

ANALYSIS OF THE DOCTRINE OF SUFISM IN JĀMI' AL-HAQĀ'IQ BI TAJRĪD AL-'ALĀ'IQ

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Abstrak

Artikel ini mengemukakan analisis tentang doktrin tasawwuf yang dikemukakan oleh tokoh sufi terkenal al-Ghazālī dalam risalahnya Jāmi' al-Haqā'iq bi Tajrīd al-'Alā'iq. Risalah kecil ini membentangkan satu formula ringkas tetapi padat bagi para sālīk untuk memulakan perjalanan kepada Allah SWT sehingga mencapai tujuan daripada pengembaraan keroharian tersebut. Sebagai seorang tokoh berpengalaman dalam perjalanan kesufian ini, al-Ghazālī mengemukakan pedoman berguna untuk dijadikan ikutan bagi mereka yang berminat melibatkan diri dalam tasawwuf ini.

Introduction

Al-Ghazālī is well known as a prolific writer in many fields of knowledge. Many works of his can be found on many topics and subjects including Sufism. In the field of Sufism, it is commonly known that al-Ghazālī has contributed his works in different ways of writing and presentation for different level of readers. This article tries to highlight the contents of one of

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his works which is normally attributed to him that is *Jāmi' al-Ḥaqā'iq bi Tajrīd al-'Alā'iq*. This treatise is explicitly on the discussion of doctrines of Sufism. There are several manuscripts and two published editions of this work.¹ For my own research, I have used the text of *Gāmi' al-Ḥaqā'iq bi Tagrīd al-'Alā'iq*, edited by M. J. Casas y Manrique.²

Method of Presentation and Style

Al-Ghazālī in the *Jāmi'* begins his work with the introduction, explains the aim of his writing which he says, because "[those who claims to be] ascetics (*mutazahhidīn*) are not occupying themselves with seclusions (*al-khalawāt*), denying and disowning [them], [but they] are busying themselves with social relations (*al-mu'āmalah*)". For that reason, he wrote this treatise which is an "explanation of seclusion and its truth and to reveal the secrets of solitude (*al-'uzlah*) and its intricacies". Furthermore, he wants "to explain and to expose their benefits and their special features".³

Throughout the *Jāmi'*, it can be seen that the organization of the sub-titles is systematic because al-Ghazālī discusses the topic in some kind of logical arrangement. For example, he begins his discussion with the topic of "Repentance (*al-tawbah*)" as a First Chapter, perhaps because it is regarded by most of

¹ The *Jāmi' al-Ḥaqā'iq bi Tajrīd al-'Alā'iq* is numbered No. 24 in GAL by Brockelmann (1937), Supplementbande, Leiden, Vol. 1, 422, p. 748, and No. 3898 in *Kashf al-Zunūn 'an Asmā' al-Kutub wa al-Funūn* by Ḥajī Khalīfah (1858), Vol. 2, Istanbul, p. 510. The latter mentions it as only "*Jāmi' al-Ḥaqā'iq*". According to C. J. Tornberg (1849), *Arabic, Persian and Turkish Manuscripts of the Library of the University of Uppsala*, Uppsala, p. 262, a manuscript of it can be found in Uppsala, no. 402, and he mentions that the treatise deals with ethics. The treatise was printed and published in Lucknow in 1869 and was republished in Uppsala in 1937, edited by M. J. Casas y Manrique (1858). Cf. R. Gosche, *Über Ghazzalis Leben und Werke*, Berlin, p. 252, no. 8; 297, no. 22; Maurice Bouyges (1959), *Essai De Chronologie Des Oeuvres De al-Ghazali*, Beirut, p. 88, no. 72; cf. 'Abd al-Rahmān Badawī (1977), *Mu'allafāt al-Ghazālī*, Kuwait: Wikālah al-Matbū'āt, pp. 251-254.

² Uppsala, 1937, pp. 3-58.

³ *Jāmi'*, p. 3.

the Sufis as the first and important state on the mystical path.⁴ Then he goes on to discuss the “Repentance of the disciple” where he explains in more detail the importance of repentance to the disciple who travels on the mystical path. The development of ideas from the beginning to the end of the treatise is smooth and clear and there is no repetition in any of its discussion.

Al-Ghazālī, like the other Sufi writers, uses the same method when he also adduces Qur’anic verses and Traditions of the Prophet which are related to the discussion of the subject matter, either to elaborate his ideas or as a corroboration. Sometimes, he uses a simple analogy to give an example for some of his ideas. He chooses animals and objects for his illustration. For example, he writes that God knows everything, including the weight of a tiny ant.⁵ Al-Ghazālī also compares the repentance which he considers as the first of the stations to the ground for a building and the heart with the mirror which can be polished to obtain its purity.⁶ These

⁴ Cf. Abū Ḥamid Muḥammad al-Ghazālī (1982), *lhyā’ ‘Ulūm al-Dīn*, Vol. 4, Beirut: Dār al-Kitāb al-‘Arabī, p. 3; *idem*, *al-Arba’in fī Uṣūl al-Dīn*, Cairo: Dār al-Fikr al-‘Arabī, 1344, p. 143; ‘Alī ibn ‘Uthmān al-Hujwiri, *Kashf al-Mahjūb*, *The Kashf al-Mahjūb: The Oldest Persian Treatise on Sufism*, (tr.) R.A. Nicholson (1991), New Delhi: Taj Company, p. 294; Abū al-Qāsim ‘Abd al-Karīm ibn Hawāzin al-Qushayrī (1959/1379), *al-Risālah al-Qushayriyyah*, Cairo: Muṣṭafā al-Bābī al-Ḥalabī Wa Aulādih, p. 49; Abū Naṣr Sarraj al-Ṭūsī, *al-Luma’*, (ed.) ‘Abd al-Ḥalīm Maḥmūd and Ṭāha ‘Abd al-Bāqī Surūr (1960), Cairo: Dār al-Kutub al-Ḥadīthah, p. 68. Al-Ghazālī in his *Jāmi’* also writes: “That repentance is the origin of every station (*al-maqām*) and the foundation of every station and the key of every state (*al-ḥāl*)”, *Jāmi’*, p. 6.

