

EXPLANATORY NOTES on the text of the "Kitāb al Tawasin"

On the style of the Tawasin:

As the present text shows us. the style of the Sūfī authors, in the second half of the third century after the Hijra, takes on a character which the works of al Muhasibi and Sahl did not have as yet. I deliberately and constantly uses its whole technical terminology. Bt instead of having the formal and chilling posture of an Ibn I 'Arab setting outworn formulas with a jeweller's artistic talent, it betrays "hyperdialectic" tension, passionate and impetuous, marked wit frequent assonances and a division of the sentences that makes for reciting aloud. These characteristics of the Hallājīan style appear for the first time in al Junayd's "authentic opuscles"; this is quit surprising, for al Junayd (+297/910), before this discovery, was regarded a very prudent and discreet mystical author. I give here the first lines of his كتاب

"دوآء الارواح"¹

الحمد لله الذى ابان بواضح البرهان، لاهل المعرفة و البيان، ماخصهم به فى قديم
القدم، قبل كون القبل حين لا حين و لا حيث و لا كيف و لا ابن، و لا لا حين و لا
لا حيث و لا لا كيف و لا لا اين، ان جعلهم اهلا لتوحيد و افراد تجريد، و الدابين

¹ Ms. Shahid 'Ali Pasha 1374, 4th Opuscule of al Junayd.

عن ادعا ادراك تحديده، مصطنعين لنفسه مصنوعين على عينه، القى عليهم محبة منه له، "و اصطنعتك لنفسى، لتصنع على عيني، و القيت عليك محبة منى"² فاجد اوصاف من صنعه لنفسه و المصنوع على عينه و الملقى عليه محبة منه له ان لا تستقر له قدم علم على مكان، و لا موافقة عقل على استقرار فهم، و لا مناظرة عزم على تنفيذهم، الذين جرت بهم المعرفة حيث جرى بهم العلم³ الى لا نهاية غاية غاية... هيهات ذاك له ما له به عنده، فابن تذهبون، اما سمعت علم طيبه لما ابداه و كشفه لما ولاه، و اختصاصه لسر الوحي لمن اصطفاه، اوحى الى عبده ما اوحى "ما كذب...⁴ بالافق الاءلى، شهد له انه عبده وحده... و لا سبق حق بلفظة، و لا سبق حق بلفظة، و لا سبق اهل الحق بنطقة، و لاروية حظ بلمحة، اوحى اليه حينئذ ما اوحى، هياه لفهم ما اولاه بما به تولاه و اجتباه لامر، فحمل ما حمل فحمل اوحى اليه حينئذ ما اولاه بما به تولاه و اجتباه لامر، فحمل ما حمل فحمل اوحى اليه حينئذ ما اوحى⁵...."

Siraj: to the 39th question of al 'Tirmidhi's Khatam al Awliya "wa mā al 'Aql al Akbar,- alladhi qusimat al 'uqul minhu lijami' khalqih?" - Ibn I 'Arabi answers: it is al sirāj (Ms. 'Umumi, majmu'ah No. 1).

I-7°.

² . Qur. XX, 43; then 40; then 39.

³ . Ms. for ~1a71'

⁴ Qur. LIII, 11.

⁵ Qur. LIII, 10.

This theory of Muhammad's pre-existence⁶ seems to have developed very early. Authors of the 4th century after the Hijra give an explicit testimony to this, and it must be admitted that it figured already in the "tafsir" fragments which the Sūfis have preserved under the name of Jā'far Sādiq.⁷

كما قال الصادق "اول ما خلق الله نور محمد صلعم قبل كل شيء، ما وجد الله عزوجل من خلقه ذرة محمد صلعم، و اول من⁸ حوى به القلم، لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله"⁹

The dogmatic development of this proposition is likely to have been the cause of accusations against al Fayyad ibn 'Ali, the author of al Qustas; for having affirmed the "divinity" of Muhammad, some 30 Year before al Hallāj's death.¹⁰ It is possibly also al Fayyad and his group¹¹ whom al Baghdādī¹² has in mind when he speaks in the following terms of 'a group generically called "Mufawwidah:

⁶ Later summarized in the famous hadith SJ y; awl ja.t., J JI ", (cf.al Shaharstani II, 125).

⁷ These fragments, published by the traditionalist Ibn' Ata (+309/922) in his "Tafsir", were incorporated together with the latter in al Sulami's (+412/1021) "Tafsir" which in its turn was re-edited in al Baqlī's "Tafsir".

⁸ Sic. '327.

⁹ In al Baqlī's "Tafsir" on Qur. XLVIII, 81: Ms. Berlin, f° 335a.

¹⁰ Cf. Mas'udi's and Ibn Hazm's texts, in Friedlander, The Heterodoxies of the Shi'ites, 167.

¹¹ And perhaps also the author of the Tawāsin.

¹² Farq, ed. in Cairo, 238.

"زعموا ان الله تعالى خلق محمدا ثم فوض اليه تدبير العالم..."

but the fact that further on 'Ali is being added to God and Muhammad as the "third mudabbir" seems rather to point to a special Shi'ite deformation of the general trend of ideas here under examination. On their side, the Sālīmiyah shared al Hallāj's ideas on this point, since al Kilani accuses them of having said that "Muhammad knew the text the Qurān by heart In already before the date on other fragments related which received to the call".¹³ In al Hallāj's other fragments related to the Mission of Muhammad¹⁴ the pre-existence theory appears less strongly than in the Tawasin: fragment 155 is however characteristic enough, and quite parallel to the "Tasin al Siraj". Al Sulami, tafsir on Qur. XLVIII, 29:

"سئل الحسين (بن منصور) متى كان محمد صلعم نبيا¹⁵ وكيف جاء برسالته؟"
فقال نحن بعد¹⁶ الرسول والرسالة و النبي والنبوة، اين انت عن ذكر من لا ذاك له
في الحقيقة الا هو، و عن هوية من لا هوية له الا بهويته، و اين كان النبي صلعم

¹³ 9th condemned proposition, in Ghunya...I,83-84. Cf. Nusayries. I. c. f° 54a-b and Wasiti and Sayyāri (in Baqli, I. c. on Qur. XXXIII, 56).

¹⁴ Preserved in al Salami's Tafsir (on Qur. III, 138; IV. 103; IX, 43; IX, 129; XLVIII, 29) and in al Baqli's Tafsir (on Qur. XLVIII, 10, fragment 40).

¹⁵ Traditional question. It presupposes the distinction between "nabi" and "rasul", admitted by the Imāmites. denied by the Zahirites (Ibn Hazm) and the Ash'arites. Al Ash'ari's answer was that Muhammad was really "rasul" only at the moment when he received his call (tabsirah, 435).

¹⁶ . Al Baqli adds:

عن¹⁷ نبوت حيث جرى القلم بقوله تعالى "محمد رسول الله" (Qur. XLVIII,)
 (29) و المكان علة و الزمان علة و الزمان علة، فايين انت عن الحق و الحقيقة و لكن
 اذا ظهر اسم "محمد" صلعم بالرسالة¹⁸ عظم محله بذكره له بالرسالة فهو الرسول
 المكين و السفير الامين، جرى ذكره في الازل بالتمكين، بين¹⁹ الملائكة و الانبياء
 عم على اعظم محل و اشرف جمال"

In al Hallāj's thought, Muhammad, being entrusted with the untreated Word (cf. here below I,9, seems to have the twofold generation which the Catholic dogma affirms of Mary, the Mother of the Verbe: pre-eternal conception (Siraj=nabi) and temporal birth (risalah).

From the point of view of the "divine union", al Hallāj did not see it typified in Muhammad, but rather in Moses²⁰ and most of all in Jesus.²¹ Hence, when one day he was urged to comment on Muhammad, he said this²²

¹⁷ . Ms. Azh. Kopr. 91: as

¹⁸ Sic: Kopr. 91; Azh.:

¹⁹ Azh., Kopr. 91:..., 338 Cf. here below, p. 163.

²⁰ Of whom he makes the model of perfect life (cf. the very precise analysis of his doctrine in al Istakhri. 1. c p. 135). In this he follows Muhammad Ibn Al' at Hakim al Tirmidhi (+285/898) who had established the superiority of Jesus

²¹ Khatim al wileyah" on Muhammad "Khatim al nubuwah" (in khatam al awliyā, quest. 13 and 29; cf. Ibn 'Arabi, Futuhāt., I. 206 etc.) Cf. al 'Ijli's and Ibn Hayit's ideas on Jesus (Shahrestāni, ed. 1317, I, 76 and II, 15). It is a development of the Quranic "Jesus"; the Sufis expected the second coming of Jesus as the triumph of the true Islam (Cf. Abu 'Uthmān al Maghribi, in Sulami's Tafsir on Qur. XIX, 32). A text of al Hallaj (Riwayat ..., trans! by at Baqli, in Shathiyat, Ms. Qadi 'askar, f°144a)

و قال رحم "لوم يبحث محمد عم لم تكمل المحجة على جميع الخلق و كان
يرجوا الكفار النجاة من النار و اشد لنفسه، (بسيط)

لم يبق بينى و بين الحق بنيان و لا دليل و لا آيات بهران

هذا تجلى طلوع الحق نائرة قد ازهرت في تلايها

بسلطان..."

i.e.: if Muhammad had not been sent, the proof would not have been complete ... (But now), "between God and me there is no more in between. It is not any guide,²³ it is not any signs²⁴ that are a proof of God to me! Behold, the divine flames are rising, radiant, their blazing shine brings me the proof, glistening, majestic!!..."

II-5^{o25}

"The meaning of all this is not accessible to him who is idle,- who ruins himself, as a sinner who nurses his desires,-as I do, as I

depicts the second coming of Jesus commissioned to establish on earth "the Supreme Prayer, the supreme Alms, the Supreme Fast and the Supreme Pilgrimage." For these Sufis "there, will be no other. Mandi than Jesus," according to the hadith reported by al Shafi'i following Bunan (in Malini, who died about 430/1038, "araba'in", Ms. Zahiriyah, XIII, 121).

²² In Ibn Khamis al Ka'bi, Manaqib.. (320-a-15°); the verses of which I quote here only the first two, figure already in al Kalabadhi's "Ta'arruf", (cf. 143-a-15°).

²³ . A prophet.

²⁴ . "Ayat" means at the same time "verses" and "miracles".

²⁵ 11-2°: farash. Cf. hadith, in Saiyid Murtadha (Ithaf IX, 590-following Asin).

do! And yet, "He" is as I, He is an "I" - do not then go away from me (o my God!) if Thou art "I" . . . ! Al Hallāj here plays upon the double meaning of *اتي* grammatically it means: "it is I", and in philosophy it became the equivalent of Greek "....." (cf. the so-called Theology of Aristotle, ed. Dieterici, 1882, p. 118; its feminine form "انية", is more common: id. p. 189). Compare with al Hallāj's verse which aroused Nasir al Din al Tusi's admiration:

بينى و بينك "انى" ينازعنى²⁶، فادفع بلطفك²⁷ "انى" من البين

In translation: "Between Thee and me there is an "it is I!", and it tortures me with the pains of hell,-ah! for mercy's sake, remove the "it is I" from in-between us!" so that in my heart there be no "in-between" anymore!"²⁸,

II-7°.

The word "ghamada al 'ayn 'an al 'ayn" is strictly parallel with Abū 'Amr al Dimishqi's words:²⁹ "التصوف غرض الطرف عن الكون"

II - 8°

²⁶ Var.: ';>! .;

²⁷ Var.:

²⁸ Criticising this verse, Ibn Taimiya (in Tafsiral kawakib, i.e.) notes that it concludes on the demand for fans (annihilation'. But fan& as "fang fi wandat al wujud", or as fang fi tawhid al rububiya 'an wujud al siwa" is impious, and is "fang 'an 'ibadat al siwa" is reserved to the prophets.

