but, for him, an "embarras de richesses". He then overcomes his embarrassment sufficiently to recount the miracles of the Prophet. We might add that, even here, he goes to a certain amount of unnecessary trouble since some of the Prophet's miracles mentioned in the tenth book of volume two are to be found in I.D. volume one (pp. 100f). Possibly he felt obliged to report them again, lest somebody who was unfamiliar with the earlier books of I.D. might be led to assume that he questioned the authority of tradition at such points.
Having reported the miracles his embarrassment becomes
evident once more and, in a somewhat obscure passage he compares the
testimony of the Qurān (which he declares to be Mutawātir (22)), with the
that of the traditions quoted. These traditions, he points out, are
merely Sahih! It appears to be rather odd, that, having first
commended his study on the grounds that it was based on Sahih
traditions he should now be indicating that not one of them is
Mutawātir!

When he refers to the Qurān he does not quote a verse in
support of these final observations, but one may be permitted possibly
to suggest that he was thinking of Sūrah 29.48ff. Thus, both in his
introductory remarks on the subject of the Prophet's miracles, and in
his final comments (2/345) al Ghazālī reveals an unwillingness to
appeal to the authority of these traditional materials on this subject.
It would have been difficult, in these troubled times, for him to deny
the authority of such traditions, and might have merely had the effect
of both weakening orthodoxy and adding to the dangers in which he stood
as its champion. He is content therefore at this point, to offer this
"soft impeachment" and leave the rest to the understanding of the
reader.

All this, of course, tells us nothing about the possible
reasons for the fact that the tenth book of volume two of I.D. is not
accorded any recognition in K. These things, however, should be
borne in mind when we turn to K., for the opinions expressed in I.D.
appear to be reflected in the unambiguous language of K. The author
of the Persian work does not deny that prophets worked miracles (K.27)
but, later on in his work in a most significant passage (K.852), the
(22) For such terms as Sahih and Mutawātir, see art. Hadīth, Ency. of Islam.
The author of K states that those who possess insight can recognize a true prophet without any of the supporting evidences of miracles. He then goes on to state that knowledge derived from insight is more certain than that which is derived from a rod being made into a serpent (not a miracle of the Prophet) for a foolish person may be misled by such things and it is not easy to distinguish between magic and miracle (see also K.27).

We find that the author of K also is unwilling to appeal to miracles as being things which might substantiate a claim to prophethood and if our author had felt obliged to omit such reported wonders from any study of the Prophet, along with other passages which might be described as "tedious repetition", then very little would remain for inclusion in K, as the subject of a separate section at that point. The author of K may have deemed it expedient to omit the entire section rather than tamper with it. He may, we feel, have felt that a section on advice to princes - more charitable in tone than the final sections of Book 9 of Vol. 2. of I.D. - would serve both to correct a great deal in the earlier work and provide him with some excuse for omitting the materials on the Prophet as they are presented in I.D. Most of those same materials had already been appealed to in earlier books of I.D, and such excellent excuses may have been made to cloak the writers reluctance to appeal to the traditional reports of miracles ascribed to the Prophet.

There are one or two other minor points in the tenth book of volume two which are not in accord with other parts of I.D. teaching. In 2/331 I.D. declares that the Prophet wore a brocade gown (cf. K.408(2)). The Prophet is also reported to have said that singing and all musical instruments were unlawful (I.D. 2/314. Cf. Section 8 Pillar 2 of K.). These are, of course, minor matters which might quite easily have been omitted from the materials selected for inclusion in K. had the author
of K. desired to make extensive use of the teachings and elements found in the tenth book of volume two of I.D.

In our opinion, the fact that he did not use that book may reflect K's attitude to the entire question of the miracles ascribed to the Prophet - an attitude which we feel, is shared by I.D. itself, as the above statements in book ten of volume two reveal.

The fact that there is no reference to miracles in the parallel book ten (part two) of the Kitab al Arba’In may also be not without its significance here (23). The same work merely mentions miracles - without giving the details found in I.D. 1/100f - in section ten of the first part. (24).

It may be of interest to note that in Pillar Two, Section Ten, K. makes use of materials which are to be found in I.D. The references are as follows:

I.D. Vol. 1: 44(419); 193(410).
Vol. 2: 175(411); 306(415); 308(416).
Vol. 3: 55(411); 114(420).

