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AHMAD ZARRUQ

HIS LIFE AND WORKS

By

‘Ali Fahmi Khushaim

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

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School of Oriental Studies, Elvet Hill, Durham.
ABSTRACT

During the second half of the 9th/15th century Ahmad Zarrūq al-Burnusi al-Fāsī lived, a jurist and a Sufi. As an intellectual and the founder of a Sufi Order, his impact was felt in the realm of literature and among the masses. He is considered to be one of the orthodox Sufi masters whose concern was largely directed towards alleviating the misunderstanding which had occurred in Islamic thought between Jurisprudence and Sufism. This thesis deals with Zarrūq’s activities and his influence as a Sufi. It is composed of an introduction and five chapters. The introduction explains the historical, social and academic circumstances in his native city, Fez, in which Zarrūq passed his early years, of which he was a part. The first chapter is concerned with his life, his education, travels, and his contact with Sufism, until he died in Misurata, far away from his own country. The second contains a catalogue of his works, such as exist in manuscripts or editions, or have been cited. There is also a brief analysis of Zarrūq the author and of aspects of his authorship, with a classification of his works and commentaries by others on them; also a table of dates of some of his works. The third traces the Order which Zarrūq founded, his position among the various Sufi Orders, and his relation to the Shādhiliyah. It also
contains a historical survey of the Zarrūqiyah and its Zāwiyahs, its branches, principles and teachings. The fourth examines the principal Sufi ideas as Zarrūq interpreted them from a sunnī point of view, in theory and in practice. The fifth chapter is concerned with him as a Sufi critic and some aspects of his criticism in regard to following the Way and the obligations of both the seeker and the master with respect to the sunnī concept of Sufism in belief and action. The thesis contains 10 illustrations.
ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

In the preparation of this work I received kind encouragement and help from many people for all of whose names there is no space here. My sincere thanks go to Dr. Ralph Austin, who supervised this study and helped me in many ways. I would like to express my gratitude to the Libyan Government and to the University of Libya for their financial aid, to Mr. Ali Mustafa al-Misrati of Tripoli and Shaikh Ibrahim al-Kattani of Rabat, for supplying me with valuable manuscripts and advice. I am also greatly indebted to all the members of the Oriental Section of University Library, Durham, particularly Mr. W. Simpson, who helped me in many ways.
### TRANSLITERATION

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Arabic letters</th>
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# TABLE OF CONTENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chapter</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>His Life</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II</td>
<td>His Works</td>
<td>69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III</td>
<td>The Zarrūqiyyah</td>
<td>155</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV</td>
<td>The Sufi Way according to Zarrūq</td>
<td>222</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V</td>
<td>Zarrūq the Critic</td>
<td>310</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Bibliography</td>
<td>372</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
INTRODUCTION

Fez in the middle of the Ninth/Fifteenth Century.

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

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

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

2. Ibid., p. 99.
3. Ibid., pp. 96-97.
relations between 'Abd al-Ḥaqq and his people were so tense that the Sultan chose two Jewish gentlemen and appointed them to high positions in order to spite the people of Fez. (1)

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

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

1. Ibid., p.98. It is obvious that the Jews, after being expelled with the Muslims from Spain during this period, had established themselves socially, economically and politically in Fez. They enjoyed great influence on some of the Marinid Sultans and penetrated in the affairs of the State. C.f. Benchakroun; Mazāhir al-thaqāfah al-Maghribiyah, pp.38-43.
That was in the year 869 هـ. (1464 A.D.). In the same year 'Abd al-Ḥaqq set out from Fez at the head of an expedition to quell the revolt of al-Ḥabṣ tribes. The people of Fez, grumbling at the severity of Hārūn and Shāul and the heavy taxes imposed upon them and annoyed at being ruled by non-Muslims, seized the opportunity and, led by Shaikh Abū Fāris al-Wiryāghlī, they revolted, deposing 'Abd al-Ḥaqq and announcing 'Abd Allāh al-Ḥafīd as Sultan. 'Abd al-Ḥaqq himself was killed by his soldiers' hands while he was on his way back to Fez, and thus the MerīnĪd dynasty came to its end.(1)

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

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

1. Istiqsā, Vol. IV, p.100.
2. Ibid., pp. 102 ff.
city fifty-one years later. The cities of Qaṣr al-Ḡajr, Aṣīla, Aṣfā and some important spots on the Sus coast were in their hands before the end of the 9th Hijri century. (1)

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

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

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

2. The impact of the Muslim exodus from Spain and the discovery of America in addition to the discovery of the sea-route round Africa was so great upon the Muslim world that it fell gradually in European hands. Those days, in fact, were the beginning of the end for the Muslims whose culture started deteriorating and who retreated from playing an effective rôle in the world's affairs.
the political situation was so disturbed and confused
that the Sultans were not able to impose law and order
upon their subjects or even to get rid of rebels in most
parts of the country.

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

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

"A world it is to see. How huge, how populous, how
well-fortified and walled this city is!" These are his
words commencing to write down "a worthy description of
the city of Fez." In a spirit of admiration he continues
to describe its buildings, markets, hospitals, baths,
inns, mills, etc. He also gives us the details of the
administration of justice, manners of eating and drinking,
manners of marriage, festivals and mourning for the dead,
and so on.
From Leo we gain a picture of a really great city of the most striking size, not to be compared (in the whole Muslim world of those days) except with Cairo. And when Cairo is mentioned it is always associated with the al-Azhar Mosque. So is Fez with al-Qarawiyyīn.

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

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

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

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It seems that in spite of the political restlessness in the country in that age the scientific and literary activities did not fail to continue. On the contrary we notice that those activities, which began to flourish under the Almohads, were even more in evidence in this age. The Marinid Sultans in reality encouraged both teachers and students to devote themselves exclusively to education by every means, paying them monthly salaries and ensuring their accommodation.\(^{(1)}\)

Some of the Sultans themselves were poets, doctors or jurists. Libraries were established and books were brought from abroad, especially from Spain, to feed the increasing hunger for knowledge. Fez became an attractive place for scholars from every part of the Muslim world, where they found protection and care.\(^{(2)}\)

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

\(^{1}\) Ibid., p.422.


\(^{3}\) Ibid., pp.188-203.

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

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

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

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

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

2. op.cit., p.467.
it as a cover for their sins and deceit. The Şūfīs appear as mere "darwishes", dancing, playing music and chanting lusty songs without knowing the real meaning of Sufism and its goals. This, in fact, did not happen in Fez and Morocco only. It was a common phenomenon which dominated the whole of the Muslim world which was in a state of decline and decadence in those days.

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

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

Zarrūq's experience is one of the most exciting experiences in the history of Sufism. As a Sunnī Şūfī he may be compared with Abū Ḥāmid al-Ghazālī, with differences in circumstances and details. The two men
started as *fugahāʾ* (jurists) and transferred to pure Sufism at a later stage of their lives. Both of them were strict Ash'arīs who defended Sufism against foreign influence and believed in the link, if not union, between the *Sharī'ah* (the Islamic Law) and the *Haqīqah* (the Truth). Both of them wrote in the field of Law as well as that of Sufism.

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

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

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

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

Since it is impractical and impossible to cover all aspects of his activities, since the man was a multi-faceted scholar, the main theme of our study will be: "Zarrūq the Sufi", taking into consideration his other aspects and referring to them where necessary.
"The fragrance of our musk will not be diffused until we have decayed in the earth!"

Aḥmad Ṣarrūq

Riḥlat al-‘Ayyāshī
CHAPTER ONE

HIS LIFE.

The early days.

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

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

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

At the beginning of this poem Zarrūq says:

The last word in the first line creates a problem
regarding another surname which Zarrūq has, since the
manuscripts differ in writing it as either al-Khaḍḍār
or al-Ḥaddārī. Shaikh Gannūn in his pamphlet on Zarrūq
(Dihkrayat Washāhir Rijāl al-Maghrib, 23) holds that
al-Khaḍḍār (greengrocer) was his father's nickname, then
he changes his opinion in his article (Bulletin of the
Faculty of Arts, University of Libya, Vol. II, p.130)
and chooses al-Ḥaddārī (the man who came from the valley
of al-Ḥaddār), because a friend of his told him that
this valley exists in the area where the Barānis tribe
live). At any rate, the copyist of the manuscripts of
al-Kharrūbī's Sharḥ 'uyūb al-nafs (Tunis, MS. 1037/2)
writes it al-Khaḍḍārī both with a dot on the
letter ɛ and ɪ at the end of the word.
"This hill," he reports, "abounds with plenty of corn, fruits and grapes, and yet they make no wine at all. Their women are white and fat and adorn themselves with much silver."\(^{(1)}\)

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

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

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2. According to Gannūn. In French it is Taliouine.
3. Gannūn; "Ahmad Zarrūq", Bulletin of the Faculty of Arts, University of Libya, Vol. II, pp.130-131. Gannūn adds that he thinks the Zāwiyyah was built for Zarrūq's father after the son became famous and that if his father was a learned man his son would not neglect mentioning this in his autobiography.
4. See: Kunnāsh, iS. Tunis 1911; Rabat iS. Q 1385.
Zarrūq was not the original family name. He inherited it from his grandfather who had blue eyes (azraq al-‘ainain), a common feature in the Berber race. Although the derivation does not correspond with Arabic etymology it is obvious that the nickname has its root from the word azraq (blue). (1)

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

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

2. Ibid., p.59. It is significant that Zarrūq was so fond of his father's name (ʿāmah) that he did not only maintain it in exchange for his former name (Muḥammad) but also he named his four sons ʿāmah giving each of them a nickname to distinguish him from his brothers. Regarding the distortion of the name Muḥammad see: Edward Westermarck; Ritual and Belief in Morocco, Macmillan, London, 1926, Vol. II, p.407. Westermarck gives nine different ways of pronunciation of the name Muḥammad, while he records three ways only for the name ʿāmah.
epidemic which afflicted Fez in that year, known as the epidemic of 'Azzūnah.\(^1\) His father's will was that he be cared for by his mother. But the child was brought up by his maternal grandmother 'Umm al-Banīn\(^2\) who was a learned and pious old lady. The family was poor and he never profited even from the small sum which his father left to him.

"When my father was at the point of death," Zarrūq records, "he committed me to his mother's charge. She was a very wasteful woman. He willed the third part of his small fortune to be given to the muazzins of al-Andalus mosque. My maternal grandmother said to him: 'What have you done, son? You willed the third and decreased this infant's third while he is still a blood clot. Was it not enough that you yeild the money to your mother, knowing that she will give it to bad people?'

He replied: 'What I have willed I paid in advance for a palace in Paradise. The rest I gave to my mother. This my son I entrust to God.' He looked at me and said: 'I leave you to God, my son!' Then he died."\(^3\)

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2. Kunnāsh, op.cit., p.58. In MS. Tunis 1911 the lady's name is 'Umm al-Khair. 'Umm al-Banīn (the mother of the children) was an agnomen of Fāṭimah bint 'Abd Allāh al-Fihrī, who established the Mosque of al-Qarawīyyīn in 245/859. This agnomen was widely adopted by women named Fāṭimah in Morocco. (Cf. Shajarat al-nūr, I, p.441).
3. Ibid., p.58.
Women of Fez, in that age, had the opportunity to learn and participate in the intellectual activities of the country. Some of them reached a very high degree of education so that they were standing equally to famous Shaikhs. Umm al-BanIn was one of these women beside Umm Hānī al-ʿAbdūsiyyah and her sister Fāṭimah whom Zarrūq was acquainted with. She was a wise and patient woman and eager to bring up her grandson as best as she could. (1)

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

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

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

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

"After I had learnt some chapters of the Qur'ân by heart she began to teach me how to write and read, warning me not to read poetry, saying: 'He who neglects
science and deals with poetry is like he who exchanges wheat for barley!"(1)

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

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

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

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

1. Kunnāsh, p.60.
2. Ibid., p.61.
3. Ahmad Bābā al-Tumbuktī ; Nail al-‘ibtihāj, Cairo, 1351 H., p.84.
grew up he was sent to learn cobbling, on the advice of one of his relatives. He was not sent to learn tailoring since this trade needs cleanliness and elegance, both of which he lacked. The boy used to go to the cobbler's shop three times a week after the end of the school-day in the kuttab. (1)

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

In his youth.

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

1. Kunnāsh, p.60.
2. Nail al-İbtihāj, p.84.
3. Ibid.
distinguished learned men in the country who supervised him in understanding the first basic books he started to read. The following is a list of the Shaikhs he met and the books he read at that period of his life, taken from his autobiography in his Kunnâsh and other sources. (1)

His teachers:

1) 'Abd Allâh b. Muḥammad b. Qāsim al-Qawrī (d. 872/1467).
2) Muḥammad b. 'Ali al-Baṣṭī al-Qalṣādī (d. 891/1486).
3) 'Abd Allâh al-Fakhkhārī.
4) 'Abd Allâh al-Majāṣī.
6) 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Qawrī.
8) Abū 'Abd Allâh Muḥammad al-Mishādīdhālī (d. 866/1461-2).
9) 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Tha'alībī (d. 873/1468).
10) Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn (al-Sirāj al-Ṣaghīr) (d. 887/1482).
11) ʻAbd Allâh b. Ṣa'īd al-Ḥabbāk (d. 870/1465-6).
12) Muḥammad b. Qāsim al-Raṣṣā (d. after 890/1485).
13) 'Umm Ḥānī al-'Abdūsiyyah (d. 860/1456).
14) Abū Zakariyā Sāḥib al-Zahr (d. after 870/1465-6).
15) 'Isā al-ʻAwāsī.
16) Abū Ṣulṭān ʻAbd Allâh al-Zawārī (d. 884/1479).
18) Abū Ṣulṭān al-Ghumūrī al-Tīlīmānī (d. 874/1469).
19) Muḥammad b. Yūsuf al-Sanūsī (d. 899/1493).
21) 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Wirīyāghī (d. 881/1476).
22) Abū ʻĪsā b. Ṣa'īd al-Muknāsī (d. 870/1465-6).

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1. Kunnâsh, p. 61 ff.; Nail al-ʻIbūtīhāj, p. 85. The dates of these men's deaths are recorded whenever it is possible.
24)  Ahmad al-Tūnisī (d. 878/1473).
25)  Ahmad b. 'Ali al-Fiṣalī (d. 861/1456-7).
26)  'Abd Allāh al-'Abdūsī.
27)  'Ali b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Anfāsī (d. 860/1456).
28)  'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Majdūb.
29)  Muḥammad Ibn Amlāl.
30)  Muḥammad al-Zātūnī, and many others.

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

1)  al-Risālah of al-Qairawānī.
2)  al-Risālat al-Qudsīyvah of al-Ghazālī.
3)  al-'Aqīd of al-Ṭūsī.
4)  al-Sahīh of al-Bukhārī.
5)  al-Ahkām al-Sughrā of 'Abd al-Ḥaqq.
6)  al-Jāmi' of al-Tirmidhī.
7)  The rules of reading the Qurʾān according to the epistle of Nāfi'.
8)  al-Tanwīr of Ibn 'Atā' Allāh al-Iskandarī.

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

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

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\(1\) From the known dates of Zarrūq's compilations we find that he wrote a book entitled Ṭūḥfat al-murīd (see the catalogue) which is a mixture of collected sayings and abstracts from Sūfī and jurist works. It is clear that Zarrūq had not been entirely a Shadhilī in that period of his life, since he was recording the best of his vast reading without distinction among the Sūfī masters.
(esoteric science) and fūqārā (the poor) who initiated him into 'ilm al-bātin (esoteric knowledge). This created a sort of dualism in Zarrūq's thought which continued with him for a long time until he was completely overwhelmed by Sufism in his later years.

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

Al-Zaitūnī was a Sūfī who, it is said, followed the Shadhili Order另一方面 he was the head of a Zawiyah at that time in Fez. He was a blind man with a very strong character and influence. There is no

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

² It is mentioned in al-Ta'rif, p.283, that al-Zaitūnī was a Qādirī, although widely known as a Shadhili.
precise date for when Zarrūq came into contact with him, but it is certain that in 870/1465, when the latter was 24 years old, he was one of al-Zaitūnī's disciples. He served the poor in the Zāwiyāh and joined his master on a visit to the tomb of Sīdī ‘Abd al-Raḥmān Abū Ya‘zā. That was the most crucial year of the young man's life, and it was a very depressing year too. For after accompanying al-Zaitūnī for a period and becoming an intimate novice of his some misunderstanding occurred between them which sent Zarrūq off on a "forty-days wandering".

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

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

1. Kunnāsh, p.68.
When he stepped in he did not find anybody. He climbed the stairs leading to a room on the higher floor. To his surprise he saw the master sitting between two adorned women, kissing this once and turning to kiss the other. "This man is really a heretic!", said Zarrūq to himself and turned away. "Come back, O liar Ahmad!", the master called. When he looked back he found no women. The master explained: "The woman you saw on my right was al-‘Akhirah (the Hereafter). The other on my left was al-Dunyā (this world). You are a liar in claiming that you love me. Leave al-Maghrib and do not stay for one hour more!" And that was what Zarrūq did. The story adds that the angry master cast the suspicion of being a Jew upon his disciple until he returned to him and asked his forgiveness.

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

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

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1. Shu‘aib Abū Madyan b. al-Husain. He was born near Seville in Spain and moved as a young man to Fez. He was initiated in the Way by Abū Ya‘zā Yelnawr (d.572/1176). He visited the East and returned to Morocco to die in Tlemcen in (596/1198).
I used to find the spirit of mercy and revelation.\(^{(1)}\) I went to Tlemcen and arrived there on the thirty-nineth day of my departure from Fez. I said to myself: 'Today I shall visit Shaikh Abū Ṭadyan's tomb.' But I was unable to pay the visit until the next day: the completion of the forty days mentioned in the vision.\(^{(2)}\)

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

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

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

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1. Literally "discourse of the State ْناتِرًا ".
2. al-Kunnāsh, p.69.
3. Ibid., p.68.
Bearing in mind that his "wandering" was in 870/1465 it is possible to conclude some connection between his leaving Fez and the events of the previous year. There are, in fact, some indications that Zarrūq, being a well-known figure at Fez in his youth, was involved in some sort of political activity, or one may say "protest". He did not support the revolt led by his former Shaikh Abū Fāris al-Wiryāghly and did not participate in overthrowing Sultan 'Abd al-Ḥaqq al-Marīnī. On the contrary he stood against the rebels and opposed them. It is significant that al-Nāṣirī specifies Zarrūq, when he was relating the events of the year 869/1464, as not acknowledging al-Wiryāghly to be the Imām (leader of the prayer) and refusing to perform the prayer behind him. Zarrūq said, deploring his Shaikh's conduct and justifying his own: "I do not entrust my prayer to this gentleman any more, for what he committed against the Sultan."(1)

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

1. .SOCKA, p.100.

2. 'Uddat al-Murīd, p.17 ff. Where Zarrūq devotes a whole chapter deploring being engaged in politics.
time he holds that once the ruler becomes a tyrant and unjust to the people he should be avoided as far as possible, but not overthrown by violence.\(^1\) This may explain why he refused to appear before the Sultan when he encountered him and his army and was asked to do so,\(^2\) in addition to the fact that he did not consider the latter as the legal ruler because he came to power as a result of a bloody revolution.

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

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

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2. *Kunnāsh*, p.73.
al-Hajjar, a man said to me: 'O Jew! You have cheated them today.' I chased him and he became ashamed of himself... I was walking by the Jewish houses at Dar Ibn Mish'al. As soon as they saw me they said: 'This is the son of the Rabbi of Taza', since they heard that he had escaped for fear that he would be captured. They sent their Rabbi's son to meet me. When he came nearer to me he shouted: 'No, he is not!' He left me and I passed among their houses while they were standing at the doors, male and female, old and young. They became in doubt when I entered the mosque and great confusion and dispute arose among them.\(^1\)

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

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

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1. *Kunnāsh*, p.68.
afraid of the authorities. Or al-Zaitūnī did not agree with him and accused him of taking a supporting attitude towards the Jews. Both of these situations created a sort of guilt-feeling and led to a spiritual crisis in the young novice's soul. An inner struggle was inevitable. This was a convenient motive for him to take refuge at a famous saint's tomb at Tlemcen and evade a certain conflict with his master who seems to have been a great influence upon him. In the moment of distress and unease and in similar circumstances anything is to be expected. Zarrūq chose this kind of self-punishment and left the arena looking for consolation and relief, and yet he was setting his face towards his spiritual guide's help, seeing him in a dream and fulfilling his statement of forty-days in exile.

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

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

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

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

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

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

1. Kunnāsh, p. 82.
2. Ibid., p. 73. Zarrūq says that he met Shaikh Nur al-Dīn al-Tanāsī in Cairo. al-Tanāsī died 874 or 875/1469-70. Therefore Zarrūq stayed in Cairo for a certain period before he left for Mecca.
3. al-Sakhāwī; al-Daw' al-lāmi', p. 222.
4. Kunnāsh, p. 73, where he says that he studied under the Shaikh Nur al-Dīn al-Sanhūrī's supervision in the year 875/1470-1).
teachings and its shaikhs' wide reputation, it naturally attracted the thirsty knowledge-seeker by its dynamic and fascinating cultural environment. Zarrūq's first visit to the city on his way to Mecca was a short one, though he met some Shaikhs and profited from them.

Returning from the Ḥijāz, he visited Cairo, for the second time, in 876/1471, and settled there for one year.\(^1\)

This year was very useful to him, since he came into contact with eminent professors in Arabic and Islamic studies, as also famous masters of the Ṣūfī orders.

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

1. Muhammad al-Sakhāwī (d. 913/1507).
2. Shams al-Dīn al-Jawjarī (d. 896/1490-1).
4. Ahmad al-Shawābītī (or al-Shawāṭibī).
5. 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Qabbānī.
6. 'Abd al-Rahmān Ibn Ḥajar.
7. Ahmad Ibn Ḥajar.
11. Ahmad al-Shāwī.

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1. Kunnāsh, pp. 74-75.
16) Shihāb al-Dīn al-Ibshīhī
17) ʿIbrāhīm al-Damīrī (d. 923/1517).
18) Aḥmad b. ʿUqbah al-Ḥadramī (d. 895/1519).

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

A. Works of fiqh:
1) al-Aḥkām al-Ṣughrā of ʿAbd al-Ḥaqq.
2) The works of Ibn Abī Jamrah.
3) al-Madkhal of Ibn al-Ḥājj.
4) al-Ṣaḥīḥ of al-Bukhārī.

B. Ṣūfī works:
1) al-Iḥyāʾ of al-Ghazālī.
2) al-Risālah of al-Qushairī.
3) The works of Ibn ʿAṭāʾ Allāh al-Iskandarī:
   a. al-Ḥikam.
   b. al-Tanwīr.
   c. Latāʾif al-minān.
   d. Tāj al-ʿArūs.
   e. Miftāḥ al-falāḥ.
4) Awārif al-maʿārif of al-Suhrawardī.
5) The works of al-Muḥāsibī.
6) Qūṭ al-qulūb of al-Makkī.

1. Kunnāsh, p. 73 ff. These works are arranged in accordance with Zarrūq's own record.
If history really repeats itself one may say that the same thing which happened in Fez, happened again in Cairo. The Shaikhs under whose supervision Zarrūq studied may be divided into two groups; the fuqahā and the Sūfīs, the influence which was going to affect his future career and become a distinguishing mark in his life and thought. Zarrūq always held that fiqh and Sufism are connected subjects and that the study of fiqh is indispensable for the true Sūfī. Hence he has been called al-Jāmi' bain al-Sharī'ah wa al-Ḥakīkah (the Unifier of Law and Truth).

Incidentally, we find that at this stage also he was a close student of a faqīh; Muḥammad al-Sakhawī, and an intimate novice of a Sūfī; Aḥmad Ibn 'Uqbah al-Ḥadramī.

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

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

Between Zarrūq and al-Ḥāḍramī.

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

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

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

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

1. al-Sakhawi; al-Ḍaw’ al-lāmi‘, p.222.
2. Ibid.
4. Ibid., p.2.
visited al-Ḥadramī. The first words the Shaikh uttered were: "Leave this country. Verily it extinguishes the light of faith. It is necessary for the man who enters it to leave it in order to renew his belief!"(1) His idea was that the Egyptians did not deserve any attention, because they were not prepared to listen to him and accept his spiritual guidance. He thought that the men of the West were the men most ready for it. Several times al-Ḥadramī used to say: "The soil of the Maghrib is good. If you return to it your hearts will be good too."(2) When he was asked once: "Why have the messengers been sent to the East and not to the West?", his answer was: "Because the doctor does not go except where there is a sick man!"(3)

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

1. Ibid., p.13.
2. Ibid., p.2.
3. Ibid., p.7.
even in well-known biographers of some Sufis. No wonder then if we read it in such an obscure biography as Zarrūq's.

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

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

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

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


2. Manāqib al-Ḥaḍramī, p.20

3. Besides the letters exchanged between al-Ḥaḍramī and Zarrūq we find many other letters written by al-Ḥaḍramī instructing his followers at Fez, Bougie, Alter and Tunis. (See: Manāqib al-Ḥaḍramī, passim).
From Western aspirants who gathered around him al-Ḥadramī chose two novices to carry the mission and convey it to their country: Aḥmad Zarrūq and Muḥammad al-Khaṣṣāṣī. Both men were close friends. But it seems that Zarrūq was nearer to al-Ḥadramī than his fellow and more intimate with him.

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

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

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

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

In another message, received in Tunis also,\(^{(1)}\) we read:

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

\(^{(1)}\) Manāqib, pp.27-28.
so and returned to my former state."

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

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

1. Manāqib, p.27.

2. See the end of his al-Jāmi' li jumal min al-fawā'id wa al-manāfi' where he says that he compiled it at Bougie in that year (878/1874).
excluded. All this shows, to some extent, that he had some reasons to live there and perhaps he was enjoying some influence there.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

2. Dawḥat al-nāshīr, p.91. Telling the same story in p.45 he says that the faqīh who replied was ʿAbdAllāh b. Muḥammād al-Daqqūn (d. 921/1515-6).
and leave him unconscious alone after the dispute, unless there were some strong ideas about him and his attitudes. The circumstances in which he departed from Fez the first time may be one factor in his countrymen's behaviour. It may have been jealousy too, or they might have heard about his activities in Bougie and were not completely happy with him.

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

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

1. Dawḥat al-nāshir, pp. 92-93.
2. See Chapter III.
After spending about four years in Fez, life became so depressing there that he decided to emigrate from his own country and seek another place in which to settle. It was a very difficult decision to take, but he took it. He left his beloved city which had denied him once and for all. Here begins his period of exile which is going to last till his death.

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

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

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1. Manāqib, pp.31-34.
"I was informed that you faced some disturbance from certain people. If that is true you have none to blame save your self, which is the cause of your affliction and the hurt which you have suffered, if you would but consider. Be patient at what befell you, as Luqman said to his son... If you consider with insight you will find that whatever you encounter originates from your own self. Everything is inside you and upon you it rebounds. So, do not assign blame to anybody else. Endure time when it becomes bad. Understand the deeds rather than the words and you will be led aright.

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

"I am writing to you because it is my duty to advise an undutiful son. You have missed the way, the fruit and the sweetness of that drink. You have been too neglectful to find any argument to support you. Keep busy with your soul and remember God every hour in the heart or on the tongue. Obey Him in everything, for this is the time of affliction and trial. Go into seclusion and practise continuous invocation and beware of observing other than Almighty God. Then you will be guided aright."
"You were exceedingly remiss. Such things are to be expected from others, but not from you. But whenever God decrees an order it is carried out."

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

2. Gannun; Dhikrayāt, p.8.
3. In a fragment from one of al-Ḥaḍramī's undated letters to Zarrūq there are two lines of apology which suggest that al-Ḥaḍramī was keen to maintain his good relations with his disciple. See: Manāqib, p.40.
4. Ibn 'Ajībah; Sharḥ al-nūniyah (cited by Gannun; Dhikrayāt, p.18.)
In Misurata.

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

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

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

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

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

2. Ibid.
3. Leo visited the area about 1518. Zarrūq died 1493. Cf. History and Description of Africa, p.XXIV.
4. Meaning the sand dunes which surround it from the North and the East, for Misurata is not in a mountainous region. Because of these sand dunes Misurata is called sometimes Thāt al-Rimāl (The sandy place).
6. Blake; Misurata... p.11.
Being in such a position, a halting-place for caravans and a last station for Pilgrims before they pass through the one thousand miles of the desert of Barqā (Cyrenaica) on their way to Mecca, it is almost certain that Zarrūq knew the town and some of its people during his journies to and fro. His knowledge of Tripoli, which is not far from Misurata and which has historical and cultural relations with it, is confirmed by what he himself has written in his Kunnāsh about the city and some of its eminent men whom he was acquainted with. He might have settled in Tripoli for sometime, since there are two Tripolitanian Shaikhs considered to be among his teachers; Ahmad b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Ṭūsā al-Yazlītnī al-Qarawī, better known as Ḥilūlī,(1) and ‘Alī al-Kharrūbī al-Ṭarābulṣī.(2) Al-Kharrūbī was an intimate friend of whose son became a sincere follower of Zarrūq. He was so close to the family that he used to intervene in its affairs either at Misurata or in Tripoli.(3)

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

1. A famous Jurist who was a Qādī of Tripoli and wrote many works (d. after 875/1470). Cf. Nā'il al-Ṭibtiḥāj, p. 83.

2. Father of the younger Kharrūbī, the celebrated Jurist and follower of Zarrūq.

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

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

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

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

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2. It seems that Zarrūq left Cairo directly to Misurata, because he was at Cairo in the beginning of that year (Nail al-Iḥtiḥāj, p.209).
"You have known, Sir, that I am at Misurata because of what came into my heart that I must obey. We are unable to do anything but turn wherever the wind of our destiny turns and accept whatever emanates from it with the help of God, since each destiny has been recorded in a book. We do not care where we are as long as we are numbered among the beloved ones." (1)

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

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

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

1. Al-Ta'rif, p.280.
The tomb of Sidi Bu Shu'aifah overtops Maghārat al-Sullāb (the Cave of the Pious Ones), on the seashore.

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

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

1. 'Abd al-Salām al-Faitūrī; al-Ishārāt limā bi Tārālush min al-mazārāt, Tripoli, 1921, p.6.

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

[Cont'd on p.53]
They used to travel widely and many of them were able to perform the Pilgrimage at Mecca. Some of them happened to know Zarrūq, either in Cairo or the Hijāz, and accompanied him. They might have invited him to come to their town, during that confusing period, and asked him to live among them.

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

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

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

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

1. An oasis with a long history of Sufis and Sufism, lies 30 miles west of Misurata.
2. A town between Tripoli and Misurata, further to the South at the Eastern end of the Atlas mountain range.
3. Al-Ṭayyib al-Miṣrāṭī; Fath al-‘Alīy al-Akbar, Beirut, 1969, p.149. This relation between al-Dūkālī and Zarrūq is possible, for both of them lived in the same period and al-Dūkālī was originally from Morocco.
While 'Abd al-Karīm al-Baramūnī (born 893 H.) asserts that his father was one of Zarrūq's followers and that "he was the man who brought him from Egypt to Misurata."(1)

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

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

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

2. Al-'Ayyāshī; al-Riḥlah, p.96.
of Ahmad b. Zakariya al-Ghulbani, who bore for him three children, in addition to his wife Fatimah al-Zilla'iyyah who followed him from Fez.

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


2. Rihlat al-'Ayyashi, p.98.

3. Ibid.

4. Both of two versions of Zarruq's book al-Maqad al-Asma fi ma yata'llaq bi al-Asma confirm that it was compiled at Alger, but they differ in these two dates of compilation.

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

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

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

8. See the end of his commentary on Hizb al-Bahr of al-Shadhili.
Zarrūq's travels, with chronological table.

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

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

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

1. al-Ḥanālī; Bulūgh al-Maram, p.33.
2. Tārīkh Rawdat al-Azhār, p.244.
4. Zarrūq says in his Kunnāsh (p.58) that he married five women. Nothing is known about his other three wives.
were: Zarrūq's wife, Fāṭimah, who bore his two elder sons; Ahmad al-Akbar and Ahmad al-Asghar, and his other wife 'Amat al-Jalīl(1) who bore his two sons: Ahmad Abū al-Fatḥ and Ahmad Abū al-Faql in addition to his only daughter 'Aḥsha. The last three died successively and their mother got married to one of Zarrūq's followers named Mansūr b. Ahmad al-Bijā’ī,(2) while nothing is known about his other wife's fate. His two elder sons, al-Akbar and al-Asghar, left Misurata for the West and eventually settled at Constantine in Algeria. Their last tie with Misurata was cut when Ahmad al-Asghar, called usually al-ṭālib (the student), was sent by his brother from Algeria to collect their mother's and their share of their father's bequest.(3) It seems that Ahmad al-Akbar, called al-faqīh (the learned man), inherited some of his father's prestige and enjoyed a kind of influence over his followers in Algeria.(4) But nothing more is to be heard about Zarrūq's family after that.

His character and personality.

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

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

1. Rihlat al-‘Ayyāshī, p.98.
2. Ibid., pp.98-99.
3. Ibid.
and put them in one frame and see how he looked and acted.

"He was a very handsome short man," says ‘Abd al-Sālim al-Asmar in his ṣaḥiḥ waṣiyyah al-kubrā, who saw him with his master, ‘Abd al-Wahhāb al-Dūkālī at Misallata, and might have joined Zarrūq’s lectures in Misurata.\(^1\)

As a Berber he was probably white-skinned, but he certainly did not inherit his grandfather’s blue eyes.\(^2\)

Nothing else is found. His health was poor and he might have suffered from a certain disease which used to attack him often for a long time. This perhaps was the cause of his death at a comparatively early age.\(^3\)

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

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

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3. See Ḥammāsh, p.59, where he says that he fell sick in Cairo four times, every time was for four months, eating nothing save black olives only.
4. Ḥammāsh, p.61.
5. Ibid., p.68. One of Zarrūq’s friends, Shaikh Abu ‘Abd Allāh al-Daqqūn, used to say to him: "Wait until you become forty years old and this nervousness will abate."
with its inhabitants, perhaps because he got at last the peace of mind he was looking for and the relaxation from the tensions of his previous days in other places. He used, al-‘Ayyāshi says, to address his friends and followers in a cheerful way and call them by funny nicknames, as was the case with his follower Abū Za‘āmah who had a funny neck and Zarrūq named him 'unug al-ḥamāmah (the neck of the pigion), and Abū Za‘āmah was quite happy with the nickname. (1) Also when he once met his famous disciple Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad al-Kharrūbī at Misurata after al-Kharrūbī's father died in Tripoli, leaving behind his wife and children, he said to him: "Tell the 'hen' not to worry. I will never leave you alone alive or dead. Do not let her say that Zarrūq has separated her from her native country." (2)

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

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

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1. Riḥlat al-‘Ayyāshi, p. 97.
the blessing of the Shaikh when he intermediated in his or her marriage. As it happened with al-Kharrūbī, so it was with 'Abd al-Karīm al-Baramūnī's father who asked for the hand of 'Aishah b. 'Abd al-Rahmān Ibn Shatwān; but her father asked too much for his daughter's bridal dowery. Al-Baramūnī went to Zarrūq and requested his intercession. The Shaikh did so and the man married her for a quarter of a dinār only.\(^1\)

**Zarrūq as a saint.**

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

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2. The correct accent of this word is murābiṭ. It has been introduced into English, through French, denoting mainly the Muslim Saints of North Africa.
enabling them to perform supernatural or impossible deeds to display their spiritual ability in this field or that. The collective mind creates a long series of fabulous tales and events and attributes them to the honourable pious men of the community, weaving legends around them and their performances in this life or the Hereafter, till these legends become part of their biographies.

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

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

1. For more detailed information see: Edward Westermarck; The Moorish Conception of Holiness (Baraka). Helsingfors Akademi, Bokhandeln, 1916.
Ahmad Zarrūq was no exception. Thus, when he died many anecdotes and legends arose about him praising his spiritual wonders and *kārāmāt*. He also became the patron of certain places and was given certain titles. In Aujilah, the ancient well-known oasis of the Libyan desert, the inhabitants consider him to be "the protector of Aujilah." They claim that when he was near to death he left Misurata and went to their oasis where he passed away. A mosque has been built after him and some of 'his' possessions are kept in a tomb supposed to be his. (1) Many visitors go to seek his *bārakah* there. He is called "the Eastern gate of Tripoli" too, (2) and many Tripolitanians believe that Zarrūq shall defend their city and protect it against any attack from the East.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

1. al-Ishārāt, p.102.
2. Dawḥat al-nāshir, pp.92-93.
in his trousers." The Bedouin went to Zarrūq and said: "Take off your trousers." He replied: "Praise the Lord! It is prohibited to uncover the private parts." The Bedouin said again: "Take them off or I will kill you," while the Shaikh was admonishing him. When the Bedouin advanced to Zarrūq the Shaikh said: "O Earth, swallow them!" And all of the robbers sank in the ground. They started beseeching him saying: "We repent to God!" Zarrūq said to the earth: "Set them free!" And it did. They got out and all of them repented. They went with the Shaikh and became servants of Zarrūq's Zāwiyyah. Until now their offspring still serve the Zāwiyyah and are known as the Servants of Zarrūq's Zāwiyyah. (1)

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

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

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

1. Ifādat al-'ulāmā', pp.80-81.
'Yes Sir, now I will go.' When I was ready to leave he said: 'Surely, we will miss you, Muhammad!'" (1)

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

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2. 'Abd al-Rahmān al-'Ayyāshī; al-Anwār al-Saniyyah 'alā al-Wazīfah al-Zarrūqiyyah, MS. Cairo 1517 - Taṣawwuf, p.3.
"On the whole his worth is beyond description. He who devotes himself to record his experience, counsels and letters will make a whole volume out of them!"

Aḥmad Bābā

Nail al-ibtihāj.
Zarrūq's tomb at his Zawiyah in Misurata.
CHAPTER TWO

HIS WORKS

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

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

\(^1\) Ahmad Būbā; Nail al-ibtihāj, p.86.

\(^2\) It is not allowed in al-Khizānah al-Malakiyah (The Royal Library) in Rabat, for example, to copy any manuscript, as is the case with al-Awqāf Library in Tripoli. MS. 1309 in Tunis is lost, and there was no way to examine the manuscript of Tubqah oasis in the Libyan desert. (See the Catalogue no. XCVIII).
Xerox sheets. Some of the works cited in certain references, as the reader will notice, do not exist in any accessible library while others have been mentioned in the catalogues but are not available due to a lack of facilities or because they have been lost.\(^1\)

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

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

a) A classification of Zarrūq's works.

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

\(^1\) Apart from the North African and Middle Eastern libraries some of Zarrūq's works have travelled as far as the Indonesian islands like al-‘Arf fi Ta‘rīf al-Ḥarīf whose only manuscript copy is in Jakarta.
c) A list of some dates of compilation taken from the ends of the works themselves or from other sources.

d) A list of commentaries written on his works.

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

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

1. This may be his second commentary, for some sources assert that he has written two commentaries on Risālat al-Qairawānī.

2. That is because Zarrūq says in al-Kunnāsh that he was more than fifty years old and mentions the death of al-Ḥādramī in 895/1489.
that he was more creative as a Sufi writer than as a commentator on Jurisprudence.

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

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

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

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1. Depont and Coppolani; Les Confréries Religieuses Musulmanes, Alger 1897, p.458.
and some of them were reliable sources for the writers who came after him.\(^1\) There are, of course, major works and minor works too, as is the case with every author. Apart from his commentaries on al-Hikam there are four important works which have been always highly regarded and studied, and all of them are on Sufism:

a) \textit{Qawā'id al-taşawwuf} which was carefully written and is considered Zarrūq's best contribution in Sufism.

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

c) \textit{al-Naşīḥah al-kāfiyah} which is accepted as the basic text for the Zarrūqiyyah Order.

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

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

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

2. The Shaikh used to quote the famous Tradition: "Address the people according to their minds' ability to understand."
did not follow the Arabic habit of *Sajʿ* (Rhymed prose), which was strictly followed in his days, except in the first paragraphs of his introductions, then he continues simply and naturally without artificiality or verbosity.

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

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

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1. Mostly from Shādhili masters like Abū al-Ḥasan al-Shādhili, Ibn 'Ata' Allāh, al-Mursī, and as well as from other Sufis like al-Ghazālī and Ibn 'Arabi.
2. See for example: *Nail al-ibtihāj*, p.85; *Shajarat al-Nūr*, p.268.
3. This was also noticed by al-Manālī (*Būlugh al-marām*, p.30) regarding *al-ʿUddah* and *al-Nush*. 
When we consult our references about Zarrūq's works we find many of them saying that he had written certain works twice or even three times,\(^1\) or that he has composed a book then summarised it,\(^2\) or that he wrote a short work then he enlarged it later on.\(^3\) This also was, for a long time, a common method practiced by Muslim authors, but it is an astonishing matter indeed to discover that our Shaikh was occupied with one book for about thirty years.\(^4\) Was he looking for perfection or was he completely absorbed by the subject? In both cases this habit of repetition and re-writing gives his work a good deal of value.

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

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1. Like his commentaries on Ḥizb al-Bahr of al-Shādhili, Risālah of al-Qairawānī.
2. As he did with al-Naṣīḥah al-kāfiyyah.
4. The commentaries on al-Ḥikam of Ibn ‘Aṭā’ Allāh. See the catalogue, no. LXXXVII.
Among the works given in the catalogue there are three which may be regarded as not genuine and as having been ascribed to the Shaikh. Zarrūq was not the only author to whom certain works, for one reason or another, have been attributed and this is not the first time it has happened. Let us examine these works and put our arguments to support this claim:

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

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

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

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

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

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1. See the catalogue, no. XVI.

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

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

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

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

a) None of Zarrūq's biographers mention it.

b) It is an occult work based on the belief that the verses of Nūr al-Dīn al-Dimyāṭı contain a magical power which might be exploited against enemies and opponents by writing one of its lines for every special case and used defensively or offensively by a particular method. (3)

1. See: Chapter V.

2. See the catalogue, no. LIX.

3. Zimyāṭı (the first letter of the word has been twisted from D to Ḥ) denotes, in the Libyan colloquial, black magic and talismans. The man who reads Zimyāṭı appears in their eyes to be dealing with jinns and evil spirits and is feared by most of the people.
c) Zarrūq in his authentic works warns always against the belief that there is anything that can harm or avail save God, and even when he accepts any sort of invocation(1) he does so because they bear certain verses of the Qurʾān and prayers in conformity with Islamic Law and Tradition which may be used as a supplication to God and nothing more.(2)

(3) al-Qasīdah al-TH'iyyah.(3)

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

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

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

1. See the introduction in his commentary on Hizb al-bahr.

2. In fact that Zarrūq has composed a treatise on the Beautiful Names of God may suggest that a sort of confusion occurred between his own work and another anonymous work on the subject. A quick comparison between the two compilations shows that they are far from being written by the same author.

3. A poem ending with the letter T. Many Sufi odes, in fact, were TH'iyyat. The most famous one is the TH'iyyat of Ibn al-Farīd (cf. R. A. Nicholson; Studies in Muslim Mysticism, Cambridge 1921, p.162). See the catalogue, no. XXXIII.

4. Literal translation.

5. al-TA'RĪF, p.270.
see that even the biographer who cited the poem for the first time\(^1\) was suspicious of it and cautiously says that he found it "ascribed to him."

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

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\(^1\) Ahmad Bābā; \textit{Nail al-ibtihā\texttie;} p.86.
\(^2\) Countless examples are to be found in Sufi literature.
Judging from the poems attributed to Zarrūq he - unfortunately - was not a brilliant poet, or perhaps he did not intend to be(1) and found it more natural to write in prose. He might be called a Nāzim since it seems that the only type of verse he mastered was Rajaz(2) of which he took advantage to transform one Sufi work from prose into verse. His work was highly appreciated and considered as one of his best works.(3)

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

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

2. Rajaz is a simple Arabic metre. It was the oldest metre the Arabs used before the development of the established Sixteen metres. It is nicknamed "the ass of the Poets" because of its ease and simplicity. See the Catalogue No. XCVII.

ABBREVIATIONS

Alger = Maktabat al-Jazā'ir al-Waṭaniyah, Algiers.
Azhar = Maktabat al-Azhar, Cairo.
Baghdad = Maktabat Dār al-Awqāf, Baghdad.
Berlin = Königlichen Bibliothek zu Berlin.
Cairo = Dār al-Kutub al-Qawmiyah, Cairo.
Hūsnī = Ḥasan Ḥūsnī ʿAbd al-Wahhāb Library, Bibliothèque Nationale, Tunis.
I.O. = India Office Library, London.
Leiden = The Library of the University of Leiden.
Madrid = Biblioteca National, Madrid.
Malakiyah = al-Maktabah al-Malakiyah, Rabat.
Miqrāṭī = ʿAlî Muṣṭafā al-Miqrāṭī private library, Tripoli, Libya.
Princeton = Garrett Collection of Arabic Manuscripts, the Princeton University Library, Princeton.
Rabat = Bibliothèque Generale, Rabat.
Tripoli = Maktabat al-Awqāf, Tripoli, Libya.
Tunis = Bibliothèque Nationale, Tunis.
Vatican = Biblioteca Vaticana, The Vatican.

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

K. = Kitāb (book).
R. = Risālah (letter or treatise).
Sh. = Shārīf (commentary).

1. See the bibliography.
A LIST OF WORKS IN WHICH ZARRUQ'S WORKS HAVE BEEN CITED AND WHICH ARE MENTIONED IN THE CATALOGUE:


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


Nail al-ibtihāj fī taʿtrīz al-Daibāj; Aḥmad Bābā al-Tumbukti, Cairo 1351/1932.


Qatf al-thamar; ʿAlī al-Fulānī al-Madani, Ḥaidar Abād, India, 1328 H.


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

Shajarāt al-nūr al-zakiyyah fī ṭabarāqat al-Ḥālīkiyyah; Muḥammad b. Muḥammad Makhlūf, Cairo, 1349/1930.


Ṭabarāqat al-Shādiliyyah al-kubra (Jāmiʿ al-karāmāt al-ʿaliyyah fī ṭabarāqat al-sūdāt al-shādiliyyah); al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad al-Kūhīn al-Pāṣī, Cairo, 1347/1928.

التدكر في من الملوك طرابلس ومن كان به من الأخبار؛ أبو عبد الله محمد بن غالبان، طرابلس، 1967.

الثربة الغصون في شرح وزيق الزريعق؛ أحمد بن قاسم بن بنين بن سابط، مس. البريط. مس. DCCCLXVII.

العن في شرح عيوب النفس؛ أبو عبد الله محمد بن علي الخرابي الطرابلي، مس. تونس، 7855.
A) CLASSIFICATION OF ZARRUQ'S WORKS:

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

I - ALCHEMY:
   1) al-Kashf; XVI.