⁵ Al-Ghazālī writes that the sixth meaning of the repentance of the ordinary people (*al-‘awwām*) “is weeping at dawn in the presence of the Omnipotent Sovereign (*al-Mālik al-Jabbār*) because of fear of sins and of the insolence which evāporates him in the presence of the Watcher (*al-Muḥaymin*) from whom nothing is concealed and from whom the weight of a tiny ant is not hidden”, *Jāmi’*, pp. 4-5.

⁶ *Jāmi’*, pp. 6, 21. This illustration of the heart as a mirror is also given by al-Muḥāsibī, Abū ‘Abd Allāh al-Ḥārith ibn Asad al-Muḥāsibī, *al-Ri’āyah li Ḥuqūq Allāh*, (ed.) ‘Abd al-Qādir Aḥmad ‘Aṭā (1970), Cairo: Dār al-Kutub al-Ḥadīthah, p. 91.

kinds of analogy are very familiar to his other works.⁷

In this *Jāmi'*, al-Ghazālī quotes many sayings of the Companions and the early Sufi figures containing eighteen quotations from the Companions and outstanding Sufis. Of these quotations, three are attributed to al-Junayd, and two each from al-Manṣūr al-Ḥallāj and Abū 'Uthmān al-Ḥīrī.⁸ Also included are quotations from Rābi'ah al-'Adawiyah, Yaḥyā ibn Mu'ādh, Dhū al-Nūn al-Miṣrī, al-Antākī, Abū Sa'īd al-Kharrāz, Abū Yazīd al-Biṣṭāmī, al-Naṣrabādhi and 'Āmir ibn. 'Abd Allāh which appear once each.⁹ 'Umar al-Khattāb is also cited once and 'Alī ibn. Abū Ṭālib twice.¹⁰

From these scattered quotations, it appears that the author is very selective in choosing the views and ideas for his discussion on Sufism. He only cites outstanding Sufi figures, almost all of whom are cited in other works on Sufism, including the other works of al-Ghazālī himself.¹¹

One of the interesting points in the *Jāmi'* is that it contains a number of poems concerning mystical experiences. It cites three poems which are attributed to the famous woman Sufi Rābi'ah¹² and another three which are attributed to al-Manṣūr al-Ḥallāj.¹³ There are four unattributed poems but al-Ghazālī

⁷ *Ihyā' 'Ulūm al-Dīn*, Vol. 3, p. 12; Vol. 4, p. 213; Margerat Smith (1944), *al-Ghazali: the Mystic, a Study of Life and Personality of Abu Hamid Muhammad al-Tusi al-Ghazali, Together with an Account of His Mystical Teachings and an Estimate of His Place in the History of Islamic Mysticism*, London: Luzon Press, p. 150.

⁸ For al-Junayd, cf. *Jāmi'*, pp. 42, 47, 50. For al-Manṣūr, cf. *Ibid.*, pp. 7, 43. For al-Ḥīrī, cf. *Ibid.*, pp. 12, 42.

⁹ For Rābi'ah and Yaḥyā ibn. Mu'ādh, cf. *Ibid.*, pp. 10-11. For Dhū al-Nūn and al-Antākī, cf. *Ibid.*, p. 12. For al-Naṣrabādhi, cf. *Ibid.*, p. 13. For al-Kharrāz and al-Biṣṭāmī, cf. *Ibid.*, p. 42. For 'Āmir ibn. 'Abd Allāh, cf. *Ibid.*, p. 50.

¹⁰ For 'Umar, cf. *Ibid.*, p. 47. For 'Alī, cf. *Ibid.*, pp. 25, 47.

¹¹ Most of these figures are also cited by al-Ghazālī's predecessors like al-Muḥāsibī in his *Ri'āyah*, al-Makkī in his *Qūt al-Qulūb*, al-Qushayrī in his *Risālah*, and al-Sarrāj in his *al-Luma'*.

¹² Cf. *Jāmi'*, pp. 10, 11.

¹³ Cf. *Ibid.*, pp. 13, 14, 43.

does not give any indication that they are his own.¹⁴ In fact, the style of citing the poems is not alien to the Sufi writers because many of them were poets and their spiritual experience are often expressed itself in poetry.¹⁵ Nevertheless, throughout the *Jāmi'*, al-Ghazālī does not mention any work by other writers nor any other work written by himself as he usually does in his writing.

Fundamental Ideas of the *Jāmi'*

Since many subjects are elaborated in this treatise, they will be discussed together with a consideration of their relationship to each other for the purpose of an analysis of the fundamental ideas of the work and they are as below:

1. On Repentance (*al-Tawbah*), Belief (*al-I'tiqād*) and Pure Devotion (*al-Ikhlās*)

The *Jāmi'* quotes the popular Qur'anic verses and cites the popular Traditions on repentance. It seems that al-Ghazālī accepts the other Sufis' view that repentance is the origin of every station (*maqām*) and the key for every state (*ḥāl*).¹⁶ The *Jāmi'*s gives definition of repentance as "recourse and returning repentantly to God".¹⁷ It divides repentance into two parts. The first part is the repentance of the common people, which has three stages: the repentance of ordinary believers and the elect of the sinful, the repentance of the ordinary sinful people and the repentance of unbelievers. The second part is the repentance of the elect which has two stages: the repentance

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 10, 12, 13.

¹⁵ Margaret Smith, *op.cit.*, p. 82.

¹⁶ *Jāmi'*, p. 6; *Iḥyā' 'Ulūm al-Dīn*, Vol. 4, p. 2; al-Sarrāj, *op.cit.*, p. 68; al-Qushayrī, *op.cit.*, p. 49; al-Hujwiri, *op.cit.*, p. 181; Shihāb al-Dīn Abū al-Ḥafṣ 'Umar al-Suhrawardī (1983), *'Awārif al-Ma'ārif*, Beirut: Dār al-Kitāb al-'Arabī, p. 338; Kamāl al-Dīn 'Abd al-Razzāq al-Kāshānī, *Mu'jam Iṣṭilāḥāt al-Ṣūfiyyah*, (ed.) 'Abd al-'Al-Shāhin (1993), Cairo, p. 192.