(23) See J. Robson's translation of this part of the Kitāb al Arba’In in the Moslem World, 45, 1955, (pp. 324-333).
(24) See 1344 A.H. text of Kitāb al Arba’In, p. 22.
al Ghazālī tells the story in I.D. (2/166) of a certain al Buwāthī who, so al Ghazālī says, preferred the life of a recluse to that of the company of scholars. He spent his days in acts of devotion and, indeed, so other-worldly was he that a certain Rābi' bin Sulaymān was able to appropriate a work of al Buwāthī's, augment it, and then circulate it as his own. Such acts of piracy were by no means rare in those days, and the fact that al Ghazālī himself was capable of piracy on occasion is indicated by the additional note which is added to al Ghazālī's reference to his book al Mustaghfirī. Goldziher (25) and Bauer (26) note the activity of an "unfriendly hand" in that case. (See I.D. 2/124), and one is left wondering how many passages in al Ghazālī's I.D. ought also to be annotated as "derived from another work" had the unfriendly hand been rather more active? In I.D. (1/103) al Ghazālī offers an explication of matters, which, he says, are presented by Abū Ta'lib al Makkī in a somewhat confused fashion in his Qūt al Qulūb. This acknowledgement, offered in a somewhat grudging spirit, does not by any means cover the many instances in which he found inspiration from the Qūt al Qulūb (27).

al Ghazālī and his contemporaries, no doubt experienced a great deal of trouble in protecting their work from each other, and such considerations as this have a direct bearing upon our study here. It might have been possible, shortly after al Ghazālī's death, for one of his literary executors to present such a work as K. as a means of gaining currency for his own ideas. That the Mishkāt contains a forged passage has been admitted for some time (28) and one of al Ghazālī's

(25) Streitschrift, pg.16. (26) Islamische Ethik, pt. 3, p164 (2)
(27) See Gardet and Anawati, Introduction, pg 68 (4).
disciples might, under the circumstances which we have just indicated, have produced an elaborate forgery such as K. Moreover, so far as we know, there are no references to K. in other works of al Ghazālī. This may be accounted for on the grounds that K. was written in Persian and was designed for a limited public by the author, and yet this explanation is not conclusive. It is not entirely satisfactory because, for one thing, we find no direct appeal to K. in the Persian Nasīḥat al Mulūk - a work which we believe to have been written after K. and which was partly inspired by K. as our introductory notes to Pillar Two, Section Ten, have made clear. The translator of the Nasīḥat into Arabic did insert into his Tibr al Masābūk a passage which he may have derived from K. (419f(1)) when he translated what is obviously a parallel passage to K. It may be that he here shows an awareness of the K. passage. On the other hand, this opinion should not be pressed too far because there may be a lacuna in the Teheran text's Ms. at this point; the Teheran Persian text of the Nasīḥat (1317 A.H.) being less reliable here than the Persian text from which the B.H., Ms. of the Tibr was translated.

Here also then, when we refer to another Persian work by al Ghazālī, we do not find any trustworthy evidence of the existence of the Persian work we know as K. We are therefore obliged, in order to discuss the authorship of K., to turn to the internal evidences provided by the work itself and which we have noted in the course of this thesis. If we are not able to prove conclusively by such a method that the work is by al Ghazālī we may at least hope to establish the fact that the teachings it contains are Ghazāliam.

We noted in the preface to this study (footnote (5)), all the instances in which the author of K. refers to I.D. as a work which he, the author of K., has also written. We have also referred in the course of these final observations, under part two (c) to the story
which is told in the first person singular respecting al Jurjānī; a story which is told in this way in both I.D. and K. Such claims of authorship are, of course, claims which one would expect a forger to make. One would also expect a forger to appeal to other works by al Ghazālī, and we have noted such appeals in the preface to this thesis (footnotes 8, 9 and 10). The appeal to such works as the Mishkāt and I.D. could, of course, only be justified if the forger wished to propagate his own ideas under the name of al Ghazālī, and to insert into a body of Ghazālian teaching the type of heterodox thought which we have already noted as being present in the Mishkāt.

We naturally, therefore, examined all passages with great care, which we have noted as being "not found" in I.D. and the evidence here is negative. Such passages are not theologically significant and certainly do not contain any heterodox opinions on law or doctrine.