II - AUTOBIOGRAPHY AND BIOGRAPHY:
   1) Fihrist; V.
   2) al-Kunnāsh; XVII.
   3) Manāqib al-Ḥāqramālī; XIX and XXX.

III - CORRESPONDENCE:
   1) Rasā'il ilā al-sālikīn; XLI.
   2) R. ilā 'Abd al-Ḥāfīẓ al-Ṣafar; XLVII.
   3) R. ilā 'Abd Allāh al-Maghrawī; XLVIII.
   4) Waṣiyah; CV.
   5) 'an al-Wujūd; CVIII

IV - INVOCATION:
   1) Du'ā'; III.
   2) Fatḥ al-maqām al-asmā'; IV.
   3) al-Ḥafīẓah; VI.
   4) Minhāj hiṣb al-bahr; XXII.
   5) Sh. Asmā'Allāh al-ḥusnā; LIX and LX.
   6) Sh. Dalā'īl al-Khaibur; LXI.
   7) Sh. hiṣb al-bahr; LXVII.
   8) Sh. hiṣb al-barr; LXVIII.
   9) Sh. mughmaṭat ḥizbā' al-Shādhili; LXXIII.
   10) al-Waṣīfah; LXXXVI.
V - JURISPRUDENCE:

1) Manāsik al-ḥajj; XXI.
2) Sh. al-Ghāfiqiyyah; LXIII.
3) Sh. al-Ījākīm al-Tirmidhī; LXV.
4) Sh. al-‘Irshād; LXIX.
5) Sh. mawādī’ min Mukhtāṣar Khalīl; LXXII.
6) Sh. naẓm al-Riq‘ī; LXXVII.
7) Sh. qawā‘id ‘Iyād; LXXIX.
8) Sh. al-Qurṭubiyyah; LXXX.
9) Sh. Risālat al-Qairawānī; LXXXI.
10) Sh. al-Waghlīsiyyah; LXXV.

VI - MEDICINE:

1) fī ‘Ilāāj adwā‘ al-qalb; XI.
2) al-Kunnāsh; XVII.
3) Talkhīṣ al-Durrah al-muntakhabah, XCIII.

VII - POETRY:

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

VIII - QUR’ĀN:

1) Sh. al-Fātiḥah; LXII.
2) Tafsīr al-Qur‘ān; XCII.

IX - SCIENCE OF NUMBERS AND LETTERS:

1) al-‘Arf fī ta‘rīf al-ḥarf; I.
2) R. fī al-‘add bi al-agābī‘; XLIX.
3) Sh. al-Sīnīyah; LXXXIII.
X - SUFISM:

1) al-Ham' fī sharḥ 'abyāt al-jam'; VII.
2) fī I'rāb 'in lam ajid ilāhî'; XII.
3) Iʿānat al-mutawajjihi al-miskīn; X.
4) al-Jāmi'; XIII.
5) al-Kālām 'alā anwā' ahl al-Khuṣūṣiyah; XV.
6) K. al-Maḥabbah; XVIII.
7) Muzīl al-labs; XXIII.
8) al-Naṣā'ih; XXIV.
9) al-Naṣīḥah al-Kāfīyah; XXV.
10) al-Naṣīḥah wa ḥathth al-qarīḥah; XXVII.
11) al-Nūq al-ʾanfa' wa al-junnah; XXIX.
12) Qawā'id al-Taṣawwuf; XL.
13) Rawḍat al-azhār; LXXIV.
14) Risālah; XLVI.
15) R. fī al-radd 'alā ahl al-bid'ah; LI.
16) K. al-Samā'; LIV.
17) Sh. abyāt 'taṭahhar bimā' al-ghaib'. LV.
18) Sh. al-Ajurrūmiyah; LVI.
19) Sh. al-Ḥaqāʾiq wa al-daqaʾiq; LXVI.
20) Sh. al-Mabāḥith al-ašliyāh; LXX.
21) Sh. al-Marāṣid; LXXI.
22) Sh. Muqattaʾāt al-Shushtarī; LXXIV
23) Sh. al-Naṣīḥah al-kāfīyah; LXVII.
24) Sh. Nūniyyat al-Shushtarī; LXXVIII.
25) Sh. al-Sharīṣiyah; LXXXII.
26) Sh. Ṣudūr al-marāṭib; LXXXIV.
27) Sh. al-Waghlīsiyah; LXXXV.
28) Shurūq al-Ḥikam; LXXXVII.
29) Sulūk al-tarīq idhā fugaḍa al-rafi'īq; LXXVIII.
30) Ta'sīs al-qawā'id wa al-ugūl; LXXXIX, XC.
31) Tuhfat al-murīd; XCIV.
32) 'Uddat al-murīd al-ṣādiq; XCV.
33) al-‘Uns; XCVI.
34) 'Urjūzah fi 'uyūb al-nafs; XCVII.
35) al-Ugūl al-badī'ah wa al-jawāmi' al-rafi'ah; XCVIII.
36) 'Ugūl al-tarīq; XCIX.
37) 'Ugūl al-tarīghak wa 'usus al-hqīqah; C.
38) Wasiyāth; CI, CII, CIV, CV, CVI.

XI - THEOLOGY:

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

XII - TRADITION:

1) Ḥāshiyah 'alā Muslim; VIII.
2) Juz' fi 'ilm al-hadīth; XIV.
3) R. fi tabdīl mustalāḥ al-hadīth; LII.
4) Sh. al-arba'īn hadīthan; LVIII.
5) Sh. hadīth "al-ma'idatu baitu al-dāʾ";
6) Ta'ilq 'alā Bākhārī; XCI.

XIII - TRAVEL:

1) al-Kunnāsh; XVI.
2) al-Rihlah; XLV.
B) A CATALOGUE OF ZARRUQ'S WORKS

I

al-'Arif ta'rif al-harf
(The Perfume in the Definition of the Letter)

Mss:

LETTERS

II

K. al-Bida'
(Book of Innovations)

See: Uddat al-murid

SUFISM

III

Du'ah
(Prayer)

Mss: Tunis 341. Fol. 17

Begins: ...\dots\dots
ends: ...\dots\dots

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

INVOCATION

IV

Fath al-magam al-'asmi fi sharh al-asma' al-husna
(The Revelation of the Supreme Rank in the Explanation of the Beautiful Names)

See: Sharh asma' Allah al-husna A

INVOCATION
V

Fihrist
(Catalogue)


Untraceable.

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

VI

al-Ḥaftzah
(The Guard)


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

Begins: ... بِسْمِ اللَّهِ رَحْمَاتِ النَّاسِ إِلَى اللهِ وَرَبِّ الْكَوْنِ كَلَّمَهُ الْحَقُّ وَطُورَ يَهُوَ الْمَوْعِظَةُ فِي الْحَقِّ كَلَّمَهُ الْحَقُّ وَطُورَ يَهُوَ الْمَوْعِظَةُ فِي الْحَقِّ كَلَّمَهُ الْحَقُّ وَطُورَ يَهُوَ الْمَوْعِظَةُ فِي الْحَقِّ كَلَّمَهُ الْحَقُّ وَطُورَ يَهُوَ الْمَوْعِظَةُ فِي الْحَقِّ كَلَّمَهُ الْحَقُّ وَطُورَ يَهُوَ الْمَوْعِظَةُ فِي الْحَقِّ كَلَّمَهُ الْحَقُّ وَطُورَ يَهُوَ الْمَوْعِظَةُ فِي الْحَقِّ كَلَّمَهُ الْحَقُّ وَطُورَ يَهُوَ الْمَوْعِظَةُ فِي الْحَقِّ كَلَّمَهُ الْحَقُّ وَطُورَ يَهُوَ الْمَوْعِظَةُ فِي الْحَقِّ كَلَّمَهُ الْحَقُّ وَطُورَ يَهُوَ الْمَوْعِظَةُ فِي الْحَقِّ كَلَّمَهُ الْحَقُّ وَطُورَ يَهُوَ الْمَوْعِظَةُ فِي الْحَقِّ كَلَّمَهُ الْحَقُّ وَطُورَ يَهُوَ الْمَوْعِظَةُ فِي الْحَقِّ كَلَّمَهُ الْحَقُّ وَطُورَ يَهُوَ الْمَوْعِظَةُ فِي الْحَقِّ كَلَّمَهُ الْحَقُّ وَطُورَ يَهُوَ الْمَوْعِظَةُ فِي الْحَقِّ كَلَّمَهُ الْحَقُّ وَطُورَ يَهُوَ الْمَوْعِظَةُ فِي الْحَقِّ كَلَّمَهُ الْحَقُّ وَطُورَ يَهُوَ الْمَوْعِظَةُ فِي الْحَقِّ كَلَّمَهُ الْحَقُّ وَطُورَ يَهُوَ الْمَوْعِظَةُ فِي الْحَقِّ كَلَّمَهُ الْحَقُّ وَطُورَ يَهُوَ الْمَوْعِظَةُ فِي الْحَقِّ كَلَّمَهُ الْحَقُّ وَطُورَ يَهُوَ الْمَوْعِظَةُ فِي الْحَقِّ كَلَّمَهُ الْحَقُّ وَطُورَ يَهُوَ الْمَوْعِظَةُ فِي الْحَقِّ كَلَّمَهُ الْحَقُّ وَطُورَ يَهُوَ الْمَوْعِظَةُ فِي الْحَقِّ كَلَّمَهُ الْحَقُّ وَطُورَ يَهُوَ الْمَوْعِظَةُ فِي الْحَقِّ كَلَّمَهُ الْحَقُّ وَطُورَ يَهُوَ الْمَوْعِظَةُ فِي الْحَقِّ كَلَّمَهُ الْحَقُّ وَطُورَ يَهُوَ الْمَوْعِظَةُ فِي الْحَقِّ كَلَّمَهُ الْحَقُّ وَطُورَ يَهُوَ الْمَوْعِظَةُ فِي الْحَقِّ كَلَّمَهُ الْحَقُّ وَطُورَ يَهُوَ الْمَوْعِظَةُ فِي الْحَقِّ كَلَّمَهُ الْحَقُّ وَطُورَ يَهُوَ الْمَوْعِظَةُ فِي الْحَقِّ كَلَّمَهُ الْحَقُّ وَطُورَ يَهُوَ الْمَوْعِظَةُ فِي الْحَقِّ كَلَّمَهُ الْحَقُّ وَطُورَ يَهُوَ الْمَوْعِظَةُ فِي الْحَقِّ كَلَّمَهُ الْحَقُّ وَطُورَ يَهُوَ الْمَوْعِظَةُ F

Note: An amulet against enemies and their evil.

INVOCATION

VII

al-Hamʿ rI sharb"abyāt al-jamʿ"
(the Flow in commenting on "the verses of Union")


Untraceable.

SUFISM

VIII

Hāshiyat ‘alā Muslim

(A Commentary on Muslim)

Cited in: al-ʿUns, p. 4
Untraceable.

Note: Presumably a commentary on al-Jāmi‘ al-saḥīḥ of Muslim b. al-Ḥajjāj al-Qushairī.

TRADITION

IX

al-Ḥawādith wa al-bida‘

(Novelties and Innovations)

See: ‘Uddat al-murīd.

SUFISM
X

I'anat al-mutawajjih al-miskīn ilā Tariq al-fathwa al-tamkīn.

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

Cited in: 'Iqāh al-maknūn, 1:97; al-Uns, p.4; Shajarat al-Nūr, 1:268; Nā'il al-ibtihāj, p.87; Nubūg, p.218.

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

Begins: ...

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

SUFISM

XI

Fī 'Ilāj adwa' al-qalb

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


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

Untraceable.

MEDECINE

XII

Fī I'rāb "in lam ajiid ilāhī"

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


Mss: Tunis 1309.

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

SUFISM
XIII

al-Jam'i' li jumal min al-fawâ'id wa al-manâfi'
(The Comprehensive Collection of a Group of Benefits and Advantages.)


Tunis 5246, 7398; Husnî 18036; Ches. Beatty 4130(4).
Fol. 122b-144a; Malakiyah 6803, 7139, 9605B - Fiqh.

Begins:....

Ends:....

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

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

XIV

Juz' fi 'ilm al-hadîth
(A Section on the Science of Tradition).


See: R. fi Taḥdîd muṣṭalâh al-hadîth.

TRADITION
al-Kalam 'alā anwā' ahl al-khsūṣiyah
(on the Types of the Peoples of the Elite).


Untraceable.

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

(Qur'ān 9:112).

SUFISM

XVI

al-Kashf
(The Disclosure).

Cited in: al-Tārīq al-farūq, p.5.

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

Begins:  

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

In al-Kashf (MSS. Paris, 2568, fols. 209B-214A) the
Note: A compilation dealing with the properties of the matter in a symbolic manner. The author says that he had abridged some of the indispensable works of the old scholars, making clear their symbols and omitting what is obscure and enigmatic. He says also that he has given his book the title of al-Kashf (The disclosure) because he has "disclosed" the vague ideas of the old savants and did not follow their modes of expression. The manuscript contains five fols. in a Moroccan hand and is incomplete at the end. Contents:

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


ALCHEMY

XVII

al-Kunnāsh fī 'ilm 'Āsh
(The Miscellany in the science of anything).

Cited in: Nail al-ibtihāj, p.85; Shajarat al-nūr, 1:268;
Note: al-Kunnash or al-Kunnāshah is a term used mostly in North Africa to envisage a collection of writings on different subjects in various periods. It is almost a record-book of the compiler where he usually includes his own ideas mixed with abstracts from his readings in addition to his comments and remarks. Rinn says that the word is a corruption of the sentence ‘‘(min kulli nāshin = de tout receill = from everything).

(Cf. Marabouts et Khouan, p.421). Zarrūq's Kunnāsh was written during the last three years of his life, since he states in it that he was over fifty years old. Its main contents are as follows: his autobiography (which composes the largest connected section of the work) - method of initiation - the precepts of the Shaikhs - amulets and medical prescriptions - Shādhili prayers - on Tradition - blessings on the Prophet - on the Names of God - on Sufism - on purity - on manners - the obscure openings of the Qur'anic Surahs - principles of Sufism - on counting by fingers - an abstract on medicine from al-Taisīr of 'Abd al-Malik b. Abī al-‘Ula.

AUTOBIOGRAPHY + MISCELLANIOUS
ESSAYS + BIOGRAPHIES
XVIII

K. al-Maḥabbah
(The Book of Love)


Untraceable

SUFISM

XIX

Manāqib al-Ḥaḍramī A
(The Virtues of al-Ḥaḍramī A)

Ms: A private manuscript owned by Shaikh ʿAḥmad Zakī ʿĀṭiyah. 44 fols.

Begins:

Ends:

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

BIOGRAPHY

XX

Manāqib al-Ḥaḍramī B
(The Virtues of al-Ḥaḍramī B)


Begins:

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

BIOGRAPHY

XXI

Manāṣik al-Ḥajj
(The Rites of Pilgrimage)


Begins: ... حَسَنَّا إِنَّكَ أَنتَ أَسْتَحْيَى أَنَا مَالِكُ الحَقَّ وَلَن يُضِلِّكُمُ السُّفْرُ وَلَن يَضِلِّكُمُ السُّفْرُ... Ends: ... وَكَيْفَ يَدَّعِي لَمَّا يَدَّعُهُنَّ وَقَدْ قَدَّرَ اللَّهُ نَفْسَهُ وَقَدْ قَدَّرَ اللَّهُ نَفْسَهُ... Note: A guide to the ritual regulations of Pilgrimage performance in accordance with Mālikī doctrine.

Other title: Ahkām al-Ḥajj.

JURISPRUDENCE

XXII

Minhāj ḥizb al-bahr
(The Method of the Amulet of the Sea).


Untraceable.

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

INVOCATION
XXIII

Muzil al-labs 'an ursr al-qawd' id al-khams
(The Remover of ambiguity regarding the Five Principles)

Untraceable.

SUFISM

XXIV

Al-Nasii'ih
(The Advice)

Tabaqat al-Shadhiliyah, p.123

Mas. Cairo 1/II,171

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

SUFISM

XXV

al-Nasihah al-kafiyah liman khassahu Allah bi al-'Asfiyah
(The Sufficient Advice for he whom God has Especially Protected from Evil).

Cited in: Kashf al-Zunun, 2:1958; Shajarat al-nunr,
1:268; G.A.L., II, 329; al-Uns, p.5;
Qatif al-Thamar, p.32; Nubugh, p.218;

Mas: Tunis 824; HunsI 17990; Baghdad 3973, 4894; Berlin
4008. PM 243.5 Fol.50a-75a, 4009. Lbg. 509; Rabat
507/2.D Fol. 1-30, 529 Fol. 21-39, D299, D1602, D182;
Brit. Mus. 126/8; Leiden 2169; Malakiyah 867,981
Wa'z, B 5844/Tasawwuf, 3903/ 'Ulum Diniyah; Brit. Mus.
126/8, 461/5; Alger, 885; Alexandria Maw'iz 41/2, 49;
Cairo 1/II, 181, 2/I, 371.

Edition: Cairo, 1281/1864.

Begins:

Ends:

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

SUFISM

XXVI

al-Naṣīḥah al-ṣūghrā
(The smaller work of counsel).

See: al-Jāmi'.

SUFISM

XXVII

al-Naṣīḥah wa ḥathth al-qarīḥah
(Counsel and Encouragement).

Cited in: 'Idāh al-maknūn, 5:343

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

SUFISM

XXVIII

al-Nubdhah fī 'ilm al-ḥadīth
(A piece on the Science of Tradition).


See: R. fī Tāḥdīd musṭālaḥ al-ḥadīth.

TRADITION
XXIX

al-Nūsh al-anfā' wa al-jummah li al-mu'tasim min al-bida' bi al-Sunnah.
(The most Useful Instruction and Protection for him who takes refuge in the Norm from Innovation)


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

Note: Al-Nūsh al-anfā' is considered one of Zarrūq's major works on the refutation of innovation in Sufism. The manuscript mentioned above is the only one obtainable at the moment. Despite its title there is a great resemblance between it and 'Uddat al-murid al-sādiq (q.v.). This was noticed by 'Abd al-Majīd al-Manā'ī (Bulūgh al-marām, p.32).

See also: Bulletin of the Faculty of Arts, Libya, Vol.II, p.147.

SUFISM

XXX

Qasīdah
(Poem)

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

Begins: ... 

Ends: ... 

Note: 28 lines of verse describing and praising the Prophet Muḥammad. In Paris manuscript it is called Qasīdah fī madh sifat khaliqīhī.

POETRY
XXXI

Qaṣīdah
(Poem)


Begins: ما أَنْتَ الْأَبْطَسُ رَبِّيِّيْنَمَلْ ... 

Ends: يَأُوْلَىٰ مَنْ هَدَّى ضَلَّ البَيْنَ ... 

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

POETRY

XXXII

Qaṣīdah
(Poem)

Mes: Tunis 2246

Begins: ... حَمَّ السَّبْرَةَ عَلَى الْفَتْنَةِ سَيِّئَةٌ ... 

Ends: ... 

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

POETRY
XXXIII

Qas'Idah
(Poem)


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

Begins: ... 

Ends: ...

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

POETRY

XXXIV

Qas'Idah
(Poem)

Mss: Rabat 864 F. Fol 1.

Begins: ...

Ends: ...

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

POETRY
XXXV

Qaṣīdah
(Poem)

Msş: Tunis 1911. Fol. 91

Begins:

Ends:

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

POETRY

XXXVI

Qaṣīdah
(Poem)

Msş: Tunis 1911. Fol. 91

Begins:

Ends:

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

POETRY
XXXVII
Qasidah
(Poem)

Ms.: Tunis 5644. Fol.1.

Begins: رَبَّنَا اِنْذَرْنِي لَنَا عَلَى ٍضَيْقٍ مَّا فَوْرَءَ... 

Ends: ... وَلَا تَغَضَّبْنَى عَلَى ٍضَيْقٍ مَّا فَوْرَءَ... 

Note: Six lines of poetry concerning his Eleventh commentary on al-Hikam of Ibn 'Ata'Allah.

POETRY

XXXVIII
Qasidah
(Poem)

Ms.: Tunis 5644. Fol.1.

Begins: إِنَّكَ بِذُلْلٍ مِّنْ ذُولِّي فَأَجْعَلْتُ... 

Ends: ... وَعَلَى ٍضَيْقٍ مَّا فَوْرَءَ... 

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

POETRY

XXXIX
Qasidah
(Poem)

Ms.: al-Misrati's private library. 1 fol.

Begins: أَرَأِي لِدِينَ مُجَبُورَ عَلَى ٍضَيْقٍ مَّا فَوْرَءَ... 

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

POETRY

XL

Qawā'id al-taṣawwuf
(Principles of Sufism)


Mas: Berlin 3031, Fol. 1-329; Escurial 274/4; Rabat Q555; Tunis 824. Fol. 1-65, 8240; Ḥusnī 1/18.

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

Begins: ... يأيَّبُنُّ نْذِيَّ يُمِيَّنَ عُسْرَةَ عَالِعَا مَا ضَحْيَهُ، ذَهَّوْ عُسْرَةَ ذِينَا أَتَكَيْنَ ... 

Ends: ...

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

SUFISM

XLI
Rasāʾil li al-sālikin
(Letters to the Travellers)

CORRESPONDENCE

XLII
al-Rasāʾil al-misrātiyāh
(The Misurati Letters or Papers)

Untraceable.

Note: It is not known whether these Rasāʾil are a book in the form of "Treatises" or a collection of Zarrūq's letters. The only known letter written by Zarrūq from Misurata which it was possible to obtain was sent by him in 886/1481 to his
Master Ahmad al-Ḥadramī in Cairo, mentioned in al-Taʿrīf (Ms. Rabat 2100 D fol. 279-283, p.280). It begins:

...َّّلَةَّةَةَةَةً وَذَكَّةَةَةَةً وَذَكَّةَةَةَةَةً وَذَكَّةَةَةَةً وَذَكَّةَةَةَةَةً

and ends:

...َّّلَةَّةَةَةً وَذَكَّةَةَةَةً وَذَكَّةَةَةَةَةً وَذَكَّةَةَةَةَةً وَذَكَّةَةَةَةَةً.

See: Rawdat al-azhār

CORRESPONDENCE

XLIII

Rawdat al-azhār
(The Garden of Flowers).

Ms: Paris, Arabe, 2568, fols. 118a-119b

Begins:

قَدْ رَفَّتْ خَالِفَةُ الَّذِي كَذَبَ قَالَ لَهُ: *أَيُّهَا الَّذِي كَذَبَ.*

(الْمَكَيّْيُو: أَيُّهَا الَّذِي كَذَبَ) فَاسْتَمِعْ إِذَا قَضَى الْمَكَيّْيُو: فَاسْتَمِعْ إِذَا قَضَى.

Ends:

...َّّلَةَّةَةَةً وَذَكَّةَةَةَةً وَذَكَّةَةَةَةً وَذَكَّةَةَةَةَةً وَذَكَّةَةَةَةً.

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

SUFISM
XLIV

Al-Rawdah
(The Garden)

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

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

POETRY

XLIV

al-Riḥlah
(The Journey)

Untraceable.

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

TRAVEL

XLVI

Riṣalat
(A Letter or a Treatise)

Mss: India Office 1037 III Fol.98.

Begins: ١١١٨

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

SUFISM
XLVII

Risālah
(A letter)

Ms: al-Misrātī private library. 1 fol.

Ends:

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

CORRESPONDENCE

XLVIII

Risālah
(A Letter)

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

Ends:

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

CORRESPONDENCE
A letter from Zarrūq to some of his disciples, thought to be his own autograph, in possession of al-Maghrāwī family in Misurata.
XLIX

R. fT al-'add bi al-aṣābi'
(On Counting by Fingers)

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

Begins: إِنَّمَا هٰذَا عَدْمُ الْهَلَأْ. يُحْسَنُهَا إِنَّمَا الْمَشْرَوْعُ...

Ends: ...مَعْرَفَةً أَنْمَا خَلَقَهُ الَّذِي خَلَقَ الْعَالَمَ.

Note: A verse tract on the method of using the fingers in particular shapes to indicate the numbers from 1-100, followed by an explanation which begins: ٌفَصْبَيْنَ ذَٰلِكَ أَنَّهُ الْحَلَأَ. إِنْمَا هِيَ مَا فَيِّضَتْهُ دَارُ السُّوءَ...

and ends: ...قَالَتْ زَينَبُ بَنْدِلَةٌ: لَنْ يَدْخُلَ عِنْدَ الْمَلِكِ. رَبُّنَا أَعُلَمَ.

ARITHMETIC

L

R. fT al-Radd 'alā ahl al-bida'
(Refutation of Innovators)

Ms: Tunis 8631. Fol. 1-120.

See: 'Uddat al-murīd

LI

R. fT al-radd 'alā ahl al-bid'ah
(Refutation of the Innovators)

Ms: Tunis 8178. Fol. 94-104.

Begins: اِذَا أَمَرَ بِهِ دُنْيَا عَيْنَاهُ إِنَّمَا يُدْنِيَ عَيْنَاهُ فِي سَكَرَةٍ ...أَنَّمَا تَقَيَّدَ...

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

SUFISM

LII

R. fi Tahdīd muṣṭalah al-ḥadīth
(On the Definition of the terminology of Tradition).


TRADITION

LIII

Ṣafīnāt al-najā liman ilā Allāh iltajā
(The Ship of Safety for him who takes refuge in God).

See: al-Ważīfah

INVOCATION

LIV

K. al-Samā'
(On Audition)


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

SUFISM

LV

Sh. Abyāt "tāṣahhar bi-mā'i l'ghaib" li al-Junaid
(A Commentary on the lines "Purify yourself with the water of the Unseen" of al-Junaid).

Mas: Rabat 2589, d/11.

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

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

SUFISM

LVII

Sh. al-'Ajurrūmiyah
(A Commentary on al-‘Ajurrūmiyah)


Untraceable.

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

SUFISM
LVII

Sh. 'Aqidat al-Ghazâlî

(A Commentary on the 'Aqidah of al-Ghazâlî)


Edition: on the margin of Bidâyat al-hidayah of 'Abd 'Abd al-Qâdir al-Fâkihî, Cairo, Bûlâq, 1877.

Begins: ...

Ends: ...

Note: al'Aqîdah - al-'Aqîdah al-qudsiyâh - Bidâyat al-hidayah - Qawā'id al-'aqîd. It is an abstract from al-Ihyâ' of Abu Ḥâmid al-Ghazâlî which deals with the Islamic dogmas in accordance with Sunni principles. Zarrûq's commentary on al-'Aqîdah in its various versions bears the following titles: Taʿlîq (or Taʿlîqah) 'alâ 'aqîdâh al-Ghazâlî; Sharḥ bidâyat al-hidayah; Sharḥ al-'aqîdah al-qudsiyâh; Ightinâm al-fawā'id ɾī Sharḥ qawā'id al-'aqîd.

THEOLOGY

LVIII

Sh. al-Arba'în hadîthân

(A commentary on the Forty Traditions)

Cited in: Sharḥ al-nasīḥah, p.l.

Untraceable.

TRADITION
LIX

Sh. Asmāʿ Allāh al-ḥusnā A

(A Commentary on the Beautiful Names of God A)


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

Begins: 

Ends:  

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

dealing with the Ninety Nine Names of God.

It was composed for a friend who had been unjustly treated

to use it against his enemies. It gives the meaning of
each line, and how it is to be used on specific occasions.

There are a great deal of Talismans and magical emblems
supposed to be written in different kinds of amulets
according to the circumstances. It is known also under
the following titles: al-Mawāhib al-saniyah fī Sharḥ
al-Dimyāṭiyah; Khwāṣṣ Naẓm al-Dimyāṭiyah.

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

INVOCATION
Sh. Asmā' Allāh al-ḥusnā B
(A Commentary on the Beautiful Names of God B)


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

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


INVOCATION
IXI

Sh. Dalā'il al-khairāt
(A commentary of the Indications of the good things).

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

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

INVOCATION

LXII

Sh. al-Γatiḥah
(A Commentary on the Opening Sūrah of the Qur'rān)

Untraceable.

QUR'rāN

LXIII

Sh. al-Ghāfiqiyah
(A Commentary on al-Ghāfiqiyah)

Untraceable.

JURISPRUDENCE
LXIV

Sh. Ḥadīth "al-maʿīdatu baitu al-dāʾ" (A Commentary on the Tradition "The stomach is the abode of Illness")

Cited in: al-Fawāʾid al-latīfah, p. 5.

Untraceable.

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

TRADITION

LXV

Sh. al-Ḥakīm al-Tirmidhī (A Commentary on al-Ḥakīm al-Tirmidhī)


Untraceable.

Note: Presumably a commentary on a work of Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. ʿAlī al-Ḥakīm al-Tirmidhī (d. 285/898) whom Zarrūq mentions in his Sharḥ al-Ḥikam (Cairo edition, 1969, p. 221) while he talks about the symbols of the ritual prayer.


JURISPRUDENCE
LXVI

Sh. "al-Ḥaqāʾiq wa al-daqāʾiq" of al-Maqṣarī

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


Note: al-Ḥaqāʾiq wa al-daqāʾiq (or al-raqāʾiq) is a Sufi masterpiece of Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Tilmīsī al-Maqṣarī (d. 759/1357). A part of this work was published in Nafḥ al-Tīb, Vol.7, pp.232-249, Cairo, 1949.

SUFISM

LXVII

Sh. "Ḥizb al-bahr" of al-Shadhili

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


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

Begins: 

Ends: 

Note: A Commentary on the famous Ḥizb (Amulet) of Abū al-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. ʿAbd al-Jabbār al-Shadhili, the founder of the Shadhiliyyah Order (d. 656/1258), with an introduction
and a conclusion. The introduction discusses: the definition of ḥizb - why it was composed - how it may be accepted or refused - conditions of writing a ḥizb - how it should be used - comparisons between ḥizbs of al-Shadhili and other ḥizbs - justifying ḥizb recitation - its types - why ḥizb al-bahr was so called - how and when it should be recited. Then Zarrūq starts commenting on this ḥizb. The conclusion discusses: the meaning of Belief, criticism and imitation regarding the Sufi masters, their dress, manners and behaviour - principles of Sufism - invocation and its timing - sources of good and evil-dealing with people - on the time and retreat.

Other titles: Sh. al-Ḥizb al-Ṣaghir; Mafātīḥ al-‘izz wa al-naṣr ʿfī baʿd mā yataʿallaqu bi ḥizb al-bahr.

INVOCATION

LXVIII

Sh. "Ḥizb al-barr" of al-Shadhili
(A Commentary on "The Amulet of the Land" of al-Shadhili)


Mss: Tunis 3417; Malakiya 7158B. Adhkār.

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

INVOCATION
Sh. "Irshād" Ibn 'Askar
(A Commentary on "The Guidance" of Ibn 'Askar)


Untraceable.

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

LXX
Sh. al-Mabādhith al-aṣliyih li Ibn al-Banna.
(A Commentary on the "Original Essays" of Ibn al-Banna)

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

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

Begins: ... 

Ends: ...

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

... دَسْرُ الْأَدْبِرَةِ فِي الْأَبْدِلِ: أَهْلُهَا: إِذْ خَوْفُهُمْ لَهَا وَرَمَّاهَا ...

and ends: ...

Its main subject is the principles of Sufism and the manners
of Sufis. Zarrūq displays his own conceptions throughout his commentary and introduces many quotations, particularly from Shādhili masters, to support his ideas and interpretation of the verses.


SUFISM

LXXI

Sh. Marāṣid Ibn ‘Uqbah

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


Untraceable.

SUFISM

LXXII

Sh. Mawāqi‘ min "Mukhtasar" Khalīl

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

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

Mss: Madrid CDIX. 2. 56 Fols.

Begins: 

Note: A Commentary on al-Mukhtasar of Khalīl b. Ishaq
b. Mūsā b. Shu‘aib al-Jundī Abū al-Mawaddah (d. 776/1374-5) on Jurisprudence according to the Ṭālibī school.

JURISPRUDENCE
LXXIII

Sh. Mughmadāt ḥiğbai al-Shādhili

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


Fols. 111-119.

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

INVOCATION

LXXIV

Sh. Muqāṭṭa’āt al-Shushtari

(A Commentary on the Poems of al-Shushtari)


Untraceable.

SUFISM
LXXV

Sh. al-Murshidah
(A Commentary on "The Guide")

Cited in: al-Fawā'id al-Ḥaḍīth, p.5.

Untraceable.

Note: At the end of 'Uddat al-murīd (Ms. Rabat 864 G) there are five pages of commentary on some parts of a certain "Murshidah" not naming the author. It begins: إِنْ أَمْرُنَا لِلْمَلَائِكَةِ الْعَزِيزِ... and ends: ...فَوَلَّ عَنْهَا رَبَّ الْعَالَمِينَ. These pages were written by the same copyist at the same date. al-Murshidah is a famous text on the dogmas of Islam, written by Muḥammad b. Ṭumart (d. 525/1131). There is another well-known Murshidah written by Abū 'All Muḥammad b. 'Umar al-Sanūsī, one of Zarrūq's teachers, (d. 892/1487) (Cf. G.A.J., II, p.325). It is more conceivable that Zarrūq commented on the second one.

THEOLOGY

LXXVI

Sh. al-Nasīḥah al-kāfiyah
(A Commentary on "al-Nasīḥah al-kāfiyah")

Cited in: Shajarat al-nūr, l:268; Nā'il al-ibtiḥāj, p.86; Sharḥ al-nasīḥah, p.1; al-Fawā'id al-Ḥaḍīth, p.5; Qaṭf al-thamār, p.32.

Ms. Rabat 747 Q, 14l fols. missing at the beginning and the end.

Note: A commentary by Zarrūq on his own al-Nasīḥah al-kāfiyah liman Khāṣṣahu Allāh bi al-‘āfiyah.
LXXVII
Sh. Naẓm al-Riqʿī
(A Commentary on the Verses of al-Riqʿī)


Untraceable.

Note: ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Riqʿī al-Mālikī (d. after 853/1449) was a jurist who wrote Manṣūmah fī al-Fiqh (a metrical work on Jurisprudence) Cf. G.A.I. C.II: 176.

JURISPRUDENCE

LXXVIII
Sh. Nūniyat al-Shushtārī
(A Commentary on the "Nūniyah" of al-Shushtārī)


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

Began: ...

Ended: ...

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

SUFIsm
LXXIX

Sh. Qawā‘id ‘Iyāq
(A Commentary on the "Principles" of ‘Iyāq)


Untraceable.

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

JURISPRUDENCE

LXXX

Sh. al-Qurtubiyah
(A Commentary on "al-Qurtubiyah")


Begins: ﷽  ﷽  ﷽  ﷽  ﷽

Ends: ﷽  ﷽  ﷽  ﷽  ﷽

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

Other titles: Sharḥ al-Qurtubiyah fi Fiqh al-Mālikīyah; Sharḥ Urjūzat al-wildān; Sharḥ al-Manẓūmah al-Qurtubiyah; Sharḥ al-Muqaddimah al-Qurtubiyah; Sharḥ al-tadhkirah al-Qurtubiyah.

JURISPRUDENCE
LXXXI

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


Mss: Tunis 1845; Malakiyah 3480/Fiqh.

Edition: Cairo, 1332/1914.

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

JURISPRUDENCE

LXXXII

Sh. al-Shārīshiyah
(A Commentary on "al-Shārīshiyah")


Untraceable.

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

SUFISM
LXXXIII

Sh. al-Sīniyah
(A Commentary on "al-Sīniyah")


Untraceable.

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

LETTERS

LXXXIV

Sh. Ṣudūr al-Marāṭib
(A Commentary on "Ṣudūr al-Marāṭib")


Ms.: al-Miṣrāṭī's private library, 59 fols.

Begins: ...
Ends: ...

Note: On the second page of this manuscript it is mentioned that it was copied from the author's own handwriting. Two different Maghribi pens. Very clear and readable. On the first page the copyist apologises that there was no time to compare it with the original copy. The full title of this
work is: *Fatḥ al-mawázib wa kanz al-maţālib fī al-tanbīh 'alā ba'd mā yata'allaq bi ᵐudūr al-marātib wa nail al-marāqhib* of the Shaikh Ahmad b. 'Uqbah al-Ḫāḍramī. It is divided into ten chapters, each chapter dealing with an aspect of the Sufi concepts, from the beginning of holding *maqām al-ihšān* to the stage of Revelation. It was composed as first draft in 23, Safar, 887 (1482) and made in a new copy in 30, Jumādā II of the same year.

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**LXXXV**

**Sh. al-Waghlīsiyah**  
(A Commentary on "al-Waghlīsiyah")

*Cited in:*  
- *Shajarat al-nūr*, 1:268; *al-Tidhkār*, p.223;  
- *al-Uns*, p.5; *Qatf al-thamar*, p.32;  

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

** Begins:**  
- المَحْرُومُ الْمَحْرُومُ  
**Ends:**  
- وَهُوَ مَوْلِىُّ نَعَمٍ مَا أَوْلَىُّ نَعْمَانَ.

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

**JURISPRUDENCE**  
and  
**SUFISM**
LXXVI

Sh. al-Wažifah
(A Commentary on "al-Wažifah")


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

...and ends:

(See: al-Anwār al-Saniyah, pp.6-8).

INVOCATION

LXXVII

Shurūṭ al-Ḥikam
(The Commentaries on "al-Ḥikam")


Note: Al-Ḥikam is a famous Sufi masterpiece written by the Shadhili master Tāj al-Dīn Ibn ‘Aṭā’ Allāh al-Iskandarī (d. 709/1309). Many scholars were interested in this work and a large number of commentaries have been written on it. For Zarrūq it was a book which he was acquainted with since the very beginning of his contact with Sufism. It is noticeable that everywhere Zarrūq travelled he carried al-Ḥikam with him and composed a commentary on it. The number of his
commentaries differ from one reference to another. Some of his biographers claim that they are more than thirty commentaries. But none of them say that he has seen any commentary after the Seventeenth.

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

"The number of our commentaries on al-Hikam is seventeen of which eleven are complete. The First was composed in Fez in the year 870. It was stolen before I was able to revise it. The Second I finished in Tunis during the year 874. Our master al-Zawāfī named it Tanhīh dhawī al-himam ‘alā ma‘ānī : alfāz al-Hikam. The Third in Tunis entitled al-Ṭurar wa al-hawashi. The Fourth in Tunis of which I carried my copy to Tripoli. The Fifth in al-Madīnah entitled al-Lāmi‘ah al-rasmiyah ‘alā al-kalimāt al-Ḥikmiyāh. The Sixth in Cairo. It was a short one. The Seventh in Cairo which I called al-‘Uktāt al-Tahmiyāh ‘alā al-kalimāt al-Ḥikmiyāh. The Eighth I wrote in Bougie during the year 878. The Nineth in Fez during the year 880. The Tenth in Fez during the year 881. The Eleventh is this which you read, written in the same year. The six commentaries which have not been completed yet are: The First in Cairo. The Second in Misurata. The Third in Tripoli. The Fourth in Bougie. The Fifth in Fez and The Sixth in Fez also. I considered as commentaries those which may be of use and benefit, since those with beginnings only are countless."
The Second list is found in the introduction of his Seventeenth Commentary on al-Hikam where he says:

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

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

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

1) 

Tanbīh dhawī al-himam 'alā ma‘ānī alfāẓ al-Ḥikam
(Rousing the high-aspirants with the meanings of the words of al-Ḥikam)

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

Begins: ...

Ends: ...

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

2) 

al-Sharḥ al-khāmis 'ashar.
(The Fifteenth Commentary)

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

Mss.: Escurial 738; Qarawiyîn 461.

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

3) 

al-Futūhat al-raḥmāniyyah fī ḥall alfāẓ al-‘Atā’iyah.
(The Revelations of the Merciful in explaining the words of al-Ḥikam)

Mss. Escurial, DCCXXXIV.

Begins: ...

Ends: ...

Note: This is the Eleventh Commentary written in Fez during 881/14.
4)

Miṭṭāh al-faqīr'īl wa al-ni'am 'alā ba'd mā yata'allaq bi al-Hikam.
(The Key of Virtues and Graces on some of what is related to al-Hikam)

**Cited in:** 'Idāh al-maknūn, 2:526.

**Mrs:**
- Escurial, DCCLXXII: Brit. Mus. DCCLV, VII; Brit. Mus. DCCLV, III.

**Begins:**...

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

5)

Sirāj al-Hikam
(The Lamp of al-Hikam)

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

**Mrs:**
- Cambridge, P.2.

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

6)

Sharḥ al-Hikam
(A Commentary on al-Hikam)

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

**Mrs:**
- Escurial, 776 and 741; 3°; Munich, 139.

**Note:** Undated and unserialized Commentary.
al-Sharḥ al-sābī ‘āshar
(The Seventeenth Commentary)

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

Editions: ‘Abd al-Ḥalīm Maḥmūd, Cairo 1969; ʿAlīm Zakī
‘Aḥṭiyah, Cairo 1971.

Begins: ماب لِلْحَرِيقَةِ لِلْحَرِيقَةِ مِنْ قُلُوبِ الْفَرْجِ يَغْلِبُ وَقَرْعَةٌ أُمَّا عِنْدَنَا... 

Ends: ... وَأَمَّتُهُمْ فِي الْعُقُدِ يَدْعُونَ يَا أَمِينَ يَا عَلِيمُ... 

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

LXXXVIII

Sulūk al-ṭārīq idhā fugida al-rafiq
(Following the way when the companion is lost)

Cited in: ʾIdāh al-maknūn, (without naming the author)
Untraceable.

Note: al-Azhar Catalogue 5446 (Collections 216) says that
there is a commentary by ‘Alī ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn al-Muttaqī al-
Hindī (d.975/1567-8) on بِذَٰلِكَ حَتَّى أَخْضَرَ رُوْمُ الْمَوْرُوفِ بِسَعْرُ مَوْرُوفِ (the treatise of Sayyidī ʿAlīm Zarrūq known as Sulūk al-ṭārīq
idhā fugida al-rafiq) under the title: ʿHidayatu Rabbī ʾInda fagd al-murabbī.

SUFISM
Tas’īs al-Qawā'id A
(Establishing the Principles [of Sufism] A)

Cited in: Kashf al-Zunūn 1:333

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

Begins: ... حَبَلَتْ رَجُلٌ مِّنَ الْجَمِيعِ، يَأْتِيُّهَا مِنْ بَعْدِهِ... إِنَّهُ اِلَّهُ عَزَّ وَجَلِيلٌ

Ends: ...

Note: The full title is:

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

A treatise on Repentance, Piety and Righteousness.

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

SUFISM
XC

Ta’sīs al-Qawā'id B
(Establishing the Principles [of Sufism] B)

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

Begins:

Ends:

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

SUFISM

XCI

Ta‘līq ‘alā al-Bukhārī
(A Commentary on al-Bukhārī)


Ms: Rabat 1888K. 74 fol.

Begins:

Ends:

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

Tafsir al-Qur'ān
(A Commentary on the Qur'ān)


Untraceable.

QUR'ĀN

XCIII

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


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

Begins: ...

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

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

MEDICINE
XCIV

Tuhfat al-murid
(The Gem of the Seeker)

Cited in: Bulugh al-marâm, p. 29; al-Bustân, p. 51; Nubûgh, p. 218.

Mss: Rabat 2587.3 D; Madrid 5317.16 Foll.

Note: A collection of abstracts and sayings from famous Sufi masters such as al-Ghazâlî, Ibn al-‘Irîf, Ibn ‘Arabî, al-Suhrawardî, al-Shadhili and Ibn ‘Atî Alâh al-İskandari, in respect of subjects like: Science, Knowledge, Truth, Reason, God’s Names and Attributes, Faith, Vision, Prophethood, Presence at Prayer, Symbolism in Prayer, Fasting, Pilgrimage and Almsgiving etc. These subjects and their details are arranged in short sections under the sub-title Mas’alah. The treatise was written in response to a request from one of Zarrûq’s friends to write down what he had admired in his readings. The full title is: Tuhfat al-murid wa rawdat al-farîd wa fawâ‘îd li shî al-fahm al-sadîd wa al-naşar al-madîd.

SUFISM

XCV

‘Uddat al-murîd al-şâdîq

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

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

SUFISM

XCVI

al-UNS fī sharh ‘Uyūb al-nafs
(Intimacy in commenting on "the Vices of the Soul")


Mss: al-Misrātī's private library, 42 fols.
Note: A commentary on 'Uyūb al-nafs of Abū 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Sulamī which Zarrūq put into verse. (See: Urjūzah fī 'Uyūb al-Nafs).

SUFISM

XCVII

'Urjūzah fī 'Uyūb al-Nafs
(Rajaz verses on the Vices of the Soul)


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

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

SUFISM

XCVIII

al-'Uṣūl al-badī'ah wa al-jawāmi' al-rafi'ah
(The Splendid Principles and the Sublime Syntheses)

M. A. F. Rabat, 3612 D, Fols. 424-436; Library of the
Sanusiyyah Zawiya in Tubqah oasis in Libya. The
writer was informed of the existence of this
manuscript in Tubqah by Dr. 'Amr al-Namli, University
of Libya, who visited the library there and saw the
manuscript. He says that it contains 11 folios.

Begins: ُوَلَّدَنَّا بِأَصْرَإْلٍ عَلَىٰ أَمْرِي نَفْسِي فِي ضَبْأَ الْبَرَقَةَ...

Ends: ... وَلَوْ تَحَلَّلَتْ لِلَّدِينِ، قُلْتُ نَغُضُّ الْخَلْقَ مِنْ اسْتِعْمَالِهِ وَيَضَبَّ يَدَنِّي.

Note: A collection of Zarruq's sayings, and a miscellany
taken from some of his famous works such as 'Uddat al-murid
al-Sadiq and Qaw'id al-Tagawuw, in addition to some of
his advice to his disciples abstracted from his letters
to them.

SUFISM

XCIX

'Ugul al-tariq
(The Principles of the Way)


Begins: ِوَلَّدَنَّا بِأَصْرَإْلٍ عَلَىٰ أَمْرِي نَفْسِي فِي ضَبْأَ الْبَرَقَةَ...

Ends: ... وَلَوْ تَحَلَّلَتْ لِلَّدِينِ، قُلْتُ نَغُضُّ الْخَلْقَ مِنْ اسْتِعْمَالِهِ وَيَضَبَّ يَدَنِّي.

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

SUFISM
'Uṣūl al-ṭarīqah wa’usus al-ḥaqīqah
(The Principles of the Way and the Foundations of the Truth)

Cited in: al-Uns, p.4.

Mss: Baghdad 4894.3; Paris 3971.1 Fols. 1-39; Malakiyah 5035, 8832. Taṣawwuf.

Begins:

Ends:

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

SUFISM

CI

Wasiyyah
(Advice)

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

Begins:

SUFISM

CII

Wasiyyah
(Advice)

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

Begins:

SUFISM
CIII

Waṣiyyah
(Advice)

Mss: Tunis 4388; Cairo 550/Taṣawwuf.

Begins:

Ends:

CORRESPONDENCE

CIV

Waṣiyyah
(Advice)

Mss: Tunis 2327; Tlemcen 80.