²⁹ In Hujwiri, Kashf al Mahjub, translated by Nicholson, 38.

A parallel passage, taken from another, unnamed work of al Hallāj, is given by al Sulami³⁰ as a commentary on *al Qur. IX 129*:

"لقد جاءكم رسول من انفسكم" -- قال الحسين (بن منصور) من اجلكم
نفسا، و اعلاكم هممة، جاء بالكونين عوضا عن الحق، ماينظر الى الملكوت و لا الى
السدرة و "مازاغ، بصره عن مشاهدة الحق، و "ما طغى" قلبه عى موفقته،

III - 4°.

We find here only a brief allusion to al Hallāj's theory of the vision Moses had of God on Mount Sinai, according to the Quranic account (VII, 139-140), which afforded the Sūfi vocabulary the term *tajalli*, i.e. "local transfiguration of the divine omnipresence under the form of a radiance that is visible to the saint."

Al Hallāj developed this theory in certain important passages preserved by al Sulami's *Tafsir*, fragment 69 (on al Qur. XX, 26; to be compared with the other recension preserve in al Baqli's. *Tafsir* fragment 22, on al Qur. VII, 139), by his *Tabaqat*³¹, and by Ibn Khamis al K'abi's *Manaqib*³² The Sūfis' attention was struck mainly by two points of the Quranic account: 1). by the fact that Moses had asked to see God (VII, 139). and 2) by the fact that God had granted his demand, although the Quranic theology says

³⁰ In *Tafsir*, Ms. Azhar, Kopr. 91. Copied in Baqli, *Tafsir*, Ms. Berlin, f° 127a

³¹ Cf. *Bibliogr.* (170-a-13°). Compare with Makki, *Qut al Qulub II.* 66.

³² Cf. *Sha'rawi, tabagat...ed.* 1305, I, 107; except the piece of verse which is not reproduced.

he is inaccessible. Al Hallāj explained the two points with his theory of the *infrad*³³: Moses, while thinking of the unique God, had unified, simplified and separated himself from the created beings to such an extent that God could show Himself to him only in the perfect isolation of his bare unity:

"انفرد [موسى] للحق و انفرد الحق به"

This theory, which is found sketched already in J'afar Sādiq's³⁴ "Tafsir", took on, in al Hallāj's century, at least two interesting variants: that of al Qāsim al Sayyari's (+342/953) "Tafsir" where Moses, first dazzled, then helped by Jibrāyl and Mikāyl, speaks with God who in the end³⁵ says to him: "انا اقرب اليك منك" I am closer to you than you yourself" and that of the Sālīmiyah which incurred al Kilāni's censure.³⁶ Abū 'Uthmān al Maghribi (+373/983) who exposed it, explains Moses' being dazzled at the moment of the divine "tajalli" with the fact that at that moment he saw "seventy thousand Sinais" appear before him, - "and on top of each of them seventy thousand Moses, all dressed like him,

³³ Cf. here p. 168. Compare theses on Moses of Hasan Basri, Faris and Abu 'Uthman Maghribi (in Baqli, tafsir, Ms. Berlin, f° 100b, 119a, 222a).

³⁴ On Qur. XXVIII, 29: extract, through al Sulami, in al Baqli's Tafsir, Ms. Berlin, f° 284b-285a.

³⁵ In al Baqli, Tafsir, on Qur. XXVIII, 29, Ms. Berlin, 285a.

³⁶ In Ghunya ..., ed. 1288, t. I, p. 83-84: where there is the number "hundred".

with a staff in their hands like him and speaking the same words."³⁷

III - 7°.

Already earlier the Khattābiyah sect seems to have applied to J'afar Sādiq the comparison of the person who is inspired, with the Burning Bush from which rings the voice of God in the same way. Later it is also found with the Druze³⁸, with reference to the Imām. And again with the Sālīmiyah who use it³⁹ in connection with their theory of the "tīlāwah" (recitation of the Qurān) _which seems to go well back to J'afar Sādiq⁴⁰, although al Kilāni condemns it as not orthodox.⁴¹

III - 11°

"(Moses) said: God has made me become reality"....He has testified to my "sirr", but without my "damir". For this is the ".sirr", and that the "reality"!

When saying: God has "testified" to my "sirr", al Hallāj wants to say that God has "realized" it fully, has "personalized" it

³⁷ In al Baqli Tafsir, on Qur. VII, 139, Ms. Berlin, f° 100b.

³⁸ Kitab al Nuqat p. 92.

³⁹ Makki, Qut al Qulub I, 47.

⁴⁰ Makki, ibd, ibd.

⁴¹ 10th proposition of his list, in Ghunya ... T, 83-84. Cf. to the contrary Fakhr al Din Razi's theory (khalq fi mahall) on the Burning Bush of Moses "Kallama Musa bi kalam andathahu fi al shajarah" (c.f. Goldziher, in Der Islam, 1912, p.p. 245-247).

definitively. A Hallājian fragment preserved by al Kalābādhi⁴² underlines this meaning of the verb "shahada":

"التوحيد افرادك متوحدا، و هو ان يشهدك الحق اياك"

The "tawhid" is that you isolate yourself when pronouncing it, and God may thus give testimony of you to yourself!

As to the difference between "sirr" and "damir": "damir" means that "external" consciousness, that shell of the personal being which is expressed by the pronoun "I"; "sirr", on the other hand, is inside "damir", it is the subconscious, the unpronounceable substratum of the "I"

IV-1.

Here appear for the first time those curious mathematical symbols which al Hallāj uses throughout the "Tawasin" (cf e-11°,

⁴² In " Ta'arruf " (143-a-51°). One sees that for al Hallaj the divine union is not a destruction, but a transfiguration of the personality. The Saint has found his true identity. The word quoted by al Kalabādhi is most noteworthy, it is the key to the word of the dying Hallaj, an ambiguous word!" (sic)

"The aim of the ecstatic lies in the perfect isolation of the personal being in the unity where God is for Himself Cf. My comprehensive study as regards the later variants of this word and the curious interpretations to which they have given way (cf. here p. 182).

g-1°, h-4°s 5°, J-1°, 16°) in order to Summarize his mystical definitions.⁴³

This method has, after him, been resumed and developed in ways different from his own: by the authors of the Druze, like the one of the *Kitab al Nuqat wa al Danāyr*,⁴⁴ then by Ibn I 'Arabi⁴⁵ and (1786) in his whole modern school on to Abu al Khayr al Suwaydi (+ 1200/1786 in his commentary on the "Salawat al Mashishiyah", where it served for the diagram of the "qab qawsayn".⁴⁶

IV - 5°.

This obscure verse of the Quran (II,262), so painstakingly elite dated by al Baqli, is also the subject of an allegory in book V, § I Jalal al Din al Rūmi's "Mathnawi ma'nawi" (-F-673/1273)⁴⁷

V - 11 °.

This famous quatrain (in "Bash"), in translation, reads thus: saw my Lord with the eye of my heart,-and said to Him: "who a Thou?"="Yourself!" - It is true, in Thee the "where" goes astray,-

⁴³ In the West I know only Rayon Lull (Raymundus Lullius, 1315) for having had this same idea, in his "Liber de Quadratura ..." (extract in Pasqual, *Vindicice Lullianae*, Avignon, 1778, I, 329: cf. Littré et Heureau, *Hist. litt. fr.*, XXIX, 305.)

⁴⁴ Ed. by Seybold, pp. 17, 64. One sees that like al Hallaj they use the words "nuqta" and "dayra" symbolically.

⁴⁵ In *Futuhāt*, etc.

⁴⁶ Pp. 113-114 at the end of his *Kashaf al Hujub ...*, printed in Cario, with-out date, 125 pages (859-a-1°, b-2°). His diagram has been somewhat summarily reproduced by Blochet, in *Le Messianisme . . .*, 1903, pp. 179-182.

⁴⁷ T. V, pp. 2-3 of the Bulaq ed., 1269

the "where" does not exist with regard to Thee! - For the imagination there is no image of Thy duration which would show "where" Thou art. - Thou art the One who encompasses every "where", onto the "non-where"; "where" then couldst Thou be?"

This quatrain, which in al Hallāj's thought intends to demonstrate that the understanding is incapable of forming any image of the divine presence as it is experienced by the soul, alludes to a hadith beginning with "Raaytu Rabbi bi 'ayni wa bi qalbi" which Muslim Ibn al Hajjaj quotes in his "Sahih".⁴⁸ The four verses, attenuated and watered down, are found in a piece of eight verses which the "Account of It Khafif"⁴⁹ ascribes to al Hallāj. They are partially quoted by 'Abd al Ghani al Nābulusi (+1143/1731)⁵⁰ according to Daud al Oa: sari's extract (+751/1350).⁵¹

Resuming the theme in a section of his "Tafsir al Quran"⁵² (Ibn I 'Arab by the changes he made, pointed out strongly the distant that divides his monism from the Hallājian doctrine:

رايت ربي بعين ربي فقال "من انت؟" قلت "انت!"

"I saw my Lord with the eye (=essence) of my Lord. He said to me: "who are you?" And I answered Him: "Thyself!".

⁴⁸ Following al Baqli, Tafsir, Ms. Berlin, f° 355a (on Our. LIII, 11).

⁴⁹ Compilation of the 5th/11th century by al Kirmani (Ms. London 888, f° 326a, variant f°342b).

⁵⁰ In "Hatik al aster . . .", Ms. Cario, f°36.

⁵¹ In "Sharh Kitab al Hujub", Ms. Cario, f°205b.

⁵² Printed in Cario: 1, 379: in reality it is from at Kashi (+730/1330).

V - 13°.

The same Quranic passage ("dana... fatadalla...") is also used by al Makki.⁵³

V - 25°.

Dawn al lawh: Having reached there, man is in consequence absolutely free. Cf. Abū Bakr al Qahtabi's words: "God has freed us from the slavery of the things since pre-eternity";⁵⁴ and "the spirit" (al rah) has not to endure the shame of (the Creator's) "Be"! (It is therefore uncreated).⁵⁵ Al Hallāj, speaking of man's creation, says: "God has given him a surah freed from the shame of the "Be!".⁵⁶

V - 27°.

On the mim and awha cf. al Hahelāj (in Sulami Tafsir, Qur. X11 I), the Nusayris (l.c. f° 47 a, 10b) and al Junayd (l.c. above, p. 158).

V - 30°.

"Min zanid al 'awrah": I do not know what this phrase means. Is it: "He who strikes from his tinder-box (?) the spark of dawn (?)." Al Baqli has passed over this part of the sentence in his commentary, perhaps on purpose.

VI-7°-8°.

⁵³ In Qut al Qulub II, 78.

⁵⁴ In al Qushayri, Risalah, ed. 1318, p. 39, 1.8.

⁵⁵ In Kalabadhi, Ta'arruf (after fragment 143-a-18'i.

⁵⁶ In Sulami, Tafsir, on Qur. LXIV, 3; comp. Wasiti, in Baqli, I. c., f°210a.

This is why al Hallāj wrote⁵⁷

"اول قدم في التوحيد فناء التفريد!"

"In order to penetrate the "tawhid"⁵⁸, the first step to do is to renounce entirely the "tafrid"!"

And as regards the "tajrid", al Hallāj writes it must equally be renounced when knowledge of the essence of the "tawhid" is aimed at⁵⁹ "Tafrid" may be defined as that negative simplification of the "I" by way of eliminating all foreign elements from it in a complete isolation from every thing, as that "internal" asceticism which is only a preparatory stage leading to the endosmosis of the full divine Unity into the "shell" that has been emptied of the human "I".