¹⁷ *Jāmi'*, p. 4.

of the "select" elite and the repentance of the elect.¹⁸

In order to follow the Sufi path, the *Jāmi'* also gives clear guidance to the disciple that he should "adopt the belief of the pious ancestors (*al-salaf*)" and reject any belief in Shi'ism, absolute determinism (*al-jabr*), anthropomorphism (*al-tashbīh*), limitation of God's power (*al-tahdīd*) and corporealism (*al-tajsim*).¹⁹

Pure devotion (*al-ikhhlās*)²⁰ is also important and becomes a basis for the disciple in following the Sufi path. In order of that the *Jāmi'* looks at pure devotion as "an action of the heart, of which none will be aware other than God Most High". By this, al-Ghazālī means that one should worship God with one's entire being and should not associate with anything other than God.²¹

2. On Love (*Maḥabbah*), Longing (*Shawq*) and Ardent Love (*'Ishq*)

After mentioning the basic stages of the Sufi path, al-Ghazālī in this *Jāmi'* then enters on the elucidation of the last stages of the mystical path which mean the attainment of the goal: i.e. love (*al-maḥabbah*), longing (*al-shawq*) and ardent love (*al-'ishq*).²² He

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 5; cf. al-Kālābādī, *Doctrine of the Sufis*, (tr.) A. J. Arberry (1983), Lahore: Sh. Muhammad Ashraf, p. 92.

¹⁹ *Jāmi'*, p. 7.

²⁰ I have translated "*ikhhlās*" as "pure devotion" rather than "sincerity" because this seems to be closer to the author's intention and also closer to its meaning in *Sūrah al-Ikhlās* where the emphasis is on God's detachment, and therefore purity, from all other things.

²¹ *Jāmi'*, pp. 7-8.

²² Despite the controversial nature of love, longing and ardent love for God, they became a main topic for almost all the Sufis in their works. Cf. *Arba'in fi Uṣūl al-Dīn*, p. 189; *Ihyā' 'Ulūm al-Dīn*, Vol. 4, p. 294; al-Hujwiri, *op.cit.*, p. 310; al-Muḥāsibī, "*Kitāb al-Ḥubb li Allāh Ta'ālā wa Marātib Ahlih*," in Abū Nu'aym Aḥmad ibn 'Abd Allāh al-Isfahānī (1988/1409), *Ḥilyah al-Awliyā' wa Ṭabaqāt al-Aṣfiyā'*, Vol. 10, Beirut: Maktabah al-Salafiyyah, pp. 76ff; *idem*, *Kitāb al-Qaṣd wa al-Rujū' ilā Allāh*, problem no. 29, "*Fī Sharḥ Maḥabbah Allāh 'Azza wa Jalla li al-'Abd*," (ed.) 'Abd al-Qādir Aḥmad 'Atā (1980), Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyyah, pp. 98-100; *idem*, *Kitāb al-Waṣāyā'*, (ed.) 'Abd al-Qādir Aḥmad al-'Atā (1987), Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyyah, pp. 305-308; al-Qushayrī, *op.cit.*, pp. 157-164; al-Sarrāj, *op.cit.*, pp. 86-88.

defines the general meaning of love and love of God as giving one's entire being to the Beloved so that nothing will remain of the lover.²³ He uses the image of fire to describe love which will burn up everything which is not of the same type as it.²⁴

To achieve the station of love, he suggests several procedures to be followed by the disciple. He says that one should achieve "soundness of the heart from all turbidity of the soul," one should "cut off the desire for this world and the life to come", "avoid things which God has forbidden", "not forget to remember the Beloved", "follow the satisfaction of the Beloved" and "give the heart to Him".²⁵ In explaining these procedures, he makes use of the poems recited by Rābī'ah who is well-known for her doctrine of love of God²⁶ and also a saying by Yaḥyā ibn. Mu'ādh.²⁷

After explaining the love of God, al-Ghazālī continues with longing (*shawq*). Like other Sufi figures, he considers it as a consequence of love when love is dominant in the heart, and it [i.e. longing] is the highest stage and the highest station.²⁸ He cites the well-known Sufi figures, Dhū al-Nūn and al-Anṭākī, who say that the one who longs for his Lord will find death delightful and sweet because in it one can meet Him.²⁹ He then

²³ *Jāmi'*, p. 9. Such a definition is also similar to that of al-Qushayrī. Cf. al-Qushayrī, *op.cit.*, p. 159.

²⁴ *Jāmi'*, p. 9.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 9-10.

²⁶ Perhaps Rābī'ah was the first to emphasise the doctrine of love together with the doctrine of unveiling (*kashf*). She is described as "the woman on fire with love and ardent love ... consumed with her passion [for God]". Farīd al-Dīn 'Attār, *Tadhkirat al-Awliya', Muslim Saints and Mysticism*, (tr.) A.J. Arberry (1966), London, p. 40; cf. Margaret Smith (1928), *Rabi'a the Mystic and Her Fellow-Saints*, Cambridge: Llanerch, pp. 88-110.

²⁷ *Jāmi'*, pp. 10-11.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 11, 13; *Iḥyā' 'Ulūm al-Dīn*, Vol. 4, p. 323; al-Sarrāj, *op.cit.*, p. 64; al-Hujwiri, *op.cit.*, p. 178.

²⁹ *Jāmi'*, p. 12; cf. al-Sarrāj, *op.cit.*, p. 66, where al-Sarrāj also says that the highest degree of longing is attained by the one who beholds his God near at hand and sees that He is present and not absent, so his heart rejoices in His worship and says to itself [i.e. the heart] that longing is only for the absent, but He is present, not absent. Cf. also Margaret Smith, *Rabi'a the Mystic*, *op.cit.*, p. 91.

uses the imagery of shining light to show the characteristic of the hearts of those who long for God.³⁰

After the elucidation of love (*maḥabbah*) and longing (*shawq*) for God, al-Ghazālī goes on to an explanation of ardent love which he, as well as other Sufi figures, regards as an extreme, excessive and ultimate form of love which is different from love of God because it can only happen as a present and gift from God.³¹ Concerning the nature of love and ardent love, he mentions that some of the 'ulamā' deny them because they say that it is impossible for someone to experience ardent love and love of God, since they are begotten from lust and He is much too High and Great for that.³² Al-Ghazālī in this work, however, refutes their opinions by mentioning two types of love: love which exists in the spirit and love which is begotten from lust. He explains that:

Lust is an attribute which exists in the [human] nature (*nafs*) but when love of the soul (*rūḥ*) predominates, it is called ardent love ('*ishq*), and when lust of the [human] nature predominates, it is called lower desire (*hawā*) ... Love that is begotten from lust of the [human] nature (*nafs*) is different from the love which is a quality (*ṣifah*) existing in the soul (*rūḥ*). Love which is applied exclusively to God ... is this love.³³

From the above statements, we can see that according to al-Ghazālī in his *Jāmi'*, the reason for the rejection of love and ardent love is because it is thought that love and ardent love are begotten from lust.³⁴

³⁰ *Jāmi'*, p. 12. Al-Sarrāj also discusses this kind of light. He says that longing is "the fire of God Most High which He has kindled in the hearts of His saints, so that it may burn up all vain desires, wishes, hindrances and needs which are in their hearts," al-Sarrāj, *op.cit.*, p. 64; cf. also Margaret Smith, *Rabi'a the Mystic, op.cit.*, p. 91.