Begins:

Ends:

SUFISM

CV

Waṣiyyah
(Advice)

Mss: Cairo 550/Taṣawwuf

Begins:

Ends:

SUFISM

CVI

Waṣiyyah
(Advice)

Mss: Rabat 2750.1

On Travelling and Initiation.

SUFISM
CVII

al-Wazifah
(The Office)


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


Begins: al-Wazifah is a composition of prayers and Qur'anic verses to be recited by Zarruq's followers as a daily invocation. It is highly esteemed and a large number of commentaries have been written on it. al-Wazifah is known also as: Safihat al-Naja liman ilah Allah Majid and as al-Farihah.

INVOCATION

CVIII

'An al-Wujud
(On Existence)

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

Begins:

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

CORRESPONDENCE
C) DATES OF COMPILATION OF SOME OF ZARRUQ’S WORKS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Title of Work</th>
<th>Year of Compilation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tuhfat al-Murid</td>
<td>870/1465</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The first commentary on al-Ḥikam</td>
<td>870/1465</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The second commentary on al-Ḥikam</td>
<td>874/1469-70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Al-Naṣīḥah al-Kāfiyah</td>
<td>877/1472-73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The fifth commentary on al-Ḥikam</td>
<td>877/1472-73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Al-Jāmi‘</td>
<td>878/1473-74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The eighth commentary on al-Ḥikam</td>
<td>878/1473-74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The nineth commentary on al-Ḥikam</td>
<td>880/1475-76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The tenth commentary on al-Ḥikam</td>
<td>881/1476-77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The eleventh commentary on al-Ḥikam</td>
<td>881/1476-77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sharḥ al-Mabāḥith al-Āṣliyyah</td>
<td>881/1476-77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Juz‘ fi ‘Ilm al-Ḥadīth</td>
<td>881/1476-77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Qawā‘id al-Taṣawwuf</td>
<td>882/1477-78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ta‘ṣīs al-Qawā‘id</td>
<td>883/1478</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘Uddat al-Murīd al-Ṣādiq</td>
<td>886/1481-82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sharḥ al-Ṣudūr al-Marātib</td>
<td>887/1482-83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sharḥ ‘Aqīdat al-Ghaẓālī</td>
<td>887/1482-83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘Urjūzah fi ‘Uyub al-nafs</td>
<td>888/1483-84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>An unspecifed commentary on al-Ḥikam</td>
<td>889/1484</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sharḥ Asmā‘ Allāh al-Ḥusnā</td>
<td>891 or 892/1486 or 87</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sharḥ Ḥizb al-Bahr</td>
<td>895/1491</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sharḥ Risālat al-Qairawānī</td>
<td>896/1490-91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Al-Kunnāsh</td>
<td>after 896/1490-91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manāqib al-Ḥaḍramī</td>
<td>after 896/1490-91</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
D) COMMENTARIES ON ZARRUQ'S WORKS

I

al-Anwār al-qudsiyyah fī sharḥ al-Wazīfah al-Zarrūqiyyah
(The Divine Lights in explaining the Wazīfah of Zarrūq)


II

al-Anwār al-saniyyah 'alā al-Wazīfah al-Zarrūqiyyah
(The Illuminating Lights on the Wazīfah of Zarrūq).


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

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

III

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


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

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

Faṣl fī dhikri shai‘in qalīlin jiddan min al-Waẓifah.
(A chapter on mentioning very little about al-Waẓifah).

Commentator: ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. ʿAbī Ghālib al-Qusantīnī.


V


Mss. Mingana 723 (229A).

VI

Fath dhī al-ṣifāt al-saniyah bi sharḥ al-Waẓifah al-Zārūqīyah

Commentator: ʿAlī b. Saʿd al-Baḥṣūsī al-Suṭūṭī al-Shāfiʿī (the 12th Century).


VII

al-Fawā'id al-latīfah fī sharh alfāq al-Wazīfah
(The Subtle Benefits of explaining the words of the Wazīfah).


VIII

Hidayatu rabbī ‘inda faqd al-murabbī
(My Lord's Guidance when a preceptor is lacking).


Mss: Azhar 5446[216].

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

IX

Ikhtisār sharh al-Naṣīḥah al-Zarrūqiyyah
(Abridged commentary on Zarrūq's Advice).

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

Kāshif al-dujā fi sharḥ Safīnat al-Najā
(The Darkness' Remover in explaining the Ship of Safety "al-Waṣīfah").

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

Cited in: 'Idāh al-maknūn, Lp. i.

XI

Lawāmi' al-Burūq 'alī Wāṣīfah al-Shaikh al-Zarrūq
(The Flashes of lightnings on the Waṣīfah of Shaikh Zarrūq).

Commentator: Muḥammad al-Fontānī.


XII

al-Lawāqīh al-qudsiyah fi sharḥ al-Waṣīfah al-Zarrūqiyah
(The Divine Lights in explaining the Waṣīfah of Zarrūq).


XIII

al-Mawārid al-Ṣāfiyāh fi sharḥ al-Nāṣihah al-Kāfiyāh
(The Pure watering-places in explaining the Sufficient Advice).


Mss: Tunis, Zaitūnah III, 158, 517a.
XIV

al-Minaḥ al-ḥawqiyyah fī ḥall alfāż al-Ważīfah al-Zarrūqīyyah
(The Bestowed Taste in explaining the words of the Wazīfah
of Zarrūq).

Commentator: Badr al-Ḍīn al-Ḥammūmī (d. 1266/1850).

Msś: Rabat 2865D.

XV

Nazm kayfīyyat maʿrifat al-sanat al-mujdibah
(Versifying how to know the barren year).

Composer: Abū ‘Abd Allāh Muḥammad Saʿādah.

Msś. Tunis 507. (See: al-Kunnāsh, Ms. Tunis 1911, fol. 98b.)

XVI

Nazm ʿūṣūl al-Taṣawwuf.
(Versifying the Principles of Sufism).

Composer: Abū Sālim al-ʿAyṣhī (d. 1090/1679).


XVII

Sharḥ al-Naṣṣah al-kāfiyyah.
(A Commentary on the Sufficient Advice).

Commentator: Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān Ibn Zakrī
(d. 1144/1731).

Msś: Rabat, 991,992.
XVIII

Sh. 'Ugul al-ṭarīgah
(A Commentary on "The Principles of the Way").

Commentator: Åhmad b. 'Abd al-Ṣādiq al-Ṭarībulī (d.1190/1776).

Ms: Tunis 785.

XIX

Sharḥ qawā'id al-ṭarīgah
(A Commentary on "the Principles of the Way").


Ms: Berlin, 3031.Pm.547.1) fols. 1-32a; Espurial, 2741,4.

XX

Ta'līq 'alā sharḥ al-Ḥikam al-khāmis 'Āshar
(A Commentary on the Fifteenth commentary on al-Ḥikam)


Ms: Berlin 869. 6. We. 1757 2) fols. 37a-50b.

XXI

al-Ṭaryāq al-fārūq fī sharḥ Waṣīfah al-Zarrūq
(The Reliable Antidote in explaining the Waṣīfah of Zarrūq)

Commentator: Åhmad b. Qāsim b. Muḥammad Sāsī al-Būnī
al-Tamīmī al-Sabtī.

Ms.: Brit. Mus. DCCCLXVII
al-'Uns fī sharḥ 'uyūb al-nafs
(The Intimacy in explaining the Vices of the Soul).


(Illumination of the good hearts in the proofs of the Waẓīfah of Zarrūq).

Commentator: Aḥmad b. 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Sā‘ātī.

"Anyone in whose heart there is no love for Shaikh Zarrūq is not a sincere believer!"

ʻAbd al-Salām al-Faitūrī

al-Ishārāt
CHAPTER THREE

THE ZARRUQĪYAH

Since the very beginning of Sufism we find that the great Sufi masters were centres of large or small circles where their followers and disciples gathered around them, composing distinguished groups in Muslim Society, living in accordance with the teachings of the masters and their ideas of the pure spiritual life.

These groups developed in the course of the time into various fraternities known as ṭuruq Sūfiyah (Sufi Orders) and were, with their ideas and practices, a characteristic phenomenon in the history of Islam and an important facet of its society. After being limited in number in the Third/Ninth century, these groups became of so great an importance that they extended over the whole of the Muslim world during the following centuries with countless followers in every part of this world.

Looking at the noticeable variety of these Orders we can trace the reason to the fact that they were established as a result of the differences which occurred among the Sufi masters themselves in their interpretation of spiritual experience and their approach to the ultimate goal which they all seek to attain and agree to be their aim. Thus came the very famous expression: "The ways to God are as numerous as the souls of the creatures."(1) as an apology

offered by the Sufis whenever they were aware of this disunity amongst them. And as it is said "all roads lead to Rome", thus all the Sufi Turug lead to the Truth. What differs, actually, is not the object but the means to approach this object.

When a Sufi master 'discovers' the Truth and reaches the last stage of his spiritual development he thinks that the path he has followed assures attainment for others also. He starts to preach it and guide his followers through it, as he starts to express his own spiritual experience, and here also differences emerge. How to convey to others what is in itself incommunicable and how to explain that unique feeling of spiritual sublimity is the problem. That is why we can see from the beginning of Sufism that it was divided into many ways, or Orders, according to the mode of expression their founders gave in explaining their experiences.

It is not our intention to discuss here the origin of Sufism in Islam, since there are many opinions suggesting many reasons for it and enumerating the foreign factors which - they say - influenced the Muslims during their contact with other civilisations to adopt the mystical way of life and allow its teachings to penetrate their religious practice and belief. But despite the fact that it is obvious that Sufism is not alien to the Qur'ān and that the seeds of spiritual aspiration and behaviour are
to be found in many of its verses, it is difficult to deny those strange influences which formed certain Sufi ideas and teachings and oriented some Sufi masters into certain directions, and it is not easy to defend them without either interpreting their utterances, or distorting the Islamic dogmas themselves. These ideas, in fact, were not able to survive the overflowing tide of the dogmatic Sunnah which encompassed them vigourously since Abū Ḥāmid al-Ghazālī was 'converted' to Sufism and made it an acceptable and inseparable part of Islam.

Most of the long-lasting and successful Sufi Orders were Sunnī.

However, besides the ideological importance of the Sufi Orders and the social rôle they played through the ages, there is also their political aspect which tremendously influenced Islam and its spread and was the kernel of many states established on Sufi basis.

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2. Like Abū Manṣūr al-Ḥallāj and Abū Yazīd al-Bistānī for example.

3. See al-Sanūsī; al-Salsabil al-mu'īn, pp.6-7.

4. Such as Almoravids in Morocco, the Sanūsiyyah in Libya, the Māhdiyyah in the Sudan and the Tijāniyyah in West Africa.
seem surprising that this should happen despite the fact that Sufism is supposed to be a retreat from worldly affairs, the leading of a life full of spiritual aspiration, essentially opposed to this temporary life, seeking its fulfillment in the lasting and sublime goal. But it seems that historical circumstances were responsible for certain Sufi Orders being concerned with political issues and social problems. Neither should we forget that the Sufi notion of "following the best"(1) was another motive which drew some Sufi masters out of their retreat and impelled them to work for society as a whole, since this "following the best" is not a private or an individual aim confined to the Sufis alone, but also a general aim which they sought to attain for the benefit of society by means of preaching or by seizing power and implementing their concept of the best.(2)

Regarding the origin and development of the Sufi Orders, there are two matters which must be taken into consideration. The first is that not all of the orders

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1. 'Ittibā' al-āhsan. Zarrūq always emphasised this tenet, in accordance with the Qur'ānic verse: "Who hear advice and follow the best thereof. Such are those whom God guides and such are men of understanding." (Qur'ān; 39:18). See: Qawā'id al-Tasawwuf, pp.34-35.

2. A modern example may be given here: Ahmad b. Idrīs (d. 1253/1837), the famous Sufi leader in the Hijāz. "His concern was not confined to teaching awrād and adhkār, to urging people to go into retreat and insulate themselves from mankind. Such practices might be of advantage for the personal development of the individual disciple, but they were not suitable for the higher purpose at which he was aiming, that is, the unity of the endeavour of Muslims united in the bond of Islam." The Sufi Orders in Islam, p.115.
had political ambitions, and the second is that not all which had these ambitions succeeded in fulfilling them. Thus we may divide them into two sections: the spiritual Orders and the spiritual-political Orders. The former are known to be completely concerned with the individual's spiritual evolution guided by certain regulations to be followed by the aspirant, while the latter mix this spiritual aspiration with secular concerns.

In addition to this division it is noteworthy that as the Muslim world was usually separated into two parts: al-Mashriq (the East) and al-Maghrib (the West), the Sufi Orders were distinguished also in accordance with this division. So we see that there are Eastern Orders as well as Western Orders. Although we might find the followers of a certain Order spread throughout the world it is noticeable that there has always been a greater degree of concentration in particular areas. This is due to the nature of the Order itself and the measure of the acceptance of its teachings by the people concerned, since some ideas are widely accepted in certain regions, because they find a suitable soil in which to grow, while they are rejected in other regions because they lack the necessary background which supports their existence and survival.


2. Regarding this point we quote here what J. S. Trimingham says in his book The Sufi Orders in Islam". "The response of regional groups to Sufism in its different manifestation varied considerably... It would be easy to contrast (Cont'd on p.160)
The beginnings of all the Sufi Orders are similar; a master emerges and becomes famous for his virtues. A group of admirers gathers around him, receiving his teachings, obeying his precepts and considering him as the leader who shows them the way to their spiritual salvation. In the course of time the master and his teaching become sacred and venerated by his followers, either during his life-time or after his death, and an Order is created. This Order usually bears its founder's name and agrees in its main principles with a major earlier Order from which it sprang, but it keeps its own identity by adapting some of these principles or adding new rules to it. (1)

(Footnote (1) cont'd from p.159).

an Iranian world as primarily manifesting an intellectual and poetical response to Sufism with an Arab world whose reaction has been anti-intellectual and conformist. But the reaction of the peoples of the Indian subcontinent could offer no one the opportunity for precise definition, since their heterogeneous range covers every variety of Sufi expression in a way inconceivable elsewhere... Furthermore, these cultural differences in response and adaptation exist within the Arabic-speaking world... These differences condition the response of the various peoples and occupational groups to Sufism." pp.219-220.

This was noticed by Zarrūq five centuries ago. In his 'Ūddat al-murīd al-sādiq (Ms. Rabat, D. 1157) he classifies six types of response to Sufism; al-Maghrib (North Africa), al-Mashriq (Egypt, Iraq and Iran) al-Shamāl (the North; Syria) al-Janūb (the South; India), Yemen and the Hijāz, and al-Andalus (the Muslim Spain), pp.70-71. In a general classification he divides the types of Sufism into three regions: the Maghrabī, the Persian and the Yemeni. Ibid., pp.60-62.

In all cases, almost, there is a thread connecting the founder of the new Order with an eminent Sufi master, or masters, who lived before him and linking him with the source of the spiritual life in Islam, the Prophet Muhammad, through one or more of his companions. This thread is called al-silsilah (the chain) and it is so important that every founder of an Order must have his own chain as a sort of authorisation which enables him to exert his influence over his disciples and gives him the right to their full obedience and respect.

Having this chain and establishing himself as a distinguished personality, by displaying his virtues and ability in a certain manner, the founder of the Order becomes a recognised master deserving to be followed. He is going to be regarded as a milestone on the way along which he has passed. His Order will be considered as a branch of the mother-Order, and other branches will grow from his own.

The Zarrūqiyyah Order, which our Shaikh founded, is regarded as one of the Western Sunni Orders mentioned above.

In the foregoing pages we have traced his life and seen him as a seeker and a traveller in the Sufi Way. In the following pages we will see him as a master and the founder of an Order which bears his name.
The Chain:

All historians of the Sufi Orders are agreed that the Zarrūqiyah is a branch of the Shādhiliyah and that Ahmad Zarrūq was a true Shādhili. (1) This may be true to some extent, for he was known as a great defender of this Order and a celebrated commentator on its important texts. (2) He himself used to praise the Shādhiliyah and regard it as the most effective way to God. (3) At the same time we would suggest that he was not as true a Shādhili as he was thought to be until now. This is because to be a devoted adherent of a certain Order one has to adhere strictly to its principles and keep to its regulations and formulas. And this Zarrūq did not do.

It is well-known that the Shādhiliyah - in its simplest form - is based on Five famous principles which are:

1. Fear of God in secret and openly.
2. Adherence to the Sunnah in word and deed.
3. Contempt of mankind in prosperity and adversity.
4. Resignation to the Will of God in all things, great and small.
5. Having recourse to God in joy and sorrow. (4)

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2. Like al-Hikam of Ibn ‘Atā’ Allāh al-Iskandari and the hizbs of al-Shādhili. See the Catalogue.
These principles are certainly included in Zarrūq's teachings. But there are also another five principles which, together with the Shādhili principles, compose the Zarrūqiyyah and are originally Qādirī. They are:

1. Having a high aspiration of the Soul.
2. The preservation of reverence of God.
3. The goodly service of God.
4. Strong resolution.
5. Glorification of the favour of God.

This Qādirī influence becomes quite clear when we consider that the Shaikh has written two accounts of his principles both of them called 'Usūl al-Tarīqah (The Principles of the Way); the first is composed of five principles which are Shādhili, while the second is composed of ten principles which are Shādhili-Qādirī.

In addition to this we find that Zarrūq in his Sufi Chain has two sanads (warrants or ascriptions), one links him with Abū al-Ḥasan al-Shādhili and the other connects him with 'Abd al-Qādir al-Jilānī. Astonishingly we find his master Ahmad b. 'Uqbah al-Ḥadrāmi at the head of each of them. This may be explained by the fact that the sanad comes through two channels; the silsilah (chain) and the khirqah (mantle). We must not forget that al-Ḥadrāmi

2. Ibid.
3. See the Catalogue, No. XCIX.
4. See the Catalogue, No.C.
was not only a Shadhili. He was, perhaps, a Qadirī mugaddam\(^{(1)}\) initiated by Abū Zakariya' Yaḥyā al-Qādirī (d. 561/1165-6). His only link with the Shadhiliyah was his connection with 'Alī b. Muḥammad b. Wafā al-Qurashi (d. 709-10/1310) the founder of the Wafā'iyyah.\(^{(2)}\)

And yet this link was through Abū Zakariya' al-Qādirī.

When Zarrūq asked al-Ḥadrāmī what Order he belonged to he did not receive an accurate reply from him.\(^{(3)}\) The hints which were recorded by Zarrūq about al-Ḥadrāmī regarding this point suggest that our Shaikh was not entirely satisfied with his master's attitude and that he was trying to make a Shadhili of him and discover the relationship between him and the Shadhiliyah.\(^{(4)}\)

When we look at the names of the direct Sufi masters of Zarrūq usually mentioned in the sanads we find two other Qadīris; Abū Muḥammad 'Abd Allāh al-Zaitūnī,\(^{(5)}\) Zarrūq's patron in Fez, and Ahmad Ibn Zimām.\(^{(6)}\)

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1. L. Rinn; Marabouts et Khouan, p.268.
3. Manāqib al-Ḥadrāmī, p.14. "I asked him to which ṭarīqah he belonged," says Zarrūq, "and he answered me:" 'We know nothing of these things. However, my mother is descended from Shaikh Abū Ḍayyān. The Prophet named me Rifa'ī when a man saw him in his sleep saying: Say to Ḍayyān: 'Uqbah al-Rifa'ī.'" It is noteworthy that Shu'āib Abū Ḍayyān was the link between the Qadiriyyah and the Shadhiliyah (see the Table). Zarrūq comments on al-Ḥadrāmī being named al-Rifa'ī by saying that that was either because he was upgraded in his State (Rafi' al-qadr fi al-ṭarīqah) or because his ṭarīqah was in conformity with the Rifa'īyah. Zarrūq himself does not know!
4. Ibid., p.22, where Zarrūq tries to compare some of al-Ḥadrāmī's utterances with those of Ibn 'Atā Allāh al-İskandarī and traces their meaning to al-Hikam of Ibn 'Atā Allāh.
6. Ibid. See also: al-Kunnash, op.cit., pp.64-65.
How did it then come about that our Shaikh was regarded as a Shādhili and that the Zarrūqiyyah was counted among the branches of the Shādhiliyyah?

To answer this question we have to note that, despite the fact that the Qādiriyah and the Shādhiliyyah are considered independent Orders. They are not completely separated from each other either in their teachings or their historical development. (1) If we look at the Shādhiliyyah chain we find that it has a connection with the Qādiriyah through Shu'āib Abū Madyan (d. 594/1196), who was initiated by 'Abd al-Qādir al-Jilānī (d. 561/1165-6) himself, (2) and with whom Abū al-Ḥasan al-Shādhilī (d. 656/1258) was related through 'Abd al-Salām Ibn Mashīsh (d. 625/1228) and 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-ʿAṭṭār al-Zayyāt al-Madānī (d. on the one hand and Muḥammad Ibn Ḥarazhum (d. 634/1236) and Abū Muḥammad Shāliḥ Baisār (d. 631/1234) on the other.

The Shādhiliyyah, in fact, are very careful to maintain their relationship with the Qādiriyah in their chain to the Prophet. Thus it came about that the Shādhiliyyah has two sanads in its chain both leading to the Prophet through 'Alī b. Abū Ṭalib and his two sons; al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusain. One is called Tariq al-ʾirādah (the channel of aspiration) which links al-Shādhilī, through Ibn Mashīsh, with al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī b. Abū Ṭalib, without 'Abd al-Qādir al-Jilānī, and the other is called

1. al-Sanūsī; al-Manhal al-rawī, p. 77.
2. Ibid.
Nevertheless, just as al-Shadhili was initiated through two channels (al-'iradah and al-tabarruk) so Zarrūq was initiated through two channels: tariq al-aqtab (the channel of the Poles) which is equivalent to tarīq al-iradah, and tarīq al-Khirgah (the channel of the mantle) which is equivalent to tarīq al-tabarruk. (2)


The tariq al-khirgah, linking him with ‘Abd al-Qādir al-Jilāmī, goes as follows:

2. Ibid., pp.98-99 and pp.104-105.
Table showing the chain of Zarrūq and his connections with other Orders. Stars preceding certain names indicate the founders of the Orders.

Is it possible now, according to the foregoing account, to say that our Shaikh was not a Shadhilî? The answer must be in the negative, simply because of his own Sufi heritage in which he was mainly influenced by the teachings of this Order, as represented in the works of Ibn 'Aṭâ' Allâh al-Iskandarî and Abû al-Ḥasan al-Shadhilî himself. But it is possible to assert that he was also influenced, laterally at least, by other Sufi Orders as well, and the result was a mixture of many Orders in which the Shadhiliyah was the dominant influence. (2)

Bearing in mind that the Shadhilîs generally were not fanatics for their own Order and that they were on the contrary more tolerant than many other Orders, it is not difficult to see how Zarrûq managed to adapt the principles of other Orders, and even practices,

1. al-commend; Tuhfat ahl al-Siddiqiyah, pp.104-105.
and still be considered a Shadhili.\(^{(1)}\)

Apart from the Shadhiliyah and the Qadiriyah, Zarrūq was attached to five other famous Orders of which two are branches of the Shadhili Order, while three of them have no connection with the Shadhiliyah at all. The first two are: al-Wafā’iyah through Ahmad b. ‘Uqbah al-Ḥadramī and Abū Zakaryā’ al-Qādirī, and al-Jazuliyyah through its founder Abū Muhammad Sulaimān al-Jazūlī. The other three are: al-Suhrawardiyah through Muḥammad al-Zawāwī al-Madānī, al-Jushatiyyah through Ahmad Ibn ‘Arūs, and al-‘Arūsiyyah through its founder Ibn ‘Arūs and Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm al-Zawāwī.\(^{(2)}\)

As we have seen in the case of Zarrūq’s master, Ahmad al-Ḥadramī, and his refusal to declare which Order he followed, it is significant that our Shaikh does not declare it either. The only chain of an order he records is found in his Kunnash, that of the Suhrawardiyah of which, surprisingly enough, he adopts the procedure of initiation and method of invocation.\(^{(3)}\) The conclusion might be drawn from this fact is that he perhaps aimed to do so as an indication of his "independence" of any other specified Order. This gives him the chance to establish his own Order and spread his own teachings, supported by different sources of blessing and connected to various spiritual guides.\(^{(4)}\)

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2. See in all these: al-Fāsī; Tuḥfat ahl al-Siddīqiyyah, pp.98-99 and pp.104-105, al-Sānūsī; al-Mānḥāl al-RAWĪ, p.79, Zarrūq; al-Kunnash, pp.74-76.
This conclusion might be acceptable when we read in one of Zarrūq’s waṣāyiḥā his warm defence of a variety of ways to God and how it is allowed to any who finds it difficult to bear the requirements of certain Order, to turn to another which he thinks less difficult and leading to his goal, according to his aptitude and capacity.¹

Such an attitude is not unusual in the case of any Sufi master who plans to found an Order bearing his name and carrying out his teachings and precepts, and many examples can be given of this idea.²

At any rate, and in spite of all that has been said above, Ahmad Zarrūq was considered always a link in the Shādhilī chain, and it is perhaps on this basis that his Order was established and gained its prestige.

The establishment and development of the Zarrūqīyah:

Did Zarrūq intend to found an Order? And if so, what steps did he take in this direction?

His refusal to build a Zāwiyah when he was requested to do so may indicate that he was not willing to follow the example of other Sufi masters and that consequently he did not intend to found an Order. But from his very reply it is clear that he regarded himself as an important figure who was denied his right place of recognition and who preferred to leave it to coming generations to

1. Waṣāyiḥā, Ms. Cairo, 550/Taṣawwuf, p.3.
2. Wuhāmmad b. ‘Alī al-Sanūsī, or the Grand Sanūsī as he was called, the founder of the Sanūsiyah Order, relates his sanads (ascriptions) to almost all of the known orders in the history of Sufism. See his al-Salaṣbīl al-ṣu‘ūd al-ṭarā‘iq al-arba‘īn and his al-Manḥal al-kawāf al-rā‘iq fī ṣāḥibīd al-‘ulūm wa ‘ugūd al-ṭarā‘iq, both of them published in Beirut, 1968, in one volume.
appreciate him, as it is apparent that he enjoyed, in fact, prestige and fame among the people who knew him, otherwise he would not have been asked to build a Zāwiya.\(^{(1)}\)

Also, we can conclude from the fragments of his waṣāyah and the few remaining letters which he wrote to his disciples and friends that he did not rule out the idea of founding his own Order, although he approached this goal in a very hesitant manner. Unfortunately the lack of information and the loss of the majority of his letters to his followers force us to rely on conjecture rather than making any precise judgement regarding the establishing of the Zarrūqiyyah and its development.

We have to add that the real task of founding the Order was carried out, in fact, by Zarrūq's adherents more than himself, because of his early death, perhaps, or because of the difficulties he encountered during his life. It has still to be said, however, that the seeds of the Zarrūqiyyah are to be found scattered in his numerous compilations, especially his Kunnāsh and Waṣīfah, and the elements of the Order are in his letters and waṣāyah.

Before we start tracing the history of the Zarrūqiyyah Order it is necessary to recall how it began and the activities of its founder.

In his early twenties Ahmad Zarrūq came into contact with Sufism and the Sufi Orders in Morocco. He served

\(^{(1)}\) Rihlat al-‘Ayyāshī, op.cit., p.97.
the "poor" at the Zāwiya of Buqattūt in Fez under al-Zaitūnī's patronage and met other Sufi masters too. At the age of twenty-eight he performed the Pilgrimage and stayed in Cairo for a while. In Mecca, as well as in Cairo, he accompanied Sufi masters from different Orders as he did in Bougie, Tunis and Tripoli on his way to the Holy Land. The man with the most influence upon him was ʿAbd b. ʿUqbah al-Ḥadrāmī who used Zarrūq as a missionary in North Africa until his death in 895/1489, while Zarrūq was living at Misurata in his last settlement.

From this brief account we can omit a large proportion of our Shaikh's life, since he was, throughout all this period, under the influence of al-Ḥadrāmī, and concern ourselves only with the last ten years or so, when he was functioning independently of him, (1) and when he became a famous figure and a well-known Sufi master. In this period, probably, it has been said that he initiated disciples in the vast area extending from Mecca in the East to Bougie in the West, spreading his Order by means of personal contact or correspondence. Let us now start to trace our Shaikh's movements and try to ascertain his impact in the places he visited and on the people he met.

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1. The only known letter Zarrūq wrote to al-Ḥadrāmī was in 886/1481 after his settlement at Misurata, where it is obvious that he was still considered himself a disciple of al-Ḥadrāmī (Cf. al-Taʾrīf pp. 280-281). He presumably lost contact with his master afterwards since there is no mention at all of their meeting again. It is significant that Zarrūq passed through Cairo during 894/1489 and did not see al-Ḥadrāmī who was still alive at that time.
In Cairo:

Al-Azhar mosque was the place on which all Muslim students and scholars used to converge whenever they visited Cairo. Here they learned or taught. To make it easier for the people who came from every part of the Muslim world to live in comfort, a sort of group-accommodation was arranged for them which were called *riwāqs* (living quarters) and these were divided into and named after different territories. *(1)* **Riwāq al-Maghāribah** (the Westerners' quarter) was always one of the busiest *riwāqs* in the mosque. There it seems Zarrūq lived since the first day he arrived in Cairo and during his frequent visits afterwards, since there is no mention at all of his living anywhere except at al-Azhar mosque. *(2)*

During his first and second visits to Cairo our Shaikh was occupied with study and learning and he had not yet become an eminent figure. But it seems that he was highly regarded as a scholar and a Sufi master during his third visit which took place in 884/1479 and his fourth visit which was in 894/1489, while performing his last

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1. Such as *riwāq al-Atrāk*, *riwāq al-Yamaniyah*, etc.

2. See the last page of his *al-Nasīthah al-kāfiyyah liman khassahu Allāh bi al-‘āfiyyah*, Ms. Rabat, 507/2 D, where Zarrūq states that he has written this work in *Riwāq al-Maghāribah* in al-Azhar, during 877/1472. It seems that al-Azhar in those days was a vivid centre of Sufism. Al-Maqrīzī (d. 846/1442) says in his *Khitāt* that al-Azhar was open to Sufis and *dhikrs* were performed there. He also refers to *riwāq* as equivalent to *ribāt*. See: *The Sufi Orders in Islam*, p.21.
Pilgrimage. The author of *Tabaqât al-Shadhiliyat al-kubra* describes how Zarrūq was received in Cairo on one of these two visits, saying:

"When the scholars and learned men of Egypt heard of his arrival they came to him and attended his lectures. He started teaching at al-Azhari mosque. About six thousand men used to attend his lectures from Cairo and its suburbs... A high well-made chair was specially placed for him on which he used to sit and dictate his lessons. This chair still exists at the Western quarter until now." (1)

This account of Zarrūq's prestige in Cairo is supported by what his jurist master, Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Sakhawī, says about him that he "he had followers and admirers", (2) and what Zarrūq mentions about himself as having commented on *al-Hikam* of Ibn 'Atā’ Allāh al-Ishandarī in Cairo and how his commentary was studied under his supervision. (3)

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1. *Tabaqât al-Shadhiliyah*, p.123. When the writer visited riwāq al-Maghāribah looking for this chair he found no trace of it. In the summer of 1965 a big dispute occurred in al-Azhari circles when some of Zarrūq's relics were discovered in this riwāq; a big 99 bead rosary and a copy of the Qur’ān written in old Kūfī, said to be one of the original six copies which the Caliph 'Uthmān sent to the various Muslim regions in the first quarter of the first Hijri century as the formal copies. (See: *al-Akhbār* newspaper, Cairo, 16 July, 1965). The head of the riwāq at that time, Shaikh Muḥammad al-Kumaishi showed the writer both the rosary and the copy of the Qur’ān. This copy was given by Shaikh al-Kumaishi to ex-King Idrīs of Libya who gave it back to the late President Gamāl 'Abd al-Nāṣir of Egypt as a gesture of goodwill after criticism and complaint of the "robbery" arose in the Egyptian circles.


At any rate, it is quite possible that the Shaikh, while lecturing at al-Azhar, mainly on Jurisprudence, was in touch with many Sufi adherents whom he initiated in Cairo. Among famous Egyptians said to have studied under his supervision or been initiated by him we know of: 'Abd al-Wahhāb al-Sha’rānī, (1) Shihāb al-Dīn Abū al-‘Abbās al-Qastalānī, (2) Shams al-Dīn al-Laqqānī (d. 935/1529) and his brother Nāṣir al-Dīn (d. 958/1551). (3) Zarrūq’s influence upon the Laqqānī brothers was so great that they left their native country and followed him to Misurata where they stayed until his death.

In Mecca:

Nothing is known about Zarrūq’s activity in Mecca except that he met Abū al-Ḥasan al-Bakrī there and initiated him, probably in the year 894/1489 during his last Pilgrimage. Al-Bakrī was an Egyptian and in Egypt he founded the Bakriyah-Zarrūqiyah Order. (4)

In Algeria and Morocco:

As it has been pointed out before, Bougie, in Algeria, was the headquarters of Zarrūq’s activities when he was a

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2. al-Fāsī; Tuhfat ahl al-ṣiddīqiyah, p.46.
3. Aḥmad Bābū; Nail al-ibtihāj, p.335 and p.337.
missionary of al-Ḥaḍramī in his thirties and forties. It was to Bougie again he went back as a Sufi master establishing his own Order. In that town, presumably during the year 891/1486 or 892/1487,\(^1\) he managed to gather his adherents and initiate them either in Bougie itself or in the proximity. He certainly visited Algiers and a place called Tammūgar\(^2\) also. There he initiated, among others, Abd al'Azīz al-Qusantīnī, Ṭāhir b. Zayyān al-Qusantīnī and the eminent Sufi, Ābū al-'Abbās Aḥmad b. Yūsuf al-Rāshidī.\(^3\) The last one was a close disciple of Zarrūq and through him the Zarrūqiyyah found its way to many other Sufis and influenced many Sufi Orders.

In Morocco, and despite the fact that Zarrūq was forced to leave his native city, Fez, and seek to live elsewhere, he was able to attract Moroccan followers who spread the Zarrūqiyyah and preserved its teachings within their own orders.


\(^2\) A place in the region of Banī 'Abdel within Bougie province, where Zarrūq wrote his al-Ḥamī' lijumal min al-fawa'id wa al-manāfī at the mosque of Sayyidī Yaḥyā b. Muḥammad al-'Abdālī. See the end of al-Ḥamī', Ms. Ḥusnī, Tunis, 18036.

\(^3\) al-Fāsī; Tuḥfat ahl al-Ṣiddīqiyyah, pp.45-46. Aḥmad Bābā; Nail al-ibtihāj, p.130.

\(^4\) G. Colin; "Sayyidī Aḥmad Zarrūq", op.cit., p.33. He cites that whilst al-Rāshidī was with his master at Bougie, a mysterious person brought to Zarrūq from his wife, who was still at Fez with his son, four loaves which were still smoking as though straight from the oven. The master gave three and a quarter of these loaves to his favourite disciple in order to pass on to him his barakah."

**In Tripoli:**

Before Zarrūq came to Misurata and during his stay there he was acquainted with some Tripolitanians whose respect and trust he had gained, like Abū Muḥammad ‘Alī al-Kharībī al-Tarābulī whose son, Abū ‘Abd Allāh Muḥammad al-Kharībī al-Tarābulī was a loyal adherent of Zarrūq. There is also Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Maṭṭāh al-Ru‘ainī and his son Abū al-Barakāt. Both of them were initiated by the Shaikh and considered among his immediate disciples.(2)

**In Misurata:**

It was to Misurata that Zarrūq resorted at last, as was pointed out in the previous pages. Since 886/1481 the Shaikh lived there on a well-chosen spot which not only helped in spreading his Order through the potentialities of its people, but also enabled him to be on the Pilgrimage caravan-route as the last populous halting-place before the vast dangerous desert of Cyrenaica. There pious men used to come to him, seeking

2. Ibid.
his barakah whenever they were on their way to Mecca and they, perhaps, were initiated by him as well. (1)

During the Shaikh's life the Zarrūqiyyah flourished at Misurata and the circle around him was continuously growing. That atmosphere of respect and admiration Zarrūq found suitable for him to preach his teachings and practice his Way. But here also we stand helpless because of the scarcity of information, since the Shaikh's biographers do not supply us with any details apart from some names of his followers. Among these names there are his intimate friend Abū Za‘āmah, his servant Ahmad b. ‘Abd al-Rahīm, Muḥammad al-Baramūnī and Abū al-‘Abbās Aḥmad b. Ghalbūn. (2)

Our Shaikh's contact with his more distant adherents did not cease after his settlement at Misurata. He kept in touch with them during his visits to their areas and also by correspondence. Thus we read in a letter he sent to Morocco in reply to two of his deputies who had consulted him about a certain novice's admittance into the Order:

"From the faqīr(3) Ahmad b. Ahmad b. Muḥammad b. ‘Isā al-Burnusī, known as Zarrūq, God make him more

1. Ibid. See also: Riḥlat al-‘Ayyāshī, p. 98.
correct, to the esteemed masters, Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Maghrāwī, God be with him in this world and Hereafter, and his friend in Almighty God 'Abd al-Malik b. Sa‘īd, God make him happy with His satisfaction, illuminate his heart and preserve him from the evils of his soul. Then to all the brothers who wish to join the circle of the friends and the beloved ones... We have received a letter from you, containing all amity and good faith, in which you have expressed your longing for us and your leaning towards us... You have asked me for permission for so-and-so to join the circle, while this is not my right or at the discretion of my disobedient soul to do. But tell them that I say to them: 'Take refuge always with God...\(^{(1)}\)

"What I have mentioned is my way which was the way that the Messenger of God (the peace and blessing of God be upon him) practiced till he met God. I do not wish or approve any excess or any deficiency [in the practices of the Order]... I have written for you the wazīfah which I use. Read it at your Zāwiyahs, if possible, since it is taken from the Prophet's sayings."\(^{(2)}\)

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1. The omitted paragraph of the letter contains some advice and instructions.

2. Mss. Tunis 2327 fols. 4-6, 895; Ḥusnī, 1/18. Al-Maghrāwī family at Misurata still keeps a copy of this letter, written about five centuries ago, as a source of blessing handed down within the family from one generation to another. They claim that it is the original letter written by Zarrūq himself. (See a photocopy of this letter in the Catalogue).
In another letter our Shaikh wrote in reply to a certain Abū al-Khair ‘Abd al-Nabi(1) who apparently was of social importance among his people, saying:

"We have received your letter and understand what is in it. May God reward you for us. Know, brother, that this world is God's world. The creatures in it are destined for whatsoever the Divine decree wills and the Lord's decision requires... God, praise be to Him, has put your veneration in the peoples' hearts and has compelled them to respect you. Thank Him for this and beg Him to make it perfect and always seek help in your affairs from God."(2)

As a result of Zarrūq's contact with his more remote followers some of them preferred to leave their own countries and come to Misurata to live near him. From Bougie came Abū 'All Manṣūr b. Āḥmad al-Bija'I who accompanied the Shaikh and married one of his two wives after his death.(3) When he died he was buried beside the Shaikh's grave and he is the only one buried at his tomb. From Morocco came Abū ‘Abd Allāh Muḥammad al-Maghrāwī who was mentioned above and whose descendents are still living in Misurata, constituting one of its tribes; al-Maghārwāh. From Egypt came the Laqqānī

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1. The ‘Abd al-Nabi Abū al-Khair family was, and still is, one of the leading families in Warfallah, about fifty miles South-West of Misurata. It played a decisive rôle during the Italian-Libyan war in the early part of this Century. It is not known whether Zarrūq's correspondent was the ancestor of this family.

2. A private possession in Mr. 'Alī al-Miṣrātī's library, Tripoli.

3. Riḥlat al-'Ayyāshī, p.98.
brothers, Nāṣir al-Dīn and Shams al-Dīn. It was Shams al-Dīn al-Laqqānī who took the Shaikh's place after his death and became his Khalīfah (successor) in leading the Order and directing its affairs.\(^1\) After a while Shams al-Dīn left Misurata for good and went back to his native village, Laqqānāh, in Egypt where he was contacted sometimes by Misurati disciples\(^2\) But nothing more is known about the Zarrūqiyah as an organized Order in Misurata save the reading of the Waqīfah by some pious men in his Zāwiyah, which was built two decades after his death because of his prestige and wide reputation. It might be that Āḥmad ‘Abd al-Raḥīm, who built the Zāwiyah, conducted the Order as a Khalīfah after al-Laqqānī's departure. But this is not supported by any confirming evidence.

All the same, a group of the fuqarā’ gathered around Zarrūq's tomb and Zāwiyah afterwards, maintaining it and receiving pilgrims either on their way to Mecca or visiting the tomb itself. They were called Khuddām al-Zarrūq (the Servants of Zarrūq)\(^3\) and their descendants composed a large tribe at the Eastern part of Misurata. Some of them went to Banghāzī, the capital of the Eastern provinces of Libya, where they settled as a group famed for blessing and sanctity.\(^4\)

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2. Āḥmad Bābā; Nail al-ibtihāj, p.226.
The question which might be asked now is why did the Zarrūqiyah fail to attract as many people as the other Orders? Why was it confined, as an independent Order, to such small areas and restricted to such small numbers?

It is a fact that the Zarrūqiyah, as an established organised Order, was not known in large-scale groups of fraternity, and it was often considered a link either in the chains of other Orders or as merely a Mother-Order for the Orders which sprang from it. That is why it is rather difficult to trace the development of the Zarrūqiyah and examine its impact on Islamic society in the various parts of the Muslim world.

Apart from what has been mentioned above we completely lose the thread in our search of the Zarrūqiyah history until we reach the middle of the Nineteenth Century when Muḥammad b. ‘Alī al-Sanūsī mentions it as an independent Order.\(^1\) But he does not give any details concerning its development except some of Zarrūq’s sanadā and that it was considered one of the Western Orders.\(^2\) By the end of the same Century remains of the Zarrūqiyah existed in Algeria, around Algiers and Constantine at the sites of Berruaghia, Tablat, Aumale and Meskiane.\(^3\) At the

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2. Ibid., p.104.
3. Depont & Cappolani; Les Confréries ..., op. cit., p.213 and p.459. The number of the Zarrūqī Khouans in 1897 was 2,734 in total.
same period, and thirty years later, the tribes of Zakkārah and Hawwārah were regarded as Khuddām Zarrūq in Morocco.\(^1\)

In order to answer our question it is appropriate to quote the relevant remark of Depont and Cappolani about our Shaikh. They say:

"Despite his renown for saintliness and great knowledge, the followers who put themselves under Zarrūq's patronage were only the beginning of other organisations. His teachings have remained in the domain of literature and they could never influence the common people who have only retained a vague memory of their author."\(^2\)

The same thing was noticed by G. Colin in his article on Zarrūq when he says that "The Sufi teachings of Ḥāmid Zarrūq were too lofty and perhaps also too pure to meet with great success amongst the masses. His Sufi teachings hardly passed beyond the narrow circle of his immediate disciples during his lifetime."\(^3\)

This remark is certainly true, since our Shaikh was not of the type of the Marabouts who usually attract the common people by their karamāt and miracles. On the contrary he was mostly against those pseudo-Sufis whom he always considered as corrupted men and the cause of Sufism's deterioration and decay. Because of his high education and thorough understanding of the Sufi teaching

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1. Ibid., p.459.
2. Ibid., pp.458-459.
and message, his compilations were far from being properly understood by lay-men, in spite of his attempts to simplify his teachings, as well as Sufi concepts in general. In that dark age of ignorance which wrapped the Muslim world in the early days of the collapse of Islamic civilisation, it was too difficult for any enlightened Order to survive in its pure state, and the Zarrūqiyah was an Order which might be followed by the élite rather than the common man.

Regarding this point, there are two examples, very close to our Shaikh, which may be cited here. The first is 'Abd al-Salām al-Asmar al-Fātūrī and the second is Aḥmad b. Yūsuf al-Rāshidī.

'Abd al-Salām al-Asmar was originally from al-Fawātīr, a tribe at an oasis in Tripolitania called Zlīten and with a long history of maraboutism. Born in 880/1475 he joined Zarrūq for a while and then turned to other Sufi masters and was initiated as an 'Arūsī. Under the cover of the 'Arūsiyah he established his own Order called al-Sulamiyah which flourished during his life and enjoyed absolute supremacy over other Orders in the area and a considerable power in certain other territories. Al-Asmar became the new "Jupiter Ammon" of Libya, as Depont and Cappolani put it, and his tremendous influence over his followers was beyond imagination. (1) All this was because al-Asmar

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1. Depont & Cappolani; Les Confréries... p.340.
practiced Sufism as the vulgar people understood it. He turned its sublime spiritual aspirations into a sort of spiritual acrobatics by "performing" miracles and stimulating his followers' feelings with music and dancing. In short, he was a charlatan more than a real Sufi.\(^{(1)}\) And yet he overshadowed all other Sufi masters during his lifetime and after his death, including Zarrūq himself. It is probable that the appearance of 'Abd al-Salām al-Asmar on the stage at the time of the establishing of the Zarrūqiyah affected its development and was a decisive factor in hindering its growth.

Abū al-'Abbās ʿAbd al-Salam b. Yusuf al-Rāshidī was, as it has been stated before, an adherent of Zarrūq. After their meeting at Bougie, Zarrūq departed for Misurata while al-Rāshidī moved into the West of Algeria and delivered his popular teachings, introducing, whilst there, various ecstatic and thaumaturgic practices which would meet with favour amongst the common folk.\(^{(2)}\) The success which al-Rāshidī achieved among the masses in Algeria and Morocco was equal to that which al-Asmar had met with in Libya and Tunisia. It is significant

1. For more detailed information about 'Abd al-Salām al-Asmar see: Depont & Cappolani; Les Confréries... pp. 339-349; Muḥammad b. Makhlūf; Tanqīḥ ṭawḍāt al-azhār, Cairo, 1969; al-Ṭayyib al-Miṣrī; Fatḥ al-'alīy al-akbar, Beirut, 1969; 'Abd al-Salām b. Ṣuṭūtī, al-ʿAlīm fi manāqib Ibn Salīm, Ms. Tunis 550, and al-Asmar's compilations found mainly in the National Library of Tunis and in al-Awqāf Library of Tripoli.

here to notice that al-Rāshidī, although initiated by Zarrūq, did not follow his master's example or keep to his teachings and instructions. He had apparently deviated from them during his endeavour for the popular support and acceptance. Thus we see that al-Rāshidī was working in two directions; one was for the élite and the learned, spreading Zarrūq's principles, and the other was for the common laymen, preaching his own concepts and practicing his own method of mass communication. This may explain why he was considered as the head of two Orders; the Zarrūqiyyah-Rāshidiyyah and the Rāshidiyyah or the Yūsufiyah.\(^1\)

Branches of Zarrūqiyyah:

Taking into consideration the foregoing remark to the effect that the Zarrūqiyyah, as an independent Order, did not survive, because of the social and historical circumstances, except on a small scale in limited areas, and that the burden of spreading its principles lay mainly on the immediate disciples of Zarrūq, it is time now to trace the branch orders of the Zarrūqiyya and see how its influence infiltrated into the Orders founded after it. By 'branches' we mean not only those orders which emerged directly from the Mother-Order, but also those orders related to it through their sanads. The 'infiltration' does not indicate the complete dominance of Zarrūqiyyah principles, since if this were so, those

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1. Al-Sanūsī; al-Manhal al-rawī al-rā'īq, pp. 77-78.
Table showing the branches of the Zarruqiyah Order and their sanads to Zarruq.
orders would be a mere continuation of the Zarrūqiyah, which they were not. This affiliation, in fact, more often took the shape of adhering to some Zarrūqiyah principles, or following its procedure of invocation, or considering the ṭawāfah of Zarrūq to be a part of the daily portion of prayer. It is noteworthy also to mention that all these branches of the Zarrūqiyah, without exception, are regarded also as Shādhili Orders, related to Abū al-ʿHasan al-Shādhili, the founder of the original Order, through Ahmad Zarrūq.