The only course which remains open to us at this juncture is to look beyond the limits we imposed for ourselves, and examine the teachings and opinions found in Pillars Three and Four of K. Here again we found no heresy, nor did we indeed, find any theological opinion which might not be supported by reference to I.D. We would not wish to press this opinion here, since it is not supported by the type of detailed study which we have offered in the case of the Introduction and first two Pillars of K. At all events, the internal testimony to the fact that, in K., we are dealing with a Ghazālian text is as conclusive as one could hope for under the circumstances.

We have also, in the course of these final observations, drawn attention to the fact that the author of K. has not adhered slavishly either to the arrangement or the course of the argument of I.D. We noted, in part two (b), of these final observations, that K. has exercised a certain degree of freedom in his interpretation of the nature of the legal obligations which are to be fulfilled by the
"common man". We also noted under that head that the author of K. reveals a certain maturity of judgement in many respects, and does not make the impossible demands upon the layman which are to be found in I.D. (see K/168). We have also remarked in the same part of these final observations that the author of K. felt able to add additional directions of a practical nature wherever he felt that the layman required such guidance (see K/117), and that a certain amount of additional material, offering practical advice on matters connected with earning and trading, is to be found in K. under Section Three of the second Pillar. Also, in part two of these observations ((b) footnote 17) we have referred to the liberty which the author of K. has exercised in his increasing of the heads of the argument in certain places, rather than reducing or retaining the number of heads he finds in I.D. In our comments on part two (a) of these final observations, we have also made specific reference to K's selective and creative use of I. D. materials. We noted there also, that K. has exercised a great deal of freedom in his arrangement and selection of the materials derived from I.D. and yet, this freedom has in no way destroyed the impression that K. gives, of a dependence upon I.D.

This freedom in the use of I.D. materials and great familiarity with the text of I.D. as a whole, is also borne out by the use which K. has made of I.D. in his lifting of I.D. passages out of their original context, and employing them in an appropriate fashion in the course of his argument. We have tabulated all these instances under footnote 21 of these final observations.

Finally, we find one of the most cogent proofs of K's genuineness, is the fact that we do not find the tenth book of volume two of I.D. represented in the sections of K. The very fact that the author of K. has substituted for a study of the sunna of the Prophet and his miracles, a section offering advice to princes, suggests to
us that here in K. we are not dealing with a forger, or merely with a work containing Ghazalian teaching, but with a genuine work by al Ghazali. It is very unlikely that a forger would omit a section on the sunna of the Prophet and his miracles, from a work which he wished to offer in the name of al Ghazali. Such an action would immediately invite the attention of the reader to differences in the arrangement and topics of the derived work, and would lead others to enquire into his motives. al Ghazali would, no doubt, be very willing to account for the omission, and he may have done so in the fashion which we suggest in the second part of these final observations (section f.) It is very unlikely that a forger would attempt such a bold stroke, even if he knew of al Ghazali's attitude to the miracles of the Prophet as proofs of his veracity. This attitude we have noted as being adumbrated in I.D. and expressed in unequivocal language in K/352.

The evident unity between K. and I.D. at such points and, as we may see for example by reference to K/601f in a section dealing with human choice, the fact that the author of K. could be as loyal to the Ash'arite position here as is I.D., makes one feel that if K is the work of another than al Ghazali, then Ghazali had a mind among his disciples that was as great as his own. A forgery of this kind appears to be rather pointless, and certainly serves no other purpose than the propagation of the spiritual themes of I.D. itself.

Therefore, in the light of the above considerations, and after a careful comparison of all the passages in the Persian text with the parallel Arabic passages from which they may be said to have been translated, we hold that there is no good reason for questioning K's claim that it is the work of one who is also the author of I.D. This, as we have noted, is asserted by the author of K. at a number of points, and the person who produced the Persian text had so sure a grasp of the content and significance of I.D., and so surely develops
his argument on the basis of the Arabic original, that we see no good reason for questioning the genuineness of K. as a work by al Ghazâlî. We are also confident that when the third and fourth Pillars of K. are compared with I.D. in the same detailed fashion as we have attempted in this study, that this conclusion will be justified. Until this study is attempted, however, our conclusions, since they in no way affect the aim and purpose of this thesis, may be accepted as being no more than tentative and provisional.

We have considered the authorship of K. before discussing the date of this work. Had we any good reason for questioning the genuineness of K. we should at this stage, have no grounds for discussing it in relation to the events of all Ghazâlî's life, as we now propose to do. We have already appealed to part two of these final observations, and noted the reference in section (c) to al Jurîfânî. We noted that the stories told about the shâikh here and elsewhere are not found in I.D. - apart from the "first person singular" passage - and that the fact that al Jurîfânî was connected with Khurâsân, suggests that this work was written in a fashion designed to appeal to the "common man" in that area.