³¹ *Jāmi'*, p. 13. Cf. *al-Arba'īn fī Uṣūl al-Dīn*, p. 189; *Iḥyā' 'Ulūm al-Dīn*, Vol. 4, p. 323.

³² *Jāmi'*, p. 14.

³³ *Ibid.*, p. 14.

³⁴ To deny this opinion, al-Ghazālī devotes one section of the chapter of love *Iḥyā' 'Ulūm al-Dīn*, Vol. 4, pp. 294-296 to mentioning Qur'anic verses, Traditions and sayings of the 'ulamā' approving the love of God. For

3. Spiritual Exercises (*al-Riyādāt*)

After mentioning the aims of the mystical path, al-Ghazālī then explains the means of arriving at the stations (*al-maqāmāt*) which should be practised by the disciple who wants to arrive at such stations. Such spiritual exercises are divided into three phases. He begins with the purification of the [human] nature (*nafs*). In this regard, he follows other Sufi figures by mentioning that the "*nafs*" is "a lustful force and is the place of origin of the blameworthy characteristics".³⁵ He then says that the purification of the *nafs* should be followed by cleansing the heart (*qalb*) which he describes as being able to ruin the whole body when it [i.e. the heart] is ruined.³⁶ He further mentions that the cleansing of the heart should be accompanied by the ornamentation of the soul (*rūh*) which is "the command of God".³⁷

Throughout al-Ghazālī's works, his discussion of the effect which spiritual exercises will achieve, is really concerned with an understanding of two Arabic terms "*nafs*" and "*rūh*", between which he makes a definite distinction. He uses, but only occasionally *nafs* to mean what we would describe as "the soul". In this work, he defines *nafs* as:

The *nafs* is a lustful force connected to the whole body jointly and it is the place of origin of the blameworthy

example, he cites the Qur'anic verse: "Soon will God produce a people whom he will love as they will love Him" (*al-Mā'idah* 5:54). Then he comments: "This verse proves that love of God is possible". *Ibid.*, Vol. 4, p. 294, 322.

³⁵ *Jāmi'*, p. 17; cf. also Abū Tālib Muhammad ibn 'Alī al-Makkī (1960), *Qūt al-Qulūb*, Vol. 2, Cairo: Dār al-Fikr 'Arabī, p. 251; al-Qushayrī, *op.cit.*, p. 23; al-Sarrāj, *op.cit.*, p. 51; al-Hujwiri, *op.cit.*, p. 33.

³⁶ *Jāmi'*, p. 19. The *Jāmi'* cites the popular Tradition from the Prophet: "Truly, in the body is a chunk of meat, when it is good, the whole body will be good by it, and when it is ruined, the whole body will be ruined by it, indeed it is the heart, a chunk of meat suspended beneath the chest to the left side".

³⁷ Al-Ghazālī cites a popular Qur'anic verse "They ask thee concerning the soul [of inspiration]. Say: The soul [cometh] by command of my Lord". (*al-Isrā'* 17:85), *Ibid.*, p. 22; *lhyā'* 'Ulūm al-Dīn, Vol. 1, pp. 54-55, Vol. 3, pp. 4, 10.

characteristics ... Know that *nafs* has two intrinsic qualities which are lower desire (*hawā*) and anger (*ghadab*), and all the blameworthy characteristics are begotten from them. Its purification can be achieved by their equilibrium.³⁸

I have chosen to translate this use of *nafs* as "[human] nature" as I feel that this term is a better means of expressing what al-Ghazālī meant by *nafs* when generally used by him. The term *rūh* which is closely associated in meaning with "spirit" and "breath" is clearly meant to be "the soul" in the *Jāmi'* and therefore I have translated it as such except in cases where it means "the breath of God" or "the spirit from God which gives command (*al-rūh al-amr*)".³⁹

From al-Ghazālī's description of the *nafs* in this work, it appears that he accepts the theory of the faculties of the *nafs* which are two in number.⁴⁰ He refers to its first faculty as lower desire (*hawā*) and names the second faculty as anger (*ghadab*).⁴¹ He also remarks that the purification of these faculties is necessary and it can only be achieved by their

³⁸ *Jāmi'*, p. 17.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 22.

⁴⁰ The theory of the faculties of the soul was introduced by the Greek philosophers who were followed by the Muslim philosophers, M. Umaruddin (1962), *The Ethical Philosophy of al-Ghazali*, Aligarh, p. 30; M. Abul Quasem (1975), *The Ethics of al-Ghazali: A Composite Ethics in Islam*, Selangor: Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia Press, p. 50; Mohamed A. Sherif (1975), *Ghazali's Theory of Virtue*, Albany: State University of New York Press, p. 15.

⁴¹ In al-Ghazālī's discussion on the faculties of *nafs*, he often referred the two faculties; i.e. desire (*shahwah*) and anger (*ghadab*), which are taken jointly as lower desire (*hawā*). He believes that they are faculties of the animal soul. Al-Ghazālī (1329), *Mi'yār al-'Ilm fī Fann al-Manṭiq*, Cairo, pp. 55-56. Although these faculties are created in man for his benefit, he remarks that they also the sources of evil in man which are regarded as the touch of evil, i.e. every act to which they are inclined must be regarded as evil. *Idem*, *Kimiyā-e Sa'ādāt*, Tehran, 1334, pp. 10, 624-625; cf. M. Abul Quasem, *op.cit.*, p. 50 Al-Makkī calls the *nafs* the treasure of evil (*khizānat al-sharr*) and also the house of the Devil. al-Makkī, *op.cit.*, Vol. 1, pp. 233, 234.