The following is a list of the various branches of the Zarrūqiyah with brief details about their founders, their connection with Zarrūq and the location of the Order:

1. Bakriyah-Zarrūqiyah:

Founded by Abū al-ʿHasan al-Bakrī (d. 909/1503-4) who was initiated by Zarrūq at Mecca. This Order was established in Egypt and continued to flourish and play an important role there, especially during the French invasion of Egypt. After Napoleon Bonaparte's conquest the French administration adapted a policy of reformation among the Sufi orders of Egypt and al-Bakriyah was considered chief of them all.

Chair: Abū al-ʿHasan al-Bakrī, Ahmad Zarrūq.

Location: Egypt.

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1. The references for these branches are: al-Mahdi al-Fāsī; Tuhfat ahl al-siddiqqiyah, al-Sanūsī; al-Salsabil al-muʿín and al-Manhal al-rawī al-rāʾiq, Depont and Cappolani; Les Confréries Religieuses, Tringham; The Sufi Orders in Islam, Fatimah al-Yashrūṭiyah; Riḥlah ilā al-ḥaqq; Martin Lings; A Moslem Saint of the Twentieth Century, Rinn; Marabout et Khouan.
2. ‘Isāwiyah:
   Founded by Mūhammad b. ‘Isā of Meknes (d. 930/1525).
   Chain: Mūhammad b. ‘Isā, ʿAbd al-Ḥārithī, ʿAbd Zarrūq.
   Location: Algeria, Morocco, Tunis, Libya.

3. Rashidiyyah-Zarrūqiyyah:
   Founded by ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Rashidi (d. 931/1524-5), who was initiated by Zarrūq at Bougie.
   This Order is the sister-order of the Rashidiyyah-Yūsufiyah founded by the same Sufi master.
   Chain: ʿAbd al-Rashidi, ʿAbd Zarrūq.
   Location: Algeria, Morocco.

4. Ghāziyyah:
   Founded by Abū al-Ḥasan Qāsim (or Abū al-Qāsim) al-Ghāzi (d. 932-3/1526).
   Location: Algeria, Morocco.

5. Suhailiyah:
   Founded by Mūhammad b. ʿAbd Raḥmān al-Suhailī (d. 936-7/1530) who was, according to some traditions,
   originally from Yanbu' on the Red Sea and came to Morocco where he met al-Rashidi and then retreated to a mountain
   called Jabal Suhail and was thus named al-Suhailī.
   Chain: Mūhammad al-Suhailī, ʿAbd al-Rashidi, ʿAbd Zarrūq.
   Location: Algeria, Morocco.
6. Karzāziyah:

Founded by ʿAlīmād b. Mūsā (d. 1018/1610) who was born at Karzāz in Morocco and was called Karzāz too. This Order is named Aḥmadiyyah sometimes.


Location: Algeria, Morocco.

7. Shaikhīyah:

Founded by Shaikh ʿAbd al-Qādir b. Muḥammad (d. 1022/1615).


Location: Algeria, Morocco.

8. Nāsiriyah:

Founded by Muḥammad b. Nāṣir al-Darʿī (d. 1079/1669).

Centred at Tamghūt in Wādī Darʿah.


Location: Algeria, Morocco.

9. Zayyāniyah:

Founded by Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Abū Zayyān (d. 1145-6/1733).


Location: Algeria, Morocco.
10. Dergāwiyyah:

Founded by al-‘Arabī Aḥmad al-Dergāwī (d. 1239/1823).


Centred at Bū Berīḥ, north of Fez. This Order enjoyed a great influence in North Africa. Its founder was a contemporary of Aḥmad al-Tījānī, the founder of the Tijānīyyah, but he differed from him in many aspects. Many branches emerged from the Darqāwiyyah in Morocco and Algeria.¹

Location: Morocco, Algeria.

11. Madaniyyah:

Founded by Muḥammad Ḥasan Ṣafīr al-Madani (d. 1363/1846).

Chain: Ṣafīr al-Madani, al-‘Arabī al-Dergāwī... to Zarrūq.

Al-Madani was born in al-Madīnah and became a disciple of al-Dergāwī in Bū Berīḥ. He returned to al-Madīnah where he initiated many Khalīfahs. After al-Dergāwī’s death he settled in Tripolitania and died in Misurata. Under al-Madani’s son and successor, Muḥammad Ṣafīr, this branch became a new and distinctive Order and muqaddam were

widely dispersed in North Africa, the Hijaz and Turkey, where it played a Pan-Islamic role during the days of Sultan 'Abd al-Ḥamīd.\(^1\)

Location: Morocco, Algeria, Tunis, Libya, Egypt, the Hijaz.

12. Yashruṭiyah:


Chain: Nūr al-Dīn al-Yashruṭī, Ẓāfir al-Madanī, al-‘Arabī al-Derqāwī ... to Zarrūq.

Al-Yashruṭī was born in Bezerta in Tunisia and joined al-Madanī at his Zāwiyah in Misurata. He settled in Acre and spread his teachings throughout Lebanon and the surrounding area.\(^2\)

Location: Lebanon, Rhodes.

13. Sanūsiyah:

Founded by Muḥammad b. 'Alī al-Sanūsī al-Khaṭṭābī al-Ḥasānī (d. 1276/1859).


Al-Sanūsī was a disciple of Aḥmad b. Idrīs. Born in Mustghanem in 1203/1787. He went to the Hijāz where he

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was engaged in scholastic and political disputes. After several travels to and fro North Africa he settled in Cyrenaica and built a Zāwiyah in al-Baiḍā. Later on he moved to Jaghbūb in the Libyan desert and spread his teachings from there. The leadership of the Sanūsiyah Order remained within the family after al-Sanūsī's death. Its last leader, Muḥammad al-Mahdī, became King of Libya until he was overthrown by the Revolution in the 1st of September, 1969. (1)

Location: Libya, North Africa, Chad, Niger, Egypt, the Ḥijāz, Yemen.

The Zāwiyah.

Having reached this stage of our historical survey of the history of the Zarrūqīyah Order it would be incomplete without saying something about the Zarrūqīyah Zāwiyah.

'Zāwiyah' literally means 'corner' in Arabic. When this word was adapted as a Sufi term it was first used to mean the 'retreat' to which the Sufis usually withdrew and kept themselves in isolation for prayer and contemplation. In the course of time the term developed to mean a sacred institution devoted completely to learning the Qur'ān and religious studies. It also became a temporary home for the poor and Sufi travellers. A Zāwiyah is often built by a Sufi leader, during his

The site of Zarrūq's tomb and Zāwiyah among the tribes of Misurata. (Based on G.H. Blake: "The form and function of Misratah's commercial centre", Bulletin of Faculty of Arts, University of Libya, Vol II, 1968 pp 9-40).

KEY ON OPPOSITE PAGE.
The Rawdah, where Zarrūq is buried, together with his disciple Manṣūr al-Bijā'ī.

A mosque built recently on the site of Zarrūq's khalwah at Dkērān in Misurata.
lifetime, or by his followers, after he has died, to be the centre of the Order he founded. In some cases more than one Zawiya is built, in more than one place, according to the number of followers and the extent of the Order.

In the case of our Shaikh we find that he did not try to erect a Zawiya himself. Instead he left it to his followers, or Khuddām, to build after his death. In this way his Zawiya in Misurata and the two other Zawiya of Taliouine in Morocco and of Awlād Trīf in Algeria were founded.

The Zawiya of Misurata:

"The creation of Zawiya and similar buildings," notes Margoliouth, "does not seem to have been contemplated by Abū al-Ḥasan al-Shādhīlī or his successor Abū al-'Abbās al-Mursī who is praised by his biographer for never placing a stone on a stone." (1) This perhaps was the idea of Zarrūq when he was asked by his Servant, Ahmad 'Abd al-Rahīm at Misurata: "Why do not we build a Zawiya and obtain some endowments (awqāf) for it?"

The Shaikh replied negatively: "O Ahmad! The fragrance of our musk will not diffuse till we have decayed in the earth!" (2) The loyal servant kept silent and the Zawiya was never built during the master's lifetime.

Let us go back to the day when Zarrūq arrived at Misurata. Choosing that area to live in he founded a

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1. Margoliouth; "Shādhiliyyah", Encyclopaedia of Islam.
2. Rihlat al-'Ayyāshī, p.97.
Khalwah (retreat-place), not far from the mosque in which he used to perform the prayer with the inhabitants. Here he kept his books and contemplated. He also built a house for his family on top of a small hill, near the village of al-Ḥuwairah, about one thousand cubits to the South-East of the above-mentioned mosque. In recognition of one of his Karamät, a young man presented him with a piece of land containing a well and a jābiyah (a water-reservoir). When the Shaikh died a dispute occurred among the people of the area concerning his burial place. The inhabitants of al-Ḥuwairah claimed that he ought to be buried in his house on their land, while his khuddām insisted on his burial in the jābiyah. The khuddām won the case at last and he was buried where his Rawdah (tomb) was erected.

On the site of his house a mosque was built for al-Ḥuwairah village, apparently after his son's departure to Constantine, and it became an essential point of interest for those who came to visit the Shaikh's tomb, probably as a compensation for the inhabitants of al-Ḥuwairah for not having him buried in their territory. The ruins of his Khalwah remained there until recently.

The Libyan Government built a small mosque on its side during 1970.

1. About 500 metres.
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid.
Twenty years after Zarrūq's death, says al-‘Ayyāshī, when a large number of visitors came to his tomb, owing to his wide reputation for barakah, Ahmad ʿAbd al-Raḥīm built a mosque beside the tomb and lived in it. This mosque, in the course of time, became what is known as the Zāwiyyah of Sīdī Zarrūq. It was, and still is, one of the most important features in the area and a famous religious institute in Libya. It was a tradition, until recently, that any student who had finished learning the Qurʾān by heart in one of the countless surrounding kuttābs had to join the Zāwiyyah for a certain period in order to study Arabic grammar and receive religious instruction. Some of these students might carry on their studies and become teachers at the same place. The students used to come not only from Misurata but also from other parts of Libya, especially from Tripolitania province.

Being built more than four and a half centuries ago, this most ancient religious institute in the whole of Libya, the Zāwiyyah suffered the ravages of time. Ahmad ʿAbd Raḥīm, its founder, was originally from Sirt, about two hundred miles South-East of Misurata, on the coast of Gulf of Sidrah (Syrtes). He had followed the Shaikh and became his faithful servant. When he died his family inherited the post of custodian for about 150 years. During this period the Zāwiyyah flourished and enjoyed a high reputation as an educational institute.

1. Riḥlat al-‘Ayyāshī, p.98.
and a refuge for the poor. The inhabitants who lived around it were exempted from paying any tribute to the State who honoured them because they were living in the vicinity of Zarrūq. (1)

Thereafter, however, a quarrel over the awqāf confined to the Zāwiyyah broke out among them. (2) This struggle affected the Zāwiyyah very much. It lost its prestige and was close to decline. When Abū Sālim al-‘Ayyāshi visited it during 1035/1626 he was shocked by its condition. "We performed the Friday-prayer in the mosque", he says, "and the leader of the prayer gave the sermon by reading it from a sheet of paper. He was not able to read it well either, since he was committing mistakes even in reciting verses of the Holy Qur’ān. I felt sorry for that place, honourable as it is, in the vicinity of the Shaikh in the midst of the country, and yet its affairs are directed by the undeserving and handled by the unsuitable people." (3) The custody at that time was still held by ‘Abd al-Raḥīm’s family. (4)

During 1121/1709 Aḥmad b. Nāṣir passed through the area, on his way to Mecca, and paid a visit to the Zāwiyyah. There is no mention at all of ‘Abd al-Raḥīm’s family in his Rihlah. He talks instead about other Khuddām of Zarrūq who received him there and praises, in particular, the sons of Ibn Ghalbūn who were looking

1. Rihlat al-‘Ayyāshi, p.97.
4. Ibid., p.97.
after the poor at the Zāwiyyah and feeding the Pilgrims.\(^{(1)}\)

'Abd al-Raḥīm's family was formally dismissed from the custody by the ruler of Tripolitania at that time, ʿAḥmad Pāshā b. Yūsuf al-Qaramānī (d. 1158/1745) who intervened personally in the matter and replaced them with Ibn Ghalbūn's brothers; ʿAḥmad and Dakhīl.\(^{(2)}\)

Thus the Zāwiyyah returned to its former state and revived again. In addition to its own scholars it became a goal for many famous learned men who used to visit it from other parts of the Muslim world and enjoy its hospitality.\(^{(3)}\) The Ibn Ghalbūn's family held the post until 1923. The Italian administration, after their successful operation in December of the same year and after restoring Misurata to the pacified zone, formed a collective custody-board composed of the eminent men of the region to look after the awqāf and run the Zāwiyyah and its dependents.\(^{(4)}\) This system has been followed until the present day.

The Zāwiyyah lies in a central position between the town-centre of Misurata and its port, Qaṣr ʿAḥmad, in a populous area called Dkērān,\(^{(5)}\) surrounded by a considerable number of villages and tribes. It is now

\(^{(1)}\) Riḥlat al-Nāṣirī, p.13.

\(^{(2)}\) Ibn Ghalbūn; al-Tadhkār, p.225.


\(^{(4)}\) Colin; "Sayyīdī ʿAḥmad Zarrūq", p.31.

\(^{(5)}\) As it is pronounced today. It is sometimes written Tikrān, Takrīn or Atakrān. The letter T at the beginning of the word suggests its Berber origin.
composed of a mosque, the tomb of the Shaikh, a school and a library. It is comparatively rich from the revenue of the *awqāf*, but it is clear that the curators are rather careless. Its present situation does not indicate its glorious past in any way. The Libyan Government has attached its educational rôle recently to the Islamic University of Ṭūḥammad b. ʿAlī al-Sanūsī(1) as an attempt at modernisation to satisfy the people of the area on the one hand, and try to solve its accumulating problems on the other. But nothing really has been done to improve its condition.

When the writer visited the Zāwiyyah he found its building in a very bad state, its decrepit furniture hardly worth the name. Most amazing of all was to discover that none of its Shaikh's numerous works, scattered in every part of the world, is available in the library there!(2)

The Zāwiyyah of Taliquine:

"The Zāwiyyah of Ṭāḥ al-Mādh Zarrūq among the tribe of Barānīs to the west of Tūzē", says G. Colin, "is situated among the Ṭāʾīfah in the part of Ahl Ṭiliwān, three miles to South-West of the post of Bāb al-Murūj. The people of the country actually pretend that it was raised upon the tomb of the Shaikh and they have not

1. That was a few years before the Libyan Revolution in September, 1969. In January 1971, the Islamic University was abolished as an independent University and incorporated with the University of Libya as the Department of the Arabic Language and Islamic Studies.

2. The excuse given by the custodians for this sad fact is that when the Italians were near to occupying Misurata all the manuscripts of the Zāwiyyah were smuggled out by the refugees and carried to Egypt and Tunisia. They never came back again.
The Zāwiyah of Misurata as it looks from the North. On the right is the entrance of the Rawdah, while the left entrance leads to the mosque behind it.

The Zāwiyah from inside, where some of its teachers and students are gathering. The door of the library is in the centre of the right picture, behind the man in national dress.
the slightest knowledge of the Zāwiyyah of Takīrān (Misurata) with which contacts had been broken since the Pilgrimage to Mecca had come to be made more often by sea than by land." He continues: "The question remains, however, as to who founded it and for what reason? Was it founded by Ahmad Zarrūq himself, or by one of his disciples, perhaps to commemorate the Shaikh's birth-place or the site at which he had taught? For it certainly seems that Ahmad Zarrūq spent some time amongst his native tribe and local tradition still points to the ruins of the Qur'ānic school (Jāmi‘) where the Shaikh taught not far from Sūq al-Sabt of Warbah."(1)

Colin, unfortunately, does not give the source of his statement that Zarrūq "spent some time amongst his native tribe," and the materials to hand do not help in clarifying this point. Even if our Shaikh did settle at Taliouine(2) for a while, it is unlikely that he founded a Zāwiyyah there, simply because he did not intend to build any at all. One must assume that either one of his unknown disciples built it or that his own tribe, proud of him as it should be and in an attempt to take advantage of his prestige and reputation, founded that Zāwiyyah in his name.(3)

3. It might be of some interest to recall here what 'Abd al-Majīd al-Manālī, who visited Zarrūq’s tomb at Misurata during 1158/1745 relates in his Rihlah, "... I entered the Khalwah in which the Shaikh died. I found a grey-haired man from Morocco, from the Barānis. He was living in Fez, he abandoned the world and he had recently come to the Khalwah. His name was Ahmad Zarrūq after the Shaikh's name." (Cf. 'Abd al-Majīd al-Manālī al-Zabādī; Bulūgh al-mārām bi al-rihlah illā bait Allāh al-barām, Ms. Rabat, 1808D., p.29). Who knows? Perhaps it was this man who built the Zāwiyyah of Taliouine.
From Colin also we learn that "the political and economic importance which the Zāwiyah of the Barānis enjoyed, as a halting-place on one of the commercial routes joining Melilla with Fez, has largely diminished since 1914, at which time the French conquered the area. However, its importance as the main religious and intellectual centre of the region has remained undiminished. Its Shaikh is considered as the guardian of the country and the chief of its Seven Saints. It is upon his tomb that judicial oaths are taken, written attestations are provided by the mughaddam. It is to him that farmers and cattle-breeders make wishes that they may obtain an abundant harvest and fine produce. Again, it is to his intercession that parents turn in the hope that they will have male children. Several teachers, who are attached to the Zāwiyah give instruction to about twenty students.\(^1\) They all live on the produce of the offerings brought by the pilgrims, which is added to the income derived from bequests of lands and olive trees which have been made over to the Sanctuary."\(^2\)

The Zāwiyah of Taliouine, as is the case of the Zāwiyah of Misurata, is not in the hands of the Shaikh's descendants. It is controlled and exploited by the descendants of Sayyidī Aḥmad al-Ḥājj, who is buried in the territory of Banī Bū Yaʿlā and who would have been a fellow-student of Aḥmad Zarrūq.\(^3\)

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1. That was during 1925, when Colin wrote his article.
3. Ibid.
The Zāwiyyah of Awlād Trīf:

This third and last Zāwiyyah known to be connected to Zarrūq was founded in Algeria at Berroughia, in the territory of Algiers, and called the Zāwiyyah of Awlād Trīf, where a group of Shādhilis seems to have perpetuated the Shaikh's memory and preserved his traditions.\(^1\) Nothing, in fact, is known about the establishment of this Zāwiyyah, although it is probable that it might have some connection with Zarrūq's two adherents in Algeria: Tāhir b. Zayyān al-Qusantīnī and Abū Fāris 'Abd al-'Azīs al-Qusantīnī, for whom no later sanad can be traced. Or, perhaps, it has something to do with Zarrūq's son, Aḥmad al-Akbar, who departed from Misurata after his father's death and lived in Algeria where he inherited the Shaikh's prestige and was celebrated as a Sufi master.\(^2\)

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1. Deponț & Cappolani: *Les Confréries* ... op.cit., p.459. The writers give a total of 112 Khouan (brethren) composing this Zāwiyyah by the end of the last century.

2. Aḥmad Bābā; *Naḥ al-ibtihāj*, p.130.
The Principles of the Zarrūqiyah in Theory and Practice.

To complete the picture of the Zarrūqiyah Order and examine the framework in which it existed, we must look at its principles as its founder preached them and the theoretical basis on which it was established. Then we will examine its practical aspects, i.e., the steps taken by any novice wishing to join the Order, how he was initiated and the obligations he had to fulfill in order to become one of its community.

In his *al-Manhal al-rawī* Shaikh al-Sanūsī is cautious, as one would expect, not to differentiate between the Sufi Orders "as although they are various, they are one in fact, since their goal is one."(1) But at the same time he distinguishes some Orders from others on the ground that this order or that holds such and such principles more than another does. Thus, we see that, while the Shādhiliyyah, the Mother-Order, is founded - as he says - on the notion that the servant has to entirely eradicate his will and volition and submit completely to God's destiny and become absolutely free from worldly aspirations, the Bakriyah is based on sincerity, piety and communication of the heart (*al-ittiṣāl al-qalbī*). The Wāf'āiyah seek complete extinction in God's will, he says, and the Jazūliyah hold whatsoever makes the servant

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nearer to God and the longing of the spirit to contemplate His Beauty and Majesty. "The Zarrūqiyyah is founded on: piety, following the Sunnah, ignoring the creatures, satisfaction with God and recourse to Him."(1)

These tenets, one might say, are very common and held generally by all Sufis, regardless of what Order they belong to. This is true to a certain extent. But al-Sanūsī's distinction between the above-mentioned and other Orders,(2) and his specification of each Order's main principle indicates the fact that these Orders, though united in their main theme, are varied in the aspects of the way they emphasise. And this is what is meant by the principles of the Order.

Regarding the principles of the Zarrūqiyyah we find that al-Sanūsī has summarized all that Aḥmad Zarrūq taught and preached during his life and through his works. These Five Principles are, actually, the core of his Order, or one may say the nucleus around which the rest of his teachings revolve. It is not difficult to trace in all that he has written his constant reference to these principles. The important thing to point out is that these principles are Shadhili in origin. The rôle Zarrūq played in this work is that he was able, perhaps more than many others, to clarify them(3) and introduce them to the ordinary reader in a categorised form as a

1. Ibid.
formula of his Order's principles to be held by his followers. Not only this, but he also included the principles of other orders, e.g., the Qādiriyah, in his formula, besides his own principles. Thus he included all the necessary elements which connect him with preceding Sufi masters and left himself free - at the same time - to compose his own principles, upon which his Order is founded, without being detached from the natural sources of his belief in the Sufi Way.

In order to avoid repetition there follows a full translation of Zarrūq's authorized 'Uṣūl al-Ṭarīqah (the Principles of the Way) despite its comparative length, as taken from one of his disciple's commentaries on it.\(^{(1)}\)

It reads:

"The principles of our way are five: Fear of God in secret and in public, adherence to the Sunnah in word and deed, contempt for mankind in prosperity and adversity, satisfaction with God in all things great or small, and having recourse to God in joy and sorrow.\(^{(2)}\) Fear of God is realised by piety and righteousness, the Sunnah by caution and good manners, contempt of mankind by patience and trust, satisfaction with God by contentment and submission, and having recourse to Almighty God by gratitude and thankfulness.

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1. Muhammad b. 'Ali al-Kharrūbī; al-Durrah al-sharī'īfah fī al-kalām 'alā' uṣūl al-ṭarīqah, Ms. Cairo, 22724 B.

The origins of all these are five: He who preserves reverence for God, his honour will be preserved by God. He who serves Him sincerely will be rewarded by God. He who has strong resolution will have a lasting relationship with God. He who glorifies His grace must thank Him. And he who thanks Him deserves that more grace should be bestowed upon him according to His truthful promise.\(^1\)

The rules of conduct are five: Seeking knowledge to fulfill God's command. Accompanying the brethren and the masters for the sake of reflection (\textit{tabassur}). Renouncing the dispensations and interpretations. Observing strictly (the times of) litanies to practice the presence of God. Accusing the soul in everything to escape from capricious desire and to become safe from wrong doing and defects.

Deficiency in knowledge is brought about by association with the immature in age, mind, or religion, without having a good reason to do so. Deficiency in companionship is from self-deception and idle curiosity. Deficiency in renouncing dispensations and interpretations is from self-pity. Deficiency in observing the times is from thinking that there is still enough time for good deeds. Deficiency in self-accusation is from believing that the Soul is good and right.

The methods of the Soul's treatment are five: Easing the stomach by eating little food. Recourse to God in

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whatever afflicts one, and whenever it happens. Shunning what is potentially harmful. Asking forgiveness continuously and blessing the Prophet (the peace and blessing of God be upon him), either alone or together with others. Keeping company with him who directs you to God or His Commandments.

Do not choose as a companion save him by whom your certainty becomes the firmer, since he who directs you towards this world is deceiving you, he who directs you to toil outwardly is exhausting you, while he who leads you to God is a sincere adviser.

I have seen the "Poor" (fuqarā) of this time afflicted by five things: Preferring ignorance to knowledge, being deceived by every ranter, negligence in important issues, being over zealous for the Orders they follow, over-eagerness to receive Revelation, without fulfilling its conditions.

They have been tempted by five things: To prefer innovation more than the Sunnah. To adhere to vain people rather than truthful men. To act according to desire in every issue, or at least most of them. To believe in lies more than the truth, and to make claims without sincerity.

They have acquired five things: Over-scrupulousness in warship. Indulgence in harmful habits. Congregation at any time. Trying to win over noteables as much as is possible. And they have been misled by what is related of the Folk's performances and their states.
If they would give the matter thorough consideration, they will realise that causes (asbāb) are excuses for the weak, and not to be indulged; that audition is for one who is overwhelmed or for the perfect only; that scrupulousness is an innovation, deriving either from ignorance of the Sunnah or from mental confusion, and it is a decline with regard to the Truth; that hoping for the acceptance of one's fellows is a drawing back from Almighty God, and that association with the immature is a cause of shame in this world and the Hereafter, and admitting them to one's company is an even greater shame. Shaikh Abū Ḍayyān has said: 'The immature person is he who does not agree with you in your way, even if he be seventy year old.' You find this mostly in the Folk of the Way, I mean the followers of the orders and the students. Therefore, do your best to avoid them.

Anyone who claims that he has attained to a certain stage with Almighty God while one of the following five things is practiced by him, is either a liar or a madman:

To allow his members freedom in the disobedience of God.
To pretend that he obeys God.
To expect anything from mankind.
To backbite against the Folk of God, and to show disrespect for Muslims.

Pure states and the exalted stations do not apply except to a sincere aspirant, an aware faithful traveller, guided by a sure gnostic master who possesses all the qualifications of a master.
The qualifications of the master to whom the novice entrusts himself are: true knowledge, obvious spiritual experience, a high aspiration, a satisfactory state and acute perspicacity.

Whoever has the following qualities, must not be accepted as a master: ignorance in religion, disrespect for Muslims, interference in what does not concern him, following desire in everything and being unashamedly bad-mannered.

The etiquette of the novice and his brethren towards the master consists of five things: obedience to the master's orders, avoiding what he forbids, respecting him in his presence and absence, alive or dead, being dutiful to him as far as possible and directing his knowledge, mind and practice to what pleases his master. If the novice does not find a guiding master he must take advice from one of the brethren. If he finds him lacking in some of these five qualifications he relies on what the master has of them and deals with him as a brother for the rest."

In practice:

Now, when an aspirant considers these principles as the right rules by which he ought to travel on the Way, he may join the other brothers in the Order and be affiliated to it. This affiliation is effected according to a certain procedure known as talqīn (initiation) which includes al-‘āhd (covenant), dhikr (invocation) and khalwah (retreat). (1) Then the aspirant becomes a fully admitted

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1. Cf. Trimmingham; The Sufi Orders in Islam, pp.29-30. The method of initiation in the Zarrūqiyah is quite different from that of both the Shādhiliyyah and the Qādiriyah. (Ibid., pp.186-187).
member of the Order and continues to undertake its obligations, as a traveller in the Way, and to fulfill its duties.

The Covenant (al-‘ahd):

The procedure of the covenant is as follows: the Master mentions the meaning of repentance and how to repent. Then he puts his right hand on the repenter's right hand and tells him that both of them are partners in the Covenant of repentance. Then the master closes his eyes and keeps silent, absorbed in the thought that God it is Who causes people to repent and that he himself is a mere instrument in guiding them. He then raises his voice saying: "I take refuge in God from Satan, the accursed. In the name of God, the most Merciful, the most Compassionate. I seek forgiveness from God, the Great (three times) and repent to Him and beseech Him to lead me to what He desires and what pleases Him." Then he blesses the Prophet and says: "Praise be to God!". The novice must follow the master in all he utters. After that the master relates the names of his previous masters, if he wishes, and his sanad (ascription) to the Prophet.\(^1\)

The same procedure is followed in giving the mantle (khirgah) and instructions for the invocation (dhikr) also.\(^2\)

The Invocation (dhikr):

In instructing the novice how to invoke the master has to explain the meaning and conditions of Invocation

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1. Kunnāsh, pp. 75-76.

2. Ibid., p. 75. It is noteworthy that Zarrūq adopts the procedure of the Suhrawardī Order in the Covenant, as he states. Cf. ‘Uddat al-murīd al-Sādiq, Ms. Rabat 864 G, p. 46.
in the initiation. Then he says to him: "Say, for me to hear, 'There is no god but God' three times," after saying this himself three times, while the novice listens.

After taking the oath and completing the Covenant the novice is given particular formula of istighfar (seeking forgiveness from God), which is the first stage in Invocation. These are introduced to him gradually. First he is required to repeat all the time: "I seek forgiveness from God, with Whom there is no other god, the Living, the Eternal, and ask Him to accept my repentance." When this formula is well-established in his heart he should be required to bless the Prophet. He must not neglect to say "our master Muḥammad" until the blessing is deeply rooted in himself. Then he may say: "Your beloved one" instead. In any case the novice should not be transferred from one step to another unless the fruits of the first step are evident in him whether asleep or awake, or even in both of them together. The complete formula of blessing on the Prophet is better for the common laymen. The learned man should repeat it eleven times after performing each prayer. (1)

During Invocation the novice sits in a special way, putting his head between his knees, ignoring all sensory things, absorbed in the thought that he is in the Presence of God. Then he continues, saying: "I seek refuge in God from the accursed Devil. In the name of God. O God, bless our master Muḥammad." Then he names

1. Kunnāsh, p.76.
the number of blessings he intends to utter. When he has finished them he repeats the sentence mentioned above. If the Invocation takes place before sunrise the novice has to add: "God bears witness that there is no god but He - and the angels, and men possessed of knowledge - upholding equity; there is no god but He, the All-mighty, the All-wise."\(^{(1)}\) Then he says: "I confess that God has testified of Himself what His angels and His learned creatures have testified of Him. I entrust this testimony to God until my death, my entry into the grave, my rising forth from it and the meeting with my Lord, for God is He Who does not betray His trust." He says this three or seven times. If the result of his blessing on the Prophet is evident in him the novice passes on to invoke the Two Testimonies. If he is in a good state he may increase the number of his invocations; but if he is not he must certainly not do so. The weak novice has to invoke the Two Testimonies consistently as they are; the first (There is no god save God) then the second (Muḥammad is the messenger of God), lest his state worsen and he cease to advance.\(^{(2)}\)

When the result of the first stages of Invocation appears, by contemplating all beings as non-being because of the Sole Being of the Truth, the traveller can change the previous formula to: "Glory be to God and praise! Glory be to God, the Great! O God, bless our master Muḥammad and his family," until he finds the fruit of the

\(^{1}\) Qurʾān; e:18.

\(^{2}\) Kunnāsh, p.77 and 'Uddat al-murīd al-ṣādiq, p.46.
Invocation evident in him. At this stage he occupies himself with uttering "Allāh!" alone. At the same time, however, he must not neglect to bless the Prophet from time to time.

The traveller has to adapt a litany after the morning-prayer and another after the sunset-prayer. However, he must not be quick to change the formula of the Invocation before its result is perfectly evident in himself. (1)

The retreat (Khalwah):

As soon as the novice has been initiated a short period of retreat is desirable. He can go to any place he chooses, to remain in complete solitude, occupying himself with the invocation and contemplation. (2) This retreat is, in fact, a sort of quarantine where the novice purifies himself from worldly pre-occupations and devotedly aspires to the spiritual life.

Although Zarrūq holds that "the more the novice abandons the world, the more he attains to the Truth", (3) he does not give details of the tasks required of the novice in his retreat. Instead he advises his followers to adapt the Shādhili method in this respect. He realises that the novice must not live in absolute isolation for too long a time, lest he loose contact with the outside world which is a necessary element in this life. A period

1. Ibid.
2. Kunnāsh, p.77.
3. Ibid.
of ten days, or one month at the most, is deemed sufficient. Then he returns to carry on his duties in society, and as a member of the Order's community life.

The WazIfah

None of Zarrūq's works has met with such success as his WazIfah enjoyed through the ages. It has been the subject for more than twenty commentaries, in the East and the West, recited every day at dawn by thousands of the followers of the Zarrūqiyyah and other Orders, and hung around the necks of queens to protect them from evil. Its effective mysterious power is able to guard whoever recites it in the morning, with sincere intention and a devoted and pure heart, for the rest of the day. It therefore deserves our interest and is worthy to be mentioned here.

The WazIfah is a term used for a daily office, or a portion from the Qur'ān, which is read by devout Muslims. The WazIfah of Shaikh Zarrūq contains, in addition to verses from the Qur'ān, many prayers attributed to the Prophet and said to have been recited by him. It is

3. The WazIfah is a part of the invocation in the Bakriyah, Zayyāniyah, Sulamiyah, 'Arūsiyah, Jazūliya, 'Isāwiyan and madaniyah orders. Cf. al-Sanūsī; al-Manhal al-rawi, and Rinn; Marabouts et Khouan, for example.
5. Rinn; Marabouts et Khouan, op.cit., p.412.
7. Ahmad al-Sa'īdī; Tanwīr al-af'īdah al-zakiyah fi adillat adhkar al-WazIfah al-Zarrūqiyyah, printed in Cairo without date for al-Najāḥ Library, Tripoli.
simple and clear and does not contain any vague expressions.

While Żarrūq was establishing his Order he needed to offer his disciples a formula of litany in accordance with his teaching, to be recited by them as a sort of invocation. He therefore composed this Ważīfah, which is named Safīnat al-najā liman ila Allāh iltajā (The Ship of Safety for him who takes refuge with God), and recommended its recitation to his adherents. It became a part of the Żarrūqiyyah Order and a widely spread prayer.

There are many legends about the Ważīfah which is considered to be a direct dictation from the Prophet himself to Ahmad Żarrūq, exactly as was the case with the Ḥizb al-bahr of al-Shādhilī and Dalā’il al-Khairāt of al-Jazūlī.\(^1\) Abū Zakariyā’ Yaḥyā al-Bijā’ī relates that the Shaikh told him that while he was sitting beside the Prophet’s tomb, the Prophet appeared to him and said: "Read your Ważīfah to me." So he did and the Prophet said: "That is it. Neither add or omit anything."\(^2\) This narrative is contradicted by another in which the Prophet said to Żarrūq: "This Ważīfah which you have composed is too long. Time is short and resolution (himmah) is weak. Alter this and change that", until he was satisfied with it.\(^3\) Muḥammad al-Ḥāṭṭāb and his son Abū al-Barakāt say that they had heard Żarrūq talking to the Prophet in his

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3. Ibid., p.6.
Rawdah (Tomb). Unfortunately they were not able to hear the conversation clearly since they, and their companions, respectfully retreated from the window to leave them in privacy. It was, perhaps, at that time that the Prophet asked Zarrūq: "What have you called your Wazīfah?" The Shaikh replied: "I have not named it yet, O Messenger of God!" The Prophet said: "Call it Safīnat al-naja limān ila Allāh iltajā."

Our Shaikh himself, however, although he recommends the Wazīfah as the most adequate litany derived from the Prophetic tradition in conformity with the Sunnah, he never claims that it was dictated by the Prophet, nor asserts that it has anything to do with him except that it does not contradict any of the prayers ascribed to him. This is obvious from his incomplete commentary on it, which he started and did not finish, where he explains the benefit of composing the Wazīfah and its merits of being concise, clear and in conformity with the Prophetic tradition and the true Sunnah.(2)

The time of the Wazīfah recitation, as he says, might be any time during the period between sunrise and al-‘ishā’ (about one hour after sunset) to make it easier for the travellers to read whenever it is convenient for them. It is most desirable to read it in a group with the brothers of the Order, "to help the weak travellers be encouraged by their brothers, to exhibit the grandeur of Islam and let the angels surround the reciters, to let tranquility...

1. Ibid.

2. al-‘Ayyāshī; al-Amvār al-saniyah ... p.6-8.
overwhelm them and the mercy of God descend from the heaven upon them."(1)

Having reached this stage, we conclude this chapter with the text of the WazIfah of Zarrūq in full:(2)

I seek refuge in God from Satan, the accursed.
In the name of God, the most Merciful, the most Compassionate.
"Your God is one God; there is no god save Him, the most Merciful, the most Compassionate."(3)
"God! There is no god save Him, the Living, the Self-Existent."(4)
In the name of God, the most Merciful, the most Compassionate.
"God! There is no god save Him, the Living, the Self-Existent."(5)
"And faces abase themselves before the Living, the Self-Existent."(6)
"God! There is no god save Him, the Living, the Self-Existent. Neither slumber nor sleep overtake Him. Unto Him belongs whatsoever is in the heavens and whatsoever is in the earth. Who is he that intercedes with Him save by His permission? He knows that which is in front of them and that which is behind them, while they en-compose

1. Ibid., p.7.
nothing of His knowledge save what He wills. His throne
includes the heavens and the earth, and He is never weary
of preserving them. He is the Almighty and the Great."\(^{(1)}\)

In the name of God, the most Merciful, the most
Compassionate.

"الله الحكيم. The revelation of the Book is from God,
the Almighty, the Knower, the Forgiver of sin, the Accepter
of repentence, the stern in punishment, the Bountiful.
There is no god save Him. Unto Him is the last journey."\(^{(2)}\)

"Unto God belongs whatsoever is in the heavens and
whatsoever is in the earth; and whether you make known
what is in your mind or hide it, God will bring you to
account for it. He will forgive whom He wills, and He will
punish whom He wills. The messenger believes in what has
been revealed unto him from his Lord and (do so) the
believers. Each one believes in God and His angels and
His books and His messengers - we make no distinction
between any of His messengers - and they say: We hear
and we obey. (Grant us) Your forgiveness, our Lord. Unto
You is the final coming. God tasks not a soul beyond its
capacity, for it (only) what it has earned and against it
(only) that which it has deserved. Our Lord! Condemn us
not if we forget or miss the mark. Our Lord! Lay not on
us such a burden as You did lay on those before us. Our
Lord! Impose not on us that which we have not the strength
to bear. Pardon us. Forgive us and have mercy on us, You,
our Patron, and give us victory over the disbelieving
folk."\(^{(3)}\)

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2. Qur'an; 4:1
In the name of God, the most Merciful, the most Compassionate.

"Say: O disbelievers! I worship not that which you worship. Nor worship you that which I worship. And I shall not worship that which you worship. Nor will you worship that which I worship. Unto you your religion, and unto me my religion."(1)

In the name of God, the most Merciful, the most Compassionate.

"When God's succour and the triumph come, and you see mankind entering the religion of God in troops, then hymn the praise of your Lord, and seek forgiveness of Him. Verily, He is ever ready to accept repentance."(2)

In the name of God, the most Merciful, the most Compassionate.

"Say: He is God, the One. God, the eternally Besought of all. He begets not and is not begotten. And there is none comparable unto Him."(3)

In the name of God, the most Merciful, the most Compassionate.

"Say: I seek refuge in the Lord of Daybreak from the evil of that which He created. From the evil of the darkness when it is intense. And from the evil of the malignant witchcrafts. And from the evil of the envier when he envies."(4)

In the name of God, the most Merciful, the most Compassionate.

"Say: I seek refuge in the Lord of mankind. The King of mankind. The God of mankind. From the evil of the

1. Qur'ān; 109
2. Qur'ān; 110
3. Qur'ān; 112
4. Qur'ān; 113.
sneaking whisperer. Who whispers into the hearts of mankind, from the jinn and mankind."(1)

O God! I seek refuge in You, lest I attribute associates, awarely, with you and seek forgiveness from You for what I am not aware of. (Three times).

O God! I seek refuge in You from anxiety, and sadness, from impotence and laziness, from cowardice and avarice, and from being overcome by debt and men. (Three times).

O God! Make my body healthy. Make my hearing helthy. Make my sight healthy. There is no god save You. (Three times).

O God! You are my Lord. You created me and I am Your slave. I am keeping Your covenant and promise as far as I can. I seek refuge in You from the evil I have done. I turn to You by Your grace, and with my sin I turn to You. Forgive me, for there is no one who forgives sin save You. (Three times).

O God! I have begun this morning in grace, health and protection bestowed on me by You. Make perfect Your grace, health and protection in this world and the Hereafter. (Three times).

O God! What I, or any of Your creation, begin the morning with is from You alone. There is no associate with you. Praise and gratitude be to you. (Three times)

O Lord! Praise be to you as it must be to the glory of Your face and the grandeur of Your power. (Three times).

I am content with God as Lord, with Islam as religion, and with our master Muḥammad - peace and blessing be upon him - as a prophet and a messenger. (Three times).

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1. Qur’ān; 114.
Glory and praise be to God equal to the number of His creations, to the satisfaction of Himself, the weight of His throne and the ink of His words. (Three times).

I seek refuge in the perfect words of God from the evil of that which He created. (Three times).

In the name of God, with Whose name nothing can do harm neither in the earth nor in the heaven. He is the All-hearing and the All-knower. (Three times)

I seek refuge with God, the All-hearing, the All-knower, from Satan, the accursed. (Three times).

"He is God with whom there is no other god, the Knower of the unseen and the seen. He is the most Merciful, the most Compassionate. He is God, with whom there is no other god, the Sovereign Lord, the Holy One, Peace, the Keeper of Faith, the Guardian, the Majestic, the Compeller, the Superb. Glorified be God from all that they ascribe as partner (with Him). He is God, the Creator, the Shaper out of naught, the Fashioner. His are the most beautiful names. All that is in the heaven and the earth glorifies Him, and He is the Mighty, the Wise."(1) (Three times).

I seek protection in the Lord of Might and Domination, and take shelter in the Lord of Dominion, and trust in the Living who will never die. Keep harm away from us. You are All-powerful over everything. (Three times).

In the name of God, the most Merciful, the most Compassionate.

"For the provisioning of Quraish, their composing for the winter and summer journeys. So, let them worship the

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Lord of this House, who has fed them against hunger and secured them against fear." (1) (Once).

O God! Feed us as You fed them, and secure us as You secured them, and make us grateful to You. (Once).

O God! Glorified are You and praised. I testify that there is no other god save You. I seek your forgiveness and repent to You. (Three times).

I seek forgiveness from God, the Great, with whom there is no other god, and repent to Him. (Three times)

O God! Bless and grant peace upon our master Muḥammad. Your servant, Prophet and Messenger, the illiterate prophet, and his family and companions. (three times).

Grant peace upon him equal to the number of all that You know and that Your Pen has written and Your Books have recorded. Be satisfied with Abū Bakr, ‘Umar, ‘Uṭhmān and ‘Alī and with all the companions, the successors of the companions and the successors of the successors until the Day of Judgment. (Once).

"Glorified be your Lord, the Lord of Majesty, from that which they attribute (unto Him). And peace be unto those who were sent. And praise be to God, Lord of the Worlds." (2)

There is no god save God. (From one hundred times to one thousand times).

Muḥammad is the messenger of God. (One hundred times).

1. Qurʾān; 106.
2. Qurʾān; 37:180-182.
I testify that there is no god save God. (Three times).
I testify that Muhammad is the messenger of God. (Once).
O Lord! Make us steady by the uttering of it. (Three times).
O Lord! Avail us by its grace. (Three times).
And make us to be of the best of its people. (Three times).

Amen, Amen, Amen, Amen, Lord of the Worlds!
We have begun our morning under Your protection, our Lord!
Let the night find us in Your satisfaction, our Lord!
Amen, Amen, Amen, Amen, Lord of the Worlds! (Three times).
There is no god save You. One is our Lord, who gathers us. Forgive our sin. (Three times).
Amen, Amen, Amen, Amen, Lord of the Worlds! (Three times).
Forgive what has passed, and make good what will come,
by the right of the righteous ones, O Knower of the secrets. (Three times).
Amen, Amen, Amen, Amen, Lord of the Worlds! (Three times).
O Knower of our secrets! Do not disclose our secrets.
Amen, Amen, Amen, Amen, Lord of the Worlds!
[Our Lord who responds! Whoever cries to you will not be disappointed. Fulfill soon our wish, O You who are always present! (Three times)](1)
Amen, Amen, Amen, Amen, Lord of the Worlds! (Three times).

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1. This passage, says al-‘Ayyashi (Rihlah, p.97) was not originally in the WazIfah. It was added by Zarrūq's disciple, al-Kharrūbī, to whom the inhabitants of the area complained of the aggressive Beduins, when he passed by the Zāwiyyah on his way to perform Pilgrimage. He adds that al-Kharrūbī himself did not record this passage in the text of the WazIfah in his book Kifāyat al-murīd, as it was not recorded in any other reliable source.
O God! Bless and grant peace upon our master Muḥammad and the family of Muḥammad. (Ten times).

Amen, Amen, Amen, Amen, Lord of the Worlds! (Three times).

Peace be upon the messengers and praise be to God, Lord of the Worlds. (Once).

In the name of God, the most merciful, the most Compassionate.

"Praise be to God, Lord of the Worlds, the most Merciful, the most Compassionate. Owner of the Day of Judgment. You (alone) we worship and You (alone) we ask for help. Show us the straight path, the path of those whom You have favoured, not (the path) of those who earn Your anger, nor of those who go astray."(1) (Once).

"Verily! God and His angels shower blessings on the Prophet. O You who believe! Call down blessing on him and salute him a worthy salutation."(2) (Once).

God's blessing, peace, salutations, mercy and benedictions be upon our master Muḥammad, Your slave, Prophet and Messenger the illiterate prophet, and upon his family and companions, many times equal to the even and the uneven numbers and our Lord's blessed and perfect words. (Three times).

There is no strength, no power, save by God, the Almighty, the Great. (Three times).

"He is sufficient for us. Most Excellent is He in Whom we trust."(3) He is "the best Patron and the best Helper."(4)

"Glorified be your Lord, the Lord of Majesty, from that which they attribute (unto Him), and peace be unto those who were sent, and praise be to God, Lord of the Worlds."(5).

