

ṢŪFĪISM

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CORRIGENDA

Page 5, lines 10, 11.—*For* A. H. *read* A. D.

„ 6, line 1.— „ A. H. „ A. D.

„ 22 „ 30.— „ گرد „ گردیم

„ „ „ 31.—*Add* Note to *before* Ode.

„ 67 „ 17.—*For* بَند *read* بَند

SÚFÍISM

EVEN as early as the first century of the Hijra we find Muslims, with mystical tendencies of thought, and amongst them were women, whose names are held in reverence to this day. One of the earliest mystics was Rábi'a al-'Adawiyya, who died in the year A.D. 752. One of her sayings, recorded by the poet 'Aṭṭār, is: 'The fruit of wisdom is to turn one's face towards God.' Others who took their part in the contemplative life were 'Ayesha, daughter of Ja'far aṣ-Ṣádiq (d. A.H. 762) and Fátima of Naysabur (d. A.H. 837). The greatest names amongst the men who left their mark on early Šúfíism, or, as Muslims call it, Taṣawwuf, are those of al-Junaid of Baghdad and al-Báyazíd of Bisṭám.¹ They lived in the latter part of the ninth century, and were the first to develop the element of pantheism as a real part of the Šúfi teaching. The first great poet, who made his art a means of expressing religious, mystic and philosophic

¹ The Bisṭámiyya Order of Darwishes was founded by him. Šúfi doctrines are taught in it. See Sell, *The Religious Orders of Islám*, p. 37.

thought, was Abú Sa'íd ibn Abi'l-Khair¹ (d. A.H. 1049). It is said that he gave 'the presentations and forms of the Şúfí doctrine those fantastic and gorgeous hues which henceforth remained typical of this kind of poetry.' His disciples wore a woollen garment, and it is supposed that from the word Şúf, or wool, they obtained the name of Şúfis. The phrase *labasa aš-şúfa*—'he donned wool'—is used of a person who enters upon a monastic or contemplative life.²

The Şúfis of the earliest days were neither philosophers nor poets. They were not ardent propagandists. They lived a quiet and retired life, and were looked upon by their contemporaries as heretics who had departed from the straight path of Islám.

One of the most famous disciples of al-Junaíd was Husain ibn Manşúr, surnamed al-Ḥalláj (wool-carder). Al-Ḥalláj fell into disfavour, with the result that, after being very cruelly tortured, he was put to death in Baghdad, on March 13, A.D. 923. Şúfis regard him with reverence as the first Şúfí martyr;

¹ For a full account of this writer and for some specimens of his poetry, see Browne, *A Literary History of Persia*, vol. ii, pp. 261-9.

² 'From the earliest times woollen raiment was regarded as typical of that simplicity of life and avoidance of ostentation and luxury enjoined by the Prophet and his immediate successors. The term Şúfí was therefore in later times applied to those ascetic and pious devotees who, like the early Quakers in England, made the simplicity of their apparel a silent protest against the growing luxury of the worldly.' Browne, *A Literary History of Persia*, vol. i, p. 417.

but there are many differences of opinion as to his true character. There are writers of good repute who represent him as an ignorant, pushing man. They say that his acquaintance with the Qur'án was slight and his knowledge of Muslim theology slighter still. They accused him of political intrigues. He had at one time been a Dá'í, or missionary, of the Khalífa ar-Riḏá, the eighth Imám of the Shi'ah sect, which would give some colour to the accusation. He professed to work miracles and gathered together a considerable number of followers. It is probable that he was in some way connected with the Carmathian conspiracy. The government of Baghdad, under the weak rule of the Khalífa al-Muqtadír, was in danger in those tumultuous days, and could run no risk. There were thus, in the opinion of many, good political reasons for putting al-Ḥalláj out of the way. The ostensible reason, however, for his condemnation to death was a charge of blasphemy. In a state of ecstasy, he said, 'I am the Truth', 'I am God'.

Shaikh Faridu'd-Dín 'Aṭṭár defended this saying of al-Ḥalláj, on the ground that if it was lawful for the burning bush¹ in the presence of Moses to say 'I am thy Lord', he who had already merged

¹ The reference is to the words: 'and when he came to it (the bush), he was called to, "O Moses, verily, I am thy Lord: therefore pull off thy shoes, for thou art in the holy valley of Jowa."—Súratu Tá Há (xx) 11-12.

his separate existence in that of God could do the same. He also calls him 'a martyr in the way of God'. Abū Sa'īd ibn Abī'l-Khair also speaks in the highest terms of him, and in this respect is followed by Jāmi, Ḥafiz and many other poets. Still more, al-Ghazālī, one of the greatest of Muslim theologians, defended him and declared that, though imprudent, he was orthodox. It is very difficult to get at the real facts of the case, and so judicious and sober a historian as ibn Khallikan is content with saying: 'The history of al-Hallāj is long to relate: his fate is well known, and God knoweth all things.' So there we, too, leave it.

Şúfiism in the earliest of its stages was ascetic. Al-Fudayl, who rebuked the Khalīfa Hārūnū'r-Rashīd for his luxurious life, was himself so solemn a man that when he passed away men said: 'When al-Fudayl died, sadness was removed from the world.' When Baghdad was in the height of its glory and the Khalīfas and the members of their Court lived in pomp and splendour, the Imām ibn Ḥanbal was renowned for the simplicity of his life, the ascetic nature of which gave him great influence amongst the more serious-minded Muslims. Some Şúfis went to an extreme and were rebuked for their abuse of the doctrine of 'tawakkul', or dependence on God. Their opponents used to tell this story. One day a man went to the Prophet and said: 'Shall I let my camel

free and trust in God.' The answer came: 'Tie up your camel and trust in God.'

Then came the ecstatic stage, when the mystical oriental mind in the expressions used for human love, beauty, and earthly wine found terms to express the mystic relation of the soul to God.¹ It was then that the teaching about the various ecstatic states or stages,² indicating the upward progress of the soul was formulated, afterwards to be reproduced in rich profusion by the great Şúfi poets.³ Both stages, the ascetic and the ecstatic, are combined in the Darwīsh Orders, the present home of Şúfi teaching.⁴

Şúfiism next passed on to the speculative and theological stage, in which it was influenced by the neo-platonic philosophy.⁵ It was then that Şúfiism became deeply indebted to al-Ghazālī, who after passing through a period of scepticism and doubt, sought for peace of mind in scholastic philosophy

¹ See *Gulshan-i-Rāz*—Questions and Answers (xiii, xiv) for the use and interpretation of many terms.

² Dhū'l-Nūn (d. A.D. 859) introduced the doctrine of the ecstatic states (مقامات and احوال). Al-Junaid (d. A.D. 909) worked the idea into a system, and ash-Shibli (d. A.D. 945) openly preached it and so made it known.

³ For a good account of these poets, see Browne, *A Literary History of Persia*, vol. ii., chap. ix.

⁴ See Sell, *The Religious Orders of Islām* (S.P.C.K., Madras: Simpkin, Marshall and Co., London).

⁵ See Macdonald, *Muslim Theology*, p. 181; *Gulshan-i-Rāz*, Whinfield's Introduction, p. vii; *Divān-i-Shams-i-Tabrizi*, Nicholson's Introduction, p. xxxi.

(kalám) but found none. At length in the writings of the Şúfis he found the rest he needed. His faith returned to him. He at once gave up his pursuits in Baghdad and left that city in the year 1087 a professed Şúfí. Since the time when al-Ash'ari made his great renunciation of his former Mu'tazila teaching there had been no such epoch in Islám, until al-Ghazálí fled from Baghdad. 'It meant that the reign of mere scholasticism was over; that another element was to work openly in the future Church of Islám, the element of the mystical life in God, of the attainment of truth by the soul in direct vision'.¹ Al-Ghazálí was too good a theologian not to see certain dangers in Şúfiism, which he tried to guard against. There was a danger lest the orthodox dogma of 'mukhalafa', by which is meant God's difference from the world and from all created things, should be impaired; there was the tendency to declare that the souls of men now partook of the divine nature and would finally be absorbed into it.² However, it was by al-Ghazálí's great influence and learning that Şúfiism obtained a firm and recognized position in Islám. Even orthodox Muslims had to accept the increasing practice of saint-worship and

¹ Macdonald, *Muslim Theology*, p. 226.

² 'It is part of the irony of the history of Muslim theology that the very emphasis on the transcendental unity should lead thus to pantheism.' Macdonald, *Muslim Theology*, p. 223. See also Gairdner, *The Muslim idea of God* (C.L.S.) p. 23, et seq.

to give credence to wonderful stories of the miracles of the Auliya' (saints). After this brief historical sketch, we may pass on to a more minute treatment of the system.

There are several theories as to the origin of Şúfiism which have been classed thus: the esoteric Islám theory; the Aryan reaction theory; the Neo-Platonist origin theory; the independent origin theory.¹ Whatever view we may take of its origin it undoubtedly was a reaction from the burden of a dry monotheism, of a rigid law and a stiffened ritual. 'Şúfiism was no exotic growth, but shoots up like a tender plant in the desert. It is a child of the soil, called into being by the deeper and truer religious spirit which the dry monotheism and stubborn dogmas of the Qur'án had stifled.'²

The orthodoxy of the faithful did not meet the needs of the more imaginative minds of some of the eastern races, and Şúfiism, supplying this want, found a home amongst them. Again, the great political movements and the tribal factions in the early history of Islám gathered round divergent religious dogmas, a fact plainly seen in the very distinct theology of the Shi'ahs, the

¹ For a full discussion of these various theories, see Browne, *A Literary History of Persia*, vol. i, pp. 418-21. For a statement on the Neo-Platonist origin theory, see Nicholson, *A Literary History of the Arabs*, pp. 388-9.

² Nicholson, in the Introduction to the *Diwan-i-Shams-i Tabrizi*, p. xxix.

followers and the partisans of the *Khalîfa* 'Alî. Şúfîism lent itself readily to the cause of the 'Aliyites, to whom the notion of the infusion of divine attributes into 'Alî and into the Imáms, his successors, was a most welcome idea. The allegorical explanation of religious duties and principles, ceremonial and moral, sometimes went so far as to substitute for these duties absolute devotion to the Imám, and to the sacred cause of the Shí'ahs. This was carried to its greatest extent under the mad *Khalîfa* Hâkim and in the sect of the Ismâ'îlians, the Bâtínis, and others.¹ At the same time, the quietism and the eclecticism of the Şúfîs is not in accordance with the more rigid teaching of Islâm. Browne says: 'Even scholars—especially such as have never visited the East—often speak of such sects as the Ismâ'îlians and the Bábîs of to-day as though they were akin to the Şúfîs, whereas a great hostility exists between them, the natural antagonism between dogmatism and eclecticism. The Bábîs in particular equal their Shí'ite foes in their hatred of the Şúfîs, whose point of view is quite incompatible with the exclusive claims of a positive and dogmatic creed.'²

The preachers of these new doctrines travelled far and wide and so mixed with men of all sorts and conditions. In this way ideas gleaned from Zoroastrians, Hindus, and Gnostics may have

¹ See Sell, *Essays on Islâm*, pp. 148-170.