"Tafrid" is not be confused with "ifrad";⁶⁰ the Hallājīan vocabulary applies "ifrad" or "isolation" not to the creature, but to the Creator: "ifrad al Wahid ... ", "the isolation of the One", i.e. of the divine essence⁶¹: "ifrad al qidam . . .", "the isolation of the Absolute" from the contingencies.⁶²

⁵⁷ Quoted in at Hujwiri, *Kashaf al Mahjub*, ed. by Nicholson, p. 281.

⁵⁸ One sees how much the Hallājīan concept of "tawhid" differs from the inaccessible "unity of God" in the Quran.

⁵⁹ In al Sulami, *Tabaqat ...* (Cf. Sh'arawi, *Tabaqat ...I*, 107). Likewise Faris, in at Kalabadhi (143-a-51°).

⁶⁰ Cf. here p. 165 and 182.

⁶¹ Cf. here p 165.

⁶² Cf here p. 103.

"Tajrid means life "in seclusion", with the same sense of preparatory asceticism as "tafrid".

VI - 13°.

...whereas I have been summoned a thousand times to prostrate myself; I did not prostrate myself..." There is here a formal divergency between the "Tawāsin" and the teaching of the Sāheimiyah, according to whom Ibheis refused only once, and "prostrated himself when he was invited the second time".⁶³ This same discreet hope for God's mercy was expressed by Sahl al Tustari, the master of the founder of the Sālīmiyah, in his curious "conversation with Iblis" where Iblis forces him to admit that God remains always free to rescind the verdict He has pronounced Himself, and to withdraw an eternal damnation.⁶⁴

VI - 15°.

These words allude to a theory of al Hallāj: the superiority of meditative prayer (fīkr) over recited prayer (dhikr). This theory has been disapproved by the majority of the Safīs⁶⁵ inspite of Fāris who has preserved the following two beautiful verses of al Hallāj:

(بسيط)

⁶³ 4th proposition of the list of condemned propositions by at Kilani, (in Ghunyah.. t. I, p. 83 of the 1288 ed.).

⁶⁴ In Futuhat ..., of Ibn 'Arabi, first ed., II, 737. Cf. another dialogue between Moses and Iblis, in al Ghazali (Ihya III, 34).

⁶⁵ Cf. fragments of al Hallaj in al Kalabadhi (cf. Bibliogr. 143-a-32'-34°).

حاشى لقلبي ان يعلق به ذكرى

انت الموله لا الذكر و لهنى

اذ توشحه من خاطرى فكرى

الذكر واسط يحجبك عن نظرى

VI - 19°.

This comparison alludes to the silk and the rough serge.

VI - 20°.

It appears that the comparison between al Hallāj's "Ana al Haqq" and the "*Ana kbayr minhu*" of Iblis made in his life-time, for Ibrahim ibn Shaybān (+303/915), when asked about al Hallāj's preaching, answered comparing his "da'wa" with that of Iblis.⁶⁶

It is noteworthy enough that the argument brought up here, namely the "futawah",⁶⁷ had already been mentioned and refuted by al Tirmidhi (+285/898) in these terms⁶⁸ regarding Fir'awn:

"ليس من الفتوة ذكر الضايح و ترداده على من اصطنعت الله، الا ترى الى

فرعون لما لم يكن له فتوة كيف ذكر ضيعه و اتريه على موسى"

VI - 22° (Iblis).

⁶⁶ Isnād in Ibn Bakuyeh, *bidayah ...*, in al Khatib and in at Dhahabi. The comparison was made by at Kilani, 'Attar; at Samani (in Kashifi, *Mawahib*. on Qur. LXXIX, 25 and Qari, *Sharh al Shifa*) compares him to the "Ana" of Fir'awn.

⁶⁷ On the precise meaning of this technical term of the Sufis cf. al Qushayri, ed. by Ansari, III, 167.

⁶⁸ In at Baqli, *Tafsir*, on Qur. XXVI, 17: Ms. Berlin, f°274a.

Satan's "fall", - this curious Jewish-Christian tradition which found its way into the Quran, has since early days preoccupied the theologians of Islam. It was felt shocking to think that God had damned him just for having made himself the irreducible champion of God's inalienable unity, which is the fundamental dogma of Islam. And the strange fact that God ordered the angels to worship "another than God",⁶⁹ led to the conclusion that God's will is arbitrary and unforeseeable, that on His part "makr" is always possible,⁷⁰ and that man must obey Him without trying to understand. For, according to the verse of Sūfi Abū Sa'id al Kharrāz (+286/899):

(بسيط)

لو كان يرضيه شيء من بريته، لكان إبليس في غاية ادلال⁷¹

(God does not care for His creatures, - their deeds leave Him unmoved.)

For "if anything could find His pleasures in the! deeds of his creatures,-the act of Iblis would certainly have moved Him to leniency!".⁷² Yet this argument appeared to many an avowal of bare weakness, and so, stimulated also by the Christian

⁶⁹ Adam. Strangeness which the Christian account explains with the fact that Adam is " the prefiguration of the Verb Incarnate": cf. St. Paul, "Hebr." I.

⁷⁰ Even for the saints, prophets and angels (Qut I, 227, 229.230; Qushayri, ed, by Ansari, I, 74, II, 200; IV, 158).

⁷¹ In al Sulami, Tafsir, on Qur. XXN, 28: Ms. Kopr. 91.

⁷² Since his intention was to adore God alone.

contribution to the problem,⁷³ of Satan's "fall", it brought forward other explanations. There had to be "something divine" in Adam wherefore God had proposed him to the angels for adoration and had fixed a legitimate sanction against the rebel who would refuse it. It is Bayān ibn Sam'ān's⁷⁴ theory of the "juz ilahi", a rough draft of al Hallāj's conception of the "Huwa huwa", which seems to have been very close to the theories of the other contemporary Sufis, to that of the Hulmāniyah for example which we know only through a fairly poor attempt at refutation by al Baghdādi.⁷⁵ Adam had to be worshiped because he was created as the particular, real, living and speaking image of the divine splendour. And it is only because pride had dimmed his sight that Iblis denied what was evident. The con-temporary Sufis Abū Bakr al Wāsiti (+ 320/932), Ibn 'A tā (+309/922), Abū 'Uthmān al Maghribi (+373/983) and 'Abd at Rahim al Qannād⁷⁶ were unanimous about it.

Before Sufi thought had taken up this problem, the "fall of Iblis" had already preoccupied the theologians of the Khārijīya and of the Mu'ttzilah. They worried as much repelling the attacks of the Zanādiqah like Bashshār ibn Burd⁷⁷ as giving the matter a full theoretical treatment. Yunus al Samarri, a Khārijīte,⁷⁸ sustaining against the Murjites that faith was not simple knowledge of the

⁷³ i.e. that of the "Murjites", of Abū Hanīfah of al Ash'ari.

⁷⁴ Cf. at Shahrastani, ed. 1317, t. 1, p. 204.

⁷⁵ In Farq, ed. in Cairo, 245.

⁷⁶ In al Baqli, Tafsir: Ms. Berlin, f°89a, 18 lb, f°312b.

⁷⁷ Verse in al Baghdadi, Farq, p. 39.

⁷⁸ In Shahrastani, Cairo ed., 1317, I, 187.

"tawhid" and that without adherence of the heart and without works it remained insufficient, declared somewhat paradoxically that Iblis was at one and the same time a "muwahhid" and a "kafir" (i.e. the contrary of a "mumin").

Likewise, according to the Mu'tazilites, Iblis (and Fir'awn), in spite of being "muwahhidin", were damned as 'fasiqin', which sounds little better than "kāfirin".⁷⁹ The Sālīmiyah, on their side, accused⁸⁰ the Murjites of being unable to explain⁸¹ the damnation of Iblis. In the Murjite view indeed, the knowledge of the one God means essentially to be a believer; which is sufficient for salvation. Nothing certainly shows better than Iblis' damnation how weak the "Murjism" of the majority of the doctors of Islam is from the logical point of view and how - intentionally - poor their concept is of the pre-eminence of faith which they mainly consider an adherence of the understanding alone, to the one God.

f - 22° (continued: Fir 'awn).

⁷⁹ Cf Ibn al Murtada, ed. by Arnold, 1902, p. 49, for the answer of the Mutazilite AbU al Husayn at Khayyat to this subject.

⁸⁰ In Qut al Qulub II, 134.

⁸¹ Cf. in at Kilani, Ghunyah . . . I, 80, a short analysis of the theory of the Murjite Ibn Shabib on this object. It is clear that, for them, Iblis is the exceptional case of a "mumin" changed into a "mushrik" losing in an instant all his knowledge of the "tawhid"; this the Murjites would not admit even for the greatest sinners among the Muslims.

The "iymān Fir'awn", i.e. the question whether the "Pharao's" conversion in extremis, as reported in the book of the Exodus, was sincere is one of the most controvertial issues in Isheam. The respective texts of the Qurān allow a good deal of freedom in the interpretations.⁸² Besides it would be hard to explain why the Quranic discussions made such an unexpected stir, if the question did not mark one of those areas where the monistic philosophy of the Sufi "zanādiqah" had at heart to demonstrate the legitimacy of its claims to orthodoxy.

It is God who spoke through Fir'awn's mouth, Ibn al'Arabi declares in his Futuhāt,⁸³ and it is quite clear - inspite of Sha-'rāwi's statement⁸⁴ - that in his Fusus⁸⁵ he was even more outspoken on the "sanctity" of Fir 'awn.

Fir 'awn was just as pious as Moses, Jalāl al Din al Rūmi stated.⁸⁶

And at Daūwāni (+907/1501), a mystic and theologian, wrote a whole treatise which was widely spread in the libraries of Turkey: Risalah f i iymān Fir'awn.

⁸² Qur. VII, X, 90 etc. Cf the hadith quoted here in al Baqli's commentary, p. 94. The second founder of Ash'arism, al Baqlani was inclined to believe that Fir'awn was not damned, but saved. Al Khālidi was of the same view (al Sh'arawi, Kibrit at ahmar, ed. 1306, on the margin of his Yawāqit, p. 2).

⁸³ First ed., I, 307; IV, 615.

⁸⁴ In Kibrit' al Ahmar . . . , on the margin of the Yewaqit ..., p. 12-13.

⁸⁵ Ed. in 1892, p. 392-97.

⁸⁶ In Mathnawi, trans]. by Tholuck, Ssufismus, Suppl, p. 31.

A passage⁸⁷ of Abū Bakr al Wāsiti (+320/932), the author of *Hā Mim al Qidam*, sketches a theory similar to that of al Hallāj in "Ta-Sin-al Azal":

"... ادعى فرعون الربوبية على الكشف..."

"Fir 'awn at least laid claim to Divinity so that it might be seen openly ..." (contrary to the Mu'tazilites: qadar).

VI - 23°.

"Ana al Haqq": I am the truth.⁸⁸

It is here not the place to expand upon the question whether the word was really pronounced by al Hallāj and on what occasion: whether it was before al Junayd, as it is reported by al Baghdādī ("Farq", 247), and al Harawī ("Tabaqat" . . . cf. 1059-a-21°), or before Shibli, as suggested by a parallel account of the grammarian Abū 'Alī al Fasawī (+377/987) (in "Risālah" of Ibn al Qārih al Halabī). What matters is that al Hallāj's ecstatic doctrine was summarized in this word in the eyes of the later generations.

What meaning does the word "al Haqq" take on here ?

There is no point thinking here of the 11th of the 99 names of God as given in Ibn Mājah's⁸⁹ traditional list, i.e. of one of the real

⁸⁷ In al Qushayrī, *Risalah*, ed. by Ansari' 1,54-55; cf. *tabsirah*, 406.