1. Qur'ān; 3
2. Qur'ān; 33:56.
4. Qur'ān; 8:40.
5. Qur'ān; 33:180-182.
"The reality of Unity is a throne. The purified Law is the footstool of that throne. The rights (and obligations) set forth in it are its heavens, and portions of the souls are its earth. Any "truth" unaccompanied by the Law may lay no claim to consideration, as any "law" not supported by the Truth lacks any perfection. Thus, they may both become manifest only when considered together, when every obligation is realised, and when the portions are fulfilled, which are the very sustenance of existence."

Zarrūq

Tanbih dhawī al-himam
CHAPTER FOUR

THE SUFI WAY ACCORDING TO ZARRUQ

In the previous chapters we have become acquainted with Shaikh Ahmad Zarrūq. We have passed through his life and the historical and social circumstance in which he lived. We have taken note of his contribution in various fields of knowledge through his works, and have identified him as a founder of a Sufi Order.

What about the doctrinal basis on which he established his teachings and precepts? How did he consider the Way of the Sufis? To what sort of ideas and thoughts did he subscribe? And what were his points of view regarding the various Sufi concepts? These questions, and many others, need to be considered and answers found for them from his own heritage. Before we treat these questions, however, a foreword is necessary to introduce our Shaikh's ideas and concepts within the context of the Sufi Way.

Generally speaking, it is possible, in the light of what has been mentioned in the previous chapter, to state that Sufi Ways, as they are usually classified according to geographical regions, might be classified on a theoretical basis also. From a purely theoretical standpoint, we can say that Sufism has always had a vivid variety of opinions, of expressions, of approaches to the goal, and of understanding of the Way itself.
Since the early days of Sufism, its masters themselves were not always in complete agreement with each other.\(^1\)

They were not hostile to each other, of course, but they differed as to the branches which they followed in travelling the Way. Thus, it is possible to divide the Sufis into two main streams, or schools of thought. The first we might call the 'conservative' or 'orthodox' group, whose leader in the Sufi lineage was Abū al-Qāsim al-Junaid, and whose followers were pure sunnī Sufis. The second might be called the 'non-orthodox' group, whose head was al-Ḥusain b. Manṣūr al-Ḥallāj.

These two streams of Sufism existed side by side throughout Islamic history. In both of them, as in every aspect of human activity, there were extremists who held fanatically to their own beliefs, refuting the ideas of others as wrong, and the moderates who did their best to understand other points of view and respect other beliefs. The Shādhiliyah, of which Zarrūq is considered an important exponent, was a sunnī Way which, although it was founded basically on al-Kitāb wa al-Qunnah (the Qur'ān and the sayings and actions of the Prophet) adopted a moderate and a tolerant line, not only towards other sunnī Ways, but

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1. See: Titus Burckhardt; An Introduction to Sufi Doctrine, Lahore, 1959, p.32 ff., where he states that "not being a philosophy, that is, a merely human mode of thought, Sufi doctrine is not presented as the homogeneous development of a mental point of view. Of necessity it includes many points of view which may on occasion be mutually contradictory, if their logical form is alone taken into account without regard to the universal truth to which they all relate. Because of this it may be that one master rejects some doctrinal assertion of another master whose authority he nonetheless recognises."
also, in many cases, towards the more extreme Sufis themselves. This, naturally, does not mean that Shadhilis did not observe their own principles. On the contrary, they were earnest defenders of the Sunnah, as represented in their leader Abu al-Hasan al-Shadhili and his successors, especially those who combined together both thorough religious knowledge and the following of Sufi Way.

It has always been said that the main achievement of Zarruq is his contribution in alleviating the artificial hostility between Jurisprudence and Sufism, or Shari‘ah (Law) and Haqiqah (Truth). He was always admired for his reconciliation between these two dimensions of Islam, by enabling the Tariqah (Way) to lead to the Truth without neglecting the Law.

As we have seen, our Shaikh has many things to say on Sufism. His Sufi heritage is so immense that it is impossible, in a short study of this kind, to cover all that he wrote and left to us in all its details. We shall then try to sum up his points of view on the main Sufi concepts and try to discover his attitude towards them as an orthodox Sufi.

**Jurisprudence and Sufism:**

The attempt to unite Shari‘ah and Haqiqah stemmed from the historical conflict which raged between jurists and Sufis throughout the ages as a result of the mutual misunderstanding between the two. The
jurists used to accuse the Sufis of corrupting the Muslim faith by introducing into it certain ideas and practices, while the Sufis defended themselves by claiming a sort of inner life which the jurists did not understand. This was natural since Jurisprudence deals with the outer practical side of a Muslim's life (gāhir) while Sufism is related to the inner (bātin) side of it.

"This struggle is obviously wrong," he says, "since there is no contradiction between the two aspects. They are, in fact, complementary to each other. They are like body and soul, so that neither of them is dispensable. Religion is founded on three pillars: Islām (submission), Iman (faith) and Iḥsān (virtue). Just as the jurists are concerned with Islām and its dogmas and the theologians are concerned with the principles of the faith, so the Sufis are concerned with Iḥsān which is at the same time the culmination of religion. This means that no true Sufi is exempted from confessing the other two aspects and implementing their requirements in full."

"Abū al-Qasim al-Junaid said: 'Our science is based on the Qur'ān and the Sunnah,'" argues Zarrūq, "and Mālik Ibn Anās said: 'He who learns Jurisprudence and neglects Sufism becomes a reprobate; while he who learns Sufism and neglects Jurisprudence becomes an

1. 'Uddat al-murīd, p.49.
2. Ibid., p.9.
apostate. He who combines both of them attains to the realization of the Truth! These two sayings by Shaikh al-Tarīqah (Master of the Way), al-Junaid, and Imam al-Madhab (Leader of the Law School), Malik, are sufficient proof that Shari'ah and Tarīqah lead to the same destination. No traveller can set off without a way, and to be protected from its perils and dangers he must be armed with complete knowledge of its marks and signs, which the Shari'ah provides."(1)

In comparing Sufis and jurists he says that the latter's object is more general while the former's is more special. The Sufi is like the Secret-Keeper in the court of the King, while the jurist is like the door-keeper. The jurist, therefore, has the right to

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1. Qawâ'id al-tasawwuf, p.14. Regarding the relationship between the Shari'ah, the Tarīqah, and the Haqīqah, Sayyed Hossein Nasr says that "some of the traditional Sufi masters, especially those of the Shadhiliyyah, have used the geometric symbol of a circle to depict the relation between these fundamental dimensions of Islam. From any point in the space there can be generated a circle and an indefinite number of radii which connect every point of the circumference of the circle with the Centre. The circumference is the Shari'ah whose totality comprises the whole of the Muslim community... The radii symbolize the Turuq. Each radius is a path from the circumference to the Centre... Finally at the Centre there is the Haqīqah or Truth which is the source of both the Tarīqah and the Shari'ah... According to the well-known Sufi symbol Islam is like a walnut of which the shell is like the Shari'ah, the kernel is like the Tarīqah and oil, which is invisible yet everywhere present, is the Haqīqah." (Ideals and Realities of Islam, London, 1966, pp.123-124). Cf. Titus Burckhardt; An Introduction to Sufi Doctrine, Lahore, 1959, p.14.
interrogate whoever goes in before he does so, and to rebuke him who betrays the secret or distorts what the King has said to him. That is why the jurists' disapproval of the utterances of some Sufis is accepted, while the Sufis are denied any right of protest unless they are acquainted with the Sharī'ah and are able to produce an apology to justify their behaviour. Accordingly a Sufi of the jurists is much better than a jurist of the Sufis.\(^{(1)}\)

It is impossible to define Sufism, there being more than two thousand definitions for it. It is, therefore, true to say that every man can have his own Sufism, according to his aptitude and aspiration. The way is too wide to be confined to a particular section of men whom we call Sufis. He says: "The paths differ in conformity with the natures of men. There is the devotee (nāṣik) who concentrates on excellent qualities, the worshipper ('āhid) who holds firmly to correct actions, the ascetic (zāhid) who flees from the creatures, the gnostic ('arif) who devotes himself to the realities (haqā'iq), the pious (wari') who realises the station by being cautious, the adherent (mutamassik) who is attached to the Folk in every way, and the aspirant (murīd), who is concerned with the states. All of them are in the circle of the Truth by carrying out the right of the Law and shunning what is shameful and wrong."\(^{(2)}\)

1. Qawā'id al-taṣawwuf, p. 49.
2. Ibid., p. 34.
Because the ways to God are as many as the souls of creatures, and because every single soul has its own tendency to a particular aspect of conduct and knowledge, we find that each man can follow a branch of the way that leads in the end to the main Way. This fact was established by the previous masters through their works. "There is a type of Sufism for the layman included in the works of al-Muḥāsibī, for the jurist in al-Maḳkūl of Ibn al-Ḥāj, for the traditionist (muḥaddith) in Ibn al-ʿArabī's Sirāj, for the worshipper ('Abīd) in the Minhāj of al-Ghazālī, for the devotee (mujāhid) in the Risālah of al-Qushairī, for the ascetic (nāṣik) in Qūṭ al-qulūb of al-Makkī, for the philosopher (ḥakīm) in the works of al-Ḥātimī, for the logician (manṭiqī) in

1. Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥāritī b. Asad al-Muḥāsibī (d.243/858) whose most celebrated works are: al-Riʾāyah liḫuqūq Allāh and Aʾmāl al-qulūb wa al-jawāriḥ.


3. Muḥyī al-Dīn Ibn ʿArabī (or al-ʿArabī), the eminent Sufi master (d. 638/1240). Ibn ʿArabī has written two Sirāṣ: Sirāj al-muhtadīn and Sirāj al-murīdīn. Zarrūq might mean the second one.

4. Minhāj al-ʿAbīdīn of Abū Ḥāmid Muḥammad al-Ghazālī, the well-known Sufi theologian (d. 505/1111).


7. That is Ibn ʿArabī.
Ibn Sab'In's(1) works, for the physicist (tabā'i) in al-Buni's Asrār(2) and for the theologian (usūlī) there is the type of Sufism which al-Shadhili(3) represented."(4)
All these sections of people are able to be Sufis of a certain degree on one condition: that they have recourse at all times to the Shari'ah and the Qur'ān as the main source of learning and not to deviate from the principles of Islam.

This classification of Sufism is due to the fact that Sufism is founded on following the best (ittibā' al-aḥsan) of everything, as the Qur'ān confirms: "Who hear advice and follow the best thereof. Such are those whom God guideth and such are men of understanding."(5)
And the variety among the ways is due to the variety in discretion (istiḥsān) among men.(6)

To be a Sufi means to look for the best, to have a deeper understanding. Hence, "the attitude of the Sufi is of a more special kind (akhasṣ), than that of the jurist, who represents ʿilām and seeks out that which removes objections regarding religious practices, while the Sufi looks for what leads to perfection in performing them. His attitude towards faith (ʿīmān) is more special than that of the theologian, since the latter considers what makes belief correct, while the Sufi seeks what

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1. 'Abd al-Ḥaqq b. Sab'īn (d. 669/1270).
3. Abū al-Ḥasan 'Alī al-Shadhili, the founder of the Shadhili Order (d. 656/1258).
4. Qawā'id al-tasawwuf, p.35.
5. Qur'ān; 18:39
6. Qawā'id; p.35.
makes it more certain and firm. His attitude is more special than the mufassir (commentator of the Qur'ān) and the muhaddith (traditionist) also, since these deal with the external structure of the text, while the Sufi looks at the inner meaning and the implications it bears."

This does not mean that the Sufi is allowed to lead a special type of life free from any limits in belief and conduct. On the contrary, he is required to adhere even more strictly to the formal part of the Muslim creed than any other person, in order to prevent any misunderstanding or misconduct and to protect from slipping into error. It is completely wrong to say that the Sufi has no allegiance to a madhhab, since al-Junaid was a follower of al-Thawrī, al-Shibli was a Malikite and al-Muhāsibī was a Shafi‘ite. If these great masters, and many others, were followers of jurists, he argues, how dare anyone break this unbreakable bond between Sufism and Jurisprudence without being exposed to grave errors, either in his contact with people or his relation with God? (2)

The true Muslim, then, is he who actualises both the faith ('iman) and practices its dogmas or islam. But the ideal Muslim is he who completes the circle by adapting ihsān. In short, to become a Sufi in one or both of the previous ways. (3)

1. Qawā'id; p.33.
3. For more detailed discussion of these notions see: Frithj Shuon; Dimensions of Islam, London, 1969, p.70 ff.
When the Prophet was asked about the meaning of *ihsān* he said: "It is to worship God as if you see Him. Even if you do not see Him, He sees you."(1) And from this tradition Zarrūq concludes that *maqām al-ihsān* is divided into two sections: a) To set the face towards God with the certainty that He 'is' in all Existence, to 'witness' Him and thus to implement all the implications of fear and love, since what is seen is His glory and beauty. b) To be unable to witness (shuhūd) but to become sure that He sees you. In this case you have to adhere to all practices and beliefs required by religion because He watches you and knows whatever you do or think. The first is the stage of the gnostic ('ārif) which is followed by the Shādhilis, he comments, and the second is the rank of others below this stage whose example is al-Ghazālī and those who follow him.(2)

Sufism is not a mere theoretical teaching to occupy man's mind and become a sort of acrobatic experience in words and arguments. The practical part of it is the vital care without which the Sufi does not deserve his title at all.

This is not meant to deprive Sufism of its concepts and ideas and make of it mere practice, since it is concerned also with every issue related to the spiritual as well as to the material life. It has something to say on all issues relevant to man and his life, as to

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2. *Qawā'id*, p.33.
what must be done and how it should be done. But to express an opinion one has to obtain both a knowledge of the subject and the evidence to introduce as proof for one's argument.

Theory and practice, or knowledge and action (al-‘ilm wa al-‘amal) are of equal importance in Zarrūq's view, and he holds that they are inseparable. "There is no perfection without knowledge," he says, "and there is no use for knowledge without action." (1)

Since it is impossible for the ignorant man to realize himself and what surrounds him and to see through this realization the glory of God and His majesty, it is necessary for every Muslim to seek knowledge "from the cradle to the grave," as the Prophet said, and to acquire it from any direction. (2) That is why learned men (‘ulamā’) are favoured in life and after death and that is why they are called "the heirs of the prophets." (3)

This does not apply only to the pure religious sciences but it is applicable to all branches of human knowledge, be it intellectual or practical. At the same time, however, there must be a distinction made between the 'beneficial' sciences and the 'harmful' ones, or, as he puts it; between the luminous (nūrāniyah)

1. Ta’sīs, p.323.
2.
3. al-Naṣīḥatu al-kāfīyah liman khaṣṣahu Allāhu bi al-kāfiyah, p.43.
sciences and the dark (zulmāniyah) sciences. This distinction does not arise from within the sciences themselves, but from the aim and the method of their use. Any science is, in itself, good and luminous, since it broadens the sphere of human knowledge and enriches it, but it might also become evil and dark by means of the purpose for which it is used. As Abū al-Ḥasan al-Shādhili said: "The sciences in the hearts are like money in the hands. They might be used for either good or for evil." (1)

Because the aim of the study of the science, not the science itself, defines its benefit or harmfulness, so the 'ulamā are judged by the results or the effects of their knowledge upon themselves and those who are in contact with them. A doctor, for example, who knows the secrets of elements and herbs can use them in curing sick people, and here his science is a nūrānī science, as well as for killing others and here the science becomes automatically a zulmāni science. Once Astronomy is used for purposes refuted by the Qurʾān and the Sunnah it changes into Astrology, which is not to be sought; and once Chemistry is turned from its original object, which is the observation of the peculiarities of matter, it becomes Alchemy, which seeks an illusive mirage and must be shunned by every Muslim who believes in the Qurʾān

1. 'Uddat al-murīd al-sādiq, pp. 57-59.
and has a modicum of reason. (1)

The main condition in learning and acquiring knowledge is that it must be within the framework of the Qur'ān and the Sunnah, for if they do not sanction it, it is clearly a pseudo-science. The Qur'ān always urges the believers to seek knowledge and to use the gift of reason to see in themselves and the natural phenomena the meaning of their existence and to discover also its origin and goal. (2)

As every science is sought for its benefits and because it serves a special aim, as Medicine for health and Jurisprudence for knowing the religious ordinances and permitted things, so is Sufism for the remedy of the hearts and purification of souls. And because the veneration of any science stems from the veneration of its object there is no science more to be venerated than Sufism, for its object is the fear of God as a result of knowing Him and a promise of following His ordinance, as al-Junaid said: "If I knew that there were under the sky a more honourable science than this science of which we talk with our companions, I would seek it out." (3)

Having briefly reviewed Zarrūq's position with respect to Sufism and his conception of its rûle and importance in the Muslim's life, it is now time to

1. 'Uddat al-murīd, p. 57-59.
3. Qawā'id, p. 9.
throw some light on the major Sufi teachings upon which he expounded in his many works, in order to have a clearer picture of our Shaikh as a Sufi master and the leader of an Order.
A) IN THEORY

God, Man and the Universe

It has been stated above that Sufism's object is the endeavour to realize man's relationship with God and to gain a firm knowledge of Him by passing through spiritual experience. This, of course, requires first the confession that there is a God who created this Universe, including Man, and then to look at His relation to the Universe and Man. Without this confession there is no point in discussing the notion at all.

The core of religious teaching, in any religion, is the Absolute and whatever the differences may be among the religious groups, it is clear that without accepting a first cause, $(1)$ or a creator, or a source of our existence there can be no spiritual foundation for this existence and we must give up any attempt to think of it.

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1. In Islam, as in Christianity, theologians were much concerned to 'demonstrate' the existence of God on logical grounds. (See: D. B. Macdonald; Aspects of Islam, London, 1911, pp.115-145, and John Hick; Philosophy of Religion, Cambridge, 1963, pp.15-30). From the Sufi standpoint, there is no need to prove God's existence, since He is self-evident. Ibn 'Atîb, Allah al-Iskandari says: "How could one imagine that anything veils Him, when He is Who manifests everything? How could one imagine that anything veils Him, when He is manifest through everything? How could one imagine that anything veils Him, when He is manifest in everything? How could one imagine that anything veils Him, when He is manifest to everything? How could one imagine that anything veils Him, since He was manifest before anything was? How could one imagine that anything veils Him, when He is more manifest than everything?" (See: Sh. al-Hikam, pp.66-67).
Islam, as a religion, is based essentially on the meaning of its name (submission) which means complete surrender to God by following His commandments which have come to us through His messengers, seeking His satisfaction and avoiding whatever provokes His wrath.

Now, Sufism is the more spiritual aspect of Islam, and the most subtle part of Sufism is that which deals with God and the relationship between Him and His creation, simply because Sufism assumes a direct association (mu‘āmalah) between God and man. (1)

The conception of God, His attributes and what is related to Him occupies an important place in the history of Islamic thought, and we do not think that we are far from the truth in assuming that the whole history of Islamic thought emerged from the arguments exchanged between learned men regarding God and His relation to His creation. This is applicable to Theology, Philosophy and, naturally, Sufism.

What has our Shaikh to say on this subject?

Before we proceed to set forth his conception of God and creation, it is necessary to deal with an important point raised by one of his masters which may bear some significance in this matter.

Talking about his pupil, ‘Abd al-Rahmān al-Sakhāwī says in his al-Daw‘ al-lāmi‘ that "it was said that he inclined to Ibn ‘Arabi.” (2) Such a judgement may be

1. Qawā'id, p.15.
interpreted as an allusion to the well-known doctrine of Muḥyī al-Dīn Ibn 'Arabī on the Unity of Being (wahdāt al-wujūd).

This was, and still is, considered a dangerous position especially in Sunnī circles, since Unity of Being is regarded, as it is understood, as a sort of shirk by claiming that God manifests Himself in His creation and that every particle in the whole of existence bears a certain element of Divinity in it. This leads to a kind of association (mushārakah) with God in His most essential quality: Divinity (ulūhiyah) in which none of His creatures, however near to Him, can participate.

It seems that al-Sakhwī confused, in his remark about his pupil, wahdāt al-wujūd (Unity of Being) and wahdāt al-shuhūd (unity of vision) which the Shadhils held. The difference between the two is that whereas the first means that all the beings are one in fact and the multiplicity which we think exists is merely a manifestation of Divinity in the variety of His creation. The latter is a conscious process whereby the consciousness unites all the phenomenal existence and demolishes the external differences in it.

The distinction between these two kinds of wahdah is confused sometimes, especially since the Shadhils were not serious opponents of Ibn 'Arabī. (1) Their

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great exponent Ibn 'Aṣṣār Allāh al-Iskandari, was not far from Ibn Arabī's teachings. Zarrūq himself used to defend him in many of his works on the grounds that he did not mean to say what his opponents had concluded from his writings and that his expressions on the problem of Divinity were for the élite whose understanding is capable of grasping the real meaning of his sayings, not for the common people who are unable to read between the lines. (1)

1. See Sh. Nūnīyyat al-Shushtarī, Ms. Madrid, p.17. It is noteworthy to find that while Zarrūq does not approve of some of Ibn 'Arabī's utterances such as his saying: "I am the Qur'ān and the Seven Repetitions (al-sab' al-mathānī, the first sūrah). I am the Spirit of the Spirit, not the spirit of the vessels (awānī, bodies)," and regards them as an unacceptable saying, he defends him at the same time on the grounds that Ibn 'Arabī did not find the proper language in which to express his state. In his Sh. al-mabḥūt al-asliyāh (Ms. Rabat, 2284 D, p.236) he connects Ibn 'Arabī and other Sufi masters, in quoting Abū Ḥayyān(?) in his book al-Nahr al-mūdī (al-mu‘addī) min al-baḥr accusing him of being a rūūlī (incarnationist). Zarrūq rejects this accusation and denies that either Ibn 'Arabī, or the other masters, intended to say what has been falsely understood from his utterances. In his Qawā'id al-tasawwuf (pp.51-52) he records the following rule as one of the Sufi principles: "To suspend judgement (tawwāqif) in case of doubt is required, just as unequivocality in what is obvious, be it good or bad, is required also." He further points out that some dispute arose among Muslims concerning Ibn 'Arabī and other Sufis. He deduces from the statements of Ḥālid b. Anas and Abū Bakr b. Fawwāk that it is far better to recognise one thousand unbelievers, at even the slightest indication of Islam, as believers, than to consider one believer as an unbeliever for one suspicion (shubhah). Zarrūq relates that his master, Abū 'abd Allāh al-Qawrī, was asked while he was present: "What is your opinion of Ibn 'Arabī al-ḥātimī?" al-Qawrī replied: 'He knew every art as well as its own adherents! They said: 'We did not ask you about this.' He said: 'There is a great difference of opinion about him. While some consider him as an unbeliever others regard him as a Pole (qutb)." They said: 'What do you prefer?' He answered: 'Submission!' Here Zarrūq comments by saying that it is as risky to charge a man with unbelief, as it is to exalt him too much, since this exaltation may lead the listener to a harmful situation, by following Ibn 'Arabī's enigmatic sayings and imitating them, without understanding their hidden double-edged meaning. (Qawā'id, pp.51-52).
Lordship and Servanthood:

There are two aspects of God which are somehow different: Divinity or Godhead (‘ulūhiyah) and Lordship (rubūbiyah). The first is applied to God as such. He was, is, and will be God with all the requirements of Godhead, whether He created the worlds or not. The second implies creating something, to actualise the meaning of Lordship. Because we know that He brought us forth from nothingness, we know that we are different from Him since we lack one of His qualities which is al-khalq min al-‘adam (creation ex nihilo), and thus we are dependent on Him. So it is necessary to realize our position with regard to Him, our Servanthood (‘ubūdiyah) vis-à-vis His Lordship. (1)

"The essence of the Way and its benefits are in seeking the realization of the human reality (al-haqiqah al-insāniyah) by gnostic realities (al-haqīq al-‘irfāniyah). There is no affinity between a slave and his lord except by the Divine Providence, due to the fact that the Lord created him from naught, provided him with graces and allotted to him with beneficence." (2)

From the very beginning, says the Shaikh, we have to realize that God is completely different from anything we see or think of. His existence is distinguished from any other existence and His Being does not resemble any other being. The first thing which proved this distinction is the fact that Man was created from nothing by the

1. Sh. al-mabānih al-ṣaliyah, p.139.
2. Ibid.
will of God and His wisdom, as the Qur'ān says: "Is He who creates like him who does not create?" (1) The ability to create is confined to God alone, so that we find ourselves in a position that compels us to submit to Him and be satisfied with whatever He wills. (2)

Realizing this fundamental fact and understanding our position, we have to act accordingly. This requires a profound look at Nature and ourselves in response to the Quranic verse: "We shall show them Our signs on the horizons and within themselves, until it will be manifest unto them that it is the Truth." (3) A deeper look


2. Sh. al-Hikam, p.279. The idea of creation, which is common to the three monotheistic religions (Islam, Christianity, and Judaism), in Burckhardt's opinion, contradicts in appearance the idea of the essential Unity of all beings, since creatio ex nihilo seems to deny the pre-existence of the possibilities of the Divine Essence and in consequence to deny also their subsistence in It, whereas the idea of manifestation, as taught in Hinduism, relates relative beings to Absolute Essence as reflections are related to their luminous source. (Introduction to Sufi Doctrine, p.65).

This problem of Creation, in fact, faced all sections in Islamic thought. While the dogmatic Zahiris understood the Name (or Quality) of Creator (al-khaliq) as the Bringer-out-from-nothingness, without the pre-existence of relative beings, the Mu'tazilah were divided regarding their approach to this problem. Some of them, however, held that there was a sort of being before creation (which means here 'ijād or production to existence) in forms (gawar). These were refuted on the grounds that this implies a denial of God's most special Quality; al-qidam (pre-Eternality). Others thought that some of God's Qualities, attributed to Him were, or are, mere "possibilities" of the Divine Essence, such as al-Muhsin (the Bestower) al-Rażig (the Provider), al-'Alim (the All-Knower), etc., since these Qualities require a subject through which to be manifested; the Quality "Creator" is one of them. Accordingly, God was able to create pre-eternally, but He created in specific time (or in time) according to His will. This might be what Ibn 'Arabi called ta'ayyun (determination or individuation) in relation to God and His creation. (Cf. Ibid., p.66).

3. Qur'ān; 41:53.
inside ourselves and at phenomenal existence will make clear our entire dependence upon God, not only in existence but also in the continuation of this existence. God created us and He preserves our existence, and it is up to His absolute will to do whatever He wishes for us and all creation.

When we look at the qualities of Lordship we find them set out in four categories: Independence (ghinā), Might (izzah), Potency (gudrah) and Power (quwwah). These are opposite to the qualities of servanthood which are: dependence (faqr), humility (dhull), impotence (‘aiz) and weakness (da‘f). The servant's attitude towards these qualities is fulfilled by two means: a) al-Ta‘alluq (attachment or devotion) to the Lordship. b) al-Tahacquq (actualization) of servanthood. That is, to be completely devoted to recognising the Lord's qualities, paying no attention to other than Him, being entirely dependent on Him, and considering the servant's qualities as inseparable from himself and that they are his real essence.

This position of servanthood before the Lord means an emancipation towards others. Once Man realizes that the real Lordship is for God only and sets his face towards Him, he becomes free from regarding others as masters of his destiny or controllers of his life. He does not fear them any more. And this is the real liberation.

2. Ibid., p.114.
Servanthood is in fact an exalted degree of existence and human beings must be content with it. When the Prophet was given the choice of being an angel-prophet or a human-prophet, i.e., servant, he said: "O Lord! (I want to be a human-prophet). I become hungry one day and sated on another. When I am hungry I implore You, and when I am sated I thank You." Zarrūq comments that the Prophet did not favour one state to the other, but that he favoured servanthood in both of them. Also when the Prophet said: "I am the master of the sons of Adam, and I say this without boasting," Abū al-'Abbās al-Mursī commented by saying: "He has no pride in mastership since his real pride is in servanthood."(1)

To be a true servant is to accomplish your duties towards the Lord, and the sign of truthfulness is to trust Him, become dependent on Him and be content with whatever comes from Him, since He alone has the right to decide whether to give or withhold. (2)

The Divine Names:

There are several references in the Qur'ān to God's Names by which Muslims can call on Him or by which they pray to Him. (3) These exalted Names occupy an important place in the history of Sufism and were a subject of innumerable discussions and compilations either about their nature and meaning or about their usage. (4)

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2. Ibid., p.279.
Shaikh dedicated a whole work of his to discuss this issue from different points of view and to explain their usage. (1)

The common belief among Muslims is that the exalted Names number 99 according to the Prophetic tradition. That is because God has named Himself with these Names in the Qurʾān and has urged Muslims to call Him by them. (2) Zarrūq confirms this limited number and says that they are the only accepted Names in accordance with scripture (nass including Qurʾān and Tradition) and consensus (ijmāʿ). Thus they are inspired (tawqīfīyah) and no other names should be used in prayer or invocation. At the same time any other name appropriate to God is acceptable, if it is in conformity with Arabic etymology, because the religion is Arabic and the Qurʾān is Arabic. (3) That is why some Sufi masters, like Abu al-ʿAbbās al-Būnī, were able to increase the number of God's Names up to 153 names. (4)

The exalted Names are divided into four categories, each of which deals with a particular aspect of Divinity, as follows:

1) Names of Essence (Aṣmāʾ al-Dhāt) which are confined to the Ipseity (huwwiyah) Itself, and not associated with anything save God Himself, being absolutely

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1. See the Catalogue No. IX.
2. al-ʿaqāṣad al-ʿasmāʾ, p.171.
3. Ibid., p.250.
4. Ibid., p.172.
incomparable and incapable of being imitated by any creature. They are peculiar to Him alone. Allah is the supreme and most characteristic Name, including all the concepts of Divinity and Lordship, and nothing in the whole Universe can share with Him in any way in this Name.

2) Names of Qualities (Asmā‘ al-Sifāt) which are neither He nor other than Him, nor are they among themselves distinctive (separative) (lā hiya huwa wa lā hiya ghayruhu wa lā hiya fī mā bainahā aghyār).

3) Names of action (Asmā‘ al-Af‘āl) which indicate any kind of action such as al-khāliq (Creator) and al-rāziq (Provider).

4) Names of Transcendence (Asmā‘ al-Tanzīn) which indicate the absolute sanctity of God, such as al-Qudūs (the Holy One).

The other classification of the Names is that they are divided into two sections: 1) the Inclusive Names (al-Asmā‘ al-Jami‘ah) which include other Names or their meanings. When we say al-wālik (the King), for example, we understand the meaning of al-Qawiy (the Powerful) and al-Qādir (the Capable), or when we say al-Ghāfir (the Forgiver) we associate with it al-Rahīm (the Merciful), al-Leṭīf (the Kind), al-Wadūd (the Loving) and so on. 2) the Exclusive Names such as al-Wahīd (the One), al-Ṣamad (the Eternal), etc.\(^1\)

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1. al-Maqṣad al-Asmā‘, p. 175.
The third classification is that there are:

1) Names of Beauty (al-asmā' al-jamāliyah) like al-Mu'min (the Faithful), al-Salām (Peace), al-Wādūd (the Loving).

2) Names of Majesty (al-asmā' al-jalāliyah) like al-Qahhār (the Irresistable), al-Jabbār (the Dominant), al-Muntaqīm (the Avenger) and al-Mutakabbir (the Proud).

3) Names of Perfection (al-asmā' al-kamāliyah) like al-Wāḥid (the One), al-Aḥad (the Unique) al-Qudūs (the Holy One) and al-Ṣāmad (the Eternal).<sup>(1)</sup>

The fourth classification is that there are:

1) Absolute Names (al-asmā' al-muṭlaqah) which are allusions to God alone, such as Allāh and al-Ḥaqq (the Truth) or are restricted to Him like al-Bārī (the Maker) and al-Khāliq (the Creator).

2) Derivative Names (al-asmā' al-mushtaggah) which are derived from His actions, like al-Muṣawwir (the Designer) al-Walid (the Creator) al-Karīm (the Bountiful).<sup>(2)</sup>

The fifth classification is that there are:

1) Complementary Names (al-asmā' al-mutakāmilah) in which we see that one Name complements another, like al-Raḥmān and al-Raḥīm (the Compassionate and the Merciful), al-‘Azīm and al-Kabīr (the Great and the Grand), al-‘Afūw and al-Ghāfir (the Pardoner and the Forgiver), and so on.

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<sup>(1)</sup> al-Waqṣad al-asmā', p.238.

<sup>(2)</sup> Ibid., p.238.
2) Names of Opposition (al-asma' al-mutagābilah) like al-Mubdī and al-Mu‘īd (the Initiator and the Restorer), al-Mugaddim and al-Mu‘akhkhir (the Preceding and the Succeeding), al-Rāfi' and al-Khāfīd (the Exalter and the Abaser), al-Bāsit and al-Qābid (the Causer of expansion and the Causer of Contraction), etc. (1)

Regarding the usage of the Divine Names Zarrūq says that they are to be used in five ways:

1) Knowledge ('ilm), since we must know them to know God through them. He who does not know whom he worships is not a true believer, simply because he is ignorant, and ignorance is contrary to belief. (2)

2) Preservation (hifz), for God's Names are a means of protection from enemies and calamities either within man, like the soul and its desires, or outside him in his daily life. (3)

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1. al-Magṣad al-asma', pp.172-175.
2. Ibid., p.250.
3. It is permitted to invoke God's Names, by other methods of invocation, for the purpose of asking His protection and favour. If God's grace comes through invoking His Name, this will cause love for them, love for him who brought them (the Prophet), and love for God Himself. If the benefit did not occur, there is His kindness (lutf) as a compensation, which implies the intimacy of the soul with the remembrance of the Truth. But it is surely undesirable and rather reprehensible to use invocation for purely worldly purposes, so that we may exalt God's Names, His words in the Qur'ān, and the prayers of the Prophet, and to preserve their loftiness in the spiritual realm. (Qawā'id al-tasawwuf, p.78).
3) Attachment (ta’alluq), and that is to comprehend the meaning of the Name and set our faces towards God in conformity with its meaning. When we know that He is al-Majīd (the Glorious), for example, we have to glorify Him, or al-Raḥīm (the Merciful), we must seek His mercy upon us, or al-Muntaqīm (the Avenger) we must beware of His wrath, or al-Jabbār (the Dominant) we must fear Him.

4) Realization (tahāqquq) and Assimilation (takhalluq). This applies to our attitude towards ourselves and others. When we fully comprehend that God is al-Raḥīm (Merciful) we must have mercy towards others and be kind to them, and so on with al-Wādūd (the Loving), al-Ghafūr (the Forgiver), al-Wahhāb (the Bestower) al-Sabūr (the Patient). Al-Ḥasīb (the Reckonner) means that we should examine our conscience, while al-Raqīb (the Observer) means to watch our thoughts and deeds and control them. Al-‘uṭtī (the Giver) means to give to the poor, and al-Māni’ (the Withholder) is to withhold ourselves from falling into sin. (1)

The Ta’alluq, in fact, is the attitude of the servant towards God, where nothing is regarded as real save His exaltation, while the Takhalluq is being so impressed by the Name that the servant is only conscious of His perfection in every Name and tries to "assimilate" His qualities by behaving in accordance with the meaning of

the Name in an adequate manner, in a given situation. (1)

5) Invocation (dhikr) either in the sense of adoration (ta‘abbud) or in the sense of supplication (tawassul) or as a means of seeking the Name’s particular effect (ţalab al-khāssiyah).

The real benefit to be gained from invocation of the Names lies in perfect scrutiny (tama‘un) and complete understanding of its meaning. Without realizing the inner meaning of the Name and feeling its effect, its invocation will be merely a useless habit as usually practiced by the common people. (1)

The Universe:

"The Universe (al-kawn) for the Sufis is equivalent to the World (al-‘ālam) for the Theologians. It is every existing thing other than Almighty God and His essential qualities.... The existence of the Universe is not in itself neither for itself nor by itself. So it is non-being (‘adam) in all of its states; in the past because it was created, in the present because it is not independent, and in the future similarly." (2)

This quotation may suggest that our Shaikh was a nihilist who sees the whole of Being as non-existent.

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1. Ibid., p.175. This has nothing to do with "assimilation of the Divine Qualities" (al-ittisāf bi al-sifāt al-ilāhiyyah) under which Union with God is conceived by Ibn ‘Arabī, according to Burckhardt. (Cf. An Introduction to Sufi Doctrine, p.96). It is, in fact, a mere "absorption" of the Divine Qualities through awareness of His Names, and an effort to "imitate" them on the part of the servant.

This is not true, since we know that we exist and that there are other things which exist. This existence, however, from the Sufi point of view, is not real. It is a degree of existence maintained by the Grace of God who is its Creator and Preserver. Besides God as Zar'ūq puts it, "there is no Reality save Him" (laisa 'alā al-ḥaqīqati illā Allah). (1)

There are two degrees of existence then; the Real, which is God, and the unreal, which is other than Him. The Real is completely independent and Self-sufficient, while the unreal is entirely dependent for its continuance on the Real and His will. The relation between the two existences is like the relation between the body and the shadow. The body is real and the shadow is a mere image that indicates its existence. (1)

While Real existence has its own unchangeable identity and quality, the unreal is divided into two existences; that which lasts eternally (like the Spirit) and that which perishes (like the body), and yet both of them share in being non-being ('adam) in relation to the Real. The first is naught because it depends for its existence on His preservation (ḥifz) and it would cease to exist without His support, and the second becomes naught when it perishes. (2)

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1. Tuhfat al-murīd, p.4.
2. Ibid., p.4.
Because the Universe was naught it was darkness (gulmah). It became illuminated only by being created, that is by being brought out into relative existence as a manifestation of God's attributes. God manifested Himself in the Universe through His qualities. He manifests His omniscience (‘ilm) by making it perfect, His will (mašti’ah) by specifying its creation and His omnipotence (qadrah) by bringing it out of non-being. This manifestation (zuhur) is our means of knowing Him by the indications of the Universe and not in a purely formal or an incarnational way. Thus we have to understand the Verse of Light.\(^{(1)}\)

"God is the Light of the heavens and of the earth. The Universe is the niche where is the lamp of the actions which collects the oil pressed from the olive-tree of the qualities of perfection. It is neither of God's Beauty eastern nor of His majesty western. Its oil is on the point of burning even without being touched by the fire of the effect emerging from the lamp of the qualities. Light upon light of actions, upon the light of Attributes, upon the light of Names, upon light of Qualities... God guides to His light whom He wishes.\(^{(2)}\)

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1. Sh. al-Ḥikam, p. 61.

2. Ibid., Cf. the Qurʾān; 24:35. The underlined words are Qurʾānic.
Contemplation:

The Universe is, in fact, like a mirror whose surface reflects the images or God's qualities. To see these images on the mirror's surface we need light, i.e., guidance. When God sheds His light He reveals Himself to us through His qualities and we become able to see Him, that is contemplate Him. The more the light is shed, the clearer the image is, and the keener the sight is the more clearly we can see. To contemplate God then means to be aware of His influence (ta'θlīr) in Existence and apprehend His image in the reflecting mirror of the Universe.

The degrees of Contemplation (mustahhadah) differ from one to another in accordance with the amount of light shed by God upon the servant and according to his aptitude, as Zarrūq puts it:

"God may be contemplated in the Universe as a ruler and an agent (mudabbiran wa rā'ilun), or as a preserver and maintainer (qa'īmid bihā wa qa'īmid 'alaihā). He may be contemplated before it as its founder and determiner or after it. Thus he who contemplates the whole Universe as darkness enlightened only by the Truth has opened all the doors of manifestation (tajallī), since he contemplates Him with a devoted heart full of transcendent Unity."(1)

This means that the Truth penetrates Universal phenomena in all its aspects, and we have to "look" at it in these aspects which are but appearances of the Truth, taking into consideration the fact that nothing exists, in reality, save the Truth Itself in Its various forms and shapes.

Moreover, this does not apply only to the natural phenomena in which we have to be aware of the Truth in order to contemplate It, but it is also necessary in our actions. In any action we take the Truth is behind it. Here also man can contemplate It before the action, by knowing that there is neither will nor ability to carry it out save by the will and the power of God, since "His are the keys of the heavens and the earth,"(1) or after the action by forgetting this fact until he realizes in certain actions that he is unable to achieve his purpose without God's help. In the first case man "trusts" God because he knows that everything is from Him and by Him, and in the second case he "remembers" the grace of God and thanks Him. In both cases man contemplates God in one of His qualities which is al-gahr (irresistibility),(2) either before the action or after it. This, in itself, is an advantage which the headless (al-ghafil) lacks, but the best of all is he who contemplates the Truth in, at, before and after everything. That is he whose light is perfect, to whom mysteries have been revealed.(3)

1. Qur'ân; 42:12.
2. Sh. al-Hikam, p.63.
3. Ibid., p.61.
Knowledge:

God is manifested in the whole of Existence. How does it happen then that not all men are aware of Him?

To answer this question Zarrūq says that God is neither veiled nor the veil, because He is the Light as clear as the sun. What prevents some of us from being aware of Him are the clouds, ourselves, the others (al-aghyār) or terrestial pre-occupations. Although all these are relative, unreal and naught beside the Absolute Real and Existent, and because they are so, they cover our sight and become barriers between us and Him. It is by the light of the sun that we can see, but we ought not to look at the sun directly, otherwise we shall become blind. By that light of the sun we know that it exists and know its qualities also. God, therefore, reveals Himself by His signs ('Ayāt) to indicate His existence and enable us to know Him and His qualities, but not His essence (māhiyyah), since this is a secret area where none is allowed to penetrate or know. (1)

Knowledge of God, His existence and qualities, does not require any evidence, simply because He is Self-evident. Men, however, are veiled from Him by His own will. If He wishes any of them to know Him He removes the veil from their sight and thus they become able to recognize Him by the indications of His creation. (2)

2. Ibid., p.4.
According to this concept all believers, then, have been guided by God's light, because all of them have confessed Him by having faith in Him, and all of them have recognized Him which means that they have a portion of knowledge which is called ta'arruf (recognition). But this is not the real knowledge, the profound acquaintance with God. It is a lower degree of knowledge which preceeds faith, and is shared in common by all believers. Real knowledge is confined especially to the gnostics (‘Arifūn) by which they are distinguished from the common people and from one another, in accordance with their degrees of attainment (wusūl), which is called gnosis (ma‘rifah).

There are three ways to obtain this particular knowledge or gnosis: a) By investigation (taḥaqquq), which is followed by Theologians. b) By certainty ('Ta‘ān) which is the way of the common sincere believers. c) By contemplation (shuhūd), which is a gift bestowed by God on the perfect Sufis who strive to prepare their hearts to obtain knowledge coming through Revelation and the direct contact of the Heart with the Supreme Qualities of God.

Knowledge and Reason:

What then is the rôle of reason in this process?

Reason is of great importance. It is one of the means of knowledge, but not the best of them. As the

1. Sh. 'Aqīdat al-Ghazālī, p. 3.
2. Ibid., p. 4.
knowledge of the common man is desirable imitation (taqlīd maṭlūb), rational knowledge is higher than the common one and is for the élite (al-khāṣṣah); it does not, however, reach the degree of the knowledge of the élite of the élite (khāṣṣatu al-khāṣṣah).(1)

From the ontological point of view the whole of Existence is divided into four spheres, or worlds, of which three are accessible to knowledge, while the fourth is restricted to God Himself:

a) The world of the Kingdom (‘Ālam al-mulk) which is known by sense (hiss) and imagination (wahm). b) The world of Kingship (‘Ālam al-malakūt) which is known by reason (‘āql) and understanding (fahm). c) The world of Domination (‘Ālam al-jabarūt) which is known, either by sense or by reason. d) The world of Omnipotence (‘Ālam al-qudrah) which is not subject to knowledge in any way and is the all exclusive region of God's Essence.(2)

In respect to the relation between ‘āql and ma'rifah, we find that there are three types, or degrees, of ‘uqūl, (plural of ‘āql), each of them having its sphere of knowledge:

1. Sh. ‘Aqīdat al-Ghazālī, p.4.
2. Ibid., pp.13-14. ‘Ālam al-mulk is called ‘Ālam al-nāsūt (the World of Humanity or the Human Sense) sometimes. Al-Ghazālī calls it ‘Ālam al-mulk wa al-shahādah. ‘Ālam al-qudrah is known also as ‘Ālam al-lahūt (the World of Godhead) and ‘Ālam al-‘izzah (the World of Sovereign Power). See for more detailed discussion of these ideas: Martin Lings: A Moslem Saint of the Twentieth Century, pp.134-135, and: Spencer Trimmingham; The Sufi Orders in Islam, pp.160-161.
a) 'Aql tab (Nature) which is equivalent to the common sense (sensus communis) and is instinctively possessed by all mankind by which they distinguish between the harmful and the beneficial in this world.

b) 'Aql mawhibah (gift) which is equivalent to the Light granted by God to the believers, which shows them His commandments and prohibitions in order to discourage misconduct and encourage obedience to His ordinances.

c) 'Aql ikhtisâs (specification) which is equivalent to the intellect with which the prophets and the gnostics are favoured, and by which they comprehend the realities of things.\(^1\)

From this division we see that the second and the third 'ugul are gifts bestowed by God's grace to whomsoever He chooses from among His servants and by which they are distinguished in degrees of knowledge.

The perfect knowledge of God cannot be achieved by the sense, because it deals with material objects, and God is not material, neither by imagination, since this deals with forms and God is without form, nor by reason,\(^1\)

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1. "The tragedy of modern Western philosophy," says Sayyed Hossein Nasr, "lies, from the Muslim point of view, in confusing intellect and reason. The intellect is which the Sufi doctrine appeals and through which it is understood is that instrument of knowledge which perceives directly. It is not reason, which is, at best, its mental image. Intellectus is not ratio. The latter can understand philosophy in the usual meaning of the word: only the former can understand metaphysics in its true sense which lies at the heart of the doctrine." (Ideals and Realities of Islam, p.136).\(^1\)
since this deals with the causes of things, and God is not caused. The highest achievement of the reason being to confirm that God is the first cause and that He is incomparable, nothing more. (1)

Beyond the reach of reason there is a higher stage of knowledge inexpressible by any means of human expression, and so it is incommunicable to others unless they attain to it by themselves. That is the experiential knowledge (al-ma‘rifah al-wijdāniyah) with regard to which Reason can do nothing except surrender and confess that the most reasonable thing to do is to submit, believe and wait for experience itself, just as it is impossible to tell others of the meaning of honey's delight without tasting it, or to explain the delight of sexual intercourse to a boy who has not yet reached the age of maturity. (2)

This experiential knowledge is the summit of certainty and the cream of all knowledge. Once it has been obtained all other sorts of knowledge melt away, as Abū al-‘Iyasan al-Shādhili said: "We have seen God by the light of faith and certainty which spared us the need of any evidence or demonstration." It cannot be achieved except by a practical discipline where man must become one of the travellers in the Way that leads to it, orienting himself entirely towards God by attachment and realisation, carrying out His ordinance and obeying His command. (3)

By effort (mujāhada), action (‘amal) and complete devotion in endeavour for the Truth the door may be opened and the seeker may be allowed to enter. Again, as al-Shādhili said:

"Stand by one door, not waiting for other doors to be opened, and they will be opened. Submit to one King, not waiting for other necks to submit to you, and they will submit to you."(1)

Effort and devotion, however, are not enough to reach the goal. They do not guarantee the opening of the door. They are assisting factors only. It is the grace of God and His choice which decide on whom the Revelation will be bestowed and in whose heart the Divine Light will be shed. That is why we find that some seekers have been blessed with such revelation, while others have not. It is according to Almighty God’s provision (imdād) and the seeker’s aptitude (isti’dād) that there is the believing-gnostic (al-‘ārif al-mu’taqid) as well as the enlightened gnostic (al-‘ārif al-mukāshaf) who is acquainted with the secrets of the Qualities and becomes a wali (friend) of God.(2)

**Extinction:**

Revelation means the realisation of the Truth, that there is no reality save the Absolute Reality, after the veil of ignorance has been removed from the sight. This

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2. Ibid., p.20.
is knowledge in its various degrees. But the culmination of knowledge is not only to realise that everything is unreal beside the Real, but also to see it as darkness beside the Light and as non-being beside Him Who is. So nothing deserves to be regarded save Him alone, and we have to reject other than Him, simply because it is unreal, a mere shadow of the Real.\(^1\)

The dilemma is that "we" are "others". How does it happen then that the rejected (marfuʿ) is the rejecter (rāfid) and vice versa?