² Browne, *A Literary History of Persia*, vol. i, p. 423.

entered into Şúfîism and largely affected it. The third century found the Zindîq and the Mu'tazila controversies at their height. It was an earnest attempt to bring reason to bear on religious matters and resulted in a system of scholasticism. But from all this the Persian mind revolted. Reason and logic were no substitute for revelling in the sense of the beautiful, or for meditating on the love of God and the union of the soul with the divine.

The hard and fast system of Islâm, with its clear-cut dogmas and its idea of finality in doctrine and law, would seem the most unlikely place in which to find a system such as Şúfîism; but the Qur'ân and the traditions contain its germs. 'At one time they represent Allâh as having created the world once for all, and as now removed to His seat in the 'arsh, or highest heaven, having left His creatures to work out their own salvation or condemnation by their own free will, according to the lights given them by the prophets; at another time they represent Him as the "Subtile Being", immanent and ever working in His creatures, the sum of all existence, the fulness of life, whereby all things move and exist, the omnipresent, not only predestinating, but originating all actions, dwelling in and communing with each individual soul.'¹ The Şúfîs gathered up ideas like

¹ *Gulshan-i-Râz*, Whinfield's Introduction, p. viii.

these and taught that this closer communion with God, this looking behind the veil, this cultivation of the 'inner eye',¹ would enable them to see and understand much which was hidden from those, who held that there was no real existence, except that which was plain and evident to reason and sight.

The Arabian philosophers² made known to their readers the Neo-Platonic philosophy, and the Şúfis adapted Qur'anic terms to the new ideas they thus gained. 'The world of phenomena and man, everything else in fact but Alláh, they identified with Not-being, absolute nonentity, which like a mirror reflects Being, and by thus borrowing particles of Being, rises to the rank of Contingent Being, a kind of Being which partakes both of existence and non-existence. This Not-being is a sort of Manichaean Ahriman, which solves all practical difficulties attaching to their speculative system. According to their theory the Infinite includes all Being, evil as well as good; but as this is not consistent with the goodness of the

¹ دل یافت دیدگ که مقیم هوای تست — The heart hath gotten an eye, always desiring Thee. *Diwân-i-Shams-i-Tabrizi*.

² 'The great philosopher, Avicenna (ibn Sînâ) once met the great mystic Abû Sa'îd ibn Abî'l-Khair. The former said, "What I know he sees" and the latter said, "What I see he knows." Pure in life and earnest in purpose, but starting from different points, both had attained the same goal, the one led by reason the other by love.' Browne, *Religious Systems of the World*, p. 314.

Alláh of the Qur'án, evil is said to proceed from Not-being.'¹

As in man there is some spark of real Being, he would seem to be above all law, but this difficulty is got over by saying that he is now in the state of Contingent Being, and so needs the discipline and restriction of law. The natural outcome, however, of all this was, in some cases, a spirit of indifference to the leading principles of Islâm, which when not openly attacked were indirectly assailed, for all revelations were believed to be but rays of one eternal light. This was also often accompanied by a low moral life. Still, the great majority of Şúfis, those who had not attained to the higher grades of the mystic life, were attached to religion, though with a devout ritual practice they united their allegorical notions. They thus adapted to their own peculiar views the Qur'anic teaching of the creation of

¹ Introduction to the *Gulshan-i-Râz*, p. vii. Some of the early Christian mystics held that 'evil has no substance'. 'There is nothing,' says Gregory of Nyssa, 'which falls outside of the Divine Nature, except moral evil alone. And this, we may say paradoxically, has its being in not-being. For the genesis of moral evil is simply the privation of being. That which, properly speaking, exists is the nature of the good.' (*Christian Mysticism*, by W. R. Inge, p. 25). So also in the *Gulshan-i-Râz*, we read 'Being is purely good in whatever it be; if it contains evil it proceeds from other.' وجود آنجا که باشد محض خیرست اگر شریست

در وی آن ز غیرست line 178. So also Jalálu'd-Din Rûmî:—

There is, then, no absolute evil in the universe.
Evil is but relative.

man, his fall, and banishment from paradise. In their opinion the union of the soul and the body, and their exile to this lower world were the necessary consequences of an eternal decree, the reason of which was known only to God. According to the Şúfis, souls existed before bodies, in which they are now imprisoned and in which condition, being separated from the joy they had in a pre-existent state, they look forward to the death of the body for their full manifestation, and the full fruition of all their aspirations. The Şúfis are fertile in reasons for eluding the authority of the text of the Qur'án, as regards the resurrection of the body, a dogma which conflicts with their view of the return of the soul to God. When a Şúfí says that God and he are one, he does not mean that the divine enters into the human by a kind of infusion (hulûl),¹ nor does he say that two substances combine to make one (ittihád), but that God and the soul are one in the sense that all that exists is God and nothing exists apart from Him.

I, We, Thou, He are all one thing,
For in Unity is no duality.²

¹ *Gulshan-i-Ráz*, line. 454. حُلُول و اتحاد اینجا مجالست

من و ما و تو و او است یک چیز * که در وحدت نباشد هیچ تمثیل
Gulshan-i-Ráz, line 449.

Şúfis hold strongly the doctrine of Tauhíd, or the divine Unity, but whereas the formula 'there is no god but God' means to an orthodox Muslim that there is no second god; to a Şúfí it means that there is nothing but God.

They argue that if it was lawful for the burning bush¹ to call itself God in the presence of Moses, so man may surely do the same.

Come into the valley of peace, for at once
The bush will say to thee, 'Verily I am God.'
The saying 'I am God' was lawful for the bush,
Why should it be unlawful for a good man to say so."

The reason given for the creation of the world is that God desired to manifest the mode of His existence in Himself, in accordance with the tradition. 'I was a hidden treasure and I desired to be known, so I created the creation in order that I might be known.'³ This self-existence He manifests by the mode of His existence outside of Himself, just as the image of the sun is seen in water. Thus in the *Gulshan-i-Ráz* we read:—

Not-being is the mirror of absolute Being,
The shining of the Truth is reflected in it.
Not-being is the mirror, the world the reflection, and man
Is as the eye reflected of the hidden person.⁴

So long as this phenomenal illusive existence remains, absolute Being is hid, and the answer to 'O Lord, show thyself to me, that I may

¹ *Ante*, p. 3.

در آ در وادی ایمن که ناگاه * درختی گویدت انی انا الله
روا باشد انا الله از درختی * چرا نبود روا از نیک بختی
كنت كنزا مخفيا فادببت ان اعرف فخلقت الخلق لكي اعرف
عدم آئینه هستی هست مطلق * كز و پیدا ست عكس تابش حق
عدم آئینه عالم عكس و انسان * چو چشم عكس دروی شخص پنهان
Gulshan-i-Ráz, lines 134, 140.

look upon thee' is, 'Thou shalt not see me.'¹ Thus this 'Not-being is the evidence of Being.'² God sees in Himself Being and Not-being; in the universe he sees Himself reflected as in a mirror. 'The Not-being is the mirror which reflects the Being.'³ This Not-being is, according to Tholuck, not matter clothed in form, nor matter unformed and inert, nor the place where matter came into existence, the *πλήρωμα* of the Gnostics, but is pure and simple negation of Being. God alone is all, outside of Him is non-existence, an illusion, just as one seems to see a circle when a light is twirled round.

The whole world is an imaginary thing,
Like a point whirled round in a circle⁴

'To the metaphysical conception of God as Pure Being, and the ethical conception of God as the Eternally Holy, the Şúfi adds another conception, which may be regarded as the keynote of all mysticism. To him, above all else, God is the Eternally Beautiful—*Jánán-i-Haqíqí*—the True Beloved. Before time was He existed in His infinite purity, unrevealed and unmani-

¹ رَبِّ ارْنِيْ اَنْظُرْ اِلَيْكَ قَالَتْ لَنْ تَرَانِيْ *Súratu'l-A'raf* (vii) 139.

² به بین آن نیستی کو عین هستیست *Gulshan-i-Ráz*, line 273.

³ عدم چون گشت هستی را مقابل * درو عکس شد اندر حال حامل
Gulshan-i-Ráz, line 135.

⁴ جهان خود جمله امر اعتباریست * چو آن يك نقطه كاندر دور ساریست
Gulshan-i-Ráz, line 709.

fest. Why was this state changed? Why was the troubled phantasm of the contingent world evoked from the silent depths of the non-existent.'¹ Mr. Browne shows how *Jámi* in the *Yúsuf u Zuleykha*, gives the answer.

I quote a few of the verses² which he has translated from this Persian poem.

But Beauty cannot brook
Concealment and the veil, nor patient rest
Unseen and unadmired: 'twill burst all bonds,
And from Its prison-casements to the world
Reveal Itself. See where the tulip grows
In upland meadows, how in balmy spring
It decks itself; and how amidst its thorns
The wild rose rends its garment, and reveals
Its loveliness. Thou, too, when some rare thought
Or beauteous image, or deep mystery
Flashes across thy soul, canst not endure
To let it pass, but hold'st it, that perchance
In speech or writing thou may'st send it forth
To charm the world.

The influence of the divine upon the human, which brings about union, is called *faiḍ*, or an emanation, an overflowing. This is caused either by *nida*, or calling; by *jadhb*, or attraction. These emanations flow down from God each moment, calling the soul and attracting it to Himself. It is by this constant efflux of being that all things consist; the robe of Being is

¹ Browne, *A year amongst the Persians*, p. 125.

² Ibid. pp. 126-7 for a number of other verses in the same strain.

cast over the nakedness of Not-being and thus 'every moment a new heaven and a new earth'¹ are produced. Şúfis base this idea on the verse 'and breathed of my spirit into him,'² Union, then, means the receiving these emanations into oneself, the being drawn more and more by the ardour of the desire for them, by abandoning all else, and by giving up existence even in the transport of joy which results. The idea of *jadhb*, or attraction, is given by Shams-i-Tabrizi in this verse:—

The motion of every atom is towards its origin,
A man comes to be the thing on which he is bent,
The soul and the heart by the attraction of wish and desire

Assume the qualities of the Beloved.³

We have seen that the words, 'I am a hidden treasure and would fain be known', lie at the basis of the Şúfí system, and that in creation God came forth from internal to external manifestation.⁴ It thus becomes a manifestation of Him produced

¹ *Gulshan-i-Ráz*, line 645.