equilibrium. He, then elucidates the theory of equilibrium of the faculty of desire and anger by dividing them into two: moderate and excessive. For the moderation of desire, the qualities of modesty (*ḥayā'*), liberality (*jūd*), generosity (*sakhāwah*), love (*mahabbah*), compassion (*shafaqah*), respect (*ta'zīm*) and patience (*ṣabr*) will appear. For the excessive of desire, the qualities of lust (*shahwah*), covetousness (*ḥirṣ*), expectation (*amal*), vileness (*khissah*), baseness (*danā'ah*), avarice (*bukhl*), cowardice (*jubn*), back-biting (*ghībah*) and calumny (*buhtān*) will appear. In describing the theory of moderation and excessive of the faculty of anger, al-Ghazālī mentions several qualities which are produced by anger when it is in the state of moderation, i.e. humbleness (*tawādu'*), gentleness (*ḥilm*), sense of honour (*muruwwah*), contentment (*qanā'ah*), courage (*shajā'ah*), generosity (*badhl*) and affection (*īthar*). Whereas the qualities which are produced by excessive anger are arrogance (*takabbur*), antagonism (*'adūwah*), rage (*ḥiddah*), vanity (*'ujub*), pride (*fakhr*), conceit (*khuyālā'*) and lying (*kadhb*).⁴²

After the purification of the *nafs* is achieved, the disciple should then busy himself with cleansing the heart (*qalb*). Al-Ghazālī and other Sufi masters regard the *qalb* as being like a mirror which grows rusty like iron. Such a *qalb* may be polished by struggling against desires, acquiring good

⁴² *Jāmi'*, pp. 17-18. However, al-Ghazālī in his *Iḥyā' 'Ulūm al-Dīn* states that the faculty of anger, when sound and balanced, is called courage; when it is excessive, it is called recklessness and when it is weakness, it is termed cowardice and langour. The trait of courage gives rise to nobility, intrepidity, manliness, greatness of soul, endurance, gentleness, steadfastness, the suppression of rage, dignity and affection. The trait of recklessness leads to arrogance, conceit, quickness to anger and vanity. The traits of cowardice and langour lead to ignominy, self-abasement, weakness, meanness, lack of resolution and holding oneself back from doing that which is right and obligatory, *Iḥyā' 'Ulūm al-Dīn*, Vol. 3, pp. 54-55; T.J. Winter (1989), *Al-Ghazali on Disciplining the Soul (Kitāb Riyāḍāt al-Nafs) and on Breaking the Two Desires (Kitāb Kasr al-Shahwatayn)*. Book XXII and XXIII of the *Revival of the Religious Sciences (Iḥyā' 'Ulūm al-Dīn)*, translated with an Introduction and Notes, Cambridge: The Islamic Texts Society, pp. 20-22.

characteristics and continually remembering (*dhikr*) God.⁴³ Through polishing the *qalb*, he says that the *qalb* will manifest "visions of lights (*mushāhadāt al-anwār*), unveilings (*mukāshafāt*) of the unseen and manifestations of divinity (*al-tajalliyyāt al-rubūbiyyah*)."⁴⁴

Al-Ghazālī therefore mentions that the *qalb* has five senses like the senses of the body, which should be purified in order to achieve the sound *qalb*. He explains such senses as follows:

It has hearing to hear the speech of the people of the unseen world; it has eyesight to see glimpses of the unseen world; it has a sense of smell to smell the scent of the unseen world; it has taste to find thereby the sweetness of love; it has touch to understand rational concepts (*al-ma'qūlāt*).⁴⁵

He also states that "the *qalb* has seven phases just as the body has seven organs", i.e. the "chest" (*sadr*), the "outer heart" (*qalb*), the "pericardium" (*shaqhaf*), the "inner heart" (*fu'ād*), the "grain of the heart" (*ḥabbat al-qalb*), the "inmost heart" (*suwaydā' al-qalb*) and the "core of the heart" (*muhjat al-qalb*). He uses the terms "*ma'dan*" (source) and "*mahall*" (centre) to show the activities of each phase.⁴⁶

The cleansing of the *qalb* should be followed by the embellishment of the soul (*rūḥ*). In this regard, al-Ghazālī mentions that the *rūḥ* has five states which begin with the state of non-existence (*al-'adam*)⁴⁷ where the spirit attains knowledge; the second is the state of existence (*al-wujūd*) in the world of the souls where it knows God through the

⁴³ *Jāmi'*, p. 21; *Ihyā' 'Ulūm al-Dīn*, Vol. 3, p. 12; Richard Joseph McCarthy (1980), *Freedom and Fulfillment: An Annotated Translation of al-Ghazali's al-Munqidh min al-Dalal and Other Relevant Works of al-Ghazali*, Boston: Twayne Publishers, Appendix V, p. 378, sec. 43; T. J. Winter, *op.cit.*, p. 237; al-Muḥāsibī, *Ri'āyah*, p. 54; al-Suhrawardī, *op.cit.*, p. 106.

⁴⁴ *Jāmi'*, p. 21; cf. *Ihyā' 'Ulūm al-Dīn*, Vol. 12; T.J. Winter, *op.cit.*, p. 237.

⁴⁵ *Jāmi'*, p. 19.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 20-21.

⁴⁷ This state of non-existence seems to reflect the idea of the soul existing in a state of potentiality before its actual existence.

essential attributes (*al-sifat al-dhātiyyah*); the third is the state of its connection with the body (*jasad*) where it acquires perfect knowledge concerning the world of the unseen, becomes aware of particulars and universals and obtains knowledge through the active attributes (*bi al-sifat al-fi'liyyah*); the fourth is the state of separation where it removes wickedness which was acquired by the soul in the state of its connection with the body; and the fifth is the state of returning where it returns to its former condition and it obtains the bounties of the hereafter.⁴⁸

4. Benefits of Seclusion (*Khalwah*) and Knowledge (*al-Ma'rifah*)

After an elucidation of how to attain the purification of the *nafs*, the *qalb* and the *rūh*, al-Ghazālī then continues with an explanation of seclusion, remembrance (*dhikr*) and the characteristics of disciples. These are also a continuation of the process of achieving the ultimate aims of the Sufi path, i.e. love (*mahabbah*), longing (*shawq*) and ardent love of God (*ishq*). In order to arrive at these aims, the author lists the conditions and practices of seclusion which indicate how to purify the *nafs* by means of constantly mentioning God (*dhikr*) and emptying the heart from other than God.⁴⁹

In order to make sure that the disciple is pursuing the mystical path, after describing the conditions and practices of seclusion, al-Ghazālī states the characteristics of the disciple by listing them one by one: repentance (*tawbah*), asceticism (*zuhd*), stripping away (*tajrīd*), sincere faith (*'aqīdah khāliṣah*), piety (*taqwā*), patience (*ṣabr*), individual struggle (*mujāhadah*), courage (*shajā'ah*), generosity (*badhl*), noble heartedness (*futuwwah*), truthfulness (*ṣidq*), knowledge (*'ilm*), hope (*rajā'*), trust in God (*tawakkul*), rebuke (*malāmah*), courtesy (*adab*), good natural disposition (*khulq ḥasan*), submission (*taslīm*) and total delegation (*tafwīd*).⁵⁰ After mentioning the practices of

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 22-23.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 25-28.