⁸⁸ Cf. in *Der Islam*, year 1912, III-3, pp. 248-257.

⁸⁹ Sources in *Doutte, Magie et Religion dans l' Afrique du Nord*, 1909, pp. 199-203.

attributes of God, considered from the angle of "truth".⁹⁰ The meaning is that of the pure creative essence, of God's absolute simplicity.⁹¹ Answering a question, al Hallāj made it clear:

سئل الحسين⁹²

"من هذا الحق الذى تشيرون اليه؟ قال معل الانام و الا يعقل"

It is noteworthy that this term "al Haqq" spread among the Sūfis of the third century after the Hijra in the sense of "al Bāri", the Creator,⁹³ i.e. at a time when the Mu'tazilite's drive for adaptation of the Greek forms of thought was at a climax. The Plotinian works, being translated at that time, popularized the idea that the name "al Haqq" must be applied to the Creator⁹⁴ for reasons which in the following century⁹⁵ were summed up by Abū Nasr ah Fārābi in terms which mean that the Neo-platonic thought was become tinged with those shades which were probably due to Hallājian influence.

⁹⁰ As will be held later on by Ibn I 'Arabi (cf. Futuhat ... IV, 90, 171) and 'Abd al Karim at Jili (al Insan al Kamil, ed. 1324, I, p. 40).

⁹¹ The influence of the Mu'tazilite "ta'til" is visible.

⁹² In alSulami, Tafsir on Qur. X, 35.

⁹³ Al Haqq" is constantly opposed to "al Khalq".

⁹⁴ Cf. the pseudo Kitab Uthulujiya Aristatilis wa huwa al qawl 'ala al rubuyah, transl. by al Himsi and al Kindi, ed. Dieterici, 1882, pp. 12, 13, 75, 90, Where this name, unusual at the time, is still a sample epithet: "true"

⁹⁵ In Fusus . . . hikmah, ed. Dieterici, 1892, p. 82, § 55 fl.; cf p. 70, § 16.

"Ana al Haqq"⁹⁶: i.e. "I am the creative Truth",⁹⁷ - this is the supreme expression of sanctity, according to al Hallāj's doctrine.⁹⁸ It is the shout of him whose consciousness makes him discover that he is "deified" by the Spirit of the Verb (Rūh Nātiqah), that he has become the "Hūwa hflwa" - the "shāhid al and" - the Witness whom God has appointed as His representative in front of all the creation, - as the privileged creature that actually symbolizes God "from the inside to the outside" by its radiance, and of which the other creatures, following al Hallāj's own words, are but images and mirrors:

الصوفي...هو المشير عن الله تعالى، فان الخلق اشاروا الى الله⁹⁹

"The Sufi points to God from the inside,¹⁰⁰ - whereas (the remaining) creation points to God at the outside."

⁹⁶ Kindness of Prof. Duncan Macdonald who wrote to me in connection With this word: "For myself, I incline to translate haqq, in this phrase, as "reality". As if "al haqq" was here the equivalent of haqiqah". "Haqq" alone, without the article, may have this impersonal and monistic meaning, but not "al Haqq", which is determined: cf. below, p. 184, and note 1.

⁹⁷ On this word of the famous answer of Orsola Benincasa (+1618), when in ecstasy at Rome, to Cardinal San Severina who was exercising her: "Tu quis e. -Ego sum qui sum" (Santacroce, Madina, V. Gilbert, S. Pepe: in Diego Garzia Trasmiera, Vita della V. M. Orsola Benincasa, Monreale D. Grillo, 1648, II-5 fl138-139).

⁹⁸ Earlier, "al haqq" was generally considered as created, following the teaching of al Tirmidhi (Khatam ... quest. 88, 93), cf. al Junayd, Kitab i al uluhiyah, in Opuscles. Ms. cit., VII.

⁹⁹ In Qushayri, ed. by Ansari, IV, 8: where "Abu (=Ibn) Mansur" must t corrected in accordance with Ibn Khamis al Ka'bi's rectification ("Manāqib ...' Cf. in at Sulami, tafsir on Qur. XXV, 60; LVIII, 22 and in al Baqli, tafsir c Qur. X 36).

A series of Hallājīan texts¹⁰¹ describe the stages of this gradual transformation where asceticism joins with grace by which the human personality is established as a "divinized personal being." The "unification" of the "I" by way of asceticism introduces the human being to a sort of real "endosmosis" of the divine essence.¹⁰² It is difficult not to see in this the "hulul", that "incarnation" of the Creator in the creature, that "intrusion" of the Absolute into the contingent which the Islamic orthodoxy has ever since rejected, by arguments of pure logic as well as by tradition.

Apart from Fāris ibn 'Isa al Dinawari and the Sālīmiyah, none of the Sūfis dared to teach the unmingled pure doctrine of the master for which he had incurred the death sentence. Explanations in great number later proved, or rather profusely attempted to prove, that al Hallāj could not have been a "hululi".

The union of the divine and the human nature (lahut and nāsut), being a proscribed proposition, it was held that at the moment the Sufi pronounces similar words, his personality is annihilated, evaporated, as it were, and God alone speaks through his mouth. This is the thesis sustained by the tayfuri, Khurqāni¹⁰³ (+426/1034), a faithful disciple of Abū Yazid al Bistāmi

¹⁰⁰ For he possesses "al 'ilm al laduni" (explained by al Hallaj in al Baqli tafsir on Qur. XVIII, 64).

¹⁰¹ Cf. My extensive study. In particular, consult the fragments of al Hallaj in al Sulami, Tafsir on Qur. III, 34; XXX, 45 and LXXXVIII, 13, and in al Baqli, Tafsir. on Qur. XXXVII, 7.

¹⁰² Cf. al Hallaj in al Sulami, tafsir on Qur. LXVIII, 4.

¹⁰³ In 'Attār, Tadhkirat al Awliya, ed. by Nicholson, II, 211.

(+261/875). This indeed is quite the Idea al Bistāmi allegedly wanted to express with his famous „Subhāni! Praise be to Me!” But, inspite of the fact that the whole later Sūfi tradition gave up the "hululi" explanation and assimilated the "Ana al Haqq" of al Hallaj to al Bistāmi's "Subhāni", this assimilation is undoubtedly arbitrary. Al Hallāj himself condemned al Bistāmi 's Subhāni! Praise be to Me!" in these terms:¹⁰⁴

"مسکین ابو یزید! در بدایت نطق بوذ ناطق بوذ از جهت حق بوذ محبوب

با یزید دران میان بندارد [که] عارف از حق شنوڈ، بایزید نه بیند و از ان انکار
نکند و آنرا بسیار نه بیند"

"Poor Abu Yazid! He only was beginning to learn how to speak! (He was but a beginner) since (he was speaking) from God's point of view. The ignorant one! He was believing in Abu Yazid's¹⁰⁵ existence in this, whereas the Sage understands this word as related to God; he loses sight of Abu Yazid without having in mind to deny him nor to exalt him!" i.e. with al Bistāmi the union with God was not yet established, it had not yet that transforming power which makes of my "Ana" (I), the "Hūwa" (He) of God, at every instant and in each one of my words !

¹⁰⁴ Persian translation preserved in al Baqli, Shathiyat, f° 159a, with commentary where al Baqli claims to bring the proof that it is an excuse of ; Hallāj for his 'Ana al Haqq!' Ibn al Dā'i (Tabsirah...402), while condemning this proposition, sums it up like this:c ddb j

¹⁰⁵ His own "I" which was not yet deified.

Al Khurqāni's explanation, developed by al Harawi (-♦-481/1088)¹⁰⁶ prevailed nonetheless within the Sūfī circles, whereas the uninitiated were going to be familiarised with al Ghazālī's theory of the illusion of love which intoxicates the mystic and makes him believe, wrongly, that he has been fused with his Beloved One. It is impossible to summarize here the various theories on the "Ana al Haqq" with all their shades such as they were set forth by: al Qazwini (+488/1095),¹⁰⁷ al Shahrāzūrī (VI/XIIIth century),¹⁰⁸ al Baqlī.¹⁰⁹ 'Umar al Suhrawardī (-632/1234),¹¹⁰ 'Attār (+620/1223),¹¹¹ Majīd al Din al Baghdādī (+616/1219)¹¹² 'In al Din al Maqdisī (+660/1262),¹¹³ Jalāl al Din al Rūmī (+672/1273),¹¹⁴ 'Afīf al Din al Ṭilimsānī (+690/1291),¹¹⁵ Nur al Din al Kasīrqi (+690/1291),¹¹⁶ Ibn Ṭaymiyah (+72/he328),¹¹⁷ 'Alā al Dawlah al Samnānī (+736/1336),¹¹⁸ Nasir

¹⁰⁶ In Makatib: extract of his correspondence in ShUshtari, Majālis Muminin, chap. Vt. allegory of the destruction through fire.

¹⁰⁷ In Akhbar al Hallāj, extract in Bustānī, Dayrat al Ma'arif, t. VII p. 1! fl. Cf. Der Islam, III-3, 1912, pp. 249-250.

¹⁰⁸ In Al rumuz. ., al lahutiyah . . ., Ms. 'Umumi, f°15b: explanation by ti "Ishrāq" theory (cf. Ihyā . ., III, 287, IV, 174, 230).

¹⁰⁹ In Shathiyat f° 54a, 58a, 59b, 68a, 70a, etc... and in Tafsir on Qur. I' 165 XLI,53, XXVIII, 10.

¹¹⁰ In 'Awarif . . . ed. 1312, I, 177.

¹¹¹ In Hilaj Nameh, Tadhkirat al Awliya, and Bulbul Nameh.

¹¹² In Risalat fi al Safar, Ms. Koprulu, 1589.

¹¹³ Pieces of verse and dissertations, in Hall al rumuz ... and Sharh hal Awliya.

¹¹⁴ In Mathnawi Ma'nawi II, §8, verse 64; §45, 70; III, §16, verse 99, §81, and in Diwan Shams al Haqayq (Tabriz, 1280) p. 199, verse 17-20

¹¹⁵ In Sharh al Mawaqif.

¹¹⁶ In Tafsir on the Surahs I-LI (Ms. Cairo): t. IV, on Qur. XXV III, 48.

¹¹⁷ In Kitab ila al Manbij, in Jalal at 'Aynyn . . . of al Alusi, pp. 54-61; his fatwas "fi al radd 'alā at Hallāj" (Ms.cit. Zahiriyyah, Damascus).

al Din al Tūsi (+672/1273),¹¹⁹ Ahmad al Rūmi (+717/1317),¹²⁰ Mahmūd al Shābistāri (+720/1320).¹²¹ al Bukhari (+740/1340),¹²² al Jildaki (-F-743/ 1342),¹²³ Ibn Khaldūn (4 808/1406),¹²⁴ Hāfiz (4-791/1388),¹²⁵ al Nasimi (+820/1417),¹²⁶ Jāmi (+898/1492),¹²⁷ al Qāri (+1014/1605),¹²⁸ al Sayyid al Murtada (+1205/1790),¹²⁹ Hamzah Fānsūri of Sumatra.¹³⁰ We are going to give here a summary of only three theological theories on the "Ana al Haqq", but of those whose importance is exceptional: those of al Ghāzālī (+5051 1111), of 'Abd al Qādir al Kilani (+561/1166), and of Ibn'I 'Arabi (+638/1240).

¹¹⁸ In Tafsir on Qur. CXII, 4.

¹¹⁹ In Awsaf al Ashrāf, bāb V, fasl 6.