² وَ نَفَخْتُ فِيْهِ مِنْ رُّوحِيْ Súrati'l-Hijr (xv) 29.

³ جنبش هر ذرّة باطل خود است * هر چه بود میل کسی آن شود
جان و دل از جذبۀ میل و هوش * همصفت دلبر و جانان شود
Diván-i-Shams-i-Tabrizi.

⁴ This is well put by Browne in *A year amongst the Persians*, p. 137, thus: 'The whole Universe, then, is to be regarded as the unfolding, manifestation, or projection of God. It is the mirror wherein He sees Himself: the arena wherein His various attributes display their nature. It is subsequent to Him not

by intelligence, which again is the only means by which man can reach his true ideal and final aim, the perfect knowledge of God. But man sprang from that intelligence which originated the universe and so to it he must return. This is the 'qaus-i-nuzúl', or the arc of descent, and the qaus-i-'urúj, or the arc of ascent which embrace the whole of the life of a Şúfí. Man is the highest development of the material world, because it is possible for him to rise just as he has descended. The soul is material in its origin, but has powers of spiritual development and so can ascend back again to God and to the most perfect existence.¹ The truly spiritual man seeks by entering into some religious Order and by placing himself under a Pír,² or spiritual director, to travel on this upward road and at last attain to union with the divine.

in sequence of *time*, but in sequence of *causation*; just as the light given off by a luminous body is subsequent to the luminosity of that body in *causation*, but not subsequent to it in *time*. This amounts to saying that the Universe is co-eternal with God, but not co-equal, because it is merely an emanation dependent on Him, while He has no need of it.'

¹ For a modern Persian view of the descent and ascent, see a good account of the teaching of Hájí Mullá Hádí in *A year amongst the Persians*, pp. 137-40.

² Şúfis attach great importance to this office: Jalálu'd-Dín Rúmí, the most eminent Şúfí poet whom Persia has produced, says:—

Come under the shadow of the man of reason (Pír).
Thou canst not find it in the road of the traditionists.
That man enjoys close proximity to Alláh.

But before we describe the *Taríqat*, or mystic path, there are a few other points to be noticed, as forming essential parts of Şúfí theories. All phenomenal illusions must be laid aside before there can be any hope of realizing the Absolute Being. The whole world must be looked upon as Not-being, even though the process may be accompanied with pain and sorrow.

Shed tears and like a lover lay the dust,
So long as we are in the dust, we see not the face of the Beloved.¹

One day, when expounding his views, Jalálu'd-Dín said: 'Thou seest nought, save that thou seest God therein.' A darwish came forward and said that the use of the term 'therein' indicated a receptacle, and that it might be argued that God would thus be comprehended, whereas He is incomprehensible. To this objection Jalálu'd-Dín replied thus: 'The universe of God's qualities is the receptacle of the universe of God's essence; but these two universes are really one. The first of them is not He, the second of them is not other than He. These, apparently two things,

Turn not away from obedience to him in any wise.
Having chosen this Director be submissive to him.
His hand is none other than the grasp of Allah.

اندر آ در سایه آن عاتلی * کش نتاند برد از راه ناقلی
بس تقرب جوید و سوع اله * سر مبیح از طاعت او هیچگاه
چون گرفتنی پیرهن تسلیم بشو * دست او جز قبضه الله نیست
Matiquavi, Book i, Tale x.

بیارا شک و چو مشتاق گرد را بنشان * که روی ماه نه بینیم تا درین گرد¹
Diwán-i-Shams-i-Tabrizi, Ode xliv.

are in fact one and the same. How, then, is a contradiction in terms implied? God comprises the exterior and the interior. If we cannot say, He is the interior, He will not include the interior; but He comprises all and in Him all things have their being. He is then the receptacle also, and comprises all existences, as the Qur'án says, "He comprises all things". It is stated that the darwish was silenced and became an obedient disciple. This is one of many such discussions, and according to Şúfí authorities all gainsayers were convinced by such obscure and almost unintelligible language.

All created beings, then, being included in the category of Not-being, the perfect man strives to rise to the state of Contingent Being, where for a time laws and creeds are needed for his guidance; but he does not remain there. He seeks to ascend to real Being and so to be free from all outward restraints, to be in no relation at all to right and wrong.

To the man of God what is wrong and what is right,
The man of God has ridden away from Not-being.¹

Sense and reason cannot transcend phenomena, so they must be ignored in favour of the 'inner light'. This faculty is called '*ṭaur*'. 'In addition to reason man has a certain faculty by which he

مرد خدا را چه خطا و صواب * مرد خدا گشت سوار از عدم¹
Diwán-i-Shams-i-Tabrizi, Ode viii.

can understand hidden mysteries.'¹ It is called by Shams-i-Tabrizi the 'eye of the heart', which is constant in its desire for God and by Jalálu'd-Dín the 'inward sense'.² This idea is not peculiar to Súfis. It was held by other mystics. It is what Hugo of St. Victor calls 'the eye of the soul' a separate faculty by means of which there is immediate intuition of deity. He says: 'This eye beholds what the eye of sense and the eye of reason cannot see, what is both within us and above us—God. Thus do the pure in heart see God. In such moments the soul is transported beyond sense and reason, to a state similar to that enjoyed by angelic natures.'³ He further describes it as 'an eye that beholds at once the past, the present, and the future, which penetrates what is hidden, investigates what is impalpable, which needs no foreign light wherewith to see, but gazes by a light of its own, peculiar to itself.'⁴

This faculty of *ṭaur* is to be used to gain the knowledge of God, apart from whom there is no real existence. Before explaining further the use of this faculty, it is, however, necessary for us to give some idea of the Sūfi cosmogony.

برای عقل طوری دارد انسان * که بشناسد بدان اسرار پنهان
Gulshan-i-Ráz, line 481.

² For what is inspiration (وحی) but the speaking of the inward sense', *Mathnawi*, Book i, Tale vi.

³ Vaughan, *Hours with the Mystics*, vol. i, p. 158.

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 170.

Súfis divide the works of God into two kinds—the perceived world and the conceived world. The former is the material visible world, familiar to us all; the latter is the invisible, spiritual world, and also the world of command, so called from the words of the Qur'án used in creation, *كن فكان* *Kun fa kán*—'Be, and it was.'

The first thing which issued forth was the Primal Element, called by some the primary intellect. Thus in the *Akhlāq-i-Jalāli* we read that 'the first principle which at the mandate, "Be and it was", issued by divine power from the chaotic ocean of inexistence was a simple and luminous essence, termed the Primary Intellect, and also by the great teachers of mysticism and investigation, the Muḥammadan Spirit.' It is said that the verse, 'and the business of the last hour will be but as the twinkling of an eye, or even less' [*Sūratu'n-Nahl'* (xvi) 79], refers to this creation of the Primal Element—the *Jauhar-i-awwāl*. It has many other names, such as the Pen, the Spirit of Muḥammad, the Constructive Spirit, the Universal Reason (*'aql-i-kull*). It is the perfection of wisdom, is ever near to God, and is ever seeking Him. There is nothing except the Primal Element which can directly approach Him, or receive bounty direct from Him. It is through the Primal Element that God's commands issue forth. Thus, as the Pen, it writes the commands of God. 'When the Qáf of His

power breathed on the Pen, it cast thousands of pictures on the page of Not-being.¹

In this way also intelligences, souls, elements, the heavens, and the stars came forth. Then from these simple natures started forth the animal, vegetable, and mineral kingdoms. In proof of this Şúfis refer to the verse, 'Nún, by the Pen and what they write.'² They say that 'Nún' represents the world of power, the Pen the Primal Element, and that 'what they write' refers to the simple natures. They write on for ever, for 'should the sea become ink, to write the words of my Lord, the sea would surely fail ere the words of my Lord would fail.'³ Thus the universe is ever ebbing, sustained every moment by, as it were, pulsations of the pervading spirit; so that it is described as being every moment annihilated and fresh-created.⁴

چو قاف قدرتش دم بر قلم زد * هزاران نقش بر لوح عدم زد¹
Gulshan-i-Ráz, line 4.

² *Súratu'l-Qalam* (lxviii) 1. ³ *Súratu'l-Kahf* (xviii) 109.

⁴ These various powers seem to have something in common with the Æons of the Gnostics. The idea was that in the primal source of all existence, the fulness of life is still undeveloped and that this development took place by means of the Æons, masculine and feminine, by whose reciprocal action the chain of vital development is carried on. The *hidden* essence of God no being can comprehend; it is the absolute *ἀγνώστου*; it can only be known so far as He has revealed Himself in the development of His powers (*δυνάμεις*) or Æons. These Æons are so many forms of manifestation, phases, names of Him who in His hidden being is incomprehensible, ineffable and who transcends all conceptions. See Neander, *Church History*, vol. ii, pp. 48, 73.

The final end and aim of all is man, who by a process of evolution is at last arrived at.

I died as inanimate matter and arose a plant.
 I died as a plant and rose again as an animal.
 I died as an animal and arose a man,
 Why then should I fear to become less by dying?
 I shall die once again as a man
 To rise an angel perfect from head to foot.
 Again when I suffer dissolution as an angel
 I shall become what passes the conception of man!
 Let me, then, become non-existent, for non-existence
 Sings to me in loudest tones: 'To Him we shall return.'¹
 Thus the final end of all creation was man.

There is no other final cause beyond man.
 It is disclosed in man's own self.²
 That which was made last, consider to be first,
 The last which was made was the soul of Adam.³

از جمادی مردم و نامی هدم * و ز نما مردم بحیوان سر زدم¹
 مردم از حیوانی و آدم هدم * پس چه نرسم کی ز مردم کم هدم
 حمله دیگر بهمیرم از بشر * تا بر آرم از ملائک بال و پر
 بار دیگر از ملک قربان شوم * آنچه اندر وهم ناید آن شوم
 پس عدم کردم چون ارغنون * گویدم کائنات الیه راجعون

Mathnavi, Book iii, Tale xvii. The English version is from Whinfield's *Mathnavi*, p. 159. See also a similar passage in Book iv, Tale ix. and in the *Gulshan-i-Ráz*, lines 317-39. In the latter passage man's journey is described from the lowest point, through the vegetive, animal and human grades, up to the highest point of obliteration of all consciousness and perception of the external phenomenal world and immersion in the sea of divine glory.