This is the only solution; to reject ourselves, to regard ourselves as naught beside the Existant and unreal beside the Real. That is to annihilate ourselves and pass away in the Truth, and this is called extinction (fanāʾ) which is to consider all others (al-aghyar), including ourselves as nothing before His Existence and absent before His Presence in respect to all our qualities before His Qualities, and to be aware of His Existence, Presence and Qualities as manifested in us and in the Universe, as Ibn `Aṭāʾ Allāh al-İskandari said: "What a marvel! How did it happen that the Existent appears in the non-existent or how is the ephemeral (ḥadīth) confirmed by Him Whose quality is primordiality (qidam)?!

When a man said before Abū al-Qāsim al-Junaid: "Praise be to God!" and did not say "Lord of the worlds," al-Junaid said: "Say it, brother!\(^1\)

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\(^1\) Sharḥ Nūniyyat al-Shushtarī, p.4.
Since, when the accident is associated with the Primordial, the accident perishes and the Primordial abides.\(^1\)

Extinction has a psychological connotation which leads to self-denial in respect of the servant's attitude towards the Lord. It does not mean to abolish the consciousness of the individual or self-annihilation; it means to be aware of God, to contemplate Him in every aspect of Existence as the Creator and the Preserver. Thus man sees God as the only Agent (faʾʾāl) and Reality. He realises his servanthood by recognizing his limits, and, at the same time, becomes the master of the whole of Existence by being aware of nothing other than Him.\(^2\)

These limits compel us to avoid any expression that may be taken as an allusion to a certain relation between the Lord and His servant where we do not differentiate between the two natures. We must not then use the expression \(wūsūl\) (union or communion) since the Prophet himself did not use such terms and did not claim such stages, and it has no meaning. Neither must we use the term \(wūsūl\) (reaching or attainment) because this indicates that the servant was separated (maqtūʿ) from God, and is independent of Him, and this is not true. God is always with us, nearer to us "than the jugular vein."\(^2\)

The word \(wūsūl\) is justified only in one case; that is to indicate the degrees of knowledge, since "your attainment to God is your attainment to knowledge of Him" as Ibn ʿAtāʾ Allāh put it.\(^3\) The reality of attainment

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\(^1\) Sh. Nūniyyat al-Shushtarī, p.11.

\(^2\) Ibid., p.5. Qurʾān 50:16.

\(^3\) Sh. al-Hikam, p.337.
is that the heart reaches the knowledge of God's Glory and Grandeur so that this knowledge penetrates both the heart and the limbs, in order to follow His will without hesitation or choice. Here, as in all other aspects, we find a strong relation between knowledge and extinction.

"Anyone who attains to pure certainty (safw al-yaqīn) through taste (dhawq) and experience (wijdān) is an attainer (wāsil), but there are different degrees of attainment. Some know Him through actions, and this is a stage of revelation where their own and others' actions perish before God's actions. Some are situated in the station of awe (haibah) and intimacy ('uns) because of what has been revealed to them of Majesty (jalāl) and Beauty (jamāl) and this is the manifestation by qualities (tajallī bi tariq al-sifāt). Some ascend to the station of Extinction (maqām al-fānā') where the inward heart becomes so overwhelmed by the lights of certainty and contemplation that he becomes blind, in his contemplation of Him, to his own existence. This is the manifestation of the Essence (tajallī al-dhāt) which the exclusive favoured ones (al-muqarrabūn) are endowed with. Above this there is the stage of the Reality of Certainty (haqq al-yaqīn)."(2)

This gradation in attainment is applied also to the gradation in extinction, since, as we are advised not to use the term wujūl in its simple conception, because

1. Sh. al-Hikam, p.337.
2. Ibid., p.338.
the relation between God and man, or the Lord and the servant, is never severed but is a continuous process, we are advised also not to think that extinction has any limit, since knowledge is limitless. The more we know of God, the more we attain to Him, and the more we extinguish ourselves in Him, the more we "see the Truth without creatures" (ru'yat al-Ḥaqq bila khalq), (1) not only in this world but in the Hereafter also."(2)

Love:

When the servant contemplates his Lord, knows him and extinguishes himself in Him, he obtains the great beatitude (ghibṭah) that results from attainment to Him. This beatitude which the gnostic gains does not allow save of one thing only: to love Him. Love is the summit of all other stages in which the gnostic is completely engrossed by God's Beauty and Majesty and is entirely absorbed in contemplation of His Existence through His Qualities. Love comes after extinction, not before it. When a disciple claimed Love in front of his master, the master asked him: "My son! Has He tried you with other than Him, and you favoured Him then also?" The disciple replied: "No!" The master said: "In that case your claim is false."(3)

The reality of love is that the beauty of the beloved overwhelms the whole heart, so that nothing occupies it

2. Sh. al-Hikam, p. 338.
3. Ibid., 379.
save him, and thus the ultimate aim of the lover is to satisfy his beloved and gain his approval. This requires complete obedience to whatever he orders or forbids. This is applicable not only to our human relationships but also to our relationship with God, as the Qur'ān says: "Say: If you love God follow me and God will love you and forgive you your sins. God is the All-forgiving, the All-compassionate. Say: obey God and His messenger. But if they turn their backs, God loves not the unbelievers." (1) And the poet said:

"You disobey the Lord and pretend that you love Him. This is strange behaviour indeed. If your love is true you must obey Him. Since the lover is obedient to his beloved." (2)

So we see that love and obedience are related closely to each other. The true lover is he who keeps strictly to God's ordinance as revealed to the Prophet in the Qur'ān and he who follows devotedly what the Prophet practiced or said. (3)

Obedience (ṣōḥ) is the sign of love, and complete obedience is the sign of Perfect Love. But disobedience (ʿīṣān) does not lead to exclusion from the circle of Love, since God is All-forgiving, All-compassionate. Love mixed with disobedience is imperfect love and the true lover will not be satisfied except with Perfect Love. A man was punished by the Prophet for drinking. Another

1. Qur'ān; 31:3.
2. Sh. al-Hikam, p.379.
man cursed the wrong-doer. The Prophet said: "Do not curse him. He loves God and His Messenger." When a beduin came to the Prophet and asked him: "When will the Day of Judgement be?" The Prophet said: "What have you prepared for it?" The beduin replied: "Nothing save that I love God and His Messenger." The Prophet said: "A man is with the one he loves." (1)

Although Love is the highest stage in our approach to God, we must be cautious and circumspect in our expression regarding this relationship. We have always to realise our limits and contemplate our state of servanthood before His Lordship. It is impolite, for example, to say 'ishq when we talk about Love, since 'ishq bears a human, sensual meaning, and God is far beyond the senses. We must say rather ḥubb or mababbah unless we mean by 'ishq absolute or inordinate Love. (2)

Also, the relation of Love must not preclude the extolling of what God has magnified. We do not have the right to say: "We do not worship Him because we fear His Hell or because we hope to enter His Paradise," (3) since God has exalted these two things. We must not belittle His Hell, for He told us that it must be feared, or belittle His Paradise for no servant can do without his Lord's favour. They are not however the aim of

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1. Qawâ‘id al-ta‘ṣawwuf, p.133.
2. Sh. al-Mabâ‘ith al-asliyah, p.236.
3. Qawâ‘id al-ta‘ṣawwuf, p.136. This saying is attributed to the famous woman Sufi, Râbi‘ah al-‘Adawiyah.
worship. God Himself is the sole reason for worship and love. We must consider what He says in the Qur'ān:

"They give food, for the love of Him, to the needy, the orphan, the captive. 'We feed you only for the Face of God (for God's sake). We desire no recompense from you, nor thanks, for we fear from our Lord a frowning day insauspicious.'" (1) Here Love does not preclude Fear of Him and vice versa. (2)

It is true that God must be worshipped for no other reason than that He is God, as He said to David: "Who is more wrong than he who worships Me because he fears My Hell or hopes for My Paradise? Though I had not created Hell or Paradise am I not still deserving of worship?" (3)

And, as the Prophet said: "Do not be like the bad slave, who if he does not fear will not work, or like the bad hireling, who if he is not paid will not work." (4) This is our attitude towards the Divine Essence (al-dhāt al-illāhiyah) only, where we are completely denied any right to like or dislike. Our attitude, as servants, towards the Lordship differs in that we deal with His Qualities as manifested in Existence and as revealed to His messengers. As servants, contemplating His Qualities, our love for Him is mingled with our hope (raja'), in Him according to His Qualities of Beauty (al-sifāt al-jamāliyah) as well as with fear (khishyah) of Him

1. Qur'ān; 9:76.
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid.
according to His Majestic Qualities (al-ṣifāt al-jalāliyah). (1)

There is no contradiction, in fact, between Love on the one hand and Fear and Hope on the other. As Fear and Hope are motives for work in respect of the bad slave, so Love is the motive for the good servant to please his Beloved and make Him satisfied. The error is to fear or hope without love, but the right thing is to love, fear and hope. (2)

The Soul

Before dealing with such a difficult subject it would be preferable to try to establish the meaning of the soul and its conception in our Shaikh's works.

In Islamic thought nafs (3) and ruḥ (4) are often confused and it is difficult to distinguish one from

1. al-Maqṣad al-asmā, p.54.
2. Qawā'id al-taṣawwuf, p.133.

3. The Soul, as opposed to the Spirit or the intellect (the nafs) appears in a negative aspect, because it is made up of the sum of individual or egocentric tendencies. (Cf. Burckhardt; Introduction, p.151). Abū al-Qāsim al-Qushairī (the Risālah, Cairo, 1940, p.48) defines the nafs as "what is defective of the qualities of the servant, and what is blameworthy of his morals and action."


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(1) Qualities (al-ṣifāt al-jalāliyah).
(2) Love, Fear, Hope.
(3) nafs (soul).
(4) ruḥ (spirit).
the other. In the course of time, however, the word rūḥ was mostly thought of as the immortal transcendental part of Man. We may translate it as "Spirit". On the other hand nafs is usually linked with the terrestrial part of Man and related to the material world, and this we may translate as "soul". Zarrūq himself does not offer any distinction between the Spirit and the soul. In all his works he alludes to the soul as being the opposite of the Heart (al-galb), which is the abode of purity and the means of salvation, while he considers the soul as the evil element in Man's make-up.

From his references to the Spirit we can deduce that he regards it as the "Pure Soul" in its pre-natal stage in the world of spirits (‘Ālam al-arwāḥ) where it is purely good and innocent. Once it comes down to the world of bodies (‘Ālam al-ajsād) it becomes a prisoner of matter and forgets all that is good and sublime and plunges into desire and lust, fettered by corporeal needs and directed by the body in every movement. It becomes "influenced to hate what is good" and becomes an evil factor to divert man from correct deeds and right actions, co-operating with Satan and using all the weapons it has, to persuade man to satisfy its own desires.

1. 'Uddat al-murīd al-ṣādiq, p.61.
2. Ibid.
In its contact with the body, with all its material temptations, the soul takes many forms, and assumes many names, which indicate to what extent it has been plunged into lust and sin and to what degree it has been able to free itself from these temptations. Here we find him classifying the soul into types or stages in accordance with the traditional classification derived from the Qur'an: the tranquil soul (al-nafs al-muṭma'innaḥ), the blaming soul (al-nafs al-lawwāmah) and the commanding soul (al-nafs al-amāraḥ).

"The tranquil soul" he says, "is that which has been granted the light by which it may reach its goal and pass on its way without difficulty. The blaming soul is that which has not been endowed with the full light yet and is puzzled regarding the way to go. Thus it is sometimes right and sometimes wrong. The commanding soul is that which is wrong all the time by following its desire and submitting to the body's lust. This last one moves in total darkness."(1)

The soul then has two natures: a divine, original one, which is all good and pure, and a debased, acquired nature which overcomes it after its descent into the body. Here it becomes like a bolting horse. It must be watched...

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1. Sh. al-Hikam, p.312. (Cf. the Qur'an; 2:75, 12:53, and 69:27). From these three types of souls the Sufis derived and added four other souls; al-nafs al-muḥamah (the inspired soul), al-nafs al-rādiyāḥ (the contented soul), al-nafs al-mardiyāḥ (the approved soul), and al-nafs al-kāmilah (the perfected soul). They represent the Seven Stages through which the seeker passes on the Way until he reaches the final Stage. (For more details see: al-Sanūṣī; al-Salsabil al-mu'īn fī al-ṭarāṣīq al-arba'īn, pp.65-57, and: Tringham; The Sufi Orders in Islam, pp.151-157).
carefully lest it cut off the reins and run freely here and there, avoiding the right course and carrying its rider in any direction it likes. If the rider is in control of it, he will surely reach his destination safely in the end.\(^{(1)}\) This means that the soul itself is helpless. It can do no harm as long as it is controlled. Once it is unwatched, however, and given a free rein, it becomes so fierce and dangerous that it becomes impossible to control any more.\(^{(2)}\)

Restraining the soul is not easy since it uses many devices and tricks. The only way is to suppress its mortal nature (bashariyah) by resisting its desire and opposing it all the time, whatever it inspires or suggests. This induces in it a state of stillness (khumūd) with respect to the seeker (murīd), so that it will not move save in truth, by truth, from truth to the Truth, which results in its mortification (imātah) with respect to the gnostic (Ārif). The difference is that stillness means that the thing is still in a state of latency (kumūn), and mortification means that it has died and been extinguished. Many seekers have been deceived and thought that their souls had died. They neglected to be cautious and watchful over it. Suddenly it wakes up even stronger than before and overcomes them, annulling all they have achieved during their journey on the Way.\(^{(3)}\)

2. Ibid.
In dealing with the soul Zarrūq lays stress upon two things: firstly, and this is what the traveller must be aware of, that the soul is full of vices (‘uyūb) and defects and it is necessary for every man, leaving aside the Sufi, to investigate his soul's defects and discover the evil of its behaviour in order to be safe from its tricks. By knowing his soul's vices and liberating it from them, and by devoting himself entirely to a pure and sinless life, man may know his Lord - as the Prophet said. (1) It is not surprising then to find our Shaikh dedicating countless pages of his works to explain the defects of the soul and to describe the means of treatment for every defect. In his Rajz ‘uyūb al-nafs (2) alone we find more than two hundred vices relating to the soul's conduct and thinking. The cream of his teachings in this field is that beside the Devil (shaitān) and this world (dunya), which are the two enemies of the traveller, there is no more dangerous adversary than the soul and its caprice (hawa). (3) In fact it is the soul, through desire, that persuades man to follow the Devil and to indulge in this world's lust, using to this end its most effective weapon; psychic controversy (al-jadal al-nafsī), to justify all the wrong deeds and make all the misdeeds appear good and right. (4)

1. Sh. al-Hikam, p.312.
2. See the catalogue No. XCVII.
4. Ibid.
Secondly, and this is what the guide or the master (shaikh) has to take into consideration, that souls are not all alike. They differ, by nature, aptitude and action, from one to another. And thus we find many types of souls, each of the needing treatment different from what another may require. Here, he says, there are three means of distinguishing among souls derived from three examples given in three regions:

1) The Maghribi way which holds that the souls, like metals are divisible into seven classifications in a gradual system beginning with the Golden Soul (al-nafs al-dahabiyah) which is absolutely pure and beneficial like gold, and is the soul of the wali, ending with the Mercuric Soul (al-nafs al-zi'baqiyah) which is outwardly white and shining while it is inwardly black. It is elusive, impossible to hold and is the worst of all. Between these two Souls there are: the Silvery Soul (al-nafs al-fidqiyah) which is pure but light and vulnerable to the influence of other metals, the Iron Soul (al-nafs al-ridiyah) which is beneficial but blackened, the Coppery Soul (al-nafs al-nugasiyah) which is like the iron in addition to its odour and flexibility, the Lead Soul (al-nafs al-ragasiyah) which is black, flexible and malodorous, and the Tin Soul (al-nafs al-qasdiriyah) which, in its qualities, is near to the Mercuric Soul. The first soul (the golden), although above the others, is not perfect. It becomes so when it reaches the stage of the
Elixir and becomes able to affect other metals. That is to become the Pole (quṭb)\(^{1}\) of the Universe.\(^{2}\)

2) The Persians liken the souls to pots. They say that there are pots completely empty of evil and good, and these are prepared to accept whatever is thrown into them, bad or good, as well as pots that are full of good only and pots full of evil and good. The best pots, or souls, are those which need treatment to get rid of evil and replace it with more of the good.

3) The Yemenis liken the souls to lands. Thus there is land of good soil ready for sowing; there is another with the same soil but full of weeds. However, none of them could be cultivated without the water which symbolises God's guidance (al-tawfiq al-ilahi). The function of the Shaikh, co-operating with the traveller, is to prepare the land by uprooting the weeds, raking the soil and sowing the seeds of goodness, in readiness for the Divine Rain. And then every land will give its crop in accordance with its capacity.\(^{3}\)

**The Heart**

Al-galb (the Heart) is the most important part of man. By the Heart the Sufis do not mean that organ whose function is to circulate blood in the body, but a symbolic

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1. In Sufism; the Pole of the spiritual hierarchy. The "Pole of the epoch" (quṭb al-zamān) is also spoken of. This Pole is mostly unknown even to most spiritual men.
2. 'Uddat al-murīd al-gādiq, p. 62.
3. Ibid., pp. 61-63.
aspect of the spiritual existence of man. It is of the utmost importance, because all the benefits from travelling in the Sufi Way are manifested in the Heart; contemplation, knowledge and love. The Heart is the dwelling place of the Light of Revelation by which the servant knows his Lord and loves Him. So there is nothing better than it for the functions it performs in the process of spiritual development.\(^{(1)}\)

Being as important as it is the Heart must be prepared to receive the Divine Light and be cleansed from whatever prevents it from receiving it.

The perpetual struggle between Man and the Soul, as was pointed out above, is reflected immediately in the Heart. If the result is victory for the Soul the Heart dies; if the Soul is conquered, the Heart flourishes and is ready to receive the reward. As a result of its contact with the Soul and under its influence the Heart is usually helpless. It becomes restless and capricious, and that is why it was called \textit{galb} because of its \textit{taqallub} (vacillation). Thus, just as a watch must be kept on the Soul, so also the Heart must be observed attentively, since "God does not look at our faces or our actions, but at our Hearts"\(^{(2)}\) as the Prophetic tradition says.\(^{(3)}\)

Just as it is necessary for the traveller to suppress his soul's desire and keep it quiet, in order to

\(^{(1)}\) Sh. 'Aqidat al-Chazâlî, p.21.
\(^{(2)}\) 
\(^{(3)}\) Sh. al-WaghliSiyah, p.96.
be protected from its dangers, so he must purify his Heart during his preparation to receive the Divine Light. This, of course, requires the investigation of the hearts and, in distinguishing them, to decide what should be done to obtain the best result.

In his I‘änat al-mutawajjih al-miskīn Zarrūq says that the Heart is the origin of good or evil and the place of light or darkness. Its life or death are the keys of benefit or harm. According to the state of the soul and the degree of domination it has over the Heart, we find that there are three kinds of Heart: 1) the living healthy Heart, 2) the dead Heart, and 3) the living, but sickly Heart.

The first is that which does not need any treatment, since it is healthy and pure. The second is useless and is not expected to revive. The third is the Heart that has to be treated and purified in order to eradicate the illness before it becomes fatal and destroys the Heart. It is with this last Heart that the Sufis are concerned, and it is the master's duty to examine the traveller's Heart and find out what kind of Heart it is and then to decide upon the most suitable treatment. This may be done in three stages: to see if the Heart is still alive and not yet dead, to diagnose the disease and then to prescribe a suitable remedy. (1)

Regarding the first stage, the Heart's condition may be known through three things which indicate the

1. I‘änat al-mutawajjih al-miskīn, p.2.
servant's situation with respect to his Lord, his own soul and the creatures: 1) Actions of the limbs (a'māl al-jawāriḥ), 2) Movements of Hearts (harakāt al-gulūb), and 3) Inclinations of the souls (mā tajnahu lahu al-nufūṣ). As Abū al-Ḥasan al-Shādhilī said: "Blindness of the spiritual sight is in three things: allowing limbs freedom in disobeying God, pretending obedience to God, and being covetous for what is in people's possession."(1) Also the sign of the living Heart is its attitude towards Man's actions. If it feels pain because of sin and finds pleasure in good deeds, if it runs away from the first because of the pain that afflicts it and seeks the latter for the pleasure it finds, then it is alive. And it is alive also if it regrets the good deeds it has missed and grieves for errors committed. The dead Heart does not feel any of these things at all, as the Prophet said: "He who becomes glad because of his good action and sorry for his bad action is a believer."(2)

If the Heart is still alive, the next step is to know its condition. It will be in one of the following states: 1) The life is stronger than the disease, in which case healing is easy. 2) The disease is distributed throughout the Heart and its life is too weak to resist, and this is a very dangerous symptom indeed. 3) They are equal to each other, and here we find two

1. I'ānat al-mutawajjih al-miskīn, p. 4.
probabilities: either a state where one of them may get the better of the other, where hope is still there of defeating the disease, or a state where neither of them can overcome the other, and here despair may dominate. (1)

Then comes the third step, the treatment, taking into consideration that it is much easier to cure the simple Heart (al-qalb al-sāḥaj) that has not been treated before, than to help that which has relapsed after it has been treated, since this indicates its treachery and breaching of faith and shows its weakness and passivity before the soul's desire and the world's temptation. The simple Heart, in capable hands and following the right way, is potentially able to reach the highest degree of purity. When it becomes healthy and the Light is shed upon it, the Truth will dwell there firmly so long as it is watched carefully lest the disease return to it. A watch must be kept on the Heart at all times by taking continuous refuge in God and renewing repentance and, most important, by repulsing the Soul in whatever it suggests. (2)

To help the sick Heart regain its health there are three methods: 1) Eating as little as possible in such a way as not to affect the body or the mind. 2) Association with the people of God. 3) Remembering three things: the servant's origin, death and the grave, his

1. I‘nāt al-mutawājjih al-miskīn, p. 2.
2. Ibid., p. 3.
standing before the Lord of the heavens and the earth, and his exposure before the creatures on the Day of Judgement.

By eating less the Heart will be clean, by mixing with the people of the truth the Heart will yearn to imitate them, and by remembrance his Lord will help him. God helps the servant in proportion to his intention and reveals to him in proportion to his aspiration (himmah). (1)

In all this the most attention and observation should be devoted to the soul which does not usually respond and tends to forget. If the soul resists remembrance and the Heart is unable to work independently of it, then there are other means by which the soul may be compelled to remember and leave the Heart to its work. The traveller has to go into retreat (khalwah) with or without remembrance, to seek forgiveness (istighfār) from God with or without a feeling of God's Presence (niyār) to bless the Prophet (al=ṣalātu 'alā al-nabī) and to visit the tombs. These are supported by many Prophetic traditions which say: "He who keeps seeking forgiveness from God, He will give him relief from any care, deliverance from any depression and provide for him from where he does not expect it." The Prophet also said: "Blessing me is a light in the heart, a light

1. I'ānat, p.3.
in the grave and a light on the Sirāt. (1) It blots out sins more than cool water extinguishes fire." And he said: "Visit the tombs, for they remind you of the Hereafter." (2) Again, when the soul refuses to follow one of these methods, because it is so occupied with worldly affairs and because of its obstinacy, it must be compelled to do so without paying attention to the benefits or perfection of the action. This will make it weak and cause it to retreat from what it was brought up to. Otherwise the traveller has to resort to the repetition of the simple dogmas of religion in order to impress on the Heart their meanings and revive his belief and strengthen his faith. Then the doubts will vanish and he will discover the right way. (3)

In fact there is no excuse, whatsoever, for forgetting the fact that this world is not the real one, that our sins and errors require forgiveness and pardon from God. The remembrance of all this must be with us always. If the servant fails to keep up remembrance all the time, he should do so every night, once a week, or once a year at least. (4)

When the Heart is sick and under treatment the sincere traveller cannot do without three things

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1. Lit. "the road". In Muslim tradition it is more commonly used for the bridge across the infernal Fire, which is described as finer than a hair and sharper than a sword. The righteous will pass over it with the swiftness of the lightning, but the wicked will soon miss their footing and will fall into the abyss of Hell.

2. I'ānat, p.3. Cf. the Sahīh of Muslim / janā'iz.

3. Ibid., p.5.

essential to activate the Heart and enable it to function:
1) Asking help from God on the basis of indigence and
humbility at every moment during day or night. 2) Renewal
of the resolution to get rid of any obstacle in the way
towards the goal, without hesitation or delay. 3) Being
firm in hastening towards the goal after realising the
reality of the soul and the Heart. That is to know
precisely the vices of the soul striving to escape from
them, and, in the case of the Heart, to endeavour to
heal it, waiting for the Light which will illuminate it.(1)
But this requires the taking of the first step in realising
the traveller's aspirations and realising his hopes and
expectations, by regretting his past mistakes and retreating
from the present misconduct. This is repentance (tawbah).

Repentance

Repentance, in short, means returning to the Truth
and abandoning whatever displeases God.(2) It is entering
into the pure and saintly life by ceasing once and for all
wrong actions and thoughts and making a strong resolution
not to return to sin.(3)

To realise repentance there are three points which
must be taken into consideration. Each of them concerns
one aspect of the servant's ternary attitude: first,
intention (niyyah) which is an expression of the servant's

1. I'Anat al-mutawajjih al-miskin, p.5.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid., p.6.
relation with the soul. Second: a proper attitude towards God's rights (ʻistidrāk buqūq Allāh) which is concerned with the relation between the servant and the Lord. Third: rectification of past wrongs (radd al-maṣāli̇m) which concerns the servant's relation with other creatures.

**Intention:**

Since the kernel of Sufism is sincere intention (ṣido al-tawjjuh) it is necessary that the traveller should first intend to repent, and whatever comes after that is going to be judged by his intention, not by its results. It is a sort of criterion by which the servant is judged even in what may be considered as wrong and mistaken. To realise intention the traveller must shun the source of sin in place or time, accuse the soul always by inclining to the sin, and occupy it with what keeps it far from sin.(1)

During the first period of repentance, and in spite of all the good intentions of the repenter, it often happens that he repeats the sin. This is due to many things; either because of being too busy with worldly affairs to regret errors, or by permitting the return to the same place or the same circumstances in which the sin took place, even for a while, or because of over-confidence in the Soul and having trust in it.(2)

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1. Qawā'id al-taṣawwur, p.4. I'ānat, p.3.
2. I'ānat, p.6.
All these reasons, and many others, are caused by the Soul's suggestions and tricks, and the traveller must be aware of them lest they spoil his intention, and consequently his repentance. He must not respond to the Soul's justification of returning to the place or the circumstances of the sin, because this will increase its desire as sprinkled water increases a fire.\(^{(1)}\) He must not trust it at all, since it is worse than seventy devils, or, as Abū al-Qāsim al-Junaid said, "Do not rely upon the Soul, even if it is always obedient to you in your obedience to your Lord."

Although the traveller must be more cautious after returning to sin he must not give up and despair. After every return, even a thousand times, he must renew his intention to repent. If the Devil argues: "What is the use of a repentance followed by a repetition of the sin?", he should be answered: "Just as we made sin's repetition a habit, we make the repetition of repentance a habit too." And if he argues that our determination is weak, we reply that what is required is intention not that which is beyond man's power, i.e., that the servant cannot, by any means, get rid of his human nature.\(^{(2)}\)

**Emendation of the attitude towards God's rights:**

As intention and its requirements deal with the soul, the second point is concerned with God. When the servant

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1. *Iʿānat*, p.20.
2. Ibid., pp.5-7.
intends to repent he has to perform all that he owes his Lord in order to prove his good intention and discharge his debt to Him. If he used not to perform prayer, for example, he must not only start performing it but he has to perform additional prayers (qaddah) in lieu of what he neglected to perform before. The same thing is applicable to almsgiving (zakāh), fasting (ṣawm) and pilgrimage (hajj). He does so to complete his duties towards God and give back His right which He bade us regard and keep.

If the servant knows exactly how much he owes the Lord, e.g., how long he has not performed prayer or did not give alms, then he has to repay the exact "amount" of each. If he is in doubt about that and not sure of himself then he has to estimate it and repay the debt. However, his estimation must not be excessive, since the soul shall find these duties too heavy to bear and may draw back from the whole matter as being an unendurable task. The repentant has to bring his soul gently to the right direction, treating it as if he were taming a wild beast. Since religion is easy, as the Prophet said, it is not recommended to task the Soul with hard work, especially for the beginner who should start with the least number of religious rites and increase it as much as he can. The hard task, in fact, comes at a later stage where there is no fear of relapse or running away.

1. I‘ānat, p.8.
2. Ibid., p.9.
This applies to the redemption of any rite, in bodily rites, like prayer and pilgrimage, as well as possession like almsgiving. Also he has to bear in mind, when he is going to restore what he has missed, that the obligatory rites (furūḍ) must be implemented before the supererogatories (nawāafil), since the obligations are compulsory while the supererogatories are an additional means of gaining proximity (tagarrub) to the Lord,({1}) and He does not wish His servant to kill himself to satisfy Him. All He wants is the servant's return to the right way.({2})

At any rate, redemption of God's rights, in addition to restoration of the correct attitude towards Him, has three beneficial results: firstly, making righteousness (istiqāmah) much easier in the future; secondly, emptying the Heart of pre-occupation except with the Truth, and thirdly; standing (wuqūf) in the place of truthfulness, i.e., the place of the Heart's illumination.({3}) Similarly negligence leads to the Heart falling short of attaining its perfection and the regression of the Soul to its former state.({4})

In all his attempts to amend his attitude towards God the traveller must avoid adopting concessions (rukhāṣ) in the rites or performing them intensively, excessively or hastily. These rites are the continuous relationship

1. ʿEinat, p.9.
2. Ibid., p.10.
3. Ibid., p.9.
4. Ibid.
between the Lord and the servant and must be strictly kept, albeit in moderation, perseverance and quietness.(1)

Rectification of the past injustice:

This is the third complementary part of repentance and it is concerned with the servant's attitude towards other men. It is necessary, as he controls his soul and pays back God's rights, to pay back his debts to the creatures too, as it was said that sins are of three types: a sin which God will never forgive, namely polytheism (shirk), a sin which He forgives when He is asked to forgive or whom He wishes, that is the venial sin, and a sin which He does not let pass without punishment and that is the act of injustice (zulm) towards His creatures.(2)

To accomplish perfect repentance (tawbah naṣūh) the traveller must confess, either to himself or to others, that he committed a certain act of injustice and try, as far as is possible, to compensate his victim (mazlūm) in a suitable manner. He will find that these acts are divided into three categories: 1) In body, like killing or injury. 2) In possession, like robbery, theft, and dishonesty. 3) In honour (ird), like slandering, calumny and false testimony. In cases where it is possible to show his regret directly he has to do so,

1. I'ānat, p.9.
2. Ibid., p.11.
by apology and asking forgiveness, paying money as compensation or accuse himself. But in other cases it would be harmful for both the parties to do so, as when one has committed adultery with a man's wife without his knowledge. Here there are other means to adopt avoiding any embarrassment or offence, like treating him with respect, seeking forgiveness for him from God and atoning for the sin. (1) He has to bear in mind that he who commits a sin in secret must repent in secret, for God, in fact, does not want us to harm ourselves or to hurt others in a scandalous manner. (2)

This attitude towards people leads to three results:
1) Their delight and happiness by requital which is in itself a very good deed. 2) Realization of intention by self-humiliation which is the beginning of the sincerity leading to the Truth. 3) Having pride in God alone by submitting to His ordinance and paying back the others' rights. At the same time, being tenaciously unjust leads to three results: 1) Darkness becomes deeply rooted in the Heart. 2) Being even more bold in the future in committing acts of injustice. 3) Negating repentance and destroying its meaning. (3)

The question which may be raised here is: why do so many people refrain from justice and hold fast to injustice? The answer is that there are three main reasons for this which spring from selfishness and

1. I'ānat, p.11.
2. Ibid., p.12.
3. Ibid.
suspicion: 1) Self-pride towards the wronged. 2) Avarice and seeking justification for delay. 3) Thinking that an apology may not be accepted by men and that seeking forgiveness may not be accepted by God. To abolish all these the traveller needs to abase himself, having full confidence in the acceptance and strengthening of his determination by thinking of the Hereafter and what is going to happen to him if the wronged one does not receive his right in this world. This can be achieved by paying attention to the Qur'ān and the Prophetic traditions concerning injustice and its consequences. (1)

Seeking Forgiveness

Man is a wrong-doer by nature. His Soul is always urging him to satisfy its desire by misleading him into sin and crime. Even if he reaches a very high stage of purification through his effort, he might still commit an error, simply because man is not infallible (ma'ṣūm). None is infallible, in fact, save the Prophets and the Angels who were "chosen" by God to be absolutely pure and free of sin. In addition to this, even Muhammad, in spite of God's protection, had to be cautious and seek forgiveness from God so that He might overlook his mistakes and pardon him. (2)

1. I'ānat, p. 12.

2. The allusion is to the Qur'ān (40:55): "Then have patience (O Muhammad). Lo! the promise of God is true. And ask forgiveness of your sin, and hymn the praise of your Lord at fall of night and in the early hours." See also: Qur'ān; 47:19 and 110:3.
Seeking forgiveness (istighfār) from God is necessary for any believer, so it is indispensable for any traveller in the Way. He has to perform it from the very beginning of his spiritual journey as an introductory means to show his confession and display his sorrow and prove his repentance. It means the appearance of the servant before the Lord in his helplessness, as dependent on His mercy and as being in need of His forgiveness.\(^{(1)}\)

No repentance is considered sincere without istighfār. How could it be so whilst we are so proud of ourselves as to find it difficult to confess our faults to our Lord and beg His pardon? A heart with a particle of pride in it is a hard one and to soften it we need to remove pride from it. We need to humiliate ourselves before God in order to gain His acceptance.\(^{(2)}\) Seeking forgiveness is our duty towards the Lord. We have to perform it and it is up to His will to forgive us or not. But we must not give up hope in God Who has assured us in His Book that He will grant forgiveness to His servants who believe in Him, whatever their misdeeds, except to worship other than Him.\(^{(3)}\)

Moreover, seeking forgiveness may be not only for ourselves. It may also be for others whom we have offended. We ask God to forgive us our offence towards them and beg Him to forgive their errors as well. God, in His wide mercy, pardons all His creatures, and His forgiveness

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3. Qurʾān 4:48, "Lo! God forgives not that a partner should be ascribed unto Him. He forgives (all) save that to whom He wills."
extends to include even those sinners who do not regret their sins, if He so wishes, and to being satisfied with some of His servants.

Piety

Now, as repentance and its implications are retrospective and deal with the past in general, the traveller proceeds into a more advanced stage which is a prospective one concerned with the future. That is piety (taqwā), which means to avoid all sorts of prohibited things (mahārim) and to lead a pious life devoted completely to God and dedicated entirely to the search for Him.(1)

Here, as in any other aspect of the Way, the traveller must be aware of what he is doing and be convinced that the steps he follows are the right ones. This requires knowledge of the motives of piety and its results, as well as its meaning and situations. Without this awareness the traveller is like any ordinary ignorant fāqīr whose Sufism is a mere imitation not leading to the Truth.(2)

The motives of piety are divided into four parts:
1) Knowing its excellence and the good resulting from it. It suffices here to know that piety has been mentioned in the Qurʾān more than two hundred times. 2) Knowing that its opposite has always been deprecated by God and His messenger and that not being pious means to

1. Iʿānat, p.13.
2. Ibid.
be humiliated in this world and the Hereafter - to be classified as a corrupted man, to be punished in this world and the Hereafter, to have a bad end at death, to be exposed to God's wrath, to be denied by God and to be grieved at missing the perfect end. 3) Knowing its details by being acquainted with the source of religious knowledge in its books and by accompanying pious men in order to confirm this knowledge in the heart and make it preponderant after its probability. 4) Knowing how and when the servant has to be pious. In his relation with God by performing the rites without excess or innovation and in accordance with the Qur'ān and the Sunnah, since ignorance in this field is fatal. Also in his everyday life by distinguishing between the lawful (halāl) and the unlawful (ḥarām), to take piously and leave piously and avoid all doubtful things.\(^{(1)}\)

In all this the traveller needs to know well the commandments of God and His prohibitions and do what is right. He cannot be consciously pious unless he is equipped with a certain degree of religious knowledge which enables him to differentiate between the right and the wrong and which shows him the different aspects of piety.\(^{(2)}\)

When this knowledge of the usefulness of piety is well established in the Heart, then the idea of any sin should be repulsed as soon as it occurs, since, as it was

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1. \(\text{i'ānat}\), pp.13-14.
said: the beginning of sin is a notion (khatra) just as the start of heavy rain is a drop. It should be fought with loathing (karah), otherwise it becomes opposition (mu‘aradah). Here it should be met with aversion otherwise it becomes suspicion (waswasah). Here it should be met with great effort (mujahadah) otherwise it becomes lust (shahwhah) accompanied by capricious desire (hawah), when all reason, knowledge and understanding will be obliterated and he becomes too weak to save himself from sinking into the bottomless pit of sin and crime. (1)

Three things spoil piety, and there are three ways to overcome them: 1) Letting the tongue free in the others' absence, which results from interference in their affairs. This can be conquered by conquering oneself. 2) Hastening without hesitation to obtain worldly possessions, which results from greed and arrogance. This can be cured by contentment (qamarat). 3) Attachment to creatures and detachment from God, which results from heedlessness of the vicissitudes of life and ignorance of the reality of this world. This can be cured by the contemplation of what this world really is, by reflecting on what is Real. (2)

The branches of repentance and piety, however, are too many to enumerate. Every stage has its own kind of repentance and piety. Thus it was said that

2. Ibid., p.19.
the good acts (ḥasanāt) of the righteous (abrār) are the 
bad acts (sayyiʿāt) of the favoured ones (mugarrabīn), and 
the good acts of the near ones are the bad acts of the 
perfect ones (ahl al-kamāl). But the essence of 
repentance and piety in any stage is summed up in three 
words: resolution (ʿazm), determination (ḥazm) and rule 
(hukm). That is to have a sincere intention, to be in 
control of the soul and to follow the religious teachings 
and regulations.

The traveller must know that the Law of God (sunnat 
Allāh) implies that every beginner will be faced with 
three things drawing his attention to his defects and 
reminding him of the past to prepare him for the future: 
1) People rebuke him. They abandon him in order that he 
might return to his Lord through their reminding him of 
his errors. 2) His soul rebels all the time. It 
vacillates and suggests in order that he might remember 
his Lord and be aware of the source of these errors. 
3) God afflicts him by calamities in order to try him.

He has to know also that he is a human being, subject 
to a strong or weak will, and that he is exposed at every 
stage to the danger of sin, consciously or unconsciously, 
minor or grave. He must not forget that he is human and 
a servant whose Lord is absolutely free to lead him 
aright or a stray, and do whatsoever He wishes to do with 
him. Here he has to know that sin is one of three types:

1. Iʿānat, p.20.
2. Ibid.,
3. Ibid.
Mufakkirât which urge him to think over his state and reconsider his situation, and these are for him who accepts his destiny without dispute or discontent. Mudhakkirât which remind him of his misconduct and draw his attention to his faults, and these are for the slightly heedless. 'Uqubât or punishments, which is the worst of them all, and these make the afflicted even more impatient and discontented.\(^{(1)}\)

What the servant should do is to submit to his Lord and take refuge in Him from His anger by asking His pardon and seeking His forgiveness.\(^{(2)}\)

B) IN PRACTICE

Having expounded some of the theories of Sufism as Zarrûq saw them, it is time to examine the practical side of his teachings and the means by which the traveller may secure his journey on the Way. It is necessary to bear in mind, as was pointed out in the previous pages, that as knowledge and action are inseparable, so also theory and practice are mutually connecting and supporting. The most important thing for the traveller during his endeavour for the Truth is his awareness of every step he takes from the beginning of his aspiration

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1. *I'ânat*, p.20.  
to the end of his destination. From the first day he becomes associated with the Folk of the Truth till the day he becomes extinguished in the Truth. Here he needs to know the meaning of real companionship, find the true guide and take upon himself the fulfilling of the requirements of the Way.

**Companionship**

The Prophet said: "To sit with the righteous is better than sitting alone. Sitting alone is better than sitting with evil men. The good companion is like a druggist, even if you do not have some of his perfume you smell it, while the bad companion is like a blacksmith, even if his fire does not touch you, some of his stinking smell will attach to you." (1)

According to this tradition, and many others, our Shaikh holds that companionship (ṣuhbah) is necessary for the beginner in order to take good example from those who preceeded him in the Way, and to encourage him to pass through it, feeling that there is someone who shares with him his aspirations and interests. Without a companion the traveller is liable to miss the way or feel depressed and thus he is likely to be led astray. (2)

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2. Ibid.
But he must also select his companions and know where they lead him, just as he has to avoid three types of people— as Sahl al-Tustari(1) said—; the heedless tyrants, fawning jurists and ignorant Sufis. The first are so proud of themselves that they consider all other men below their standard. The second are hypercritical and cruel with regard to others' mistakes, paying no attention to their own. The third claim what they have not got, in their eagerness to elevate themselves in the eyes of others, without any right, being fond of exhibiting themselves. All these are the qualities of bad companions who must be shunned at all costs.(2)

To select a companion it is essential to choose one of three types of men, or all of them if possible; one for the Hereafter, and this person must be pious, religious and acquainted with the faith. One for this world, and he must be of good manners. And one to be taken as a friend whose big advantage is to be safe from his bad behaviour.(3) The gain, all the gain, is in finding the good companion and realising where to go with him, as Abū al-Ḥasan al-Shādhili said: "My beloved

1. Abū Muḥammad Sahl b. ‘Abd Allāh al-Tustarī, a famous theologian and Sufi of Tustur in Abwāz, whose "Thousand Sayings" were collected by his disciples (d. 283/896). On his life and teaching see: Muḥammad Kamāl Ja'far; The Sufi Doctrine of Sahl b. 'Abd Allāh al-Tustarī (in English), Cairo University Press, 1969.

2. al-Ḥāmi' lī jumal min al-fawā'?id, p.27.

bade me and said: 'do not move your feet except in the direction where you expect God's reward. Do not sit except where you are safe from disobedience. Do not associate except with him who aids you in obeying God. Do not incline towards any except him who affirms your certitude.'"(1)

In addition to these kinds of men the traveller has to avoid any sort of association with the immature (ahdāth)(2) since this is dangerous both to his reputation and manners. This is applicable not only to young men but also to every immature person whether in mind or spirit, even if he is seventy years old. The definition of the immature is he who does not agree with you in the Way that you have chosen, as God said to Moses: "Pay attention and select your companions. Any who does not agree with you to please Me is your enemy, since he hardens your heart and separates you from Me." The companion, in fact, is a part of a man like the patch of a dress. Just as it is odd if the patch is not of the same colour as the material of the dress, so is it to accompany him who is not of the man's type in mind and conduct.(3)

2. Ibid.
3. Ibid., p.171.
The Guide

Travelling the Way is not an easy task. And to be on the safe side the traveller needs a guide who has explored the road before him and knows its difficulties. That is why a shaikh is indispensable for him. But before he yields to him and entrusts himself he must be sure that the shaikh is the right one who can be trusted, for it is very risky to have confidence in a guide who does not know the road very well and is not acquainted with its perils and dangers.\(^1\)

In many of his works Zarrūq emphasises the important rôle played by the shaikh and warns of being deceived by false claimants who seek only worldly prestige and are not real Sufi masters, and he indicates many conditions for him to observe strictly to enable him to lead the travellers in their Way.\(^2\)

Who is the good guide? He asks. The answer is; he who must possess three qualities: 1) That he should know the road as he knows himself. 2) That he know the types of the travellers he is guiding, in order to help each of them to the most suitable means of travelling and be aware of his ability to complete the journey and reach his destination. 3) That he depend on both knowledge and experience, since it is not enough to know

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1. 'Uddat al-murīd, p.45.
2. Ibid., pp.39-45.
the map to guide others, since it is necessary to have explored the way first and be sure of it before trying to lead others on it.\(^{(1)}\) The shaikh is here like a doctor whose knowledge of the peculiarities of the medicines depends on experience, just as his experience depends on his knowledge.\(^{(2)}\)

In spite, however, of the high position that the shaikh occupies, the traveller is advised not to wait until he finds him, for perhaps he will not meet him at all. The real shaikh is, in fact, a light from God sent to him who shows his sincerity and longing to go along the Way. If he does not find him in the beginning he must consult the two sources of knowledge of the Way; the Qur'ān and the Sunnah, and try to follow others' example. If he does not do so he is like the sick man who refuses to take the medicine unless the doctor comes in person, and thus he may not recover even when the doctor arrives, since the disease has already spread because of his refusal to take the medicine.\(^{(3)}\)

However, just as there are good doctors and bad doctors, there are many types of shaikh too from whom Zarrūq distinguishes three: 1) The shaikh of form (shaikh al-gūrah) whose concern is only with appearance, in face and dress. This is useless and no benefit will come out of him. 2) The shaikh of the way (shaikh al-ṭarīqah) who needs knowledge to deal with the soul,

\(^{(1)}\) Sha. al-mabāḥith al-āsliyah, p. 163.
\(^{(2)}\) Ibid.
\(^{(3)}\) Ibid.
reason to deal with the people and action to deal with the Truth. 3) The shaikh of the truth (shaikh al-haqīqah) who does not need anything because his truthfulness implies everything, and this is the real shaikh. He deals with the lover (muhibb) by acceptance, with the equitable man (muntasib) by care and with the seeker (murīd) by interest, fulfilling his rights after fulfilling the rights of God and His messenger. Of this kind of shaikh Ibn 'atū Allāh said: "Your shaikh is not the one from whom you hear, but from whom you take example. Not he whose expression faces you, but he whose impression penetrates you. Not he who calls you to the door, but he who removes the veil. Not he who talks to you, but he who displays his state to you. Your shaikh is he who frees you from the prison of desire and introduces you to the Lord. He who does not cease polishing your Heart's mirror until it becomes able to reflect your Lord's light. He who raises you to God and leads you until you reach Him. He who remains with you until he puts you before Him, pushes you into the light of the Presence and says: 'Here you are!'"