¹²⁰ In Sharh al Aiba 'in' Ms. Paris, Suppl. Pers. 115, f° 57b fl. In Gulshani Raz, §§XXVII-XXVIII-XXIX,

¹²¹ In Nāsihat al Muwāhhidin, opusculum in Ms. Umumi, 11.

¹²² In Ghayat al Surur. .. alchemist theory of the "tajawhur al nafs" ("trans-substantiation of the soul").

¹²³ In Muqaddamah . . . , ed. in Cairo, 1322, p. 258.

¹²⁴ In Ghazal, 4th piece in bā (Diwan, ed. in Bombay, 1277, p. 12).

¹²⁵ The first poet in Turkish language, skinned alive for having been preaching the doctrine of the "Ana al Haqq!" (cf. Sha 'raw], Yawāqit ... p. 14; and Gibb, A History of the Ottoman Poetry, 1900, I, 344-367).

¹²⁶ According to him, it is by repeating continuously "Ana al Haqq" that al Hallāj succeeded in maintaining himself in the "ittihād", permanent union with God (transl. in Probst-Biraben, in "Initiation", April 1901, p. 39).

¹²⁷ In "Sharh" of 'Iyād's Shifa, Cario 1285, t. II, p. 745.

¹²⁸ In Ithaf al Sadah . . . , commentary on al Ghazālī's Ihya, Cairo, I, 250 VIII, 484; IX, 569.

¹²⁹ Malayan author of the 10th/16th century, Ms. of the collection Snouck Hurgronje ("Mys tiek", f°109, f°115, kindness of Dr. Rinkes).

¹³⁰ In Ihya al 'ulum al din, ed. 1312: I, 27; II, 199; III, 287; IV, 219.

Al Ghazali's Theory:

It bears the stamp of the two contradictory influences which had impressed upon Ghazali's intellectual formation: at first his studies of the Ash'arite scholasticism under al Juwayni, then the research in experimental mysticism under al Gurgāni's disciple al Fārmadhi, which he undertook after a thorough study of the mystical theology of the Sālīmiyah. As a staunch supporter of orthodox "Sifatia" theology, al Ghazālī speaks at first¹³¹ of the reflexion which the splendour of this or that name, of this or that "veil of light" of the divinity produces in the heart of the mystic. It is so bright that the mystic is dazzled and in his illusion cries out: "Ana al Haqq". And al Ghazālī declares¹³² that it can only be an illusion, - dangerous if it is propagated, - an exaggeration of the drunkenness with love, for there can be no real "transfer", no real "transfusion" of the divine essence, or even only of one of its attributes, to the human nature of the mystic. But then, at the end of his life, - in his "Mishkat al Anwar", - he does not mention anymore the divine attributes as really distinct, and he discovers that the essential Being is the "true Light" and that the name of "Truth" (Haqq) designates only the pure divine essence, exclusively, fully.¹³³ And he realizes that the exclusive vision of

¹³¹ Id' and in "al Maqsad al Asna ... ", ed. 1324, pp. 61, 73, 75; cf also Ma'arij al Salikin, Ms. Paris, 1331, f° 160a

¹³² Mishkāt al Anwār...ed. 1322, pp. 17-20, 24; his avowal is surrounded with quite telling reserves borrowed from earlier works to which he refers (p. 18-19).

¹³³ Criticized in "Bahr al Ma'ani" of Muhammad al Makki al Tshishti (Ms. Paris, Suppl pers. 966, f°132a fl.)

this divine essence exclusively, fully. 451 And he realizes that the exclusive vision of this divine essence into which the mystic plunges with the shout "Ana al Haqq" is the supreme stage, the absolute "fardāniyah"¹³⁴

'AM al Qadir al Kilani's Theory

The Sainly founder of the Qadiriya order, great Hanbalite preacher and patron Wali of Baghdād, reconciled respect for the judges' verdict with admiration for al Hallāj¹³⁵ in this way:

"طار طاهر عقل بعض العارفين من ذكر شجرة صورته، و على الى السماء خارقا
صفوف الملائكة، كان بازيا من بزاة الملك بخيط العينين بخيط و خلق الانسان
ضعيفا" () فلم يجد في السماء ما يحاول من الصيد، فلما لاحت له فريسه "رايت
رمى" ازداد تحيرة في قول مطلوبه "فاينما تولوا فتم وجه الله" ()، عاد هابطا الى حفيرة
خطة الارض لمكسب ما هو اعز من وجود النار في قعور البحار، تلفت بعين عقله فما
شاهد سوى الاثار فكر فلم يجد في الدارين مطلوبا سوى محبوبه، فطوب فقال
بلسان سكر قلبه "انا الحق" ترنم بلحن غير معهود من البشر، صفر وى روضة
الوجود صفيرا لا يليق لبني آدم، لحن بصوته لحننا عرضه لحتفه، و نودى في سره "يا

¹³⁴ In al Shattanawfi " Bahjat al Asrār ... " Ms. Paris, 2038, f°72a: isnad through al Basāyhi! cf. abridged recension, id. f°98b.

¹³⁵ Allusion to the "Burning Bush" of Moses (Our. XX, 14); cf. above, PP. XX, 81.

حلاج اعتقدت ان قوتك و حولك بك؟ قل الان نبابة عن جمع العارفين "حسب
الواجد افراد الواحد!" قل "يا محمدا! انت سلطان الحقيقة! انت انسان عين
الوجود! على عتبة باب معرفتك تخضع اعناق العارفين، في حمى جلالتك نوضع
جباه الخلائق اجمعين!"

Once upon a time "the reason of one of the Sages flew away, out of the nest on the tree¹³⁶ of the body, and rose up to heaven, - where it joined the Angels. But it was only a falcon from among the falcons of the world. His eyes were hooded with the hood "Man has been created weak." Now this bird did not find anything in heaven which he could hunt for, but suddenly he saw the prey "I have seen my Lord"¹³⁷ shine before him, and his dazzle grew when he heard his Purpose say to him: "Wherever you turn your faces, you will have God in front of you. Gliding down, the falcon then came back to put in safety on earth what he had taken, - a treasure more precious than fire in the depths of the oceans; - but he turned and turned in vain the eye of his reason, - he, only saw the traces (of the divine dazzlement). So he returned, but could not find, throughout the two worlds, any other purpose than his Beloyed One! Joy roused him and he cried out "Ana al Haqq", I am the Truth ! expressing thus the drunkenness of his

¹³⁶ Hadith, cf here p. 167.

¹³⁷ This word which al Hallāj indeed pronounced before dying, has perhaps also another, less orthodox meaning (cf. here, p. 165 ; however, 'Isa al Qassār assures us that the witnesses who heard him, took it in good part (in al Sarrāj, Luma', Ms. London 7710 f°164b: "hasb al tawhid, ifrad al wajid!)

heart. He intoned his forbidden to the creatures, he chirped from joy in the song in a way Garden of Existence, but such chirping was unsuitable to the sons of Adam. His voice struck up a melody that made him liable to die. And in the secret of his conscience he heard ring these words: "Oh Hallaj, did you believe that your power and your will depended only on you? Declare now on behalf of all Sages: the purpose of the ecstatic is to isolate (ifrad) the unique one perfectly! Say:¹³⁸ Oh Muhammad you are the proof of the reality! You are the very man of the essence of existence!¹³⁹ On the threshold of your Wisdom the Sages bow their necks! Under the protection of your Majesty the creatures all together bend their heads!"

On another occasion when al Kilani was asked why the same word "Ana" (I) had earned such difference in treatment to Iblis who was damned, and to al Hallāj who became a saint, he declared: It is because at Hallaj, when he uttered it, intended only the annihilation (fanā) of his "I" . . . whereas Iblis, when he pronounced it, intended only survival (baqa) of his "I".¹⁴⁰

Ibn'l 'Arabi's Theory

It springs from the monistic interpretation which is already so plain in the famous Qasidah put by the poet Abu al Hasan 'Ali al

¹³⁸ Embryo of the "Insan Kamil" theory (cf. here, p. 140); i. e.:

¹³⁹ You alone are the "Huwa huwa!"

¹⁴⁰ Isnād through 'Ali al Hid, in al Bandaniji (--after 1092/1681), "Jami' al Anwar ...": in al Kilāni's biography (cf. Bibliogr. 1335-a-1°).

Musaffar (+after 600/1203)¹⁴¹ into the mouth of al Hallāj¹⁴² after he had been executed:

(بسيط)

verse 1) قل لآخوان رأونی میتا * فبکونی اذ رأونی

حزنا

verse 2) اتظنون بانی میتکم * لست ذاک

المیت و الله انا! - -

verse 6) فاهدموا البيت فرضو قفصی¹⁴³ * و ذروا

لكل دفینا بیننا - - -

verse 7) و قمیصی مزقوه رمما * و ذروا الطلسم

بعدی و ثنا - - -

Ibn'l Arabi formulates his theory in his *Fusus al Hikani*.¹⁴⁴ It is an application of his theory of imagination; the images which man

¹⁴¹ Author of the *Kitab al Madnun al Saghir* wrongly ascribed to al Ghazālī Ibn 'Arabi, *Musamarat...*, ed Cairo, I, 158-159).

¹⁴² Cf. the anonymous legend of al Hallāj with Title “al Qawl al Sadid fī arjamant al Arifal Shahid” (Bibliogr., 970 a-14 °).

¹⁴³ Ibn 'Arabi makes an allusion to this verse in his *Tajaliyyāt al Ilāhiyah*.

¹⁴⁴ 6 of the Istanbul edition, 1891; cf also Ms. Wien other opusculum with title al Bā, Ms. Paris, 1339, f19a

creates in his dreams, have a real existence, exterior to his thought, when this man is a Sage ('arif). since his will remains in a continuous adherence - in God - to that creative force which is the divine imagination. Yet, whereas the divine thought cannot forget any detail of its Creation, the thought of the Sage, whose memories are divided into five distinct planes¹⁴⁵, forgets necessarily some of them, so that the affirmation of the Sage "Ana al Haqq" is only partly correct, since he has not the whole creation present to his mind at one and the same time.

One may wonder why it is here supposed that God can be aware of His divinity and affirm it to Himself only by thinking the totality of His creation. It is because according to Ibn l'Arabi "creator" and "creation" are two terms united in a necessary relationship. Ibn Taymiyah, his adversary, observed it well: "Ibn l'Arabi claims ... that the existence of the contingent creatures is the essence of the Creator's existence:

"ان وجود المحدثات المخلوقات هو عين وجود الخالق"¹⁴⁶

This is how Ibn l'Arabi refutes al Hallāj's "Ana al Haqq", "I al the Truth (=God)!" as follows:

"No, I am the mystery¹⁴⁷ of al Haqq, - I am not al Haqq i Rather: I am Haqq¹⁴⁸"; - there is a difference between the two of

¹⁴⁵ Theory of the five *hadrāt*.

¹⁴⁶ Extract from Alusi, *Jalal al aynayn...*, p. 57; comp. *Fusus...*, 103.

¹⁴⁷ "Sirr" is the subconscious, the subliminal.

us. I am God's essence in the things! What then is there visible' in the creation if not the essence of both of us?"

بل انا حق ففرق بيننا * انا سر الحق ما الحق انا

ظاهر في الكون الا عيننا * انا عين الله في الاشياء فهل

'Azazil: This name is of Hebrew origin and designates in the Old Testament¹⁴⁹ the "scapegoat" loaded with Israel's sins. In the "Book of Henoch"¹⁵⁰ it becomes synonymous with Satan and Thus. In Muslim tradition it serves as the general name of the Angels who are "nearest" to God.

VI - 31° - 32°.