نه آخر علت غائی در آخر * همی گردد بذات خویش ظاهر²
Gulshan-i-Ráz, line 263.

هر آنچه آید باخر پیش می بین * در آخر گشت پیدا نفس آدم³
Ibid. line 261.

So also Browning, who says:—

Thus He dwells in all,
From life's minute beginnings, up at last
To man—the consummation of this scheme
Of being, the completion of this sphere of life.

Man is complete when he has gained intelligence, but intelligence was the Primal Element; so it is the beginning and the end, the first and the last, and thus the mystic circle is complete. If man would be perfect he must rise up to the Primal Element and fulfil the words: 'From Him was the origin and to Him is the return.' It is this which is the aim and object of the traveller's journey. Thus Jalálu'd-Dín says:—

From realms of formlessness, existence doth take form,
And fades again therein. 'To Him we must return.'¹

This is called by a great philosopher, the 'procession of His essence unto His essence.'²

Şúfis claim for man the privilege of displaying the divine attributes. This is a sacred deposit committed to him. 'Verily we proposed to the Heavens and to the Earth and to the mountains to receive this Faith, but they refused the burden and they feared to receive it. Man undertook to bear it.'³ Evil men as well as good men perform this

صورت از بی صورتی آمد برون * باز شد کانا الیه راجعون
Mathnawi, Book I, Tale v.

² تجلی لذاة علی ذاة Akhlaq-i-Jalali, (Persian edition A. H. 1289), p. 259. (Thompson's English edition, 1839, p. 364.)

³ Sûratu'l-Ahzab (xxxiii), 72.

function. 'The evil-hearted and the fools are the opposite of light, yet they are the place of true manifestation.'¹

Just as the universe is the mirror of God, so the heart of man is the mirror of the universe. The Şúfí who would know God or know the truth must look into his own heart. In order to avoid sin and error and to gain holiness and wisdom, he must turn his eye inward, for

All the earth I wandered over, seeking still the beacon bright,
Never tarried in the day time, never sought repose at night,
Till I heard a reverend preacher all the mystery declare,
Then I looked within my own bosom, and 'twas shining brightly there.

We have already stated that the function of the Primal Element was to receive from God and to convey what was so received to the world. Thus it includes both the saintly and the prophetic offices.

Some hold that each of these functions of the Primal Element needs an exponent, that Muḥammad is the prophetic exponent and that al-Mahdi, the last of the Imáms, will be the saintly one. Others say that the Primal Element and Muḥammad are identical,² and that, therefore,

ظلومی و جهولی مد نور ند * و لیکه مظهر عین ظهور ند
Gulshan-i-Róz, line 264.

² This is to explain the tradition, 'He who has seen me has seen God', which means that Muḥammad is the Primal Element, namely, that which receives from God and then interprets Him to man.

both offices are vested in him. This idea throws light on expressions which seem to consider prophets and Imáms as almost divine. A disciple of the great mystic leader Báyzíd of Bistám was once asked whether God or his Master was the greater. He replied: 'I only know my teacher, I know no other than him, and he is greater than all beside.' To a similar question another disciple replied: 'There is no difference between the two. As God does not walk in this world of sensible objects, the prophets are the substitutes of God. If thou supposest that these substitutes and their principal are two different things, thou art wrong.'

According to the traditions, 'I was a prophet while Adam was yet between earth and clay,' and 'There is no prophet after me,' Şúfis hold that Muḥammad was a prophet even before the creation and that he still holds office. This identification of Muḥammad with the Primal Element explains the names sometimes given to him, such as Universal Reason, the Great Spirit, the Truth of Humanity, the Possessor of the ray of light—the Núr-i-Muḥammadi—from God's own splendour.

As man, then, sprang originally from the Primal Element, the Şúfí seeks to return to it. On the one side of the circle is the qaus-i-nazúl or arc of descent, which 'includes the whole process of development until man becomes possessed of reasonable powers;' on the other side is the qaus-i-'urúj or arc of ascent, which includes each stage from

the first dawn of the reasoning powers of man until he is finally absorbed in the Primal Element. This is the origin and the return of man. The ascent is called the Taríqat, or road, in passing from stage to stage of which the traveller gains an increasing knowledge of the mystical dogmas of Şúfíism. Before setting out upon the journey he must be possessed of the spirit of humanity and acquire capacity. These are referred to, according to Şúfis, in the verse, 'and when I shall have fashioned him and breathed my spirit into him.'¹

The words, 'when I shall have fashioned him', refer to the capacity bestowed for purifying one's self from all qualities and dispositions. The words, 'breathed my spirit into him', refer to the gift of the spirit of humanity. These gifts may be given in middle or in old age. If the man who desires to gain truth is in real earnest and striving to control his desires, he is called a Tálíb, a seeker. He seeks to rise from the germ which contains the Primal Element, a lowly position, to the divine light, a high and lofty one. This is said to be referred to in the verse: 'Of goodliest fabric we have created man, then brought him down to the lowest of the low; save who believe, and do the things that are right, for theirs shall be a reward that faileth not.'² If the Tálíb feels drawn onward

¹ Súratu'l-Hijr (xv) 29. ² Súratu'l-Tín (xcv) 4-6.

he is majdhúb, or attracted and becomes a Muríd, or disciple, and attaches himself to some Pír, or spiritual director. He must now submit without a murmur to all that may await him and yield implicit obedience.¹ In the words of Háfiz he must be absolutely submissive.

His hand I stay not, though his falchion slay me.
I praise His mercy, while His bolts affray me.²

So, too, Madame Guyon :—

Be not angry, I resign
Henceforth, all my will to Thine,
I consent that thou depart,
Tho' thine absence breaks my heart,
Go, then, and for ever too,
All is right that thou wilt do.

Then this absolute submission gains its reward, which she thus describes :—

This was just what Love intended.
He was now no more offended.
Soon as I became a child,
Love returned to me and smiled.
Never strife shall more betide,
'Twixt the bridegroom and the Bride.

Fitzgerald in a free translation has caught the spirit of 'Umar Khayyám's verse which, under

¹ This is why he is called in the *Mathnavi* (Book i, Tale i) 'the son of the time present' ابن الوقت—because he regards neither the days past nor the days to come, but is a passive instrument moved by the divine impulse of the moment.

² بتیغم گر کشد دستش نه گیرم * و گر تیرم زند منت پذیرم

the metaphor of a chess board and chess men, makes submission not even an effort of the will, but looks on human beings as mere automatons, moved by fate and at last hurled into non-existence.

'Tis all a chequer-board of nights and days
Where destiny with men for pieces plays;
Hither and thither moves and mates and slays,
And one by one back in the closet lays.

The entire negation of self clears the way for the apprehension of the truth that there is no existence save that of God. Life and its pleasures veil the truth from the eye of man. These must be set aside before the vision of the One is seen. This is what is meant by passing from negation to affirmation, and from ignorance to knowledge. The initial stage is now passed and the man thus becomes a Sálík, or traveller, whose whole time and thought are given up to sulúk, or the prosecution of this mystical journey. This he must do until he completes the upward ascent of the circle and arrives at the perfect stage.

An important condition of entering on the journey is to think on the mercies of God and to ignore reason, which cannot discern the true light. It is only as man closes up all his intellectual apprehensions and ceases to strive to know, that he attains to the real knowledge of that which transcends the mind of man.

The light of reason applied to the very light of life
Is as the eye of the head applied to the sun.¹

بود نور عود در ذات انور * بسان چشم سر در چشمه عور¹

The Şúfi who would be perfect must first obey the Şari'at, or sacred Law; then he enters upon the Taríqat, or Way, the path of search after God. He now abandons forms and ceremonies. If diligent he then attains to ma'rifat, or supernatural knowledge and finally gain Haqíqat, or the Truth. But between the commencement and the end of the mystic journey in the Taríqat, there are eight stages,¹ service, love, abstraction, knowledge, ecstasy, the truth, union, extinction.² It is not easy to fix the words of Şúfi poets and to say to which stages they refer; but the ideas relating to all are there, though in no systematic order. Generally speaking, the second stage is the popular one with the poets, who delight in

¹ St. Augustine arranges the ascent of the soul in seven stages. The last, union, which he calls 'the vision and contemplation of Truth' is not a step but the goal of the journey. Of the blessedness of this state he says: 'I entered and beheld with the mysterious eye of my soul, the light that never changes, above the eye of my soul, above my intelligence. It was something altogether different from any earthly illumination.' W. R. Inge, *Christian Mysticism*, p. 181.

Tauler places the ascent in three stages. In the first we practise self-denial and must be under strict rule and discipline; the second is contemplation: 'Wilt thou with St. John rest on the loving breast of our Lord Jesus Christ, thou must be transformed into his beauteous image by a constant earnest contemplation thereof;' the third stage is subjugation of the will, a passive state of will and intellect. Ibid. p. 186-7.

² 'Abúdiyat, 'ishq, zuhd, ma'rifat, wajd or hál, haqíqat, wasl, faná. See also the list given by 'Azíz ibn Muḥammad Nafasí in the *Maḡsad-i-Aḡsá*, quoted by Palmer in *Oriental Mysticism*, pp. 66-7.

descriptions of God and man as the Beloved and the Lover. Persian poetry deals with a 'mystical apprehension of the unity and divinity in all things which heightens the delight in natural and human beauty.' The praises of women and of wine are sung by Niḡāni, Ḥáfiz, Sa'dí, and other poets; but a mystical interpretation is placed on their rhapsodies.¹ The Şúfi seeks for a type of heavenly love and finds it in earthly love. Beauty 'stands upon the threshold of the mystical world' and so earthly love, idealized in the frenzy of Majnún for Laila and the passion of Zulaikha for Yúsuf, seems to him the nearest resemblance to the highest of all love, that of the soul for God.

The Şúfi reasons thus: 'From the love of the reflection we pass to the love of the Light which casts it; and loving the Light, we at length become one with It, loving the false self and gaining the True, therein attaining at length to happiness and rest, and becoming one with all that we have loved—the essence of that which constitutes the beauty alike of a noble action, a beautiful thought, or a lovely face.'²

This is the key to ma'rifat, or spiritual knowledge and so the basis of the highest life. 'The

¹ A good glossary of the technical and allegorical expressions in the writings of the Şúfi poets will be found in the Appendix to Palmer's *Oriental Mysticism*.