⁵⁰ Al-Ghazālī mentions twenty characteristics of the disciple, see *ibid.*, pp. 29-31.

seclusion, he gives a discussion of its benefits, i.e. realities (*wāqi'āt*), visions (*mushāhadāt*), unveilings (*mukāshafāt*), manifestation (*tajalli*) and arrival (*wusūl*).

Owing to the purification of the *nafs*, the *qalb* and the *rūh*, realities (*wāqi'āt*) will appear to the disciple which al-Ghazālī puts forward as three benefits. To discuss these benefits, he mentions the awareness of the states of [human] nature (*nafs*) where he deals with blameworthy characteristics such as avidity, hatred, arrogance, bestiality (*bahīmiyyah*), savageness (*sabū'iyyah*) and devilishness (*shayṭāniyyah*) and he mentions the form of animals for each characteristic. He describes them as forms of the mouse, ant, dog, apes, snakes, scorpions, leopard, ass, sheep, predatory animals (*al-sibā'*), fox and rabbit and he also mentions the form of devils and demons. Then when these blameworthy characteristics have been overcome, he acknowledges four kinds of states of [human] nature: the first is the characteristics of the heart when one sees rivers, seas and other kinds of perceptible objects; the second is the soul which is in the station of spirituality (*maqām al-rūḥāniyyah*) when to it are unveiled the sciences of spiritual intuition (*al-'ulūm al-ladūniyyah*) and realisation without the intermediary of the senses; the third is when the soul reaches the attributes of the angels when one has the vision of angels, seeing the throne and other kinds of divine kingdom; the fourth is the soul which is in the station of being shaped (*takhalluq*) by the attributes of the Merciful when one has visions of the light of the unseen world, has inspirations, revelation and other such things.⁵¹ Al-Ghazālī then mentions the realities of the heart (*qalbiyyah*), of the soul (*rūḥāniyyah*) and of the attributes of angels (*malakiyyah*) which are gained through direct experience (*dhawq*). Then he goes on to mention that one needs a master to guide one when one reaches the station where one is unaware, and that is the third benefit of realities.⁵²

After the discussion of realities, al-Ghazālī mentions visions (*mushāhadāt*) which can be achieved by polishing the heart. He

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 33-34.

⁵² *Ibid.*, pp. 33-34.

uses the term “*nūr*” (light) to illustrate the concept of visions which he says are the appearance of the light of the concealed world.⁵³ In order to elaborate vision, he mentions four kinds of lights: the light which is similar to a flash of lightning appears at the beginning of the state; the light which is similar to the lamp, a candle and a torch; the light which is similar to the form of stars, the new moon, the full moon and the sun; and the light which is separated from the imagination, either blue, green, like smoke or white. He then turns to the visions of the lights of the attribute of beauty (*al-jamāl*) and sublimity (*al-jalāl*) of God.⁵⁴

After visions (*mushāhadāt*), al-Ghazālī comes to the explanation of unveilings (*mukāshafāt*) which he says are the unveiling of veils and the perceiving of something which one has not perceived before, consisting of this world and the next world. He mentions five types of unveiling: unveiling of intellect as theoretical unveiling; unveiling of the heart as visual (*shuhūdiyyah*) unveiling; secret unveiling as divine inspirational unveiling; unveiling of the soul as spiritual unveiling; and unveiling of the unknown as unveiling of attribution (*ṣifātiyyan*).⁵⁵ He also quotes the famous Tradition:

Truly God has seventy thousand veils of light and darkness.⁵⁶

After unveilings (*mukāshafāt*), al-Ghazālī then deals with manifestation (*tajallī*) which he says that manifestation can only come with unveilings (*mukāshafah*).⁵⁷ By dividing manifestation into two types, he mentions the passages of the Qur'an, the Traditions and the sayings of the Sufi masters as examples. He

⁵³ *Ibid.*, p. 36.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 36-37.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 38-40.

⁵⁶ The source of this Tradition cannot be traced, but is mentioned in the final part of al-Ghazālī's other work, *Mishkāt al-Anwār* (*The Niche for Light*), (tr.) W.H.T. Gairdner (1954), Lahore: Sh. Muhammad Ashraf, Cf. W.H.T. Gairdner (1914), “Al-Ghazālī's *Mishkāt al-Anwār* and the Ghazālī's Problem” in *Der Islam*, Vol. 5, p. 122.

⁵⁷ *Jāmi'*, p. 43.

reproduces controversial sayings by Abū Sa'īd al-Kharrāz [attributed to Abū Yazīd al-Biṣṭāmī by Jalāl al-Dīn al-Rūmī]:⁵⁸

Nothing is in the *jubbah* (robe) other than God Most High,

al-Biṣṭāmī:

Praise be upon me, how great is my rank,

and al-Mansūr al-Ḥallāj:

Between me and You, "I" presses upon me; so with Your generosity, remove "I" from existence.⁵⁹

After mentioning manifestation (*tajallī*) as the benefit of seclusion, al-Ghazālī then mentions "arrival" (*wuṣūl*). The discussion of *wuṣūl* in the *Jāmi'* is extremely interesting. In the *Munqidh min al-Ḍalāl*, al-Ghazālī denounces the concept of *wuṣūl*. Presumably the concept of *wuṣūl* which he is denouncing is that which means that the Sufi may at some stage reach the state where he is totally immersed in God, so that he identifies himself with God. In the *Munqidh*, al-Ghazālī states that he has explained *wuṣūl* in the *Maqṣad al-Asnā*.⁶⁰ When the *Maqṣad* is referred, it can be found that al-Ghazālī has not totally rejected the concept of *wuṣūl* but has re-interpreted it so that *wuṣūl* comes to mean that the Sufi arrives at the state where he feels that he is as if he is God.⁶¹ This

⁵⁸ *Mathnaw-ī Ma'nawī*, (ed. and tr.) R. A. Nicholson (1925-1940), Vol. 4, London, p. 2102; cf. Annemarie Schimmel (1975), *Mystical Dimensions of Islam*, North Carolina, p. 50; M. Saeed Sheikh, "Al-Ghazali: Mysticism", in (ed.) M. M. Sharif (1963), *A History of Muslim Philosophy.*, Vol. 1, Wiesbaden, p. 624.