We had attempted a translation of this complicated passage in Revue de 1 'Histoire des Religions¹⁵¹ before the discovery of al Baqli's recension. As was seen, the latter, even though thoroughly different from our first text, made it possible for us to improve both reading and metrical scanning. The two recensions are too divergent to allow any common translation. Besides, the above translated¹⁵² commentary of al Baqli carries the "gamut of tints" of the words of the second recension, if not their literal meaning.

¹⁴⁹ Levit. chap. XVI, Numb. XXIX, 34.

¹⁵⁰ Ed. by Gfrorer, Prophetæ vet eres pseudoepigraphi, 1840, chap. VIII IX, 5 X, 6; XIII, 1. ' 1;

¹⁵¹ T. LXIII, No. 2, p. 204.

¹⁵² Cf. Above, p. 96-97.

With regard to the first one, we would today suggest the following translation:

31. - "Iblis' attempted move to withdraw (from the presence of God) was in reality thwarted by God's rigid immobility which kept . him-bound. Iblis remains exposed to the twofold glow of his bivouac fire-place and of the clarity of divine knowledge.

32. - Drought sucks the sterile soil of the stagnant waters, his eye is swollen with tears that dry up immediately in a circle, the "sharham" of his gaze keeps it fixed and immobile, his alleged wild beasts are but the scarecrows with which he has tried to ward off the wild beasts, and if he does not see any longer, it is because he has blinded himself by his own fault and has entangled himself in his own deceits !"¹⁵³

VI - 33°.

¹⁵³ This paragraph is entirely different in al Baqli's recension: "The place where Iblis is dying from thirst, is precisely the place which flows from abundance,- his jagged (notched?) knife has the stealthy smile of a lightning,- the "sharham" of his gaze keeps it steady and immobile,- his moves to go away are shams,- he is blinded by his own deceits!"- It is to be noted that "barhama" is founded in Lisan al 'Arab, ed. 1303, XIV, 314; whereas "sharhama" and "fathama" are unique, As regards the feelings here expressed,- compare the word of al Hallaj who, while walking through a lane of Baghdad, was surprised by the exquisite sound of a flute; "It is Iblis who weeps over the world" to put us to a test... (al Tanukhi, nishwar 56b;- cf. al Sarrāj Masari al ' Ushshaq, ed. 1301, 98-99).

This exclamation: "Oh brother!" is also found in the contemporary esoteric initiation literature, as that of the Druze¹⁵⁴ and that of the "lkhwān al Safa".¹⁵⁵

VI - 36°.

Following, like the Mu'tazila, (compare Hujwiri, *Kashf* . . . , 239), the Christian theory, al Hallāj admits the superiority of the angelic nature over that of man. In the orthodoxy the idea prevailed that the angels do not have the "knowledge of the names" which Adam was given (cf. already in Ibn 'Alī, in al Sulami *Tafsir* on Qur. VII, 11).

VII - 1°.

The term "mashiyah" is here the equivalent of "irādah"¹⁵⁶ and of "qadā"¹⁵⁷: it signifies "divine will", in the meaning of „decree” of the divine prescience, of predetermination of the good or apart from the Sufi circles, seems to be Christian origin.¹⁵⁸

The series of the four created "dawāyr" that encircle the divine essence, i.e. "mashiyah, hikmah, qudrah and malumah

¹⁵⁴ In *Kitab al Nuqat.*, ed by Seybold p 76.

¹⁵⁵ Passim, cf. also in opuscles of al Junayd (1. c II; letter to Yusuf ibn al Husayn al Rāzī).

¹⁵⁶ Cf above, p. 145. Al Mashiyah, i, e. "al ma'lum". says al Hallaj (in al Sulami, *Tafsir*; on XLVII, 21 and LXII, 4).

¹⁵⁷ Cf. al Haliāj fragment in al Sulami, *Tafsir* on Qur. XXI, 43.

¹⁵⁸ Cf. the old Arabic version of the "Gospels" used by 'Abd al Masih ibn Ishaq al Kindi in his "*Rislah ila al Hashimi*" (written towards 210/825? ed. in London, 1880, p. 156), where „;t;:'.i,5 z] stands for the Greek of Matth. VI, 9. Compare also in this text the dualism of " Malkut .., Mashlyah" with that of " amr ...iradah ' .

(azaliyah)" are close to two similar enumerations which are found in two fragments of other works of al Hallāj.¹⁵⁹

VIII - 3°.

"Fi hi" and "'an hu": opposite terms familiar to al Hallāj, the former meaning "al jam", the latter "al ihtijab" (cf, al Sulami's Tafsir on LI, 21 (at the end).

IX - 2°.

This passage is of capital importance for the Hallājian doctrine¹⁶⁰: "The pronoun of the "tawhid" (is it the word "hūwā" in

,a>'I Ll Ji Qur. CXII, 1?) represents any variable subject, i.e. not _pa God, but the saint who bears witness to Him. The tawhid then does

not consist in the subject of this pronoun, but it is on the contrary the very sign of the pronominal expression, its "h": ah ! If you cry "alas", the echo answers "al !" It is thus that God rouses (through "hulul") the "huwa" in us". This is a deduction strictly proper to the Hallājian theory of the "huwa huwa" (cf. p. 130), and 'Umar al Suhrawardi, who knew it, condemns it in connection with the significance he gives to the "Ana al Haqq"¹⁶¹:

¹⁵⁹ In al Sulami, Tafsir, on Qur. VII, 1; XXIV, 35 (170-d-41°, 108°).

¹⁶⁰ Recension B appears purposely attenuated.

¹⁶¹ "' Awarif al Ma'arif", ch. IX; on the margin of "Ihya", Cairo ed. 1312, t. I, p. 177,

"...انه يقول ذلك... على معنى الحكاية عن الله تعالى... و لو علمنا انه

ذكر القول مضمرا الشيء من الحلول و رددناه".

This passage can be compared with c-11 here above: it shows the same procedure of grammatical analysis applied to mysticism.

X - 6° - 15°.

The reasoning displayed in this very subtle dialectical passage is closely related to the argumentation found further on in k-3° - 13°, 8° The matter is here to drive the "tanzih" to its extreme limits by showing that none of the known definitions of the "tawhid" (dogma of the divine unity) is acceptable. A sentence of Abū 'Ali al Husayn ibn Ahmad al katib al Misri (+after 340/951), a friend of the Hallājīan Qādī Abū Bakr al Misri, clearly shows in how far the "tanzih" of the Sūfīs differs from that of the Mu'tazilites:

المعتزله نزهو الله من حيث العقل فاختطوا، و الصوفية نزهو الله من حيث

العلم فاصابوا.¹⁶²

"The Mu'tazilites have driven the "tanzih" to the extreme of "withdrawing "from God"¹⁶³ the intellect¹⁶⁴, - in which they have committed a sin; - the Sufiyah have driven it to the extreme of

¹⁶² In Sulami, reproduced in Sha'rawi, Tabqāt .., Cairo ed., 1305, t. I, p.111.

¹⁶³ Seclude from the definition of the pure divine essence.

¹⁶⁴ The faculty of discerning between good and evil; for God, they say knows only the good: the Intellect is created, not uncreated.

withdrawing from God the knowledge¹⁶⁵, - in which they have been true Here is a tentative translation of these paragraphs:

7. - "If, in order to define the one God. I say: "It is He, He"¹⁶⁶ will be told: This is not "Tawhid".¹⁶⁷

8. - And if I say: "But the "tawhid" of God is positively sure!" I will be told:¹⁶⁸ "Positively!".

9. - If I say: The "tawhid" means affirming God outside time¹⁶⁹., I will be told: Does "tawhid" therefore mean "tashbih"¹⁷⁰), So, if no "comparison" is admissible to say what God is, - then the "tawhid" (according to you) is nothing further but a word without any relationship to the God whom it has for its aim. Nor with any relationship either to the created things (since you put Him "outside time"!)...

10. - If I say: "The "tawhid" is the word of God" (kalam), I will be told: "So, is the "kalam" an attribute of the essence"?¹⁷¹

11. - If I say: "The "tawhid" states that God wants to be one" it will be objected: "all right! If the divine will (iradah) is an

¹⁶⁵ The piecemeal gradual knowledge of the good and evil deeds, for the "Mashiyah" is created, not uncreated (cf. here p. 148 and 152).

¹⁶⁶ On the "Huwa huwa" cf. here p 130

¹⁶⁷ For the third person singular does not designate exclusively God.

¹⁶⁸ Ironically.

¹⁶⁹ I. e.: in the absolute,

¹⁷⁰ "Comparison", because "time", which is created, is brought into the definition.

¹⁷¹ "Sifat adh Dhat"; and not an "attribute of the act" (sifat al fi'l), a hotly controverted question in those days (cf. p. 128).

"attribute of the essence", how is it that its volitions (inuradāt) are created?"¹⁷²,

12. - If I say: "God is the "tawhid"! but only for the divine essence", - (I will be told): is then the divine essence the "tawhid"?

13. - If I answer: "No, the "tawhid" is not the divine essence!" - then do I (not) pretend that the "tawhid" is created?

14. - If I say: "Name and what is named are one and the same", - then what can the word "tawhid" still mean?¹⁷³

15. - And if I declare¹⁷⁴: "(The tawhid" means that) "God is God", - do I (not) say that God is "the essence of the essence" and that "it is He, He"?¹⁷⁵

Elsewhere¹⁷⁶, al Hallaj explains why one cannot say of God's pure essence: "it is He, He!":

I.-

"قيل للحسين (بن منصور) ا هو هو؟ قال بل! هو وراء كل هو و هو عبارة عن ملك

ملا يثبت له شىء دونه"

¹⁷² The particular will of God Mashīyan=ira.dah in al Haliāj) is therefore created and is not acceptable as a definition of the "tawhid",

¹⁷³ It has no:'raison d'etre" any more.To "call off the dogs".

¹⁷⁴ Proposition which was refuted at the beginning.

¹⁷⁵ In al Sulami, Tafsir, on Qur. CXII, I.

¹⁷⁶ Every definition is exclusive, restrictive.

Al Husayn (ibn Mansur) was asked (in connection with the "tawhid": "is it He, He? - No! God is beyond every "He"! For "he" is an expression indicating simply¹⁷⁷ a (limited) thing of which it is thus asserted that it possesses nothing but itself.¹⁷⁸

II. - In his 'aqidah' which al Qushayri put at the beginning of the first chapter of his "Risaldh"¹⁷⁹, at Hallaj once again points out the logical insufficiency of the name "هو" as applied to God: *وان قلت هو فالحاء و الواقه* "If you say (of God):"He!" (Huwa), the two letters (ha and waw) of which this word is composed, are but of his creation...¹⁸⁰ This same argument figures also in the 'aqidah which is found at the beginning of his Kitab Nafi al Tashbih.¹⁸¹

¹⁷⁷ Whereas God possesses everything.

¹⁷⁸ Ed. by Ansari, Cairo, 1290. I, pp. 45-48.

¹⁷⁹ For al Hallaj as for Ibn 'Atā the letters are created,- the Arab alphabet is created, contrary to the Hanbalite view. With a laconic irony quite characteristic, al Hallaj one day motivated his thesis thus:

"i)2' !.0 J J,;-(,., G,..V9 J)1 r,..L\$y a.,"

(in Kalābadhi, Ta'arruf, 143-a-8°); i. e.: whoever is obliged to use letters for speaking, has a cause (for doing so), and whoever breaks up his speech in series (of clauses), does it by compulsion'; the first proposition plays upon the root "alla" and the ' ta'llil", disease, i.e. the grammatical weakening of a consonant ; the second puts up the thesis - which was resumed by the Ash'arites,- that the divine Word is an indivisible totality which cannot be dissolved in a sequence of model clauses in order to express itself full:

¹⁸⁰ Published by al Kalabadhi: cf above, p. I.