² Browne, *A year amongst the Persians*, p. 129.

eye brings with it only what it longs to see,' and the man is blind to the deep things of the mystic life until the inner eye is made intelligent by love.

Human love, then, symbolizes the divine, the tavern is an oratory, intoxication the confusion caused by the sight of the Divine, the locks of the beloved are the visible attributes of God in nature,¹ which like the curls on the face partly hide and partly reveal it.

In the 'Diwán-i-Ĥáfiz' we read: 'I said to him, "Knowest thou what the chain of the curls of the Beloved means?" He said, "Ĥáfiz makes a complaint of the long and dark night of separation;"'² that is, these chains bind the soul not yet worthy of the full light. Shelley has the same idea in

Life of life! Thy lips enkindle
With their love the breath between them;
And thy smiles before they dwindle
Make the cold air fire; then screen them
In those locks, where whoso gazes
Faints entangled in their mazes.

No doubt Şúfis often press the language of the poets too far, and show a faulty exegesis, for not

¹ The varied pictures I have drawn on space,
Behold what fair and goodly sights they seem!
One glimpse I gave them of my glorious face.
The last line is literally, 'I showed them a hair's point of my curl' —
مر مری از زلف خود نمودم —

² گفتمش سلسله زلف بتان دانی چیست
گفت حافظ کله از هب پیدا میکرد

all their poems are mystical. Whilst words bearing an allegorical signification were often used to veil what to the devout Muslim would otherwise have been heresy, they often express just the mind of a man of pleasure, fond of a Bohemian life. Anyhow, Ĥáfiz has not the credit of being a man of ascetic life. He delighted 'to float luxuriously between heaven and earth, and this world and the next, on the wings of a poetical expression, that might serve indifferently for either.'¹

The ordinary theologian cannot enter on the mystic path, for he is still in the bondage of dogmas and so wanders about in darkness. He cannot grasp the full meaning of the Unity.² When it is fully realized it leads the Şúfi to annihilate self in the absolute Truth, to become eternal in the Absolute, to be made one with the One and to abstain from evil; or, as Ĥáfiz says:—

Ĥáfiz, when preaching unity with unitarian pen,
Blot out and cancel every page that tells of spirits and
of men.

¹ Fitzgerald, quoted in Leaf's *Versions from Ĥáfiz*, p. 17, where the whole subject is discussed.

² کلامی کو ندارد لوری توحید * بتاریکی در ست از غیم تقلید
Gulshan-i-Ráz, line 108.

So also in the *Rubá'iyát* we read
Some look for truth in creeds and forms and rules;
Some grope for doubt or dogmas in the schools;
But from behind the veil a voice proclaims
Your road lies neither here nor there, O fools.

On the other hand, the ordinary theologian is in the bondage of taqlid, that is, enslaved to dogmas and to creeds, believing blindly what has been believed by those who have preceded him. Now, the Şúfî gains his knowledge of the divine essence by direct intuition, and not through ordinary theological instruction, nor by scholastic methods which deal with the attributes of quantity, quality, and relation.¹ He purifies his soul from sensible forms and images, so that from all intellectual apprehensions and all operations of the mind he may

Dismiss cares and be clear of heart.

Like the face of a mirror on which there is no reflection,
When it becomes clear of images, all images are contained
in it.²

Even contemplation of the external works of nature will not give the light. All the illusory phenomena which hide the truth must be cast aside.³

منزه دانش از چند و چه و چون * تعالی هانۀ عما بقوکون¹
Gulshan-i-Ráz, line 3

اندیشها رها کن و دل ساده شو تمام²
چون روی آینه که نقش و نگار نیست
چون ساده شد از نقش همه نقشها دروست
Dawán-i-Shams-i-Tabrízí, Ode xiii.

³ Juand'Avila says: 'Let us put a veil between ourselves and all created things.' Juan d'Avila, with other Spanish mystics, was persecuted by the Inquisition and in 1559 one of his books was placed on the Index. Insistence on disinterested love and admonitions to close the eye of sense formed part of their

Since His works are manifested from His essence,
His essence is not manifested from His works;
The light of His essence is not contained in phenomena,
For the glory of His Majesty is very great.¹

Şúfîs even go so far as to set aside any external religious revelation. Indeed, indifference to all forms of religion is a cardinal Şúfî dogma.² Thus Shamsu'd-Dîn-Tabrízî:—

While my loved phantom dwells in the pagoda's bound,
'Twere mortal sin, should I the Ka'ba compass round,

teaching. The earlier Christian mystics, believing that God is closer to us 'than breathing, and nearer than hands and feet' were impatient of any intermediaries. We need not search for His foot prints in nature, when we can behold His face in ourselves is their answer to St. Augustine's fine expression that all things bright and beautiful in the world are 'footprints of the uncreated wisdom.' Coleridge has expressed their feeling in his *Ode to Dejection*.

It were a vain endeavour,
Though I should gaze for ever
On that green light that lingers in the West.
I may not hope from outward forms to win.
The passion and the life whose fountains are within.
W. R. Inge, *Christian Mysticism*, pp. 216, 27.

چو آیاتش روشن گشته از ذات * نگرود ذات او روشن از آیات¹
نگنجد نور ذات اندر مظاهر * که سبحات جلالش هست قاهر
Gulshan-i-Ráz, line 115.

² In the seventh tale of the second book of the *Mathnavi* it is said that Moses heard a shepherd praying thus: 'O God shew me where Thou art that I may become Thy servant, clean Thy shoes, dress Thy hair and fetch Thee milk.' Moses rebuked the man for his foolish prayer. He was ashamed and ran away. God then rebuked Moses, saying, 'To each race I have given different ways of praising me. It is not the words I care for, but the spirit in which they are said. Various are the ways of devotion but if genuine all are accepted.'

The Ka'ba is but a church, if there His trace be lost;
The Church my only Ka'ba, while He there is found.¹

So 'Umar Khayyám :—

In cell and cloister, monastery and synagogue, one lies
In dread of Hell, one dreams of Paradise.
But none that know the secrets of the Lord
Have sown their hearts with such like fantasies.²

So Jalálu'd-Dín Rûmí :—

Say not that all these creeds are false,
The false ones capture hearts by the scent of truth.
Say not they are all erroneous thoughts,
There is thought in the world void of reality.
He who says everything is true is a fool,
He who says all is false is a knave.³

So also Háfiz :—

Between the love of the cloister and that of the tavern
there is no difference.

¹ در بتکده تا عیال معشوقه ما ست
رفتن بطواف کعبه از عین عطاست
گر کعبه از و بوی ندارد گنش است
با بوی وصال او گنش کعبه ما ست
Devân-Shams-i-Tabrizi, p. 298.

² در صومعه و مدرسه و دیر و کنش
قرینده روزخند و جوای بهشت
الکس که ز اسرار خدا با خبر است
زین تخم در اندرون دل هیچ نکشت
Rubá'iyât-i-'Umar Khayyám.

پس لگو کاین جمله دینها باطلند * باطلان بر بوی حق دام دلند
پس مگو جمله عیالست و ملال * بی حقیقت نیست در عالم عیال
آنکه گوید جمله خلست احمقست * و آنکه گوید جمله باطل او حقست

Matnnavi, Book II, Tale xi.

For wherever love is, there is the face of the Beloved.
Wherever the pious works of the Muslim hermitage display their beauty.

There are the bells of the Christian convent and the name of the cross.

Even idol worship is allowed in the *Gulshan-i-Ráz* :—

Since all things are the manifestors of Being,
One amongst them must be an idol.¹
If the Musalmán but knew what is faith,
He would see that faith is idol worship.
If the polytheist only knew what an idol was,
How could he go astray in his religion?²

He sees in idols naught but the visible creature³
and that is the reason that he is legally a heathen.
Jalálu'd-Dín Rûmí, treating of the same subject
and in the same spirit, says :—

Cross and Christian, from end to end
I surveyed; He was not on the cross.
I went to the idol temple, to the ancient pagoda,
No trace was visible there.
I bent the reins of search to the Ka'ba,
He was not in that resort of old and young.

¹ چو اعیان هست هستی را مظاهر
از آن جمله یکی بت باشد آخر
² مسلمان گر بدالستی که بت چیست
بدالستی که دین در بت پرستیست
اگر مشرک را بت آگاه گشتی
کجا در دین خود گمراه گشتی
Gulshan-i-Ráz, lines 868, 872-3.

³ That is, the phenomenal.

But it was all of no avail, for the loved one came not into view, until he could say:—

I gazed into my own heart;

There I saw him, He was nowhere else.

In the whirl of its transport my spirit was tossed,

Till each atom of separate being I lost.¹

In thus setting aside all external revelations and in removing from the mind all impressions from outward phenomena, all names and words are set aside, the heart reflects each new created form, and is illuminated with divine glory. This is set forth in a striking allegory by Jalálu'd-Dín, the greatest of all the Sūfí poets. A Sultán held an audience of Chinese and of Greek painters, who both claimed superiority. The Sultán gave to the two parties houses on opposite sides of the street, in order that the skill of both might be seen at the same time. The Chinese painted their house with many colours and in a most gorgeous manner, while the Greeks used no paint but simply burnished and polished the house allotted to them. When all was ready the Sultán went to inspect the work and much admired the beauty of the house painted by the Chinese. He then turned to the house of the Greeks, and

چلیپا و نصرانیان سر بسر * پیچمودم اندر چلیپا نبود¹
به بتخانه رفتم بدیر گهن * در و هیچ رنگی هویدا نبود
بکعبه کشیدم عنان طلب * در آن مقصد پیر و برنا نبود
نکه کردم اندر دل خویشتن * در آن جاش دیدم دگر جا نبود
حقیقت چنان مست و حیران هدم * که از هستیم ذره پیدا نبود

Just as the Greeks have put their curtain back,
Down glides a sunbeam through the lifted clouds,
And, lo, the colours of that rainbow house
Shine, all reflected on those glassy walls,
That face them, rivalling: the sun hath painted,
With lovelier blending, on that stony mirror
The colours spread by man so artfully.
Know, then, O friend! Such Greeks the Sūfís are,
Owning nor book nor master, and on earth
Having one sole and simple task to make
Their hearts a stainless mirror for their God.
Is thy heart clear and argent as the Moon?
Then imaged there may rest, innumerable,
The forms and lines of heaven.¹

The fact is that reason is considered helpless in such cases; if the heart is cleansed 'from the stain of being' it is right with God. All is then well and the inner light is seen, light and life are found, certainty takes the place of doubt and love for ever rules the man. 'Just as the motion of an atom is towards its origin, a man becomes the thing on which he is bent.'² Under the direction of the

بعد از آن آمد بسوی رومیان * پرده را بالا کشیدند از میان¹
عکس آن تصویر و آن کردارها * زد برین صافی شده دیوارها
هر چه آنجا بود اینجا بنمود * دیده را از دیده خانه میربود
رومیان آن صوفیا نند ای پسر * بی ز تکرار کتاب و بی هنر
لیک میقل کرده اند آن مسینها * پاک زاز و حرص و بخل و کینها
آن صفای آئینه وصف دلست * صورت بی منتها را قابل است
Mathnawi, Book I, Tale xiv.