Bouyges (29) states that he believes that the Persian K. was written a little before 499 A.H. (A.D. 1105-6) and during al Ghazâlî's period of retreat (488-499/1095-1106). We are now obliged to ask whether it is possible, in view of the fact that we have found materials in K. (see K/35(1) and K/45(1)) which are not found in I.D. but which remind one of the Imlâ' and maghâm al Şagîrîr, for K. to have been written at such a time in al Ghazâlî's life? The fact that the latter work has been accepted as genuine by some scholars and not by others

(29) op. cit. pg. 60.
need not concern us here, since we are dealing with a passage which has no savour of heterodoxy about it. At all events K. does not appeal to the Naṣīḥat at this point, and this may be explained on the grounds that that work in particular was not designed for the "common man" and that, even if such a work existed at the time when K. was written, the author of K. would hardly have found it expedient to direct attention to it, even when making use of materials to be found in it.

The fact that there is no direct appeal to the Imārī in K. presents no problem, for it is very probable that the ideas which were presented in K. were developed later in the Imārī during the period of teaching which followed the retreat. This period of public teaching extended from 499-503/1106-1109. Bouyges offers these dates (30) and also states that the Naṣīḥat was written from 496-499/1104-1106. This also supports our opinion that the Naṣīḥat was written after the tenth section of Pillar two of K. in that it shows signs of more mature consideration in the ordering of its materials. (31).

We conclude therefore, that, if K. is to be accepted as a work of al-Ghazālī, it must be dated just a little time before 496-499 A.H. and this appears to agree with the conclusions of Bouyges, for it would then have been written in the latter part of the retreat which was spent in the Persian environment of Tūs in Khorāsān. (32).

A passage in K/479 which speaks of the death of Imām Husain as an event which occurred four hundred years before the time of writing, gives support of a more general kind to our opinion that the work emanates from the time of al-Ghazālī.

(30) Bouyges, op.cit.pp 75f.
(31) See also K/65 (1) for passages in Naṣīḥat (pp.27-29 Teheran 1317 A.H.) derived from K. & I.D.
(32). See Bouyges, op.cit.pp.4f and 59f.
Revisions of Teheran text of K.

The Teheran text has been emended in accordance with the B.M. Ms. of K. in the following places:—

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<td>317 (2);</td>
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CONCLUSION.

In this thesis we have presented a study, in summary form and by the use of references, of the dependence of the Introduction and first two Pillars of the Persian K. upon al Ghazālī's great work, I.D.

We have noted references in K. to other works by al Ghazālī such as the Jawāhir al Qurān, the Bida'ah, the Mishkāt, and the Maṭār Asmā' Allāh, but none of these works may be said to be the pattern for K.'s arrangement and the source of K.'s content and ideas to the degree that I.D. has proved to be. The author K. has also stated in a number of places, that, as the author of I.D., he finds his inspiration in that work and his appeals to I.D. far exceed his references to all other works by al Ghazālī. Along with the works noted above, we have also found a passage which is to be found in a work of disputed authorship, the Magām al Saghir. This fact in no way affects the general conclusions of this thesis, as we have indicated in the preceding observations.

In K. we find a work which does not merely offer a summary of al Ghazālī's ideas, but a book which indicates the development of al Ghazālī's thought; a development which later found its fuller flowering in such works as the Nasīhat and the Imlī.'

It would be presumption on our part to claim that, in establishing K.'s dependence upon I.D., we have proved beyond all doubt that al Ghazālī is the author of K. In order to do this the remaining Pillars of K. must be subjected to the same kind of analysis as the Introduction and the first two Pillars of that work.

However, on the basis of these studies, and from our examination of the whole of K., we feel that al Ghazālī was most probably the author of K. and that K. was not a forgery. There is
also we find, a unity about the thought, content and style of K, which affords strong grounds for believing that it is a genuine work of al Ghazalī's. On these grounds we have offered the opinion that it was written a little before 498 A.H., its internal references further suggesting that it was produced in Kūfah and probably in Ṭūs.

It now remains for me to thank once again all who have assisted me in the production of this thesis, and especially to acknowledge the support and help of my wife, who, in addition to the cares of the household, has yet found time to type the entire work in this its final form.