¹⁸¹ Is it perhaps a cipher of the corresponding letters of the alphabet, in numerical values represented like this: dl j d a d b jl It does not appear to make any sense,

On the "tanzih at tawhid" al Sulami has preserved in his "Tafsir" (on Qur. LVII, 3,5) fragments of al Hallaj which carry the same doctrine as this "Ta Sin".

X - 21°.

This strange figure is composed; of two numerical formulas with twice the letter "ha" (explained in the next paragraph), and thrice the syllable "la" ("No!") written below. I have not been able to elucidate these two formulas: I think they are numerical, for the signs they carry, manifestly come from the Arabic notation, especially in the second formula which can easily be transcribed like this: $9/5$ 59,182. But what is the kind of arithmetical operation which the mathematicians of those days used to represent in this way? I do not know, and I also do not see how it could symbolize¹⁸² the "fikr al khāss" in opposition to the first formula which is the symbol of the 'fikr al 'amm".

The two formulas are nonetheless very interesting, for they seem to have given origin, very rationally, to certain groups of signs which the later Süfls continued copying without understanding them, and which in the end they used as a cabalistic talisman, while in fact they were the remains of a secret alphabet¹⁸³ which I have been unable to decipher. A group of ten similar formulas are

¹⁸² Cf. the alchemists ; compare the alphabet of the sirnāyā, in Ms. Paris, 2675 f°29a, 36a, 37b, 42b; cf. the "letters a lunettes", of Jewish origin (A. Danon, Amulettes sabbatiennes, J. A. P. 1910, p. 6, No 2, p. 14).

¹⁸³ F°5a, title quoted under No 416, in Tahir Beg's list.

among others found at the end¹⁸⁴ of a manuscript¹⁸⁵ of Ibn l'Arabi's "Kitab al Qutb wa al Imāmayn wa al Mudalajayn" where they play the role of talismans. They should not be confused with other symbols, far more common, which the later Süfls¹⁸⁶ borrowed from the astrological symbols of the seven planets.¹⁸⁷

XI - 1°.

The fundamental proposition of this "Ta Sin", namely the idea that Wisdom, the only adequate knowledge of the divine essence, can only be by "infusion" from God Himself, with a wholly divine operation which "deifies" man in some manner¹⁸⁸, is categorically_ summarized in three Hallājīan fragments preserved by al Kalabadhi:¹⁸⁹

"لا يعرفه الا من تعرف اليه، و لا يوحدہ الا من توحد له، و لا يؤمن به الا من لطف له، و لا يصفه الا من تجلى سره"

"Nobody knows Him, if He has not given him wisdom; - nobody professes Him as the real One, if He has not unified him; nobody believes in Him, if He does not grant him the grace; - nobody

¹⁸⁴ In "Majmu'ah", No 2, 'Umumi Library, Istanbul.

¹⁸⁵ Cf. Ms. London, 888' f°342a.

¹⁸⁶ Cf. Doutte, Magie et Religion dans l'Afrique du Nord, 1909, p. 155-156.

¹⁸⁷ This proposition is closely related to what the Western scholasticism used to call the "information".

¹⁸⁸ In "Ta'urruf" (143-a-13°. 16°, 42°).

¹⁸⁹ Bringing the "subconscious" forward to the domain of reflection.

describes Him, if His radiance has not shone upon the most secret aspect of his conscience."

"ان الله عرفتنا نفسه بنفسه، و دلنا على معرفه نفسه بنفسه، فقام شاهد - المعرفة بالمعرفة، بعد تعريفه المعروف بها".

"It is God Himself who makes Himself known to us by Himself,- it is through Himself that we are led to the knowledge of Himself,- and it is He who within the Wisdom remains the Witness of the Wisdom, after He has made it known to the one whom He has made a Sage."

"المعرفة احضار السر بصنوف الفكر، في مراعاة مواجيد الاذكار، على حسب توالي اعلام الكشوف"

"Wiedom' ! It means the gradual introduction of the most intimate conscience into the categories of thought¹⁹⁰ with the help of the inner illuminations that result from the ritual prayers,- .following the unint interrupted progress in teaching the successive revelations".

XI-3°fl,

3° He who says: "I know God because I stand in need of Him (= because I desire Him)!"- How can he, who says he is in need, know Him who IS in fulness? - 4 He who says: "I know Him

¹⁹⁰ Cf. above, p. 153.

because exist! " An absolute cannot co-exist with another absolute! - 5° He who says: "I know Him, since He is unknown to me!" - Agnosticisfi is all a veil, - Wisdom dwells behind these idle veils,- 6° He who says: "I know Him by His Name!" The name cannot be separated from what is named, when this is uncreated ... 7° He who says: "I know Him by Himself!" - This means splitting into two the object one pretends to know... - 8° He who says: "I know Him by His work!" This means to be satisfied with the work without caring for its creator - 9° He who says: "I know Him by the very imperfection of my apperception of Him !" If it is imperfect, it is intermittent, and how can an intermittent knowledge comprehend its whole object? - 10° He who says: "As He has taught me, so I know Him! This is (discursive knowledge),- it means coming back to prescience; but prescience is distinct from essence¹⁹¹; if therefore it differs from it, how can there be comprehension? - 11° He who says "I know Him as He has described Himself! This means being satisfied with the Tradition, without any direct contact .-12° He who says: "I know Him by twofold definitions"! But the object one seeks: to know, is unique (simple),- it does not admit of any localisation nor division into parts.- 13° He who says: "The known Object knows Itself! "This means to confess that the Sage remains conditioned by the fact of his very difference (with his object), whereas the object (at the same time subject and object) keeps knowing Itself in Itself!- 18° He who says: "I know Him in His reality!" In saying so, he puts his own "being" higher than the Being he claims to know,-

¹⁹¹ Cf. above, p. 153.

for he who knows a thing in its reality, exceeds it in potentiality. as he knows it."

This hard pressing dialectic thus destroys a certain number of propositions famous in those days. The sixth article has, as its target, the Hanbalite thesis of God's identity with his names as revealed in the Quran.¹⁹² It clears the ground for the belief in the "ineffable name" (ism a'zam). The seventh article destroys the hypothesis that "Huwa" can be a name of God, and prepares for the doctrine of the "Huwa Huwa". The eighth is an application of the "tanzih" (cf. above, p. 103). The ninth is directed against a proposition traditionally ascribed to the caliph Abu Bakr¹⁹³ and prepares the condemnation of relativism (follow-

ing article). The tenth is analyzed further on. The eleventh pleads for mystical experimentation against the traditional formalism of the schools (cf. al Hallaj's discussion with al Nahrjuri in Mecca¹⁹⁴ The twelveth denounces the insufficiency and the purely negative character of Abu Said al Kharrāz's¹⁹⁵ contemporary theory that "God could be defined as being the only object of knowledge that unites simultaneously two contradictory aspects (diddayn): "first, last, hidden, manifest ..". The thirteenth concludes on the necessity for the "subject to be

¹⁹² Cf. al Kilani, Ghunyah..., I, 54, where Ibn Hanbal's propositions are found.

¹⁹³ Cf. Qushayri, ed. by Ansāri, IV, 148; Ibn l'Arabi, Futuhat ..., III, 149 ; stani, ed. 1317, II, 111-112.

¹⁹⁴ In Akhbar al Halldj,, Ms. London, 888, 1^o 340b-341a.

¹⁹⁵ Cf. in Ibn 'Arabi, Fusus ..., ed. 1891, pp. 94-95 • adopted in the aq;dah" of al Haliaj as expressing the preliminary "tanzih".

consummated in its object" so that there may be perfect knowledge, without solving the objection of "hulul" and "imtizāj".

k - 10°.

"Prescience leaves the essence aside". Convinced of the relativism of the sciences, al Hallaj clearly takes the position of superiority of the Wisdom (ma'rifa=gnosis) over discursive knowledge ('ilm). Other Sufis of his tend "pmafr fa'. For, because use of the "scriptural" and antinomy "textual" ilm" the word "'ilm" embraces at the same time character of Islam¹⁹⁶, the totality of objective rational knowledge and the prescriptions of the Law, the written form of the Quran which according to the pure Sunni doctrine is the essence of religion. This is why the more Spurude among the Sufis, unlike al 298/910) the superiority of Halilrn" over P maerifah"¹⁹⁷:

with al Junayd (

قال الجنيد "العلم ارفع من المعرفة و اتم و اشمل و اكمل، تسمى الله بالعلم و لم تسمى بالمعرفة، و قال "و الذين اؤتو العلم درجات ثم لما خاطب النبي صلعم خاطبه باتم الاوصاف و اكملها و شمالها للخيرات فقال "فاعلم انه لا اله الا الله " و

¹⁹⁶ Cf. the famous hadith on the "ink of the scholars weighing more Gha2al1 (by the . tears of the saints and the blood of the martyrs!" which al Ghazali (Ihya..., 1,6) surprisngly ascribed to Hassan Basri.

¹⁹⁷ Al Baqli, I.c. on Qur.XLVII< 21; comp. with al Junayd's Kitab al Mithaq (Opucs., Ms. Cit. VI).

لم يقال "فاعرف" لان الانسان قد يعرف الشيء ولا تحيط به علماء، و اذا علمه و احاط به علما فقد عرفه"

Al Hallaj's solution was a consequence of his attitude in the controversy on "aql", reason. Al Kalābadhi, disciple of the Hallājīan Faris ibn 'Isa, speaking of the common opinion of his masters on reason, says it can be summed up with the word of Ibn 'Ata, the friend of al Hallāj¹⁹⁸:

قال ابن عطا "العقل آلة للعبودية
* لا للاشراق على الربوبية"

"Reason is the tool of our serving condition as creatures,- it does not illuminate what is divine." As a result, what happens when our reason attempts to penetrate the divine essence, a thing for which it is not meant? Sahl al Tustari (+283/896), al Hallaj's first master, had already explained it in vigorous terms¹⁹⁹:

سئل (سهل) عن العقل قال

¹⁹⁸ Notes on Tawasin 57 Ibn Taghribirdi, Nujum ... II, 340-341; al Qushayri IV, 12, 184! Jami, Nafahat .., ed Less, 210). He was indeed Great Qadi of Egypt in 322-324, 324-325 and 333-334 (cf. al Kindi, Histoire des qadhis d'Egypte, ed. Gottheil, 156, 157, 159, 164).

¹⁹⁹ In Abu al Qasim at Saqali (+about 390/999), Kitab al Sharh ... min kalam Shal, Ms. Kopr., 727, chap. V, end. - Following at Nahāwandi, the book was written in Qayrawan and was chosen from Sahl's book of the "thousand sentences" which Abu al Hasan Ibn Salim, the founder of the Sālīmiyah, had collected directly.

"هو العافية سعة، ان العقل اذا لم يصرف في ذات الله صار اعدا عدوا لله

عزوجل"

"Reason means good health (of the spirit), but it is also able to make it ill! (How?) Yes, because once reason realizes that it cannot change itself into the divine essence, it becomes hateful and starts hating God..." The same is said by al Hallaj in the two often cited verses²⁰⁰:

(بسيط)

اسرحه في حيرة يلهو

*

من رامه بالعقل مستر شدا

يقول من حيرته "هل

*

شاب بتلبيس اسراره

هو؟"

"He who, in his search for God, takes Reason as his guide,- will find himself "left grazing"²⁰¹ in a perplexity wherein he has to take delight. In the depth of his conscience ambiguity troubles him,- and dazzled, he finally wonders: "is it He?"-

Only two centuries later the monistic Sufis, on account of their eclecticism, would combine the Greek conception of the primacy of Reason ('aql) with the data the Sufis had

²⁰⁰ In al Kalabadhi, Taarruf (143-a-12°). In another prose fragment (id, 143-a-17°) al Hallaj resumes this idea and gives it greater precision.