جنبش هر ذره باطل خود است * هر چه بود میل کسی آن شود²
Dewân-Shams-i-Tabrizi, p. 254.

Pír, the neophyte will be shown all this and be guided aright.

God's servant is His shadow here below on earth,
To this world dead, but living in a second birth.
To his skirts cling: from him the soul's nutrition see,
That from calamity of the last age thou mayst be free.¹

The traveller must know his origin, he must purify himself from all notions of self, and then he will pass from stage to stage and his journey will be one long revelation, leading him on from the mazes of Contingent Being to the Necessary Being and away from all darkness and defect.² He sees not only himself, but all phenomena intoxicated with the wine of divine love, beginning with the heavens and the angels.

The heavens giddy with this wine, are reeling to and fro,
Desiring in their hearts to smell its perfume;
The angels, drinking it pure from pure vessels,
Pour the dregs of their draught upon the world.³

The heavens and the angels were created before man and were earlier emanations from the

سایه یزدان بود بنده خدا * مرده این عالم و زنده خدا¹
دامن او گیر زو تر بیگمان * تا رهی از آفت آخر زمان
Mathnavi, Book I, Tale iii.

مسافر آن بود کو بگذرد زود * ز خود صافی خود چون آتش از دود²
بعکس مسیر اول در منازل * رود تا گردد از انسان کامل
بدان اول که تا چون گشت موجود * که تا انسان کامل گشت مولود
Gulshan-i-Ráz, lines 315-17.

فلک سرگشته از وی در تگا پوی * هوا در دل باصید یکی بوی³
حلاکت خورده صاف از کوزه پاک * بجرعه ریخته دردی برین خاک
Gulshan-i-Ráz, lines 727-8.

Primal Element.¹ The effect of love at last reached man, but only those who have the spirit of humanity and the capacity realize its full effect. Some gain philosophic wisdom only; some become religious in the ordinary sense and follow the traditional systems; but some become intoxicated with divine love.² Such are the true travellers, and in them the effect increases, until they get freedom from all dogma and all ritual and even from existence itself. The desire of such an one so grows that it is said of him, 'The ocean-hearted, mighty drinker, who at one draught drinks up existence and so obtains release from affirmations and negations and becomes free from all need of worship and ceremony, now seizes the skirt of the Ancient of the wine-house.'³

The 'Ancient' is the Pír by whom the Muríd, or disciple, has been initiated, and under whose

¹ Sûfís believe that the first thing God created was the Primal Element (جوهر اول). This He created of Himself, without any medium whatever. They quote in support of this, the verse 'And the business of the last hour will be but as the twinkling of an eye, or even less.' [Sûratu'n-Nahl (xvi) 79]. It more properly relates to the Last Day. On the whole subject, see Palmer, *Oriental Mysticism*, pp. 33-6, 43, 55, 57.

² یکی از یک صراحی گشته عاصی

Gulshan-i-Ráz, line 834.

زهی دریا دل رند سر افراز³
در آشامیده هستی را بیک بار * فراغت یافته ز اقرار و انکار
هده فارغ ز نهد خشک و طامات * گرفته دامن پیر خرابات
Gulshan-i-Ráz, line 836.

training he at length arrives at this exalted state.

But all that takes time and he must commence at the first stage, that of servitude. He becomes an 'Ábid, a servant. At this stage it is said that

The honour of man lies in being under compulsion,
Not in this that he has a share in free will.¹

For a time the law has control. Some restraint is needed till further developments take place.

The reason why He has imposed on you the law
Is because He has given to you of His own essence;
As you are helpless under this burden of law,
Abandon and forsake this self of yours.²

The next stage is that of love. Jalálu'd-Din Rûmî says:—

Love Him whom saints and prophets all have loved
Through whom alone we all have lived and moved.³

But to realize this love perfectly, all notions of time and space must be set aside.

کرامت آدمی را ز اضطرار نیست * نه آن کورا نمایی. اختیار نیست¹
Gulshan-i-Ráz, line 554.

بشرعت زان سبب تکلیف کردند
که از ذات خود تعریف کردند
چو از تکلیف حق عاجز شوی تو
بیکبار از میان بیرون روی تو
Gulshan-i-Ráz, lines 558-9.

عشق آن بگزین که جمله انبیا
یافتند از عشق او کار و کیا
Mathnavi, Book I.

Straightway lift yourself above time and space,
Quit the world and be yourself a world to yourself.¹

As this love deepens and pervades the soul, external things become of less and less moment. The outward forms of religion and custom no longer bind the traveller, for true obedience now lies in discarding them. Distinction between the creeds passes away. The authority of law is over the 'I', but

When I and thou remain not in the midst,
What is mosque, what is synagogue, what is fire temple? ²

The idea of 'I' and 'we' is for this lower worldly state, where praise and prayer ascend to God; but the higher state is this:—

Immersed in the Beloved we shall be,
When in one soul shall we be, I and thee.³

Jámî in the poem called *Salâman and Absâl* says:—

Love is only
Perfect when itself transcends
Itself, and, one with that it loves,
In undivided Being blends.

یکی راه بر تو از کون و مکان
جهان بگذار و خود در خود جهان شو
Gulshan-i-Ráz, line 299.

همه حکم شریعت از من تست
که آن بر بسته جان و تن تست
من و تو چون نمائد درمیانه
چه مسجد چه کنشت چه دیر خانه
Gulshan-i-Ráz, lines 504-5.

تا من و توها همه یک جان شوند
عاقبت مستغرق جانان شوند
Mathnavi, Book 1.

So also Shamsu'd-Din Tabrizi

Ye who in search of God, of God, pursue,
Ye need not search, for God is you, is you!
Why seek a something which was missing ne'er?
Save you none is, but you are where, O where.¹

Having thus learnt to throw off forms and look forwards to the true union, the traveller can advance one stage more. He becomes a Zâhid, or abstracted. Contemplation and silence are now his duty. He must not respond to any earthly love, for the 'lover of God must be silent.'² And if nothing personal must disturb the attraction, the drawing, of the soul upward to God, so neither must any mundane affairs affect it. The man must be perfectly oblivious to all that goes on in the world.³

Why should I sorrow, though desolation abound,
In such desolation we royal treasures find all.
He who is drowned in God, in Him surely is found,
Like a wave of the sea, the soul will rise calmly and fall.⁴

¹ آنانکه طلبگار خدائید خدائید
• حاجت بطلب نیست همائید همائید
چیزی که نگردد کم از هر چه جوئید
کس غیر شما نیست کجائید کجائید

² چونکه عاقل اوست خاموش باش

— ان السلامة منها (الدنيا) ترك مافيها
'Salvation from the world is to renounce the things of the world.'

⁴ من چه غم دارم که ویرانی بود * زیر ویرانی گنج سلطانی بود
غرق حق خواهد که باشد غرق تر * همچو موج بحر جان زیر و زیر

Mathnavi, Book I.

This entire abstraction is called *tajrid*, literally a stripping off, and, in Şúfí language, a turning away from self and all else, the mortification of all desires, sensual and intellectual. Should this cause sorrow and poverty of mind, then in God is true rest found.

O thou who art my soul's comfort in the season of sorrow,
O thou who art my spirit's treasure in the bitterness of dearth.¹

It is only as this abstraction is persevered in and made perfect that the light of divine guidance shines upon the path.²

The light then comes and the next stage, that of *ma'rifat*, or knowledge, is entered upon. It is by the light of the truth that truth is known. The traveller has no real existence of his own, it is only by the communicated knowledge of the existence of God that he can know Him. 'Beside Him is no knower or known.'

We have already seen³ that God created the worlds in order to manifest forth His glory. 'The first thing created was 'aql, or reason, logos, the unspoken thought, then the spoken word. From this 'aql, or logos, emanated the 'aql-i-kull,

ای که بهنگام درد راحت جانی مرا * ای که بتلذذ فقر گنج روانی مرا
Diwân-i-Shams-i-Tabrizi, Ode vi.

² *Diwân-i-Shams-i-Tabrizi.* So also Master Eckhart. 'I tell you, by the eternal truth, that ye are not rightly poor when ye have a will to perform the will of God, or any desire of God; for the poor man is he who wills, knows, and desires nothing.'

³ *Ante, p. 17.*

or universal soul, the sum of all the divine attributes, called the 'ayán-i-thábita. The light of these divine ideas then shone upon the darkness of Not-being and each atom of Not-being reflected one of them.¹ Heaven and the angels, for instance, reflected the attributes of mercy and hell, and the devils the attributes of terror. At last the soul of man, which reflects all the attributes, merciful and terrible, was created. 'Man is thus a microcosm, or recapitulation of the whole universe. On the one side he is luminous with the light of the merciful attributes, but on the other he is black with the darkness of the terrible ones, reflected in his essential Not-being. He is thus created "half to rise and half to fall", and has power to refuse the evil and choose the good. But all the phenomena of the universe, man included, have no real existence of their own; but are renewed every moment by the constant outpouring, through the Logos, of reflections from the one Noumenon and, when the divine purposes are accomplished, the whole phantasmagoria of phenomenal existence will vanish and "God will be heir of all".'² It is the object of the Áríf, or Gnostic, to penetrate into this divine scheme and to understand how divine

¹ The sum of the reflected rays is the perfect image of God:—
چون آینه است عالم نقش کمال عشقت
Ode xl.

² Whinfield's *Mathnavi*, p. 20.

power can be exercised without impugning divine goodness. The difficulty of the existence of evil, and the apparent contradiction of absolute sovereignty and free will face him, as it does all men, but through ma'rifat, or gnosis, he learns to understand it all and to reconcile the apparently irreconcilable. He views 'all existing religions as more or less faint utterances of that great underlying Truth with which He has finally entered into Communion.'¹ He is reticent for Abú Sulaymán, surnamed ad-Dáraní (A.D. 830) says: 'When the Gnostic's spiritual eye is opened, his bodily eye is shut: they see nothing but Him.' Again, 'Gnosis is nearer to silence than to speech.'²

This high knowledge leads on to Hál, or wajd, which is a state of ecstasy. The ecstatic conditions are the result of divine knowledge. Hál is defined to be 'a state which occurs to the heart spontaneously and without effect, like grief or fear, or desire or joy, and which ceases as soon as the natural dispositions of the soul manifest themselves.'