Once the shaikh is found the traveller has to submit himself completely to him and follow his instructions. He becomes like a corpse between the washer's hands. He refers to him in everything concerning his development in the Way and consults him on any issues. He has to

1. 'Uddat al-murīd al-sādīq, pp.45-46.
2. Ibid., p.43.
respect him and become like a dutiful son to him. But despite the fact that the shaikh has undisputed authority over his disciple he is not infallible, so that his obedience is restricted to what does not contradict the Qur'ān and the Sunnah. Although he is the example in his conduct, not all of his conduct must be imitated, since there are special actions confined to a particular stage to which the shaikh has attained and the disciple has not.\(^1\)

Lastly, the relationship between the shaikh and the disciple is like the relationship between a doctor and his patient. It is necessary for the doctor to know his patient's condition to find out the disease and the right medicine for it. Thus, the disciple must reveal all his secrets to the shaikh. At the same time the patient has the right to know how able and acquainted with the "science" his doctor is and how far his practice is in conformity with his knowledge. The criterion in all this is the following of the Qur'ān and the Sunnah without whose guidance none is safe in the Way.\(^2\)

### The Covenant

Now, after the seeker has found the real shaikh and gained his acceptance as one of the travellers in the Way, the next step is to establish a strong relationship with him by mutual agreement between the two which is called al-'ahd (the covenant) and is a sort of contract binding

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\(^1\) Wasiyah, Ms. Cairo, 550 - tašawwuf, p.3.

\(^2\) 'Uddat al-murīd, p.43.
both the guide and the traveller. There are, in fact, several methods of covenant, such as 
\textit{musāfahah} (hand-clasp), \textit{akhdh al-sūbḥah} (taking the rosary) and \textit{libs al-
khīrghah} (investing with the mantle), but Zarrūq prefers the simple covenant, because the Prophet made it with his companions when he said to them: "Take the pledge with me that you will not take a partner with God, nor steal, nor commit adultery, nor kill your children, nor lie, nor disobey in what is right (\textit{ma‘rūf}). He who fulfills what he has committed himself to will be rewarded by God. He who breaks it and is punished in this world, it will be an expiation (\textit{kaffārah}) for him. He who sins and whose sin God covers, it is for God to punish or forgive, as He wills."\(^{(1)}\)

Zarrūq comments by saying that this covenant between the Prophet and his companions was made after the faith had been well-established in them in order to confirm it the more. It alludes also to the fact that none is infallible and that repentance is offered and obedience is only in the conventional issues.\(^{(2)}\)

At any rate, the covenant, as may be concluded from Zarrūq's description of its procedure, which was shown in the previous chapter, is founded on three bases which have been alluded to above: Repentance and its implications, seeking forgiveness, and piety.\(^{(3)}\) Thus the seeker is

2. \textit{Ibid.}, p.47.
3. See the full procedure of the Covenant in the previous chapter.
considered a traveller and is initiated by learning the method of dhikr (invocation) which denotes a further step in the Way.\(^{(1)}\)

**Invocation**

Man has to be conscious of himself and what surrounds him. In this he has to be aware of his servanthood towards His Lord. That is to realise the meaning of existential phenomena either in himself or in the Universe. Here we find that tafakkur (meditation) is indispensible to anyone who seeks to attain to both knowledge and the Truth.\(^{(2)}\)

Meditation is of the conscious part of the soul which is prepared to go through the Way of the Truth, when a man investigates himself and discovers his vices and tries to get rid of them, he must not neglect meditation lest he lose his contact with existential objects and become like an animal deprived of the delight of thinking and discovering what is behind the appearances of Existence.\(^{(3)}\)

This meditation, performed conscientiously, leads to another stage in the process of realisation, i.e. tadhakkur (remembring). That is to remember always, not

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1. See the previous chapter for the method of initiation.
2. ʿĀnat al-mutawajjih al-miskīn, p.3.
3. Ibid. Zarrūq alludes to the Qurʾān (41:53): "We shall show them Our signs on the horizons and within themselves, until it will be manifest unto them that it is the Truth."
only the various stages of the man's life, since he was a germ in his mother's womb until his death, but also that he is in all this, and after that, only a servant of the Lord who has no will, in the absolute sense, to decide for himself, and that everything is nothing at all beside Him. (1)

Remembrance, from our Shaikh's point of view, occupies a very important place in the Sufi Way. By remembering his origin from a tiny drop of sperm and his end as a decayed corpse in the dust, Zarrūq says, man will realise that this short journey in this ephemeral world is just a temporary stage of his being and that he must lead a pure life in order to obtain the reward in the Hereafter from the Lord. (2)

How can he possibly accomplish this while he is surrounded by all these temptations? It is not easy, of course, but by fighting evil and repulsing the Soul's desire and oppressing the body's lust he can have help from God. To have help from God one must seek it from Him in order that He might bestow His mercy and grant His aid upon man. That is to beg Him, and no begging is lacking in mention of the source of help. This is dhikr Allāh. (3)

1. I'ānat, p.3.
2. Ibid.
3. This is according to the saying of the Prophet: "This world is accursed, and all it contains is accursed, save only the invocation (or remembrance) of God." Many verses in the Qur'ān urge the believers to remember God always and invoke His Name, or Names. (See the Qur'ān; 2:152, 33:31, 87:15, 20:34, 22:34, 3:41, 7:205, 18:24, 3:135, 8:2). Cf. Burckhardt; An Introduction to Sufi Doctrine, pp.123-130.
To remember God in prayer or to remember Him whenever possible is the simple way of dhikr, and it is for anyone. For the traveller in the Sufi Way there is a more formal and regulated method of dhikr which we may call "invocation", to distinguish it from other forms of dhikr. This invocation is based on certain rules and goes through a known procedure in a fixed order for a special aim; seeking the result of revelation by His help. (1)

This type of dhikr, or invocation, is of great importance to all Sufis, and for Zarrūq it is one of the essential means of attainment. Invocation is a direct orientation (tawājjuh) to the Lord when He is fully present (hādir) in the Heart, the servant is fully aware of His Presence, and fully occupied with Him alone. Here we face the problem of Presence (huḏur), that is, is it necessary to concentrate entirely on the object of invocation that is God Himself?

A certain disciple complained to his Shaikh: "I mention God with my tongue while my heart is heedless." The Shaikh said: "Thank Him for making your tongue fit for that. What would you do if He put slander on it instead?" God is much more generous than that man should mention Him with his tongue without granting him presence in his heart. At the beginning it does not matter if one mentions Him with the tongue only as a means of approaching

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1. I‘ānat, p.3.
His Presence until the invoker becomes acquainted with the meaning of His invocation. When the meaning is deeply rooted in the Heart, the form vanishes and nothing remains save His Presence. (1)

Forms of Invocation:

Apart from prayer (salāh) which is considered as a sort of invocation, (2) there are other means by which the traveller can invoke. It is up to him to choose one or all of them according to his aptitude and preparedness: the Qur'ān, the Divine Names, the Two Testimonies and the litany (wird). (3)

Invocation of the Qur'ān:

God said: "Those only are believers who, when God is mentioned, tremble in their hearts, and when His signs (verses) are recited to them they increase them in faith." (4) And He said: "Those who believe, their hearts are at rest in God's remembrance." (5)

Interpreting the first verse, Zarrūq says that it is clear that recitation of the Qur'ān increases the faith of the believers. That is a very good result in itself. It is obvious from the second verse that tranquility and peace emerge from the faith which results from reading

1. al-Jāmi' li-jumal min al-fawā'id wa al-manāfi', p.6.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid., p.22.
4. Qur'ān; 8:2.
the Qurʾān. Then God says: "God has sent down the fairest discourse as a Book, consimilar in its oft-repeated, whereat tremble the skins of those who fear their Lord; then their skins and their hearts soften to the remembrance of God."\(^{(1)}\) This, he says, indicates that the Qurʾān's recitation is recommended for its own sake, since it leads to fear of God - which is equivalent to al-qabd (contraction) in Sufi terms - and then to peace and hope - which alludes to al-bast (expansion) - and the Sufi fluctuates between these two states (ahwāl) all the time.\(^{(2)}\)

**Invocation of the Divine Names:**

One of the uses of the Divine Names is in invocation. And the first condition of this form of invocation is to be aware of the meaning of the Name, to scrutinize it and then to choose the appropriate Name to be invoked in the proper manner.

"If you want to invoke with the Names," Zarrūq says, "you must examine your nature and state, then single out of the Names what suits you. If you are overwhelmed by His Glory and in a state of contraction, take the Names of Majesty (al-asmāʾ al-jalāliyah) and invoke them gravely (bi al-tahzīn) and with low voice. If you are overcome by His Beauty and in a state of expansion, invoke the Names of Beauty (al-asmāʾ al-jamāliyah) joyfully and in a soft voice. If you are overwhelmed by

1. Qurʾān; 39:23.
2. 'Uddat al-murīd al-sādiq, p.25. al-qabd is the spiritual state resulting from the fear of God, opposite to al-bast which is a state of confident joy.
His Perfection then take from the Names of Perfection (al-asma‘ al-kamāliyah) what suits your mood and invoke them in a moderate voice and state without expression of sadness or joy."(1)

Collectedness (injimā‘) is essential in this sort of invocation, and it is necessary also to recite the Name slowly and without hurry and to empty the Heart from any other occupation. The aim is to allow the meaning of the Name to penetrate the Heart fully and become imprinted (yanṭabi‘) on it.(2)

This is the way of nature (ṭarīq al-tab‘), since he who travels to Him by his nature is more likely to reach Him than that who aspires to Him at odds with his nature.(3)

Invocation of the Two Testimonies:

Many people, Zarrūq says, tend to invoke using the Two Testimonies (al-shahādtain), and this is one of the best methods of invocation. But there are those who incline to invoke the first testimony (la ilāha illa Allāh) and neglect the second one (Muḥammadun rasūlu Allāh). This is extremely wrong, since, just as the first nullifies all doubt whatsoever with regard to the Lordship (Rubūbiyah), the second nullifies any suspicion regarding the Prophet and his Apostleship (Rasūliyah).

1. al-Maṣād al-asma‘, p.250.
2. Ibid., p.251.
3. Ibid., p.252.
To separate the Two Testimonies is condemned in the teachings of Islam, so it is condemned in what emerged from Islam, i.e., Sufism and invocation. Just as the faith would not be true and sincere without both of them, so revelation (fath) will not come without both of them. (1)

The Prophet also is not only a bringer of tidings (mubashshir) and a warner (nadhīr), but a witness (shāhid) against us too. (2) To mention the Two Testimonies together is the ultimate in servanthood. It is equal to the prostration (sujūd) to Adam. He who prostrates, i.e., mentions the second testimony, is like the angels and that who abstains is like Iblīs in his disobedience. (3)

Invocation of Blessing the Prophet:

This kind of invocation is most desirable, since God Himself ordered us to do so when He said: "God and His angels bless the Prophet. O believers do you also bless him and grant him peace." (4) If God Himself blesses the Prophet how dare we neglect His command? Moreover there are many traditions that recommend blessing the Prophet as a means to great reward. The Prophet said: "God and His angels will bless ten times him who blesses me once." And what reward is higher than being blessed by the Lord through blessing His perfect servant? (5)

1. ‘Udat al-murīd al-sādiq, p.28.
2. Ibid., p.29.
3. Ibid., p.28.
4. Qurʾān; 33:56.
5. ‘Udat al-murīd al-sādiq, p.27. Cf. the ṣahīḥ of Muslim / ṣalāḥ.
Invocation of Litany:

All the previous means of invocation could be united in one ḥizb (litany) which the traveller learns by heart and recites. Every traveller, in fact, must have a litany composed of prayers and supplications whose aims Zarrūq outlines as "to take refuge from evil in God, to seek good and knowledge from Him by the Union (jām') of the Heart with Him, to occupy the idle, help the seeker and strengthen the lover (muhībb), to have a solid resolution and a firm concentration."(1)

It is preferable if the litany is invoked at a fixed time. It will become like a habit for the traveller and teach him discipline. But because with God there is neither day nor night, all times are suitable for the invocation of the litany. (2)

However, the litany must be as simple as possible, avoiding vague expressions or suggestive utterances, depending essentially on the Qurʾān and the Prophet's prayers which are genuinely reported. (3)

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2. Qawā'id al-taṣawwuf, p. 135.
3. Sh. Ḥizb al-bahr, pp. 6-7.
"Thus our scholars surnamed him (the Oversear of both the Jurists and the Sufis). This is a notable title not gained by any Muslim master before or after him!"

‘Abd Allāh Gannūn

_Dzikrayāt mashāhīr rijāl al-Maghrib_
CHAPTER FIVE

ZARRUQ THE CRITIC

Having passed through the life of our Shaikh, looked at his works and Order, and seen how he regarded the Sufi Way, it is fitting that we should examine his most evident aspect as a reformer and a Sufi critic.

In the foregoing chapter on "the Sufi Way according to Zarrūq" the reader must have noticed some allusion to the Shaikh's critical spirit in respect of certain Sufi notions. In this chapter we are going to discuss in a more detailed manner these notions and Zarrūq's attitude towards them, which made of him one of the most important critics in the history of Sufism.

Before we proceed to discuss the main issues on which Zarrūq concentrated in his criticism, there is an important point to be made here.

As one of the aspects of Islamic life, and a part of its existence, it is natural that Sufism should undergo all the joys and pains of this life. During its period of life and health, Sufism flourished and was alive. In its decline and deterioration, it declined also and became an obvious focus of deterioration. This happened throughout the ages in which the Muslim society struggled against both internal factors of decadence and external powers as well. Whenever this society felt dangers surrounding it and recognised an imminent threat to its existence, during
its struggle against external invasion, it usually turned in to the internal elements of corruption in order to purify itself from within and become prepared to face the enemy vigorously and overcome the consequences of its defeat. Sufism was always an exposed target for attack in those days of crisis and strain, owing to its nature on the one hand and the attitude of most of the leading men in the Muslim society on the other. Ibn Taimiyyah(1) and his colleagues(2) represent a good example of the furious attack on Sufism after the fall of Baghdad(3) into the hands of the Mongols, the Eastern invaders, during the 8th/14th century. In modern times, especially in the 13th/19th century and the beginning of the present century, the Wahhābis(4) in the Arab Peninsula and Kamāl Ataturk(5) in Turkey, with differences of motive of course, were the most virulent foes of the Sufis and Sufism.

1. d. 728/1328. He was a fanatic Ḥanbalī. His opposition to Sufism, in belief and practice, goes back to the founder of the Madhhab, Ahmad b. Ḥanbal, to al-Muḥāsibī, Sarī al-Saqāṭī and their followers. He issued many fatwās and wrote pamphlets condemning eminent Sufis and their practice in seeking ecstasy through music and dancing as well as shrine-visiting with offerings, vows and invocations, as being all contrary to the Law. (See: Trimmingham; The Sufi Orders in Islam, p.242.

2. Like Ibn al-Qayyim al-Jawziyyah (d. 751/135).

3. The Mongols under Hūlagū took Baghdād in 656/1258. For details see: Von Grunebaum; Classical Islam, pp.141-158.

4. The followers of Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Wahhāb (d. 1208/1792).

5. The founder of modern Turkey (d. 1343/1938).
These anti-Sufi movements resulted from a specific understanding of Islam as a simple exoteric religion, concerned, more than anything else, with the external belief and conduct of Muslims, wherein there is no room for any inner practice of exoteric teaching. Its people saw in Sufism not only a deviation from Islamic dogmas but also a real danger to the straight, pure and clear belief of Islam. They saw in the Sufis mere fāqīhs and dārwīshes who were depending in their lives on the active section of the community, occupying laymen with nonsensical occultism and vain practice.

In the light of what Sufism has become, and according to the behaviour of so-called Sufis in many parts of the Muslim world, one has to approve such movements and accept many of their attitudes, since Sufism, in fact, has been transformed from that great endeavour for a sublime spiritual life to an endeavour for an idle, easy life full of laziness spent in those Khāngahs, Tīkiyahs and Zāviyahs. (1) The Way lost all its connotations of strife, patience and work as well as its contact with the interests of the daily life of the ordinary people. But to allow such criticism and attack on the conduct of the so-called Sufis, does not justify the attack on the principles themselves which are completely different. Here, again, we meet the eternal dilemma; the difference between theory

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1. For more details see: Trimmingham; The Sufi orders in Islam and Tawfīq al-Tawīl; al-Taṣawwuf fi Miṣr.
and practice, idea and fact, thought and its practical application.

Not only the non-Sufis were furious in their hostility to the corruption and mischief perpetrated in the domain of Sufism by its own followers, but we see that sincere Sufi masters were very anxious about the possible fate of Sufism under the influence of non-Islamic ideas and certain strange elements which infiltrated into it. Their sincerity and comprehension of the real function of the Way, together with assaults launched by anti-Sufi circles, were their motives to pause now and then, to examine these accusations and apply a sort of self-criticism, in order to refute their opponents' claims and get rid of whatsoever corruption and misconduct occurred.

Referring back to the historical circumstances of Zarrūq's days, we see how the Muslim world was in a very confused state. While Egypt was under Mamlūk rule and the Ottomans were expanding their Empire, not far from capturing Cairo itself, the Spanish were driving the Muslims out of Andalusia. Even Morocco was under attack by Portuguese troops and some of its ports were under their control. The similarity between these circumstances during the 9th/15th century on one hand and what happened in the 8th/14th and the 13th/19th centuries on the other, is so apparent as to justify the appearance of another great critic in the realm of Sufism; Ahmad Zarrūq. The only difference being that our Shaikh was himself a Sufi. He was a critic from within.
The conditions of Sufism and the so-called Sufis, consequently, were the same as in the above-mentioned periods. To give the reader a proper idea about those conditions we quote here what an eye-witness wrote. Here is what Leo Africanus, who lived in the same period and toured North Africa and Egypt, says about the Sufis of the age, after surveying the origin and development of Sufism:

"... but such as were very learned, and trained up in all the kind of liberall sciences; to the end they might the better defend their owne opinions, and can fute their aduersaries: but nowadaies they admit all kinde of rude and ignorant persons, affirming all sortes of learning to be needless; for the spirit (they say) revealeth the knoledge of the truth vnto such as are of a cleane hart; and they allege many reasons for the confirmation of this their opinion, though not very forcible. Wherefore despising their ancesters rites, and the strict observations of the law, they addict themselves to naught else but delights and pleasures, feasting often and singing lasciuous songs. Sometimes they will rend their garments, either alluding to the verses that they sing, or being movued thereunto by their corrupt and vile disposition; saying falsely that they are rauished with diuine loue: but I rather impute it to their abundance of meate and gluttonie. For each one of them will deuere as much meate, as may well suffice three. Or (which is more likely) they utter those passionate
clamours and out-cries, because they are inflamed by unlawful and filthie lust. For sometimes it happeneth that someone of the principall of them, with all his scholers and diciples, is invited to the mariage of some gentlemen, and at the beginning of the banket they will rehearse their devout orizons and songs, but so soone as they are resin from the table, the elder of companie being about to daunce, teare their garments; and if any one in the middest of their daunsing, that had drunke immoderately, chaunceth to fall downe, he is taken vp foorthwith by one of the scholers and to too lasciuiously kissed. Whereupon this proverbe grew among the people of Fez: 'the hermite's banket.'"(1)

After describing certain Sufi orders and notions, Leo Africanus continues to verbal what was going on in those days:

"Great swarmes of these filthie vagabonds you may see in Tunis, but many more in Egypt and especially at Alcair, where as in a market called Bain Elkafrain I saw one of these vallains with mine owne eies, in the presence of much people, deflowre a most beautiful woman as she was coming forth of the bath: which being done, the people came flocking about the said woman, striuing to touch her garment as a most holie thing."(2)

In his fascinating description of the overwhelming vulgarity in Sufism, Leo records his remark on "another

2. Ibid., p.466.
sorte of men, which we may fitly call Caballists\(^1\). They had one a famous doctor of their sect called Bouni\(^2\) who was author of their canons, praises and square tables... Their arte was divided into eight parts; whereof the first was called Elumha Enormita,\(^3\) that is, the demonstration of light... the second called Semsul Meharif,\(^4\) that is, the Sun of the Sciences... the third part they call Sirru Lesmei Elchusne;\(^5\) this part contained a catalogue of those 99 vertues, which (they say) are contained in the names of God. Moreover in the Citie of Fez there are certain men called Elcanesin,\(^6\) who supposing to finde treasure vnder the foundations of old houses, doe perpetually search and delue.\(^7\) Leo also writes about those 'Alchymists' who "have in their arte of Alchymie many books written by learned men, amongst which one Geber\(^8\) is of principall account... Likewise they haue another author, that wrote an huge volume of the same arte, intituled by the name of AttagrehI."\(^9\)

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1. A Jewish sect concerned with the mystical aspects of the Torah.
2. Abū al-'Abbās Ahmad l-'Alī al-Būnī (d. 622/1225).
3. al-Luma' al-nūriyah.
5. Sirr al-asma' al-ḥusnā.
Talking about the dryness of Sufism in that period S. Trimingham in his book *The Sufi Orders in Islam* says that "North Africa also experienced a new development. The mystical movement, which passed through its classical period in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, had flagged. This movement of the spirit had appealed only to a religious elite, but from the middle of the fourteenth century the Way had lost even this appeal and a mystic such as Ibn ‘Abbād stands out simply because of the spiritual aridity of the age. At the same time a popular form of devotion based on the ḍhikr had spread, though as yet practiced only by urban and Zawiya groups." (1)

He quotes a reference concerning Shaikh Abū Ishāq al-Shāṭifī (d. 790/1388) who was asked about the position (legitimacy) of a ṭārifah ascribing itself to Sufism and self-discipline "whose members would get together on many a night at the house of one of them. They would open the proceedings with some ejaculating in unison. Then they go on to engage themselves in singing, hand-clapping, and making ecstatic utterances, carrying on until the night was over. During the course of the evening they would partake of food prepared by the owner of the house." (2) In relation to the practice of the occult by the Sufis, Trimingham states that "along with the development of new forms of devotion and their acceptance parallel to ritual prayer, went the processs

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2. Ibid., p. 84.
of accommodating the sciences of astrology, divination, and magic-technique which professed, not merely to reveal the secrets of the unseen world, but to control them... Popular works brought all this within the range of the ordinary practitioner and became part of the equipment of the Shaikhs and brethren."(1)

Ahmad Zarrūq, armoured with his thorough knowledge of Islamic Jurisprudence and acquainted with the real essence of Sufism, fully realised how wrongly most of the Sufis of his day practiced the Way and how far they were from both the Šarī'ah and the Ṭarīqah, not to mention the Ḥaqīqah itself. He was always disgusted by those pseudo-sufis whose hypocrisy and vulgarity were too excessive to be accepted by any reasonable standard, and whose behaviour was extreme to conform to Islamic belief and conduct. Perhaps he is the most capable one to describe some of what he was discontent with in his day, both in the East and the West. Let us read a passage from his 'Uddat al-murīd al-gādiq:(2)

"When I first arrived at this country, meaning the East, I inquired about the Sufis in order that I might encounter God's grace amongst them. I was taken to groups of people living in high-built khangāhs with spacious yards. I looked and discovered that their

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2. This quotation is briefed from a long letter which Zarrūq recorded in his book without ascription. It might have been written by him to a friend or by a friend to him. See 'Uddat al-murīd, pp.98-101.
ambitions were to grade their rugs, nay, their loud adornments, and comb their beards. Yet they claim that the Westerners are the people of the Truth not the Way and that they are the people of the Way not the Truth. This is sufficient evidence of their nonsense, since there is no attainment to the Truth without the Way. 

Abū Sulaimān al-Dārānī (d. ?) said: 'They have not reached attainment (wuṣūl), which is the Truth, because they have lost the principles (usūl), which are the Way'. They have testified of themselves that they are devoid of the Truth. This implies that they are far from the Way.

"These times, my friend, are calamitous. In them Satan is insurgent and the tyrant is obstinate. There are evil, but learned, men looking for what they might eat, unjust rulers taking decisions in utter ignorance, and Sufis of wool being dirty with the fortunes of this world. They have become too devoted to this world in their hearts to concern themselves with anything but it. The truth is so abased in their eyes that they have shunned it. They keep these meaningless prayer-rugs and attach themselves to those mantles, showing off rags, sticks and adorned rosaries, walking like old women, dreaming like children. No knowledge may prevent them from the unlawful, no asceticism may hold them back from embracing this world, and no piety can turn them away from suspicions. They use the practice of external religion
as a bait to catch the fortunes of this world and stay in the khanaqahs and ribâts to enjoy whatsoever comes to them, whether it be lawful or unlawful...(i)

"By God, my friend, if you could only see them pecking (like birds) in their prayer, without standing in a proper line, you would see between the two of them space enough for a thousand Satans. If you wanted to fill the gap their faces would turn gloomy, and if you are not careful and tread on the prayer-rug of one of them, he will punch you, whatever is accessible, at you such a blow as to kill you. I have seen in this country one still in boys trousers and yet claiming the stages of the gnostics. Yet he is not ashamed of God, although he does not know either the conditions of the Sunnah nor the compulsory duties, indeed he is not worthy to serve even in the lavatories...

"Those who attend audition (samë) and claim ecstasy (wajd) in this country have considered their religion a sport and an amusement. You only hear him who says: 'I have seen the Truth (al-Hagg), He said to me, He did, and He made such and such.' When you ask him for truth (haggah) he may give it, or some mystery he gained in his ecstasy, you will find only a lusty state of mind and a Satanic desire. Satan cries on his tongue and he falls unconscious as long as the singer croaks his poems. I cannot but liken them to the shepherd who cries out for

(i). Compare this with Ibn al-Jawzi's Talbis Iblis, Cairo, 1368 H., pp.187-209.
his sheep. They come bleating and go bleating, unaware of why they come or why they go."(1)

Such was Zarrūq's feeling against the so-called Sufis of the age. His experience with them in the big cities, like Fez, Cairo and Mecca, may justify his strong condemnation and disgust. Thus, as we have seen, he was so depressed, and perhaps desperate, that he abandoned, at last, these large centres of Sufi congregations and went to live in a more simple primitive place which had not as yet been affected by these manifestations of corruption and deterioration in the realm of Sufism.

It was impossible for our Shaikh, as a Jurist and a Sufi, to accept whatsoever contradicts the Sunnah. His profound belief in the unity of the Shari'ah and the Tariqah in the endeavour for the Haqtqah, made him unready to compromise for any of them. He neither accepted the unjust attitude of the Jurists towards Sufism, nor did he justify the misrepresentation of the Way in his days. It was natural then that while he was engaged in many of his compilations in defending Sufism, he was occupied also with purifying it from the contamination and pollution it was stained with. Hence he, and only he, was called Muhtasib al-‘ulamā‘ wa al-awliyā‘(2)


Muhtasib was a title given to certain acknowledged, highly regarded men who had the right to watch the conduct of the responsible people, either in the government or in the ordinary life, regardless of their rank and position, in order to correct their attitude and draw their attention to their mistakes, on the basis of the famous Islamic principle: al-amr bi al-ma'rūf wa al-nahy 'an al-munkar. Cf. Encyclopaedia of Islam, Art. Muhtasib.
that is, he who observes and assesses the behaviour of both learned theologians and Sufi masters, in order to assure that it is in conformity with the Sharī'ah. Such a title was not given to Zarrūq in vain. It was surely felt that he was a strong critic of what he noticed by way of distortion and error in Sufi teachings as well as in the attitude of the Jurists of his age. But it is obvious that the Shaikh was more concerned with purifying the Way, since he knew that no cure was possible as long as the inner disease was not adequately treated and eliminated. This disease was called al-bid‘ah, and perhaps there is no more famous a word used in anti-Sufi circles, as well as by the Sufi critics, than this word.

Bid‘ah (innovation or novelty) was used in Islam to indicate any sort of thought or deed not springing from the Qur‘ān and the example of the Prophet Muḥammad and his companions. With the development of Islamic Law and the growth of the Muslim community and its complications, the notions of ʾijmāʿ (consensus) and ʿaqīḍah (deduction or analogy) were accepted by orthodox Jurists to deal with the implications of the new life. They accepted also, to a limited extent, ʾiẓtiḥād (formulating independent decisions based on the interpretation of the four principles), although this remained confined to certain Islamic sects. Whatever clashes with these principles and cannot be justified, in any way, is considered bid‘ah and is immediately condemned as a sort

1. The Mu‘tazilah in particular who were the ‘Rationalists’ of Islam.
of heresy, leading sometimes to an accusation of kufr (disbelief); which has dangerous consequences.\(^1\)

In respect to the Sufis, Trimingham rightly remarks that "the masters of the Way were fully conscious of the danger of incurring the charge of bid‘ah (innovation)"\(^2\) and "that there is nothing surprising in the order - leaders insisting upon observance of the Sharī‘ah, since they believed that this was coexistent with the divine Unity. They simply claimed there was an outer and inner knowledge (al-‘ilm al-gāhīr and al-‘ilm al-bāṭīn). The ṭā’ifās tended, therefore, to be in an ambivalent position. They were rarely attacked on the grounds of belief, but usually on the grounds of deviation in practice."\(^3\) Then he adds: "The first concern of the founders and leaders of the ṭā’ifās was to assert their orthodoxy. This was simply obtained by the truly Islamic expedient of producing an isnād. In order to reject a reproach of bid‘ah all a Shaikh needed was to demonstrate that he had followed the course of a well-known Sufi. He could then use the authority of his master and all the transmisory links right back to one of the first four Caliphs as a prop (sanad) for his teaching and practice."\(^4\)

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1. For a broader study of these principles see: D. H. Macdonald; Development of Muslim Theology, jurisprudence and constitutional theory. New York, 1903. The difference between the bid‘ah and kufr is shown in al-Ghazalī’s, Faṣal al-tafrīqah bain al-islām wa al-zandaqah.


3. Ibid.

4. Ibid., pp.148-149.
From this quotation we may pick up two statements, both of them are unacceptable from our point of view, or at least in our Shaikh's case. The first is to judge that a sanad related to one of the four Caliphs was sufficient for obtaining orthodoxy, and secondly to say that the Sufis were criticised on the grounds of deviation in practice and not on the grounds of belief. In both cases Ahmad Zarrūq proves the contrary. He was a founder of an order and a profound Sufi with sanads to two, not only one, of the four Caliphs, and yet he was one of the harshest critics in the history of Sufism. He condemned not only the malpractice of certain Sufis, but was also concerned with their beliefs as well, something which shall be discussed later.

Apart from scattered passages of a critical nature to be found in most of his works, and in addition to his advice and precepts to his friends and followers, in his letters, to avoid bid'ah in any way, it is significant that Zarrūq devoted four of his main compilations to refute innovators and expose the dangers of innovation when travelling on the Way. In his 'Uddat al-murīd al-sadīq, al-Jāmi' li jumal min al-fawā'id wa al-manṣāfi', and al-Naṣīḥah al-Kāfiyah liman Khassahu Allāh bi al-ʿāfiyah, (1) in his dealing with the right ideas and conduct of the Sufi Way, he includes, in almost every paragraph, an attack on those deviators from the Way and a bitter criticism of their belief and practice. The culmination of his criticism is in his al-Radd 'alā ahl

1. See the Catalogue, No.
al-bid‘ah; a small, but very useful, pamphlet.\(^{(1)}\)

As an enthusiastic Sufi, aware of the purely Islamic nature of Sufism, as Zarrūq was, he went so far in his solicitude for the purity of the Way, as to approve the attacks of one of its most violent foes, i.e. ‘Abd al-Rahmān Ibn al-Jawzī (d. 587/1191), and accept many of his points of view. He borrowed not only Ibn al-Jawzī’s ideas, quoting them frequently, but also praised his famous book *Talbis Iblīs* (The Devil’s Delusion), and defended him against his opponents.\(^{(2)}\)

In his *al-Radd ‘alā ahl al-bid‘ah* we see Zarrūq the reformer as much aware of the problems of the Sufis of his days, as he was that those problems faced him. But it was his responsibility, as a learned man, to protect the Sunnah and defend it, according to the saying of the Prophet: "He who revives my Sunnah, when my nation is corrupted, will be given the reward of one hundred martyrs."\(^{(3)}\) Then he launches a fierce attack on the innovators, especially of Morocco, on the grounds that "innovation is an affliction and a great calamity to this nation. It is one of the sins which are not redeemed except by remaining eternally in Hell. That is because they have deviated from true belief."\(^{(4)}\)

He continues: "Our concern is with a particular clique which overran and spread throughout this our

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1. See the Catalogue, No.LI.
Maghrib (Morocco) in both rural and urban areas, and much more in the rural areas. This was invented by certain people to benefit from rulers of this world. They started gathering the ignorant and vulgar, male and female, whose hearts are blank and whose minds are immature. They instilled into them from a religious point of view the belief that repentence is to be had by shaving the head, gobbling up food, gathering for the banquets, invoking by turn, utterances and cries, using the mantles and beads, making a show of themselves, and holding that so-and-so is their master and there is no other master save him. They tour the country, and whenever they arrive at a populated area they start invoking by turn, as sheep and cattle are slaughtered for them. They move from one place to another, with their servants. Some of them on their horses. They assert that by this they revive and display religion, while they are persuading the vulgar to believe that the learned men are obstructing the way to God, and warn the ignorant against them. So they became enemies of the learned and learning. Yet they are disunited because of the plentitude of their Shaikhs, and ramified into different groups, each group drawn up behind its Shaikh, speaking ill of the other group and its Shaikh. Thus enmity and hatred occurred amongst the Shaikhs to the degree that each of them wishes to drink the blood of the other. That is because of the rulers of this world. They have sold the Hereafter for this world and led astray many of God's creatures and corrupted their faith. God said: 'Those who conceal what God has revealed of the Book and sell it for a paltry
price— they shall eat naught but fire in their bellies. God shall not speak to them on the Day of Resurrection neither purify them and there awaits them a painful chastisement. \((1)\) \((2)\)

As is to be expected, Zarrūq continuously has recourse, in his campaign against innovation, to the Prophetic tradition and the example of the companions, like Ibn ‘Abbās, ‘Abd Allāh b. Mas‘ūd, and ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Umar, to support his arguments. He also quotes much from early Sunni Sufis, such as al-Junaid, al-Tustarī, al-Muḥāsibī, al-Thawrī, and al-Faḍīl b. ‘Īyāḍ, as well as from the famous Jurists like Mālik b. Anas, al-Shāfi‘ī and al-Awzā‘ī. The eminent Jurist-Sufi, Abū Ḥāmid al-Ghazālī, in his book \( Ṣaḥīḥ \) al-\( dīn \), was, of course, one of the Shaikh’s main supports. From it he quotes the following symbolic story to denounce the innovators of his own days:

"Iblīs once urged his assistants at the time of the companions to tempt them. Coming back defeated he asked them: 'What is the matter with you?' They answered: 'We have never seen men like these. We cannot influence them and they have exhausted us.' He said: 'They are not within your reach, because they have accompanied their Prophet and witnessed the revelation. After them others will come and you will be able to affect them.' When the followers (\( ṭābi‘ūn \)) came Iblīs sent his troops and again they returned to him defeated. He asked and they said: 'We have never seen stranger men than these; they commit sin after sin during the day, and when night falls"

they seek forgiveness and their sins change into good deeds. He said: 'You cannot hurt them because of their right doctrine and adherence to the Sunnah of their Prophet. Wait for the men coming after them with whom you will be delighted and amuse yourselves. They will neither seek forgiveness to be forgiven, nor they will repent to have their sins changed into good deeds. You will lead them by their noses to their caprice (desire).' After the early centuries elapsed other men came full of desire and caprice, for whom Iblīs conjured up innovation and they were easy to tempt. They adapted it and considered it their religion. Neither did they seek forgiveness, nor repent of it. Thus the enemy leapt on them and led them wherever they wanted to lead."

All the same, and in spite of the fact that Zarrūq was so disgusted by the conditions of Sufism in those days, and although he justifies some of the hostile attitudes of the Jurists (ahl al-zāhir), nevertheless he warmly defends pure Sufism and defies any notion of its rejection as a whole, since "the hearts are united in their love for it, because it is so clean and the clean thing is easily stained. Therefore, whatever is attributed to it is counted against it by those who do not know its reality, and thus they deny it. They perhaps intend to prevent expedients (sadd al-dharā'ī) in its case, since the reality of the sincere has become unknown because of the plentitude of the false claimants.

1. al-Radd 'alā ahl al-bid'ah, pp.3-4.
Thus calamity has become common with the peoples' love of this art, and when you love a thing you become blind and deaf [so that you do not notice its defects]. They fell - unaware - into the abyss of innovation, and the people of the exoteric sciences were angry with them and denied them altogether. It is wrong to be like that, for what emanated from the extreme Sufis (ghulāt al-Šūfiyyah) emanated also from the disapproved Jurists and Theologians. To disagree with the extreme does not imply refusal to admit right doctrine because of them, since the wrong word or deed rebounds on its utterancer or doer, while the correct good original doctrine remains unchanged."

In a chapter in his 'Uddat al-murīd, Zarrūq wrote on what ought to be followed or ignored of Sufi belief and conduct. He says:

"All that the worthy Sufis did, like al-Junaid and his followers, is one of two cases; either it stems from the Sharī'ah, and thus they must be followed like the companions and the followers (tābi'īn), or it is without origin in the Sharī'ah and here it should be ignored, because the Sunnah is an evident proof (hujjah) against the whole of the nation and none of the nation is a proof against the Sunnah. The Sunnah is infallible and he who practiced it [the Prophet] was infallible too, while the nation is not, unless they have a whole consensus (ijma') and yet they must have legitimate (sharī')

evidence to support it. The Sufis, like anybody else, are not infallible and are subject to mistakes and forgetfulness, major or minor sin, as well as innovation; reprehensible or prohibited... al-Junaid was once asked: 'Is it possible for the gnostic to commit adultery?' He bowed his head in silence for a while, then he raised it and said: "And the commandment of God is certain destiny."(1) This is a right thing to say, since if it is probable for others to commit sin it is possible for the Sufis to fall into innovation. Our duty, therefore, is to emulate him who is infallible and not to follow him who is not. We must compare what is related from the masters with the Book and the Sunnah. What is in agreement with them we accept, and what clashes with them we reject. We shall not be harmed, when the evidence indicates that we should follow the Lawbringer (shari'), meaning the Prophet), and refute what the Sufis say or do if not supported by the Sunnah. This is the recommendation of their truthful masters."(2)

In his search for conformity between the Qurʾān and the teachings of the Prophet on one hand and Sufism on the other, the Shaikh was concerned at all times with assuring the purity of the Way and its being unopposed to the Law. This led him to discuss many of delicate issues in respect of the individual's belief and action and throw some light on them.

1. Qurʾān, 33:38.
2. ʿUddat al-murīd, p.8.
One of the most important situations which was largely argued among the scholars of Islam is the difference between taqlīd (copying, or blind unquestioning adaption of ideas and action) and igtīdā' (emulation). The traditionists held, mostly, that we have to follow whatever the preceding masters did. We have to trace their steps and keep their traditions sacred and untouched. There is no room for any reformation whatsoever. Zarrūq, with all his respect for the preceding masters and with his critical spirit also, argues that this is not correct. Of course we accept the masters' authority, but at the same time we preserve our own right to use our reason in investigating everything reported to be said or done by them, follow the right authentic thing and refuse any forged ascriptions. This is called igtīdā', meaning to follow the good example after examining the idea or the action, which is the course acceptable to Zarrūq. But his attitude towards taqlīd is completely different. He, in fact, went in his rejection of taqlīd to the degree that he equated it to bid'ah. Thus he says in his Tuhfat al-murīd:

"The knowledge of Sufism is to be denied to one who has these four qualities: pride (kibr), innovation, a preference for appearances (Ithār al-mazāhir), and attachment to taqlīd. Pride is a seal (ţāba') [on the heart], innovation is an affliction, the appearance is a veil, and the taqlīd is a hobbling rope."(1)

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In his distinction between the **mugallid** (that who copies blindly), and the **muqaddid** (emulator) he quotes Abū al-‘Abbās b. al-‘Irīf’s saying: "The mugallid is he who, when he faces a problem, goes to the unauthoritative in the realm of the religion for advice, intentionally and deliberately. The muqaddid is that who, when faced with the same problem, goes to men of learning, honour and good judgement." (1)

Not only this but we also find him reluctant to agree with Abū Ḥāmid al-Ghazālī in his acceptance of taqlīd as an approved means of attaining to faith, and trying to interpret al-Ghazālī's statement in this matter as meaning that he wished to discourage the common people from being occupied with dangerous theological debate (‘ilm al-kalām). (2) It is very significant also that our Shaikh ignored completely a whole passage of the ‘Aqīdah of al-Ghazālī, in which the Proof of Islam defends taqlīd, (3) which Zarrūq neglected to record in his commentary on the ‘Aqīdah. (4)

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1. Ṭubḥat al-murīd, p.4.  
2. Sh. ‘Aqīdat al-Ghazālī, Ms. Cairo, 20112 B, p.21.  
3. In this omitted passage al-Ghazālī says, regarding this point: "... Compare the belief of the pious common people with the belief of the theologians and the disputants (al-mutakallimīn wa al-mujādilīn), you see that the belief of the layman is as firm as the high mountain, unmoveable by calamities and thunderbolts, while the belief of the Theologian... is like a string let loose in the air. The wind moves it hither and thither. Except him who has heard the proof of the belief and snatched it up by means of imitation (taqlīdan), as he received the belief itself by means of imitation. There is no difference in the taqlīd between learning the proof (dalīl) and learning (knowing) what is proven (madhlūl)." Cf. Thā'īr ulūm al-dīn, Cairo, 1358/1939, Vol. I, p.100.

(Footnote (4) on next page = 333)
While the Shaikh was drawing a line between taqlīd and iqtīdāʾ, he had to discuss certain other relevant questions in this field: iʿtīqād (belief), iʿtīqād (objection) and tashabbuh (imitation); three important issues connected to each other.

As a Sufi, he would naturally consider iʿtīqād (belief) in the Sufis and true Sufism as an indispensable element in the life of any good Muslim. Or as he put it "an element in every good", on condition that this belief does not lead to being deceived by pseudo-Sufis (iqlīrār). It follows that iʿtīqād (objection is "an element in every evil."(1) This may sound strange, but the difference between iʿtīqād (objection) and nuqūd (criticism) in Arabic(2) makes it easy to understand the Shaikh's point of view. Here he quotes the saying of Shuʿayb Abū Madyan: "Believe, do not object and do not trust anybody", and the saying of Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Maqqari: "To believe is goodness and to object is a crime. Follow when you know and submit when you do not know."(3) That is because "the foundation

(Footnote (4) from p.332).

4. Ibid., pp.20-21. In his Sharḥ hizb al-bahr of al-Shādhili Zarrūq gives a symbolic fable on the vanity of blind copying. "The wasp saw a bee building her hive." He says, "He copied her and built the same hive. Then he claimed the same virtues of hers. The bee said: 'This is the hive. Where is the honey?'' Sharḥ hizb al-bahr, p.4.


2. Nuqūd is usually used to point out both the advantages and disadvantages of the subject, while iʿtīqād means to disclose its bad aspects only.

of Sufism is submission and belief, just as the foundation of Jurisprudence is inquiry and investigation. The principle in Sufism is the good opinion (ḥasan al-zann) until the contrary is confirmed, while the principle in Jurisprudence is the poor opinion (sūr al-zann) until the opposite is assured, and caution is essential in all cases... Anyone who believes in someone must not emulate him until he becomes sure of the correctness of his knowledge and religion."(1) Then he continues to conclude that "in these days we see many who pretend to be Sufi masters (mutamashiyikhīn) without right and many who are attached to them without reality. Thus the followers are gambling with their religion and the claimants have lost the true sense of their faith. Some were content with mere denial (inkār), and some preferred submission (taslīm), while others were so fanatic in their belief in their ancestors that their ardent zeal led them to ruin and total loss."(2)

Regarding the question of tashabbuh (imitation), Zarrūq holds that "Whoever imitates other people is considered among them."(1) But if he does not practice their teachings he becomes far from being one of them, since to love the Folk without adherence is useless and vain. He who inclines to one of God’s saints must imitate him in the principles of his Way... and believe that this man

1. Ibid., pp.50-51. Cf. al-Dārīmī / libās.
2. Ibid., p.51.
3. A well-known Prophetic Tradition.
is one of the doors to God, wherefrom the breath of mercy comes unto him in accordance with his aspiration. He must seek God only, and when he venerates His saint he does so in order to please Him, since God is always present whether his protege is absent or present. The remembrance of God is the light of the hearts, and His contemplation is the key of the unseen."

This imitation is often recommended among the Sufi virtues and benevolent action more than anything else. When the imitation of their dress (ziyy) is allowed, in certain cases, this dress should be regarded as an honour. Its wearer must avoid any kind of misconduct or any behaviour which would give the wrong impression about the Sufis. He must elevate himself above meanness and vileness and whatever decreases his value in the eyes of the people.