⁵⁹ *Jāmi'*, pp. 42-43.

⁶⁰ Al-Ghazālī, *al-Munqidh min al-Ḍalāl*, (ed.) Muḥammad Muṣṭafā Abū al-'Ulā and Muḥammad Muḥammad Jābir (1973), Cairo: Dar al-Ma'rifah, p. 61; R. J. McCarthy, *op.cit.*, p. 95.

⁶¹ Al-Ghazālī, *Maqṣad al-Asnā fī Sharḥ Asmā' Allāh al-Ḥusnā*, (ed.) Muḥammad Muṣṭafā Abū al-'Ulā (1968), Cairo: Dār al-Fikr al-'Arabī, p. 76; R. J. McCarthy, *op.cit.*, p. 360; D. B. Burrell and N. Daher (1992), *al-Ghazali's the Ninety-Nine Beautiful Names of God*, Cambridge: The Islamic Texts Society, pp. 156-157; Abdul Haq Ansari (1982), "The Doctrine of Divine Command: A Study in the Development of Ghazali's View of Reality", *Islamic Studies*, Vol. 21(3), p. 22.

passage is quoted word for word in the *Jāmi'*. It reads as follows:

Arrival (*wuṣūl*) is of two types; the arrival of the beginning and arrival of the end. As for the first, it is that the ornament of truth (*ḥilyat al-ḥaqq*) is unveiled to the servant so that he becomes absorbed in it. If he examines his knowledge (*ma'rifah*), he does not know anything except God, and if he examines his intention, he has no intention other than Him so that all of him becomes preoccupied with all of Him in vision (*mushāhadah*) and intention and he does not turn in that to his [human] nature (*nafs*), so that externally he flourishes in this with worship and internally with refinement of morals. As for the second, it is that the servant sheds his [human] nature (*nafs*) wholly and he devotes himself to Him and he becomes as if he is He.⁶²

However, in the *Maqṣad al-Asnā*, al-Ghazālī goes on to qualify *wuṣūl* by explaining its meaning in the following way:

If you say: The words of the Sufis are based on mystical visions revealed to them in the stage of friendship [with God]. But reason [man's intellect] fails to grasp that, whereas what you have mentioned is an exercise of intellectual wares. Know that there cannot appear in the stage of friendship anything which reason judges to be impossible. To be sure, there can be manifest what reason fails [to grasp] in the sense that there can be disclosed to a friend [of God] that so and so will die tomorrow: and that cannot be perceived by the wares of reason ... But it cannot be disclosed that God Exalted and Blessed tomorrow will create the like of Himself, for reason declares that impossible ... More far fetched than this is that a man say: "God Exalted and Blessed will make me become Himself, i.e. I shall become He," because it means that I am an incipient and God Exalted and Blessed will make me pre-

⁶² *Jāmi'*, p. 45.

eternal, and that I am not the Creator of the heavens and the two earths, but God will make me the Creator of the heavens and the two earths.⁶³

This explanation is not contained in the *Jāmi'*.

After discussing arrival (*wuṣūl*), al-Ghazālī presents a systematic and explicit division of knowledge and mentions knowledge of certainty (*'ilm al-yaqīn*) as the lowest rank because it is for common people, knowledge of the essence of certainty (*ma'rifat 'ayn al-yaqīn*) as the middle because it is for the station of select people, and knowledge of truth (*ma'rifat haqq al-yaqīn*) as the highest because it is for the Prophet.⁶⁴

5. Discussion on States (*Aḥwāl*) and Stations (*Maqāmāt*)

After the benefits of seclusion and the explanation of knowledge, al-Ghazālī goes on to explain the differences between the state (*al-ḥāl*) and station (*al-maqām*). He writes:

The state is something which changes and does not remain constant and immovable. The state is called *ḥāl* [because of] its changeability and the station is called *maqām* [because of] its constancy and its immovability. And a thing may be in its essence a state, and then become a station.⁶⁵

Thus for him, there is not always a clear distinction between a state and station. This is the case for Sufis generally where some doctrines are described as states and stations.⁶⁶

Al-Ghazālī then devotes a special chapter to explaining control (*al-qabḍ*) and expansion (*al-bast*), annihilation (*al-fanā'*) and abiding (*al-baqā'*), ecstasy (*al-wajḍ*) and rapture (*al-ghalabah*), intoxication (*al-sukr*) and sobriety (*al-ṣahw*), and being absent (*al-ghaybah*) and being present (*al-shuhūd*). The elucidation of

⁶³ *Maqṣad*, 76; R.J. McCarthy, *op. cit.*, p. 360; D. B. Burrell and N. Daher, *op. cit.*, p. 157.

⁶⁴ *Jāmi'*, pp. 46-48.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 48.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 48; al-Hujwiri, *op. cit.*, pp. 181, 242; al-Sarrāj, *op. cit.*, p. 66; al-Qushayri, *op. cit.*, p. 34; al-Kālābādhi, *op. cit.*, pp. 82, 131.

these subjects is very simple and short, and al-Ghazālī does not cite any saying from other Sufi figures whose were well-known on these doctrines except the sayings of al-Junayd and 'Āmir ibn. 'Abd Allah on annihilation.⁶⁷ Although his understanding of *qabd* and *bast* is similar to that of other Sufis,⁶⁸ it will be noted that in the translation, I have chosen the words control and expansion for these terms. Thus it would indicate that *qabd* is to control human nature and it ends with the expansion (*bast*) of good qualities which arise out of a pure heart. They (*qabd* and *bast*), he says only exist in the beginning of the state of specific love, because those who are still in the station of general love only have fear and hope".⁶⁹

Annihilation (*fanā'*) for al-Ghazālī in this work appears to signify an annihilation of the mind from all external objects, thoughts, actions and feelings through its preoccupation with the thought of God. He mentions two types of annihilation: external annihilation as an annihilation of deeds which is for the common saints and inner annihilation as annihilation of qualities and of essence which is for the elect saints.⁷⁰ Annihilation, then, will be followed by abiding (*baqā'*) which is considered by the Sufis as the final stage reached through annihilation. To abide in God [eternity] after having annihilated oneself from selfhood (*fanā'*)⁷¹ is regarded by the Sufis as the mark of the perfect man (*al-insān al-kāmil*).