Happy that time when we leave ourselves,
When we shall be rich in deepest poverty.³

To the man intoxicated with the wine of divine love, the paradise of the ordinary believers is

¹ Browne, *A Literary History of Persia*, vol. i, p. 424.

² Quoted in Nicholson's *A Literary History of the Arabs*, p. 386.

³ خوش آندم که ما بی خویش باشیم * غنی مطلق و درویش باشیم
Gulshan-i-Ráz, line 699.

phenomenal, and, as such, no longer an object of desire.' It would only hinder the complete effacement of self, and would ill accord with the 'uttermost poverty', as it lies apart from real unity for, 'so long as heaven and hell are in the way, the soul can never realize the mystery.'

It is at this stage that impostors are sometimes found, and they cast discredit on it, but it is said that the fact that some men use terms without knowing their real signification, and without experiencing their reality, is not to be looked on as making them unreal.

Though to all men the secrets of the truth are not known, These mystic states are not mere illusion.¹

The next stage is that of *Ḥaqiqat*, the Truth. This is called by some the stage of saintship, as being that at which saints and prophets arrive. It has its most perfect and complete example in *Muḥammad*, who is the Saint and Prophet, *par excellence*.

Individual saints are, as it were, his members,

For he is the whole and they are the parts.²

The next stage is that of *Wasl*, or union with God. 'By the help of God's grace I am now

¹ نه هر کس داند اسرار حقیقت
مجازی نیست احوال حقیقت
Gulshan-i-Ráz, line 788.

² وجود اولیا او را چو عمروند
که او کلیست و ایشان همچو جزوند

become safe, because the unseen King says to me, "Thou art the soul of the world."¹

God is the world, and the *Sūfī* at this stage becomes identical with the divine essence and can say with *Manṣūr Ḥallāj*: 'I am God'; or with *Báyazid-i-Bistāmī*, 'There is nothing within my coat except God.'²

He now ignores all separate existence, and nothing remains but real Being. The chamber of the heart is swept clear of all phenomenal appearances, and then it is that God enters in, for 'in you void of yourself will He display His beauty.'³

Until the knower is quite free from the stain of existence the knowledge which he has gained has not the form of experience.'⁴ Or, as *Háfiz* says:—

Sweep off the life of *Háfiz* as a dream,

While Thou art, none shall hear me say, 'I am'.

The following passage from the *Gulshan-i-Ráz* describes this stage more fully:—

The glory of the Truth admits of no duality,
In that glory is no I, nor we, nor thou.

¹ از مددِ لطفِ او ایمن گشتم از آنک
گردد سلطانِ غیبِ جانِ جهانی مرا

Diwān-i-Shams-i-Tabrizi, Ode vi.

² کَمِیْسِ فِی جَبَّتِی سِوَا اللَّهِ

³ بتو بی تو جمالی خود نماید
Gulshan-i-Ráz, line 402.

⁴ ز هستی تا بود باقی برو همین
نیاید علمِ عارفِ صورتِ عین
Gulshan-i-Ráz, line 404.

I, we, thou, and He are all one thing,
For in unity there is no distinction of persons.¹

This absorption is sometimes described as being two forms and figures with one soul, and sometimes as being two souls in one body. In the one case as in the other the union is complete, for

Happy is that time when we both sat in one palace—
thou and I,
With two forms, two figures, but with one soul—thou
and I.²

This union with God is sometimes based on the verse: 'He is the First and the Last; the Seen and the Hidden' (i.e. the exterior and the interior), [Súratu'l-Hadid (lvii) 3].³ Şúfis explain the term exterior (ẓáhir) by everything that appears, so that all things are God; but the orthodox say that they are only the proofs of His existence not His nature. Şúfis also quote the Tradition. 'I am Aḥmad without the mím (م) and I am 'Arab without the 'Ain (ع).'⁴ This

¹ جناب حضرت حق را دروغی نیست
دران حضرت من و ما و توئی نیست
من و ما و تو و او هست یک چیز
که در وحدت نباهد هیچ تمیز
Gulshan-i-Ráz, lines 448-9.

² عنك آن دم كه بنشینیم در ایوان - من و تو
بدو نقش و بدو صورت بیکی جان - من و تو
Dewān-i-Shams-i-Tabrizi, Ode xxxviii.

³ هُوَ الْأَوَّلُ وَالْآخِرُ وَالظَّاهِرُ وَالْبَاطِنُ

⁴ انا أحمد بلا ميم و انا عرب بلا عين

would then read aḥad, or the one, but the Tradition is a doubtful one, on this verse and this Tradition, however, Şúfis base their doctrine that 'God is all and all is God', or as they term it 'hama ust'.¹

After the battle of Badr this verse was revealed: 'It was not ye who slew them, but God slew them; and those shafts were God's not thine.'² To the ordinary reader this means that God aided the Muslims, but the Şúfi sees in the words the proof that God is only the agent and man is only the mirror in which His actions are displayed. The unreality of the universe is supposed to be taught in the words, 'All on the earth shall pass away; but the face of thy Lord shall abide resplendent with majesty and glory.'³

From this and other texts the Muslim with mystical tendencies leads himself to believe that he finds in the Qur'án support for the idealism and the mysticism of the Şúfi system.

The verse of the Qur'án, 'Oh! thou soul which art at rest, return to thy Lord pleased and pleasing Him: enter thou among my servants and enter thou my Paradise,'⁴ is interpreted to

¹ همه اوست

² Súratu'l-Anfál (viii) 17.

³ Súratu'r-Raḥmán (lv) 26-7.

⁴ اَرْجِعِي إِلَىٰ رَبِّكِ رَاضِيَةً مَّرْمِيَّةً فَادْخُلِي فِي عِبْدِي وَادْخُلِي جَنَّاتِي

Súratu'l-Fajr (lxxxix) 27-30.

mean that God and the blessings of His presence are to be found in the heart of the believer. Thus Jalálu'd-Dín says¹:—

The Prophet said, that God hath declared,
I am not contained in aught above or below
I am not contained in earth, or sky, or even
In highest heaven, know this for a surety, O beloved!
I am contained in the believer's heart!
If you seek me, search in such hearts.

Mansúr Halláj is reported to have said:—

I am He whom I love and He whom I love is I;
We are two souls dwelling in one body.
When thou seest me, thou seest Him,
When thou seest Him, thou seest us both.²

Jalálu'd-Dín narrates the following story: 'One came to the Beloved's (God's) door and knocked. And a voice from within said, "who is there?" And he said, "It is I." Then the voice said, "This house will not hold Me and Thee", and

گفت پیغمبر که حق فرموده است * من نكنجم هيچ در بالا و پست
در زمین و آسمان و عرش نیز * من نكنجم این یقین دان ای عزیز
در دل مومن نكنجم ای عجب * گر مرا جوئی دران دلها طلب
Mathnawi Book I, Tale viii.

There is a tradition to the same effect:—

قُلُوبُ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ عَرْشُ اللَّهِ تَعَالَى

'The hearts of believers are the throne of God.'

أَنَا مَنْ أَهْوَى وَمَنْ أَهْوَى أَنَا * نَحْنُ رُوحَانٌ حَلَلْنَا بَدَنًا
فَإِذَا أَهْوَيْتُنِي أَهْوَيْتَهُ * وَإِذَا أَهْوَيْتَهُ أَهْوَيْتُنَا

Nicholson, *Devân-i-Shams-i-Tabrizi*, p. 296.

the door was closed. And the lover (the soul of man) departed into the wilderness, and fasted and prayed in solitude. After a year he came again to the Beloved's door, and knocked. And a voice from within said, "Who is there?" And he said, "It is Thyself." And the door was opened unto him.

Abú Sa'íd ibn Abi'l-Khair says:—

The Gnostic, who hath known the mystery,
Is one with God, and from his self-hood free:
Affirm God's Being and deny thine own;
This is the meaning of 'no god but He'.¹

Jalálu'd-Dín describes how the emancipated man is exalted above heaven and earth and rises to a state past all description. It was:—

Ecstasy and words beyond all ecstatic words,
Immersion in the glory of the Lord of glory,
Immersion from which escape was none
Except as ocean, no one knew him more.²

A favourite illustration is that of a number of candles, each of which gives light; but the full light of all cannot be divided into separate parts. One light and one only is diffused. When the outward form is looked upon, this unity is not seen, but when with the 'inner eye' search is made for the divine light, the complete union is

¹ Quoted in Browne's *A Literary History of Persia*, vol. ii, p. 267.

² حال و قالی ازورای حال و قال * غرق گشته در جمال ذوالجلال
غرقه نی که خلاصی باشدش * یا بجز دریا کسی بشناسدش
Mathnawi, Book I, Tale viii.

manifest.¹ Language such as this has been used by mystics in other lands and under different conditions of time and place. Thus Tauler says: 'He (man) flings himself into the divine abyss, in which he dwelt eternally before he was created; then, when God finds the man thus simply and nakedly turned towards Him, the Godhead bends down and descends into the depths of the pure waiting soul, and transforms the created soul, drawing it up in the uncreated essence, so the spirit becomes one with him.'² He also says: 'Raise thyself to the height of religion and all veils are removed; the world and the dead principle passes away from thee, and the very Godhead enters thee anew in its first and original form, as life, as thine own life, which thou shalt and oughtest to live.'³ Again he says: 'For if the highest and most glorious unity, which is God Himself, is to be united to the soul, it must be through oneness. Now, when the soul hath utterly forsaken itself and all creatures and made itself free from all manifoldness, then the sole unity, which is God, answers truly to the oneness of the soul, for there is nothing in the soul beside God.'⁴

چون بصورت بنگری چشمت دو است
 تو بنورش در فکر کان یکتو است
Mathnawi, Book I.

¹ Vaughan, *Hours with the Mystics*, vol. i, p. 299.

² Ibid. vol. i, p. 212.

⁴ Overton, *Life of Law*, p. 151.

At this stage the desire for heaven even may be a hindrance to perfect union.

What have we to do with the desire for the highest heavens?