²⁰¹ Like grazing cattle.

experimentally established about the Spirit (rah). Elsewhere²⁰², al Hallāj curiously proceeds by Way of elimination in order to clear the idea of "ma'rifa" of any idea of knowledge ('ilm): all branches of knowledge amount to the knowledge of the Qur'an which, in its turn, amounts to the knowledge of the separate letters²⁰³, - which again amounts to the knowledge of "Lam-alif" (the absolute negation "No!")-which amounts to the knowledge of the Primordial Point (al nuqta al asliya),- which amounts to the Wisdom (Ma'rifa), knowledge of the "mashiya",- which resides in the abyss of the divine "He".

This theory of the nuqta asliya is remarkable,- for it coincides with the "nekuda rishuna", "primordial point" of the Jewish Cabbalas²⁰⁴ and the "kha" of the Sanscrit philosophers whom al Biruni studied.²⁰⁵

XI-14°.

"Bayda...sawda.-Cf. the Gospel text, Matthew V, 36. XI-15°.

Qalb: the heart.- In mystical language this word combines two data: one material, the visceral "lump of flesh", as al Hallaj says here (mudgha jawfaniya),- and the other supernatural, the "point

²⁰² . In al Sulami, Tafsir, on Qur. VII, 1, etc. - al Hallaj's text in Ms. London, 188, f° 336a, which carries the sentence aiy..., JI ajl i; Jh 1,, JI y ~gJlr« yi 4ii;JI cf. Ms. Sulaymāniya; 1028, XXV, f° II.

²⁰³ Written at the beginning of certain surahs.

²⁰⁴ . References in Etheridge, Hebrew Literature, London 1856, p. 319.

²⁰⁵ Tarikhal Hind, text p. 169, transl. I, 333. Of the " sr" it says this ccvl aS~ aaJ! ~ .° 'L A,J 111,,J V1 -alai I (HI.... ea ••ala'e,1»

of impact of the divine gaze" (mawd'i nazar al Haqq)²⁰⁶. Following the Sufis, the heart of flesh, the regulating organ which records the variations of our general organic condition (and equilibrates, as we know, the rhythm of the blood circulation which keeps life temperature constant),-this hollow insensitive muscle is also the organ of our contemplation; and at the time of ecstasy, the divine impact takes a direct hold of the life pulsation (slackening of the heart throb). It is most note-worthy that in the Arab literature which places emotional repercussions generally in the liver or the bile,-the mystical authors alone have been speaking of the heart. Their "experimental knowledge of the hearts", "ilm al qulub"²⁰⁷, has thus been built on dialectical premises which had been laid down by various Mu'tazilites: Abul Hudhayl (farq, 110), Ibn Hāyit (farq, 256), Ashwāri and Futī; and by Ibn at Rawandī (cf. shāmil, Ms. Quoted, f°14a).

XI-22°.

This passage which describes the final state of the Sage in terms intended to remain obscure, must be brought together with e-35°-39. But this time we are missing the help of the commentary. The word ".Aii recalls al Shibli's ".asli939 (aa J

²⁰⁶ Al Hallaj and Faris, to Sulami, Tafsir on Qur. XXXIII, 72 etc; comp. with Ghazali, Ihya ... III, 11.

²⁰⁷ Cf. the Malikite Turtushi's (+520/1126) criticism of al Ghazali; " ... he strayed from the path of the 'Ulema, ... he devoted himself to those who are masters in the knowledge of the hearts" ... " (in Salami, Radd... II, 355).

1,~ ,,,>I; L:j..,"²⁰⁸ "He who finds his joy in the 'tawhid', is a loser".
XI-23°.

"Wisdom has its likeness only in Itself,-God has His likeness only in Himself,- and yet there is likeness between Wisdom and God, between God and Wisdom Wisdom is not God, God is not Wisdom,-and yet there is of God but Wisdom, and of Wisdom but God,- there is of Wisdom but God! There is of God but God! This passage where al Hallaj affirms the identity, in the ultimate approach, between Wisdom and God,-seems to be composed for "dhikr" recitation (litany)²⁰⁹ "Lā Huwa Hya!"

XI-25°.

"The Creator remains the Creator,- and creation is creation"•such is the ultimate difference which the transforming union and the most perfect "deification" cannot efface, since it is the sign of love;²¹⁰ al Hallaj points it out clearly also in another passage²¹¹:

"لا فرق بيني وبين ربي الا بصفين، وجودنا منه و قومنا به"

²⁰⁸ In Qushayri, Risalah, ed. Ansari, IV, 49-50.

²⁰⁹ It might be that the observation which was made of the "dhikr" of the Hallajiy consisting of the repetition of " Lah He, Lah Ha Lah Hi" '- derives from there (in Le Chatelier, Confreries Musulmanes du Hedjaz, 1887, p. 33, No. 1; source unknown)-.

²¹⁰ Made manifest by the creation of God's "nāsut", the "huwa huwa", which unveils the secret of God's love, according to al Hallaj (cf. above p. 130)

²¹¹ In Ibn Dihdār Fani (+1016/1607) " Sharh Khutbat al Bayan " Ms. Ind. Off. Pers. 1922, f° 207a.

"(At the summit of sanctity) only two differences exist any further between God and us: they are that our existence comes from Him, and our substance subsists in him."

In a few other most remarkable fragments²¹² al Hallaj notes expressly that there can be no question of admitting any mixture, any illogical and impossible inclusion of the divine Absolute in our contingency,- of the Divinity (ilahiyah) in our flesh (bashariyah); the very word hulul, "infusion", which we have used so far by way of approximation, betrays his real thought²¹³; in the strict sense of his words, God literally annihilates the creaturely attributes of the creatures which He sanctifies, and resuscitates them providing them with His own divine attributes²¹⁴ this is the "essentialisation", tajawhur²¹⁵ of the saint who ultimately is personalized by a miracle of grace, "Such as he is in himself, eternity finally charges him"²¹⁶

Conclusion

The text which explains best the doctrine of the Hallājīan sanctification is the prayer al Hallaj recited in prison" the day before his execution on Monday 25th March 922 (23rd Dhu al qada

²¹² Ms. Sulaymānīyah, 1028, XXV, f°s 10-11.

²¹³ Al Hallaj discards it in a fragment preserved by at Sulami, Tafsir, on Qur. LVII, 3 (end). Ja'far Sādiq admitted it (Baqli, tafsir, f° 265b).

²¹⁴ In at Sulami, tafsir on Qur. XXX, 45.

²¹⁵ The word comes from at Jildaki.

²¹⁶ . S. Mallarme, Le Tombeau d'Edgar Poe.

309). There are few texts more certainly contemporary, and whose importance is better ascertained than this by the variety of recensions available:

(follows the diagram of 5 recensions, pp. 202-205)

Note: This text figures in an account of al Hallaj's last moments. It comes from his "khadim" Ibrahim ibn Fatik²¹⁷ who had been imprisoned together with him. Ibn Fatik is a well known Sufi²¹⁸. If certain accounts put under his name and related to al Hallaj, can be questioned²¹⁹, the one before us is undoubtedly contemporary, since it was published by the great Qadi ibn al Haddad al Misri who died in 345/956,²²⁰ highly esteemed by the Shafi'ite judiciary and the Sufi circles as well. In translation the text reads thus:

²¹⁷ Hamd, son of at Hallaj, notes expressly in the introduction of the account published by Ibn Bakuyeh (in *bidāya*).

²¹⁸ Abu al Fatik Ibrahim Baghdadi ibn Fatik ibn Sa'id: son of a Syrian Shaykh of Bayt al Maqdis (Jerusalem) (following Harawi, "Tabaqāt ..". cf. 1059-a-27°). "Rawi" accepted by al Qushayri (Risala, ed. Ansari, IV. 4, 97). Not to be mistaken, as it has happened, with his brother Abu al 'Abbas Ahmad, surnamed al Razzaz (Jami, *Nafahat* ..., 170).

²¹⁹ In Akhbar al Hallāj Whereas the isnad of the recension borrowed by al Khatib from al Sulami carries one single intermediary between al Sulami and al Misri: Abu Bakr Muhammad ibn at Qaffāl al Shāshi, a recognized Shafi'ite jurist who died in 365/975)Haji Khalifah, ed. by Fluegel, II, 639; III, 413.

²²⁰ Abu Bakr Muhammad ibn Ahmad al Kināni al Misri, surnamed "ibn al Haddad" and "Abu al Hadid"; born in 264/877, died in 345/956; jurist, disciple of al Tabari, then Shāfi'ite, author of the *Kitab al Furst'*: this book was Wide spread among the Sufis (cf. Ibn Khallikān, ed. Bulaq 1859, I, 163; *Fihrist* 1, 235;

"Here we are: in Thy Witness²²¹ we must seek refuge, and clarity in the splendour of Thy glory, so that Thou mayest make manifest of Thy power and Thy decree that which Thou hast willed. For Thou art the God in heaven, and the God on earths!²²² O Thou who irradiatest (through the universe) according to Thy will as on the day when Thou tookst on the Most Beautiful Form" (the human form)²²³ in order to irradiate, according to Thy decree: the Form which then carried²²⁴ the Spirit, only Witness to Thee by knowledge, eloquence and freedom!

Since then, it is (me), Thy present Witness, that Thou hast invested with the "essential personality".²²⁵ And just as of old Thou closest my essence to represent Thee (among men),-when,-grace, after grace,- Thou causest the recognition (and proclamation) of my essence as the supreme Essence²²⁶, - and as I showed the realities of my knowledge and of my miracles,- and in my "Ascensions" rose up to the thrones of my pre-eternities, from where I spoke the word that became creative of my creations²²⁷

²²¹ Theory of the "Shahid, cf. p. 140

²²² Recension B here adds: "O Thou hast unrolled the course of the ages and hast given shape to the space, - before Thee the substances humiliate and the accidents prostrate themselves, - from Thee the bodies receive coherence and the laws exemplarity!"

²²³ In Adam. Cf. Qur. XCV, 4.

²²⁴ B: who was ...cf. al Kharraz, I.c. above, p. 132.

²²⁵ The "Hawa huma", the power to say "he" in the name of God.

²²⁶ Allusion to the "Ana al Haqq!" (note 2 of Baqli, p. 205).

²²⁷ From the point of view of his supernatural existence (as man) as being his own "creation", "barriyah" (note 4 of al Baqli, p. 205).

So, now, I am here (again at Thy disposal),- to be exposed in public,

executed, put to the gallows and burnt,- my ashes being scattered to the winds and the waters,

For, to speak the truth, a single grain of this aloe (—my ashes)²²⁸ which is going to burn for Thee, lays for the future temple of my apotheoses²²⁹ a foundation larger than the largest mountains!"

The rhythmical antitheses of this prayer which, in front of the pre-eternal splendours of the "Rūh" - Join the graces of the election so intimately with the hardships of the impending execution, - resound like an echo of words that were spoken in *supremae nocte coenae* (=in the night of the Last Supper), within sight of the Cross, according to the Gospel of Saint John: "Now, Father, it is time for you to glorify me with that glory I had with Thee before ever the world was."²³⁰

²²⁸ Under the root "الينجوج و الافجوج العود الذى يتبخربه": نج. Lisan al 'Arab, ed. 1300, II. 198). The wrok is used in a hadith on Adam's fall from the Paradise (fc. Ibn al Athir, Gharib al Hadith, s.v.)

²²⁹ My body risen, transfigured and glorious.

²³⁰ John VXII, 5. compare with S. Paul, Ephes., I, 4: (= Before the world was made, he chose us in Him, to be holy and spotless, and to live through loe in his presence.).