Al-Ghazālī in the *Jāmi'* only gives short definitions which are similar to these of the other Sufis regarding the other

⁶⁷ *Jāmi'*, p. 50.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 49; cf. al-Hujwiri, *op.cit.*, pp. 374-375; al-Suhrawardi, *op.cit.*, pp. 192-193; Martin Lings, *op.cit.*, p. 83.

⁶⁹ *Jāmi'*, p. 49. al-Hujwiri in the *Kashf al-Maḥjūb*, also writes that "the contraction of gnostics is like the fear of novices, and the expansion of gnostics is like the hope of novices", al-Hujwiri, *op.cit.*, p. 374. And al-Suhrawardi says that in the first phase of contraction and expansion, the Sufi only has fear and hope and in the last phase of the contraction and expansion, the Sufi will have annihilation and eternity, al-Suhrawardi, *op.cit.*, p. 194.

⁷⁰ *Jāmi'*, p. 50; cf. also R.A. Nicholson (1914), *The Mystics of Islam*, London: Arkana, p. 60.

⁷¹ *Jāmi'*, p. 50; cf. also R.A. Nicholson, *op.cit.*, p. 163.

doctrines, i.e. ecstasy and rapture, intoxication and sobriety, and being present and being absent,⁷² without further explanation. However, for ecstasy, he says that it "is what reaches the inner self from God ... and one acquires it joyfully or mournfully",⁷³ whilst most of the Sufis consider that it is a state which is connected to the feeling of grief.⁷⁴

6. Acts of Worship

Al-Ghazālī ends his treatise with a section which refers to acts of worship (*al-'ibādāt*). However, he only discusses ablution (*al-wuḍū'*) and prayer (*al-ṣalāh*). He plainly mentions that man is created for worshipping God and for the sake of knowledge (*ma'rifah*) of Him. He then explains the relationship between worship and knowledge as "the reason for it [i.e. the soul] connection to the body is on account of worship,"⁷⁵ because he says that "worship is not valid except by means of bodily organs."⁷⁶ This is the only place where al-Ghazālī in his *Jāmi'* gives a reason for God's creating the human body. It would seem that otherwise the body is a hindrance to spiritual attainment and is closely associated with the *nafs* or [human] nature. Although he does not discuss the resurrection of the body, this is the only passage in the work would provide any justification for it. He then writes that "perfect knowledge occurs by means of worship".⁷⁷

Concerning ablutions, al-Ghazālī puts forward some etiquette to be followed. He mentions that the disciple should

⁷² *Jāmi'*, pp. 51-52.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, p. 51.

⁷⁴ Al-Hujwiri, *op.cit.*, p. 413; Muḥammad 'Alī ibn 'Alī al-Ṭahānāwī, *Kitāb Iṣṭilāḥāt al-Funūn*, (eds.) Muḥammad Wajh Wājih and 'Abd al-Ḥaqq and Ghulam Qādir (1862), Vol. 2, Calcutta, p. 1454; 'Abd al-Mun'im al-Ḥifnī (1980), *Mu'jam Mustalahāt al-Sūfiyyah*, Beirut: al-Matba'ah al-'Arabiyyah, p. 264; al-Bir Naṣrī Nādir (n.d.), *al-Taṣawwuf al-Islāmī*, Beirut: Maktabah al-Kāthūlīkiyyah, pp. 37, 59-60.

⁷⁵ *Jāmi'*, p. 52.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 53.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 54.

cleaning the teeth with a toothpick (*siwāk*), reciting invocations, not being extravagant in using water, not talking, not washing more than three times, not wiping away the water of ablution with a cloth and being persistent in ablution.⁷⁸ He mentions the concept of ablution as being a means for the removal of filthiness and sins when it is carried out on the limbs.⁷⁹

Conclusion

This treatise of al-Ghazālī presents an explicit instruction for the Sufis who struggle in their ways toward Allāh as he mentions the reason for the composition of this work. The development of the work is smooth and clear. He uses simple analogies to explain some of their ideas, and quotes many sayings of the Companions and well-known Sufis and he also reproduces poems from other Sufis expressing their mystical experiences. An appraisal of fundamental ideas explains the concept of repentance and states his acceptance of the faith of pious ancestors (*al-salaf*) and rejects other dogmas. He also presents his view concerning pure devotion (*ikhlas*), that is an action of the heart which refutes any partnership with God. He therefore, discusses ultimate aim of the Sufis, i.e. love (*maḥabbah*), longing (*shawq*) and ardent love (*'ishq*). The ideas of spiritual exercises practised by the Sufi in purifying the *nafs*, the *qalb* and the *rūḥ* are elaborated by him. He gives a systematic treatment in describing the theory of purification of the *nafs* where he also mentions the seven phases of the heart as well as the five states of the *rūḥ*. He also elucidates the benefits of seclusion (*khalwah*). In explaining these benefits, he does not give any comment on the ecstatic utterances which had

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 55-56; *Ihyā' 'Ulūm al-Dīn*, Vol. 1, pp. 134; cf. Nabih Amin Faris (1966), *The Mysteries of Purity (Being a Translation with Notes of the Kitab Al-Tahārah of al-Ghazālī's Ihyā' 'Ulūm al-Dīn)*, Lahore: Sh. Muhammad Ashraf, pp. 45-46.

⁷⁹ *Jāmi'*, pp. 57ff; *Ihyā' 'Ulūm al-Dīn*, Vol. 1, p. 135; cf. Nabih Amin Faris, *op.cit.*, pp. 49-50.

become a controversial issue among the Sufis. Throughout al-Ghazālī's discussion in this small treatise, it can be seen that the treatise is very important for the disciple who are in their ways in the path to Allah Ta'ālā.