The imitator (mutashabbih), at any rate, is one of three; either an admirer (muhibb) whose reward is to be loved and welcomed in a friendly fashion, or a leaner (mustanid) whose reward is to be respected, or a seeker (tālib) whose reward is to be advised and guided in the true Way. It is the responsibility of the master to

1. The word "protege" is used here to designate the wali. It is more precise than "friend", as usually rendered in English. See: Tringham; The Sufi Orders in Islam, p.135.
2. Sh. hizb al-bahr, p.51.
3. Ibid., p.52.
display the true virtues and right actions of the Sufis, and to be a good example for the seeker. It is his duty, in short, to expound true Sufi teachings, unperverted and unmixed with that most dangerous thing: bid‘ah.\(^{(1)}\)

Being the focus of his criticism, Zarrūq had to give his definition of bid‘ah. In his most systematic work in this field, ‘Uddat al-murīd al-sādiq, he gives this definition: "The reality of bid‘ah, according to the Sharī‘ah, is to invent a matter in religion which seems to be religious while it is not so."\(^{(2)}\) This looks like an obstacle to the development of the Muslim community if we take it literally, since, if any new thing introduced into the religious life of the Muslims were to be rejected on the grounds of being innovation, this would close the door in the face of any vitality in religious life as well as in ordinary everyday life. In order to permit a certain degree of spontaneous development and adjustment to the continuous process of change, our Shaikh confines bid‘ah to the matters which clash with the Qur‘ān and the Sunnah by "believing that what does not make one near to God, makes one near to God (i‘tiqādu ma laisa bigurbatin qurbatan)."\(^{(3)}\) He holds that the word itself does not necessarily imply a total rejection of bid‘ah in everything. That is because there

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1. For more details see: Sh. hizb al-bahr, pp.52-54.
2. ‘Uddat al-murīd, p.3.
3. Ibid.
are certain inventions, or let us say additions, in
religion, which, although they are innovations, are
accepted by the scholars of Islam. (1)

This is pursued, according to our Shaikh, by setting
up three criteria (mawāzīn) by which it is possible to
distinguish bid‘ah and issue a judgement regarding its
lawfulness or unlawfulness. The first criterion is the
Sharī‘ah itself, meaning the Qur‘ān and the Sunnah.
When the matter in consideration is not in contradiction
with the Sharī‘ah it should not be regarded as a bid‘ah,
although the two sources of the Sharī‘ah did not say any-
ting about it, and whatever clashes with the principles
of the Sharī‘ah must be refuted as a vain, erroneous
innovation in respect to the action, disbelief and
apostasy (hilād) in respect to the belief. The second
criterion is to look at the attitude of the earlier
religious leaders, who knew very well the essence of the
Sunnah, and trace their principles in this field. What-
ever they have agreed on we accept, and we use our reason
in whatever they have not agreed upon. The third

1. Zarrūq gives some examples of approved innovations
(al-bida‘ al-mustahsanah) such as the prayer of
tarāwīh in Ramadān which was invented by the Caliph
‘Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, dotting the words of the written
Qur‘ān, and counting the number of tasbīh. Cf. al-
Radd ‘alā ahl al-bid‘ah, pp. 5-6. Abū al-‘Abbās al-
Tilimsānī al-Wansharīsī, a contemporary of Zarrūq, (d.
914/1508), distinguishes 129 items as between the
approved and the rejected bid‘ahs. See: al-Mustahsan
min al-bida‘, an extract from al-Mī‘yar al-mughrib of
al-Wansharīsī, published by Heneri Perez, Algiers,
1946.
criterion he calls 'discretion according to the evidences of the rules' (al-tamyīz bishawāhid al-ahkām), i.e., the examination of the case in the light of the six rules\(^1\) of the Sharī'ah and then classifying it as bid'ah or non-bid'ah.\(^2\)

To conclude this classification and discernment of innovation, Zarrūq turns to discuss evil innovation. He divides it into three types:

1. **Plain innovation** (al-bid'ah al-ṣarīrīh). This includes whatever is held to be against the teachings of the Qur'ān and the Prophetic sayings or actions. This is the worst of them all "even if it is supported by a thousand ascriptions (mustanad) in the 'Uṣūl and the Furu'\(^\text{2}\)."

2. **The additional innovation** (al-bid'ah al-idāfiyyah), and this is whatever is added to anything, which, if unmixed with it, there is no doubt that it is Sunnah, or at least not innovation. Most of innovations are of this kind.

3. **The debatable innovation** (al-bid'ah al-khilāfiyyah), and this means whatever is subject to argument and debate. Some say that it is an evil innovation, while others consider it as Sunnah, as the case is with the invocation and litanies.\(^3\)

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1. Al-ḥalāl (lawful), al-harām (unlawful), al-mandūb (recommended), al-makrūḥ (reprehensible), al-mubāh (condoned) and al-mustaḥabb (desirable).
2. 'Uddat al-murīd, pp.4–5.
3. Ibid., pp.5–6.
In his analysis of the origin of innovation among the Folk, Zarrūq states that "there are three reasons for the appearance of the pseudo-Sufis in this age and their leading the people astray towards innovation." He then explains: "The first is the decrease of the faith, because of ignorance of the true respectful attitude towards the Lawbringer [the Prophet], and because of the lack of the light of the faith which leads to following the Messenger (God bless him and give him peace). God has said: 'This is My straight path, so follow it. Follow not other ways, lest you be parted from His way.' (1) ... and Ibn 'Atā'.

Allāh said: 'It is not feared that you will be puzzled by the different ways. It is much more to be feared that you will be overcome by caprice', since as he said 'When caprice takes possession of the Soul it is a chronic disease to treat.' Or as one said: 'To carve the mountain with your nails is easier than getting rid of caprice if it is deeply rooted in the Soul.' Lastly God has said: 'Have not you seen him who makes his desire his god, and God sends him astray purposely, and seals up his hearing and his heart, and sets on his sight a covering? Who then will lead him after God?' (2) Meaning that it is impossible to lead him aright, since vanity is deep-seated in his soul and he has lost the light of the faith in his heart,' and he for whom God has not appointed a light, for him there is no light.' (3)

2. Qurʾān; 45:23.
3. Qurʾān; 24:40.
"The second reason is their ignorance of the principles of the Way and their thinking that the Shar'iah is contrary to the Ḥaqīqa. This is the major reason and the cause of all the heresy and heretic groups. Thus the ignorant Jurist does not hesitate to curse the Sufis and the ignorant Sufi does not hesitate to shun learning and its men and deviate from the Shar'iah. Yet he sees this as a mark of perfection in his case, so much so that I heard a certain faqīr saying, when he heard a heretic anecdote about some heretic people: 'Following the outer way of the Shar'iah leads to expulsion from the Ḥaqīqa.' This is complete ignorance, vanity, and disbelief. May God protect us!

"The third reason is ostentatiousness and love of pomp. Being so weak in both faith and action, and incapable of reaching the stages by which they might become real Sufi masters, they were obliged to invent things in order to attract the people, since the hearts are so moulded as to be pleased with the curious marvels (gharā'ib). In addition, most simple-hearted people are unaware of the right and the wrong and are eager to approve what seems to them good. They follow any who pretends to be so, supported by some Satanic miraculous coincidences, or by what his follower imagines by way of psychic pleasures (ladhhdhāt nafsāniyyah), or by what he may achieve of supernatural phenomena. He thinks that all this is a revelation and a means of attainment and starts to
discard for its sake both the principles and the branches.\(^1\)

He starts to scorn customary matters and believe that such a marvelous stage is not to be attained except by what is amazing and that the rites (\(\text{\textquoteleft}ib\text{\textquoteright}d\text{\textquoteright}{\text{\textquoteleft}at}\text{\textquoteright}\)) as they are, do not lead to the goal except by adding extreme practices to them. He may succeed when he first appears. Thus his belief becomes a part of his path and he continues preaching it, leading the people into the wrong way. All this is a result of ignorance, yielding to imagination, and a lack of ascertaintment for understanding. We seek safety from God!\(^2\)

In order to be more specific in what Zarrūq meant by bid\(^{\text{'}}\)ah, he classifies innovations into three groups. The first is concerned with belief. The second is concerned with both belief and action. The third concerns action only. There is none better than Zarrūq to express himself. Let us read what he says:

"The first group is attached to the inner knowledge of Sufism. It is divided into three sections:

1) Those who are occupied with the subtle issue of unification and the ravings of ecstatic utterances (\textit{shagāshiq al-shathāt}) and the pursuit of the mere words of this science, like those of Ibn Sab‘īn, Ibn al-Fārid, al-Ḫātimī and so on, without knowledge of the Way of these masters.

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1. \textit{\textquoteleft}Usūl\textquoteright\ (roots or fundamentals of Islam); the Qur‘ān, the tradition, Consensus (\textit{ijmā‘}) and Analogy (\textit{giyās}). And \textit{Furū\textquoteright}s (branches): a term used for Islamic law, civil, ceremonial, and religious.

2. \textit{\textquoteleft}\textit{Uddat al-murīd\textquoteright}, pp. 6-7.
They think that they have attained to what they have understood of these utterances and have ceased to examine what they imagine. They take what might occur to them of intuitive experience (dhawq fahmi) as a proof for their correctness, and this may affect their behaviour... that is if they were safe from holding wrong belief and being shameless towards Divinity and Prophecy... By this we do not defame those masters to whom they connect themselves, but we disapprove the acquisition of these utterances without the fulfilment of their requirements.

2) Those who are attached to the notions of states (ahwāl) and stages (maqāmāt), the position of the Soul and sources of the realities (hagā'iq). They think that there is nothing beyond this, and thus they scorn the worshippers and disdain the ascetics. They claim that theirs is the right way. Yet they are floundering in a matter from which their understanding is very remote. They have heard the words of the masters in this field and have claimed that they have attained to the same state. Abū 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Sulamī said: 'He who tells the anecdotes of some worthy ancestors and assumes them to himself undeservedly and becomes pleased with men's acceptance of him, is one of the most vile and corrupted of men, and one of the remotest from the ways of the truthful. How strange to be content with the others' lot!' The Prophet said: 'He who is proud of what he has not been given is like him who wears two dresses of falsehood (zūr).\(^{(1)}\)

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1. See: Sahīh Muslim / libās.
And God has said: 'And We shall turn to the work they did and make it like scattered motes.'\(^{(1)}\) That is because they have credited themselves with states they have not, and their action is far from all sincerity. None can set foot on the carpet of the Truth save the truthful ones.

3) Those who are satisfied with the least they have of external knowledge (\(\text{al-}\text{‘ilm }\text{al-żāhir}\)), have strayed by what they understood of interior knowledge (\(\text{al-}\text{‘ilm }\text{al-}\text{bāṭin}\)). They preach it, repulsing whoever should disagree with them and favouring whosoever agrees with and follows them. They have made knowledge a means at their service, though they might be ignorant or thinking much of themselves, until they fall into abysses of error, such as permitting some prohibited things (\(\text{muḥarramat}\)) and committing certain forbidden things (\(\text{munkarāt}\)). This might lead them onto being impressed with what they think or do and to fancy that they are on the right track. Yet they do not hesitate to attribute to the Prophet certain ideas in order to suit their evil aims.

The second group is attached to states (\(\text{ahwāl}\)). It is divided into three sections:

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\(^{(1)}\) Qur\(^{\prime}\)ān; 25:23.
1) Those who claim that they see the men of the Unseen (rijāl al-ghaib) like al-Khaḍir(1) and his colleagues. They tell mere lies, or they are, at least, enmeshed in a Satanic imagination, and thus come to a complete loss. I have heard some of them say that al-Khaḍir is a sent Prophet (nabī mursal) ... and that some of them follow him as a Messenger. They consider the Qur’ānic verses about al-Khaḍir and Moses a proof in favour of al-Khaḍir. This is vain indeed, since Moses (Peace be upon him) was under obligation to submit (yusallim) to al-Khaḍir’s doings, not to follow him and do the same things he did. Moses was asked to be patient and see the causes of the deed and its meaning, not to adopt the example of al-Khaḍir. Yet, suppose that al-Khaḍir is a prophet, is not the Shari‘ah of Muḥammad the last one, abrogating whatever other shari‘ah?

2) Those who claim extinction (fanā‘) in God and free disposal (taṣārruf) without any (sense of) obligation.

With a few psychic touches (‘Āthār nafsāniyyah), acquired-

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1. Regarding the character of al-Khaḍir, Trimmingham writes: "Vision of that mysterious of Islamic gnosis, al-Khaḍir is important, especially in respect of saintship and the founding of a new ta‘ifa. Generally identified with Ilyās (Elias) as the servant of God, conductor and instructor of Moses of Surā ‘the cave' (XVII, 64-81), al-Khaḍir possesses ḥikma (wisdom) and al-ism al-a‘ẓam (the greatest Name), knowledge of which confers saintship and ability to do supra-natural things ... Naturally the opponents of mysticism had no use of this concept. Ibn ‘Aṣā‘ Allāh quotes Ibn al-Jawzī as denying the existence of al-Khaḍir." (The Sufi Orders in Islam, pp.158-159).

The Qur’ān, in fact, does not mention al-Khaḍir by name, and this mythological personality deserves a separate full study, with all its origin, development and impact on Islamic thought.

Zarrūq, however, although he does not deny this figure explicitly, he does so implicitly by refuting the stories related to him and deploring those who believe in such tales. (Cf. Kunnāsh, pp.9-10).
as they say - from abstraction (tajrid) and union (jam'), the ignorant thinks that he is in possession of the real signs (marks) of the gnostics ('arifin). They commit sins and do evil, and their influence upon their followers is so great that the poor ignorant fellow thinks that they have attained to the highest stage... When he is blamed and shown the right way in this respect he may say: 'You do not know. This master is the possessor of a truth and you are the possessor of a way. These are matters of experience not to be known by learning.' All this is mere ignorance and vanity.

3) Those who claim ecstasy (jadhb). They behave like mad men, and their ecstasy has become for them a matter of habit. Thus it has become difficult for them to accept the customary things and right conduct, especially when they see how the ecstastics (majadhīb) are accepted by the laymen. That is because the vulgar are much in favour of this sort of men. They love them and look after them. Most of the majadhīb oppose learning and knowledge, as well as work and action, in order to be regarded as having completely abandoned this world, which they have not...

Some learned men said: 'I was in doubt concerning these people until I became sure that they are mad men. The mad man is not even religiously responsible, how then could he be a walī?'

1. That is to be "possessed" as a result of ecstasy (wajd) springing from invocation (dhikr) in the dervish style. "When possessed," says Trimmingham, "the majdhūb was not responsible for his works and actions. He could do and say things which would be blasphemous if said by others." (The Sufi Orders in Islam, p.150.)
"The second group is attached to actions (a‘māl). It is divided into three sections:

1) Those who are conquered by laziness and idleness, who, although their souls incline to the Folk, adopt the easy dispensations of the Way such as audition (ṣama‘) and congregation (ijtīmā‘). They are interested only in decorated rags, embellished rosaries, and faked walking-sticks. They boast about their dress as women do. And if they are blamed they say: 'We are content, in following the Folk, with imitating their costume, since he who imitates certain men is one of them.' If it is said to them: 'This is an unworthy aspiration on your part,' they reply: 'You are in the blessing of the State and we are in the blessing of the costume!' This is due, in fact, only to their idleness and laziness.

2) Those who are concerned with the public affairs in order to attract the common people. To do so they have to mingle with the despots (galamah) and seek leadership among the people. This has led them to acquire the means for it, and thus they have been occupied with the vanities of ‘ilm al-kunūz (science of treasures), Alchemy, the secrets of the letters and so on. They became busy

1. Searching for hidden treasures, said to be buried by ancient people, not to be discovered except by special talismans and charms.

2. Arabic Ktmya‘. According to Kashf al-zunūn, learned Muslims are not agreed as to the existence of this occult science, nor are they of one opinion as to its lawfulness, even if it should exist. (Hughes; A Dictionary of Islam, p.13). This is true since Alchemy was believed to be a method for transforming base metals into gold. But from a symbolic standpoint it has its value and own interpretation. (See T. Burckhardt; Alchemy, science of the cosmos, science of the soul, London, 1967).

3. By arranging the letters in particular manner in tables and squares, they produce the hoped results through magical power, they say.
with magic and occult sciences... Mingling with the rulers led them to believe in the FatimI, waiting for his appearance and expecting his time... Many of the learned men say that the time of the FatimI has passed and that he was 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Aziz and others. This is a very ambiguous matter indeed and to think of it is wrong, since it is very confusing and there is no need for it. Suppose - with all the catastrophes emerging from

1. Meaning al-Mahdi al-Muntagar (the awaited rightly one), or the Imam (Leader) who will appear one day, according to the common belief, to rule the world and "fill it with justice as it is now full of injustice." This idea of the Saviour dominated the Shi'I mind for centuries and played a very important role in the Shi'ah's policy and creed. It has, however, its root in the Persian, Jewish and Christian backgrounds, as Bernard Lewis says. "The Jewish and Christian belief in the sanctity and ultimate triumph of the royal house of David, through the anointed Messiah, the Zoroastrian expectation of a Soashyans, came with those who were converted to Islam and were embodied in the belief in the Mahdi, a descendent of the Prophet through his daughter, Fatimah." (Cf. Bernard Lewis; The Assassins, London, 1967, pp.22 ff.)

In the course of time even the Sunnis accepted the possibility of the appearance of the Mahdi and many political movements rose in his name. Even in the modern times the idea has not been effaced. The famous Muslim thinker, Jamâl al-Dîn al-Afghâni, says that "all the Muslims except Ibn Khaldûn, and a few others, the number of whom is very limited, have unanimously accepted the authenticity of the Prophet's sayings regarding the Mahdi." He adds: "The expectation of a Mahdi is so intense among Muslims every time they find themselves in difficulties, or their religion is threatened or a foreign power is dominating them, that they resemble a man lost on a dark night in a vast desert awaiting with impatience a star which might guide him." (Cf. Elie Kedourie; Afghani and 'Abduh, London, 1966, p.50).

2. 'Uddat al-murît, p.16.

3. The famous Umayyad Caliph (d. 720/1320). He has been considered the most just ruler in the history of the Caliphate after the Rashidîn. He was much celebrated for his piety and uprightness.
this belief — that the Fāṭimā is at the gate of your city. How can you forget the pledge of allegiance (bai‘ah) to its ruler in your heart? You cannot revolt against him because of this pledge. This is if the Fāṭimā is true. How is it then when the whole issue is not confirmed and might never happen?

3) Those who endeavour to attain their aim through devotion and ascetism and see real sincerity in excessive worship. Satan tempted them by certain innovation which spoiled their devotion and made their hopes fallacious, by taking restriction upon themselves and suppressing their natural needs. They follow their caprice by opposing what is customary and contradicting the religion of Muḥammad with all its easiness and tolerance. They perpetrate dreadful and perilous errors of which some are prohibited and some are reprehensible, following in this the practice of the People of the Book. Thus they fall into what the Prophet predicted when he said: 'You will follow the practice of those before you, span by span and cubit by cubit, until even if they went into the hole of a lizard you would go into it after them.' They asked him: 'The Jews and the Christians, O Messenger of God?' He said: 'Who else?' The (hole of the lizard) here symbolizes the restriction and the difficulty which they hold as the right way. It is nothing, in fact, but evil

1. The Christians and the Jews, as they are usually called in the Qurʾān. (See the Qurʾān; Sūrāhs: 2, 3, 4, 5, 29, 33, 57, 59 and 98, in many verses).
in this world and a torment in the Hereafter, and a result of suspicion (*waswās*), pedantry and hypocrisy. They say that the Way is founded on severity and hardship not on rest and easiness, following some of the late Persian masters(1) who used to treat their disciples in such a manner. This is a special case not to be taken as a rule."(2)

It has been stated before that Zarrūq criticised the extravagant Sufis in both their belief and action. It is impossible, of course, to separate them from each other, for no action, actually, is to be considered without belief, and no belief is to be carried out without action. We are going to throw some light on his conception of the right belief of the Sufis and then give some examples of his criticism in these two domains.

In one of his Principles of Sufism (*Qawā'id al-taṣawwuf*) concerning the correct belief of the Sufis, Zarrūq writes:

"Regarding their belief in Divinity (*rubūbiyyah*) they do not believe except in God's absolute transcendence (*tanzīh*) and the negation of comparison (*tashbīh*). . . . Regarding Prophecy (*nubuwwah*), they do not believe except that it is confirmed and is above anything which does not suit its perfection... Regarding the Hereafter

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1. Zarrūq does not specify these Persian masters. But it is known that Persian Sufis were severe in their practices, specially during periods of retreat.

(al-‘akhirah) they do not believe except in the truth of what was told [by the Qurʾān and the Prophet] about it, as it was told, without any discussion of its details."(1)

This is, in fact, Islamic dogma, pure and simple, and thus Zarrūq wanted it to be. He wanted no fuss, no confusion, no deviation from this dogma. The simplicity of Sufism, as he saw it, was in great danger of becoming subject to alteration and strange ideas. To be a Muslim Sufi one has to adhere, first of all, to the dogmas of Islam, otherwise he might be something else other than a Muslim.

Many alien ideas, he says, had infiltrated into Islam, and the extravagant Sufis bear a large measure of responsibility for allowing these ideas – consciously or unconsciously – to infiltrate.(2) Thus they had been rightly under attack by the Muslims as they were understood. That is because certain Sufi masters were so bold in their expressions that the first impression of their utterances (shāthāt) were necessarily misunderstood, and accordingly they were considered as heretics or even


disbelievers. \(^{(1)}\) The sayings of a certain Sufi; "I am the Truth," for example, might suggest ittiḥād (oneness) or ḥulūl (incarnation), which expression must not be accepted at all, though it might be interpreted in its utterancer's favour, if it is possible, to avoid branding him as a disbeliever or a deviator.\(^{(4)}\) Al-Ḥallāj, Ibn

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1. In Egypt, in the mid-fourteenth century the directive given by the Mamlūk authority to the Shaik al-Shuyūkh affirms that the only way to God is through the Qur'ān and the Sunnah as embodied in the Sharī'ah. The Shaikh "shall censure anyone who inclines towards belief in ittiḥād or ḥulūl or claims that it is possible to attain God by any way other than that defined by the Prophet." (The Sufi Orders in Islam, p.162).

This decree which was issued by the Mamlūks indicates that these subtle ideas of the Sufis, concerning the relationship between God and His creation (see the chapter on the Way according to Zarrūq), were so widely spread among the common people that the authority was obliged to take a strict position towards them. No doubt these ideas continued to exist until the next century in Zarrūq's lifetime. (See: Qawā'id al-taṣawwuf, pp.51-52. Cf. Ibn al-Jawzī; Talbis Iblis, p.164).

2. The famous utterance of al-Ḥallāj. It is very odd that Zarrūq ascribes this utterance to "a certain Sufi." But we have to note that our Shaikh always avoided condemnation of al-Ḥallāj by name.

3. "The distinction between ḥulūl and ittiḥād," says Trimmingham, "is that between the Hallājīan doctrine of al-ittiḥād al-mu'īn, the union of God with the individual (ḥulūl must not be confused with the Christian doctrine of incarnation) and al-ittiḥād al-‘amm al-muṭlaq, the absolute union of divinity and the universe, professed by Hindu pantheists." (The Sufi Orders in Islam, p.162).


4. Qawā'id al-taṣawwuf, p.52.
al-Fārīd, Ibn 'Arabī, al-Shushtarī, and Ibn Sab'īn were no doubt great masters and scholars. Perhaps they reached stages and were in states where they were unable to find adequate words to express themselves in a proper way. In their cases we try to justify their utterances and writings, but not, at any cost, to accept and follow them as they appear outwardly, since this would confuse the common men and may lead to catastrophic results."

An attitude of awe towards Divinity must be preserved at all costs, and the position of Servanthood ('ubūdiyyah), must be observed all the time. Any belief, therefore, or hint which may indicate some sort of comparison or anthropomorphism (taṣād) in respect of God must be rejected at once. This is applicable to any alteration in the words of invocation, like saying "Nothing is but God" (laisa illa Allāh) instead of the authorised form of invocation (there is no god save God. Muḥammad is the Messenger of God). To observe the position of Servanthood, it is mere heresy and innovation to call upon Almighty God; Ya huwa! (O He!), since this is a call of familiarity, discourteous towards the Divinity.


2. A form of invocation adopted by Ibn Sab'īn and his followers. (Cf. D. S. Morgaliouth's article "Shāṭh" in Encyclopaedia of Islam). Zarrūq, in fact, attacked Ibn Sab'īn indirectly by criticising his ḥizb al-salām and others of his ambiguous expressions, on many occasions in his 'Uddat al-murīd and Sh. ḥizb al-bahr.

3. al-Naṣīhah al-kāfiyah, p.16.
Whenever Zarrūq deals with any of the principal Sufi ideas he distinguishes between the real meaning of these ideas and the current belief developed by vulgar conceptions. It was very hard for him as a Sufi to reject all peculiarly Sufi ideas, as it was very difficult for him also as an intellectual Jurist to accept the common beliefs and action held and practiced by the majority of Sufis in his days. Thus he was obliged to take a moderate conciliatory attitude by which he was trying to purify Sufism from vulgarism and show its sublime innermost teachings unmixed with common belief.

The concept of the wallī, for example, was regarded as one of the highest stages to which the Sufi aspires in the Way. He was considered a "friend" of God, a close friend in fact. Zarrūq does not reject the wilāyāt, of course, but he regards the wallī, more or less, a "protegé" of God more than anything else. The wallī must be respected, well treated, and venerated according to the holy tradition (ḥadīth qudsī):(1) "He who hurts a wallī of Mine is declaring war against Me." The problem is, in his opinion, that it is very difficult, if not impossible, to know whether this or that person is a wallī or not, since the wilāyāt is mostly a secret between God and His chosen servant.(2)

1. A Prophetic Tradition in which God speaks in the first person.

2. This notion was a matter of dispute in early Sufism. See the Risālah of al-Qushairī, (p.174), where he discusses it and expounds the different opinions about it.
There is no other alternative, therefore, but to interpret this tradition as meaning all of the believers without distinction. That is to respect all those who believe in God, including the wālīs, since "every believer might be wālī of God according to God's saying: 'God is the Protecting Friend of those who believe.'"(1)

This leads to another Sufi idea which dominated the life of Sufism and was considered as one of the proofs of the wilāyah, namely, the karāmah (a miraculous achievement favoured by God by which the wālī proves himself). (2)

Although the Shaikh accepts the possibility of the karāmāt (plural of karāmah), he has his reservations about them. "The karāmah for the wālī", he says, "is related mainly to the miracles of the Prophet whom he follows, since the wālī, in fact, demonstrates the speciality (ikhtisār) of the Prophecy and the correctness of following the Prophet. That is why he can challenge others with his karāmah."(3) As the Prophets were capable of performing miracles (muṣṣīlmūjīzāt), the wālīs are able to bring about graces (karāmāt).(4) But in the case of the wālī we have to distinguish between two things: the real karāmah and the false one, which is called istidrāj (literally, bringing about by degrees, step by step). The first is

for those sincere, true wāliṣ who follow the Book and the Sunnah, and the second is for the pseudo-Sufis, the innovators. They are aided by Satan, and permitted by God, to drift recklessly in their vanity and error. God has said: "We surely bring them down, step by step, from whence they do not know."(1)

According to our Shaikh, supernatural performances do not prove anything or indicate the reality of any individual. Indeed, its performer should not be followed, for the simple reason of the probability of being caused to slip by Satan. Nor must he be favoured and regarded above other believers because of the privilege of performing kāramāt, since "privilege (mazīyyah) does not necessarily imply preference and emulation (igtidāʾ) is not right save of those who have perfect knowledge and perfect religion."(2) The Shaikh continues to argue: "If privileges are causes of preference one might prefer Iblīṣ to the common believer. Iblīṣ has the privileges of perforating the air, walking on the water, penetrating the earth in a moment, and seeing us from whence we do not see him. (3) It becomes necessary also to prefer al-Khādir to Moses, which is a gross error."(4) Not only

2. Qawāʿid al-taṣawwuf, pp.126-127.
3. Qurʾān; 7:27.
Iblīs, in his opinion, is unparalleled in this field, but many of the disbelievers had been enabled to achieve such praeternatural phenomena, as what happened to the Sāmirī when he threw the jewels into fire and got a mooing calf out of it. The Numrūd, who claimed to be god, flew high in his ark (tābūt), and the arrows he threw to kill the God of Abraham returned blood-stained to him. Zarrūq concludes: "If these extraordinary things appeared to such wicked, misled men, how is it possible for a sane man to be deceived by them?! Abū Yazīd al-Bīstamī said: 'If you see a man flying in the air be not amazed by his action until you see him also fulfilling the ordinances and avoiding what is forbidden.'" (3)

In an ironical question regarding one of the most wide-spread beliefs among the Sufis, i.e., performing Pilgrimage by khutwah (step), Zarrūq asks: "Is it compulsory then for the men of the khutwah, when the road to Mecca is risky, to perform Pilgrimage? And if they have done so do they expect to be rewarded for their action or not?!" (5)

1. Mentioned in the Qurʾān (10:85-97) as the person who made the golden calf for the Children of Israel. According to al-Baīqāwī, his name was Mūsā b. Zafar of the tribe of Samaritans. (See: Hughes; A Dictionary of Islam, p.564).

2. Or Nimrūd, the persecutor of Abraham, in both the Islamic and Hebrew religious heritages. See: Dictionary of Islam, pp.433-434.

3. al-Radd 'alā ahl al-bid'ah, p.15. In 'Uddat al-murīd (p.81) Zarrūq states: "When you see such a man flying in the air, say: 'You are a magician' by your admission and say: 'May God avail us by you' in your hearts. Thus you become safe from his evil and gain his benefit."


5. Sh. al-Waghlīsiyyah, p.
The real **karamāt**, he ends, are two: that of belief in more certitude and contemplation, and that of action in following the right Way without claim or pretention. He who has these two **karamāt** and longs for anything else is like him who is honoured to meet the King in his court, and yet longs rather to serve his horses in the stable.

The real **karamah**, in short, is "repentance without persistence [on the sin], action without abatement, sincerity without consideration [of the result], certainty without hesitation, and trust without weakness. No more than that."(1)

Just as the Shaikh criticises the distortion of the meaning of the **wilāyah** and the **karamah**, so he also rejects the famous Sufi hierarchy(2) on much the same grounds of its secrecy, if not nonsense.

"You hear them saying: so-and-so is perfect and so-and-so is imperfect. So-and-so is at such a stage and so-and-so has attained to such a rank. So-and-so is far away from such and such. So-and-so is a **quṭb** (Pole), while the other is a **shawth** (Succourer), and the third is one of the **abdāles** (Substitutes). All this is only because of shamelessness, lack of courtesy and occupying oneself with nonsense. Whoever says such things is a liar, untruthful and pretender, particularly when he adds to it a denial of certain truthful men or claims what he has nothing of all this. He is the one of whom God says:

'And who does greater wrong than he who tells a lie against God, and denies the truth when it reaches him?' 

The foregoing pages might have given the reader an idea about the criterion of Zarrūq's criticism. He is not against the principle itself, so long as it stands undistorted. But he rejects any misunderstanding, any misinterpretation, and any extravagance. The following two examples may clarify this point, regarding Sufi practice, as the preceding brief discussion above was concerned chiefly with some of their beliefs.

One of the most well known teachings of Sufism is tawakkul (trust in God), meaning to be confident in His care and attention, and to be sure that He does not neglect him who depends on Him. The idea itself corresponds with the full confidence in God and the Islamic faith in His omnipotence and direct role in the individual's destiny. When it is properly held it gives man the courage necessary to face the problems of life and enables him to meet whatever befalls him with a high morale. What worried Zarrūq, and many others, was the distortion of the meaning of tawakkul into tawākūl (indifference). Most of the Sufis held that to be a real mutawakkil (dependent on God) one has to abandon all worldly activities and devote oneself entirely to God Who will take care of one, ensure one's food and

1. Qurʾān, 39:32.
2. Sh. ḥizb al-bahr, p.65.
provide him, by various means, with the requirements of his livelihood. God does not forget His devoted servants, they say, why do we bother ourselves with thinking, work and all the effort, while He is looking after us? (1) This passive attitude towards life did a great harm to the cause of Sufism, in particular, and Islam in general. It has its roots in those ascetics at the beginning of Sufism and is, obviously, a misunderstanding of the 
tawakkul.

The word which Zarrūq used to designate this tenet is 
tajarrud (literally, abstraction or being stripped of worldly affairs = unworldliness). The opposite he calls 
tasabbub (seeking ways and means of living). He was much concerned to clarify both of these expressions:

"To be sincere with God" he says, "the servant must stay where his Lord has placed him. He must not pay attention to anything except what the Lord has directed him to; 
tajarrud or 
tasabbub, riches or poverty without falling in unlawfulness or sin, and without being harmed...

Many who were 
mutasabbib and left work on the grounds of trust were afflicted with begging from the people and

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1. See the Risālah of al-Qushairī, pp.82-88. Al-Qushairī himself holds that "the place of 
tawakkul is in the heart, and seeking external means does not contradict it in the heart, when the servant believes that every-
thing is destined by God. When he finds it difficult, that is because of His will. When he finds it easy that is because He made it so... A man went to the Prophet on his she-camel and asked him: 'O Messenger of God! May I leave it and trust in God?' The Prophet said: 'Hobble it and trust in God'." (p.83).
hoping for their charity. Many who were mutajarrid and sought other means for their livelihood were afflicted with sins and errors."(1)

As satisfaction (ridā) with God in all circumstances is essential for the Sufi, as also contentment (qanā‘ah), the real tajarrud is allowed only when the man has the means to support his life, far from being in any need of others' help. That is "when he finds rest from the people and is safe from them in his belief, and has got a sufficient provision for his livelihood from lawful sources. He who has not got these sources must seek ways (asbāb) of living and go to work."(2)

We have seen in the previous pages how Zarrūq condemned those fuqara’ of the Zāwiyyahs for their laziness. They usually justified their idleness by following tajarrud. But this is not so. "When ‘Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb(2) saw a man worshipping in the mosque he asked him: 'From where do you eat?' The man said: 'My brother brings me food.' ‘Umar said: 'Your brother worships better than you do.' He saw another and asked him the same question. The man replied: 'The people see me in the mosque and they bring me food.' ‘Umar hit him with his club on the head." Then the Shaikh asks: 'Did not the Prophet say that the upper hand is better than the lower hand?'(3) Did not he say: 'It is better for any of you to take his rope and go gathering firewood than begging from the people, some give

1. al-Jāmi‘ lijumal min al-fawā‘id wa al-manāfi‘, p.2.
3. Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim / Zakāh, Kuwatṭa‘ Malik / ṣadqah.
him and some withhold. "(1)

This leads to the idea of ghinā (independence) and faqr (indigence), (2) and the possession of the worldly properties. Against the common conception Zarrūq holds that the possession of these properties does not mean the lack of spiritual virtues. The real mistake is to consider them important and worthy of concern. As this world is like a snake, it is not a matter of skill to kill the snake. The real skill is in holding it while it is alive. (3) And let us not forget that a grateful rich man is equal to, if not better than, a poor man. (4)

The other issue, which was a wide subject of dispute and a point of attack by the opponents of the Sufis, is samā' (audition). While the dogmatic Jurists held that audition (samā') is unlawful and connected it with pagan practice, (5) the Sufis saw it as a means of affecting the feelings, by using music and love of poetry and even dancing and psychomatic techniques as instruments of ecstatic withdrawal. (6)

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2. Or wealth and poverty.
3. Qawā'id al-taṣawwuf, p.106.
4. That is because one of God's attributes is ghinā, while faqr is not. This implies that the former is preferred to the latter. (Qawā'id al-taṣawwuf, p.105).
6. Von Grunebaum; Classical Islam, p.194.
Here we find Zarrūq in an ambivalent position. He does not reject audition altogether and consider it unlawful, since listening to music and singing are not forbidden in Islam, and there were many of the pious who used to attend samā'. At the same time he sets many conditions on its performance by the Sufis, such as avoiding obscene songs, any exhibition of affection, the presence of women, using certain musical instruments, the feigning of ecstasy, and so on. But, as he says, audition is one of the dispensations of Sufism, which may be permitted in special cases in particular circumstances. When the faqīr is attracted to it, and he cannot help attending it, he is allowed to do so, "provided that he keeps to its conditions in time and place, and preserves the obligations of Islam, 'Imān (Faith)

1. Qawā'id al-taṣawwuf, p.80.
2. 'Uddat al-murīd, p.93, Qawā'id al-taṣawwuf, p.81
3. 'Uddat al-murīd, pp.93-94. F. C. Happold states in his Mysticism, after giving numerous definitions of mysticism in Christianity, that "We can put aside immediately all those false types of so-called mysticism such as spiritualism, occultism, and the like... We may also dismiss as inadequate and misleading such phrases as 'All religion is mystical'. Mystical experience may take more than one form. It is, however, a quite definite and recognizable form of experience. Nor need we concern ourselves with visions and states of ecstasy... they are, however, usually regarded with some suspicion and are in no way an essential element in mystical experience." Mysticism, p.38.

4. Rukhsah (dispensation, indulgence) is an aspect of the Sufi life such as everyday necessities, as the holding of private assembly (hadra) at which they hold concerts (samā‘āt) and indulge in jesting (mizā’), and dancing (raqq). It may cover the use of rosary, neglect of mosque attendance, and non-observance of ritual prayer during a period of 'uzlah (retirement). The Sufi Orders in Islam, p.193.
and Ḥusayn (Virtue). Otherwise, audition must be avoided as far as possible.

What infuriated the Shaikh and made him incline to the prohibition of audition was the exaggeration which converted it from a method of effecting the feelings into a means of leisure and amusement. The innocent practice of the old Sufis who sought harmony between the Spirit and the body through the abstraction of melody, became a manifestation of lust and an expression of hysteria which "the souls of the ignorant yearn for, the hearts of the heedless are fond of, the idle prefer, the inactive get benefit from, the reality of the insane is full of, the interior of the maniac responds to, the afflicted men are totally in its favour, the deceived are impressed by, the extravagance of the promoted (mustadraj) is increased, the hearts of the pretenders incline to, the whole of the oriented (mutawajjih) is cut with, and the insight of the seeker is damaged by."

From the Shaikh's point of view, there is no harm in congregating for invocation. There is no harm even in moving with rhythm in invoking God's Names, in solemn

1. 'Uddat al-murid, p.93.
2. Ibid. Al-Junaid used to attend audition then he ceased to do so. He was asked: "You used to attend then you left audition, why?" He answered: "From whom?" They said: "From God." He asked: "With whom?" They said nothing. (Qawā'id al-taṣawwuf, p.84).
3. Qawā'id al-taṣawwuf, p.84.
4. 'Uddat al-murid, p.92.
manner and in a quiet way.\(^{(1)}\) But this should not mean the use of poetry and singing, together with cries and shouts, dancing and whirling, swinging and jumping, because of the manifestation of ecstasy and false attraction.\(^{(2)}\) In reply to the argument that all this stirs up the feelings and moves the emotions, the Shaikh says that all this was practiced by the idolators\(^{(3)}\) and has nothing to do with the pious feelings. "Al-Riyād b. Sāriyah (one of the Prophet's Companions) said: 'The Prophet once preached to us an eloquent sermon. We burst into tears and our hearts were full of fear.' He did not say: 'We shouted and screamed', or 'We hit our heads and our chests', or 'We danced', as many of the ignorant of these days do."\(^{(4)}\)

As it is his custom, to refer to and quote worthy men of the past, Zarrūq recalls here the saying of the famous Companion, 'Abd Allāh b. Mas'ūd, who when he passed by a group of men invoking together in a loud voice, said: "By God! You have excelled the Companions of Muḥammad in knowledge! This was not their practice and they knew better than you."\(^{(5)}\) And when Mālik b. Anas was told about how audition was held he wittingly asked: "Are they

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1. Sh. al-Waghlīsīyyah, p.121 and Qawā'id al-tasawwuf, p.76.
3. Cf. Qur'ān; 8:35 (And their worship at the (holy) House is naught but whistling and hand-clapping).
5.
mad?" Also, Ibn 'Arabī said: "Audition is not acceptable to any Muslim these days, and no master who approves of it and practices it should be followed." (1) Lastly, when Abū al-Ḥasan al-Shādhili was asked his opinion about audition, he said: "I asked my master about it and he said: 'They indeed found their fathers astray. But they make haste to follow in their footsteps.'" (2) (3)

There is no end to the issues in which Zarrūq was a bitter critic. In every page of his 'Uddat al-murīd al-ṣādiq, and in his other works mentioned above, he expresses his anger towards the Jurists of his days and the pseudo-Sufis alike. In his rejection of the occult sciences which penetrated into Sufism through Gnosticism, in his attempt to heal the misunderstanding between the Sufis and the Jurists, in his earnest desire to introduce the Way pure and in conformity with the Law, the Shaikh mainly blames the Folk for the mischievous conclusions drawn by the learned out of their belief and action.

"The claimers in this Way are numerous", he says, "because of its strangeness (gharābah). The minds cannot grasp it because of its subtlety. Its people are often rejected because of its delicateness. Good advisors have warned against travelling in it because of the many

1. Qawāʿid al-taṣawwuf, pp. 76-83.
2. Qurʾān; 37:70.
pitfalls in it, and the leaders of religion have written against its people because of what perverse men have invented in it."(1)

It is impossible here to discuss all that for which Zarrūq reproaches the innovators, or what he considers to be wrong attitudes on the part of the so-called Sufis. But it might be useful to relate here the main issues which were held and practiced by them, and which provoked his wrath, as he categorised them. "Those matters by which the calamity has become universal," as he says, and none of them has anything to do with true Sufism: (2)

1) Sciences of Treasures and Alchemy. 2) Seals (khawātīm), Amulets, Letters and Talismans. 3) Spirituality (‘ilm al-rūḥānī). 4) Astrology. 5) Seeking the greatest Name (al-ism al-‘azam) and the properties of the Names. 6) Seeking the educator Shaikh (al-Shaikh al-murabbi) by aspiration and state (bi al-himmah wa al-hāl). 7) Being deceived by any claimant. 8) Being occupied with useless sciences. 9) Suspicion (waswasah). 10) Claims made in order to attract followers. 11) Cursing those who deny such things, even though they are among the learned men of the nation. 12) Assumption to oneself of the stages of the Way. 13) Hypocrisy in utterances. 14) Delving into problematic issues, such as the Spirit. 15) Exploiting knowledge as a proof for them not against

1. Qawā'id al-taṣawwuf, p.126.

them. 16) Revealing to laymen the subtleties of Sufism. 17) Paying attention to what is supererogatory and the negligence of what is obligatory. 18) Preference of their own interests and benefits. 19) Public audition and the exhibition of pseudo-ecstasy. 20) Seeking blessing among the graves and through the dead.

Two main points remain to end this chapter, and they may help to sum up Zarrūq the critic. The first is his attitude towards other critics of the Sufis, and the second is the nature of his own criticism.

Concerning the first point he writes in one of the principles in his Qawā'id al-tasawwuf: "The books which have been written to refute the Folk are useful in being careful against blunder. But they are not beneficial except on three conditions:

1) Good intention in the author, by belief in the correctness of his ijtihād (independent judgement) and that he meant to prevent expedients (hasm al-dhara 9 i 4), even if he was harsh, like Ibn al-Jawzī.

2) Overlooking his mistakes by interpreting his words in his favour, since the critic is not infallible as the wali also commits sometimes slips of tongue and lapses, because he is not infallible either.

3) That the critic must examine himself first and must not judge all of the Folk by the same criterion. He also must not display their faults to those who are not travellers in the Way, since this shall disturb his
belief. If he must do so, he ought then to reject the saying without specifying its author whose honour must be preserved. That is because to conceal the lapses of the masters is a requisite and to preserve the religion is obligatory. He who advocates God's religion will be rewarded, and he who supports it will be granted triumph. But fairness for the sake of the truth is necessary in all cases."

The second point is that our Shaikh was a constructive critic. His stinging expressions and harsh words were motivated by his vigilant concern for the Sufis and Sufism. When we read *Talbīs Iblīs* of Ibn al-Jawzī, or one of Ibn Taimiyah's pamphlets against the Sufis, for instance, we find that they attack ruthlessly for the sake of attack. Zarrūq's criticism was, on the other hand, full of sympathy and solicitude. In his works he was as much a guide to the right Way as he was a critic of the wrong one. He does not deplore, reject and neglect those deviators. Instead, he offers them the means of ridding themselves of their defects. Here are his suggestions concerning "the means by which innovations will be eliminated", as he says, "and by which its adherents will go back in the right direction." He summarises them under three headings:

"The first is restoring the faith in a way leading to the observance of the Lawbringer's (the Prophet's)

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1. *Qawā'id al-tašawwuf*, p.131.
respect in anything he ordered or forbade, by being perspicacious in religious issues. God has said: "And whatsoever the Messenger gives you, take it. And whatsoever he forbids, abstain therefrom," and He said: 'And let those who conspire to evade His orders beware lest grief or painful punishment befall them,'(2) and He said: 'Say: This is my Way. I call on God with sure knowledge, I and whosoever follows me...'.(3)

The second is the following of God's commandments in everything the traveller encounters in the Way. This cannot be done except by watching his movements in order that he may do nothing without knowledge or the emulation of him who is worthy to be emulated, such as a pious learned man or a pre-eminent faqīh.

The third is knowing the principles of the Way which he follows or intends to travel. They have been prevented from attainment because they have lost the principles. The principles of the Folk are based on the Book and the Sunnah. This is the rule of the Way, its principle and the authority accepted by them all. Abū al-Qāsim al-Junaid says: 'This our science is founded on the Book and the Sunnah. He who does not listen to the hadīth and sit with the fuqahā' and receive his instruction from the learned, will harm whoever follows him, and following him is unlawful.' Al-Shiblī was asked once about Sufism. He answered: 'It is to emulate the

1. Qur'ān; 9:7
2. Qur'ān; 24:63
Messnger of God (peace and blessing be upon him). May God lead us all aright!"

To sum up, it is evident that Zarrūq regards Sufism as a personal Way, confined mostly to the elite, not a common idea and practice to be held by anyone. There must be the proper aptitude and the necessary receptivity in order to travel on this Way. Besides this aptitude there are two important things which are indispensible for any traveller, and his success in passing through it depends on them. Firstly there is the sincere orientation (ṣidad al-tawajjuh), or intention, which controls his inward being and guides him always, from his first step. Without this sincerity nothing can be achieved, and he will be a mere imitator without reality in his belief in the Way and its requirements. Secondly, the traveller has to be fully equipped, or at least acquainted, with correct knowledge of the religious rules which governs his outward being. Being ignorant in religious affairs leads to many mistakes and mischievious results.

1. Cf. Abū Ḥāmid al-Ghazālī; al-Maḥnūn bihi ʿalā ghairi ahlī hi. Zarrūq naturally does not mean to keep the teachings of Sufism secret within a closed circle. He means to preserve the value of these teachings—particularly those delicate and subtle ones—by barring them from laymen who have not the capability to understand their hidden meanings, and who are the cause of much misunderstanding of Sufism. As Jesus said: "Verily I say unto you, Oh ye apostles! Do not hang pearls over the necks of the pigs," or as the Prophet said: "Do not give wisdom (ḥikmah) to the unworthy, lest you be unfair to it; neither veil it from those who are worthy, lest you do them wrong." (ʿUddat al-murīd, p. 88).

2. Qawāʿid al-tagawwuf, p.
Sufism is not a profession. It is not a badge for certain men to distinguish them from other people. It is not for following superstition, without using our reason. It is not mere foolish practice without understanding. Sufism is the climax of man's endeavour to reach the Truth, for the loftiest Example,\(^1\) the sublimity of the Spirit, by attaining to the third complementary sustenance of the servant's existence before the Lord, \(\text{maqām al-} \text{ihsān,}\) in the spiritual realm, after realising in full the other two aspects of this existence; \(\text{maqām al-`} \text{Imān,}\) concerning the correct faith in his heart, and \(\text{maqām al-} \text{islām,}\) regarding his external practice and relationship with his brothers in humanity.

\(^1\) Qur'ān; 30:27. "He is the most sublime Exemplar in the heavens and the earth. He is the All-mighty, the All-wise."
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