When our journey is to the rose garden of union.¹

The next and final stage is Faná, or that of annihilation in God (Faná fi'lláh). This is referred to in the 'Gulshan-i-Ráz' in the verses which direct the traveller to drink the wine which is free from all phenomenal qualities, and to wash away the writing which describes separate Being. When this is done he will be able to say: 'Now I neither exist in myself, nor do I not exist.' Some of the latest words of Jalálu'd-Dín were: 'All being came out of nothing and again it will be shut up in the prison of non-existence. Such is God's decree from all eternity.' 'Why learn about the unity of God. Annihilate thyself before the One. If thou wouldest shine with the splendour of day, burn up thy separate existence as black as night.'²

No soul can enter heaven without passing through this stage of annihilation, for

چه جای هواهای عرش و فلک * بگلزار وصلت شیران ما¹
Diwán-i-Shams-i-Tabrizi, Ode ii.

چيست توحيد خدا آموختن * خوشتن را پيش واحد سوختن²
 گرهمی خواهی كه بهروزی چو روز * هستی همچون شب خود را بسوز
Mathnawi, Book I, Tale x.

Ascension to heaven is annihilation of self.
Annihilation is the creed and religion of lovers.¹

A story is told of how a gnat came to Solomon and complained about the enmity of the wind. The King summoned both parties to his presence. The wind came and instantly the gnat flew away. This is said to represent those who seek the presence of God and when He appears, they vanish. In other words, 'there must be annihilation of self, before there can be union with God.'

Though that life is life eternal,
Yet at first it is annihilation.²

Háfiz says: 'Do not let your heart worry about existence and non-existence, for the latter is the end of every perfect thing.' The true way to eternal life is through annihilation of self and all phenomena. Reason is called upon to tread the way of annihilation in order to get the larger life. 'O Reason, to gain eternal life, live everlastingly the way of death.'³ So long as there is any sense of individuality left, even prayer is not real.

When your essence is free from all stain (of individuality),
Then it is that your prayers are a joy.

¹ هست معراج فلک این نیستی * عاشقان را مذهب و دین نیستی
² اگرچه آن وصلت بقا اندر بقاست * لیک از اول بقا اندر فنا است
Mathnavi, Book III, Tale xviii.

³ وی عقل بهر آن بقا دائم بر راه فنا
This is the بقا بعد الفنا—existence after annihilation.
Diwán-i-Shams-i-Tabrizi, Ode iv.

There remains then no distinction,
Knower and known are one and the same.¹

All creeds, all law, are things of the past. They had a temporary use, but are now no more. Jalálu'd-Dín compares them to water flowing down a mill stream which provides for man's needs, but when once these have been supplied the water is turned off and the mill stops.² At this stage it is useless to enunciate the dogma of the unity even. The true light is gained not by accepting a dogma, but by the annihilation of self in the darkness of the night of non-existence.

The seeker after all his search, the traveller after all his wearisome journey, passes behind the veil and finds—nothing. Sad ending to so much effort. 'Umar Khayyám says:—

There was the door to which I found no key;
There was the veil through which I might not see:
Some little tack of Me and Thee
There was—and then no more of Thee and Me.

The circle is now complete. In the downward descent law was obeyed and creeds were believed; in the upward ascent³ the hold on both was

چو ذات پاک گردد از همه حین * نمازت گردد آنکه قره العین
نماند درمیانه هیچ تمیز * شود معروف و عارف جمله یک چیز
Gulshan-i-Ráz, line 412.

¹ *Mathnavi*, Book I, Tale ii.

² Palmer, quoting from a work by 'Azíz ibn Muḥammad Nafasí, gives this series of stages of the upward ascent: Múmin believer; 'Ábid, worshipper; Záhíd, recluse; 'Aríf, knower;

loosened more and more, until at last the traveller became the ázád, or the free; the be-shara', or one without law; the majdhúb-i-muṭlaq, or the entirely devoted. So 'his end is joined to his beginning',¹ and he re-enters the normal element from which he originally sprung. This last state is sometimes likened to a pair of compasses, the impression made by which ends where it begins.²

At this stage there is often some confusion of thought in Persian poetry, for the perfect devotee is sometimes represented as obedient to law.

The saint is obedient as to his essence,
He is a devotee in the street of essence.
However his work is finished at the time
That his end is joined again to his beginning.³

Walí, saint; Nabí, prophet; Rasúl, apostle; Ulu'l-'Azm, one who has a mission; Khatam, seal. See *Oriental Mysticism*, pp. 58-9.

¹ باغاز گردد باز انجام

² دگر بازه شود مانند پرکار * بران کاری که اول بود درکار

Gulshan-i-Ráz, line 365.

³ بود تابع ولی از روی معنی * بود عابد ولی در کوی معنی

ولی وقتی رسد کارش باتمام * که باغاز گردد باز انجام
Ibid. lines 345-6.

These obscure verses are explained by a Persian commentator to mean that, though the man is absorbed in the truth, he is still obedient as to his essence, because by obedience he obtained his exaltation. 'Beginning' denotes the state of phenomenal existence and 'end' the state of absorption is the absolute. The saint first accomplishes the journey to God which ends in faná, or absorption; then he abides in eternal life, baqá, or in God, and then journeys down again to his beginning in

The explanation seems to be that, having made the ascent to the divine, he now descends again, not as at first, but *in* God, in order that he may make disciples of others still in darkness and error.¹ Thus, for the sake of example only he is obedient. Those whom he gains then make the ascent as he has done, and so all Súffis come at last to the stage when

Gracious is He to those who return to Him.²

In one of his odes Shams-i-Tabrízí describes the perfect Súfi. A few lines are here given,³

The man of God is drunken without wine,
The man of God is a treasure in a ruin.
The man of God is made wise by the Truth,
The man of God is not learned from books.⁴
The man of God is beyond infidelity and religion,

the 'journey from God along with God' and is conscious that he is unity in plurality. The mystic circle is now complete.

Note in Whinfield's *Gulshan-i-Ráz*, p. 35.

¹ *Gulshan-i-Ráz*, lines 345-6.

² Súratu Bani Isrá'íl (xvi) 27. فانه كان للرايين غفورا

³ مرد خدا مست بود بی شراب * مرد خدا گنج بود در خراب
مرد خدا عالم از حق بود * مرد خدا نیست فقیه از کتاب
مرد خدا زان سوی کفر است و دین * مرد خدا را چه خطا و صواب
مرد خدا گشت سوار از عدم * مرد خدا آمد عالی ركب
مرد خدا هست نهان شمس دین * مرد خدا را تو بجوی و بیاب

Diwán-i-Shams-i-Tabrízí, Ode viii. The translation of this, and of several other quotations, is by R. A. Nicholson, whose edition of the *Diwán* is an excellent one.

⁴ Mere learning from books will not make a theologian. The knowledge of God comes by love (عشق), the spiritual faculty, intuition, illumination which is opposed to the intellectual faculty (عقل).

To the man of God right and wrong are alike.¹
 The man of God has ridden away from Not-being,
 The man of God is gloriously attended.
 The man of God is concealed, Shams-i-Din,
 The man of God do thou seek and find,

The earlier Muḥammadan mystics sought to impart life to a rigid and formal ritual, and though the seeds of pantheism were planted in their system from the first, they maintained that they were orthodox. 'Our system of doctrine', said al-Junaid, 'is firmly bound up with the dogmas of the Faith, the Qur'án, and the traditions.' In many there was 'a devout quietism, an earnest desire for something deeper and more satisfying to ardent souls than the formalism generally prevalent in Islám and a passionate love for God for His own sake, not for the rewards or punishments which He may bestow.'² There was a moral earnestness about these men which frequently restrained the arm of unrighteous despotism, and their sayings seem to show some appreciation of the spiritual side of life. Thus, 'as neither meat nor drink profit the deceased body, so no warning avails to touch the heart full of the love of the world.' 'The work of the holy man doth not consist in this, that he eats grain and clothes himself in şúf, or wool; but in the

¹ The Şúff is above law. All he does, good or bad, is in harmony with the divine will.

² Browne, *A Literary History of Persia*, vol. i, p. 424.

knowledge of God and in submission to His will.' 'Hide thy good deeds as closely as thou wouldst hide thy sins.' 'He will never gain heaven, who considers himself perfect.' 'He does not advance towards God who considers himself perfect. There is no sickness worse than this.' 'All things fear him who fears God, whilst he who fears aught else but God is in fear of all things.' 'Boast not brother; whatsoever thou hast done, God knows thy heart.' 'The light of religion alone can quench the fire of lust.' 'Wait content, God knows what is best.'

Abú Sa'id ibn Abi'l-Khair defines Şúffism thus: 'Laying aside what thou hast in thy head (i.e. prejudices, fancied and preconceived ideas), giving away what thou hast in thy hand—and not flinching from aught which may befall thee.'¹

Now and again men are warned that they will reap as they sow, and in a very striking passage Jalálu'd-Dín Rúmi describes how at the day of judgement every thought which has passed through the mind in this life will be embodied in a visible form, just as the ideas of the architect find an outward expression in the completed building,

¹ *Religious Systems of the World*, p. 318.

For other worthy sayings, see Browne, *A Literary History of Persia*, vol. i, pp. 425-6; and Nicholson, *A Literary History of the Arabs*, p. 401.

or as a tree in the development of the seed placed in the ground.¹

In the wild days when Muslim chiefs went forth to conquer or to die, when dynasty succeeded dynasty in bewildering rapidity, when might was right and autocratic power ruled, sometimes well oftener ill, millions of the human race, the Súfí poets acted as men of heroic mould and gave to Sultáns and to Sháhs, fearless of all consequence, sound and good advice. Thus the poet Jámi to a ruler could say:—

Thou art a shepherd, and thy flock the people
To help and save, not ravage and destroy,
For which is for the other, flock or shepherd?

Even in such a book as the great poem of Jalálu'd-Dín Rûmî, in which Súfíism pure and simple, with all its disregard for the outward restraints of an objective revelation, is inculcated, the author now and again teaches sound and wise principles.

To trust in God, and yet put forth our utmost skill,
The surest method is to work His holy will,
The friend of God must work.

Again he says:—

The Prophet cried with a loud voice,
Trust in God, yet tie the camel's leg.

این خیال اینجا نهان پیدا اثر * زین خیال آنجا بروزانده شود
در مهندیس بین خیال حائ * در دلش چون در زمینی دانه
Mathnavi, Book V, Tale viii.

Hear the adage, 'The worker is the friend of God'
Trust in Providence, but neglect not to use means.¹

Still, the effect of the system has been bad and has worked for evil in Islám. Pantheistic² in creed and too often antinomian in practice, it possesses no regenerative power. The divorce between the religious and the worldly life has been disastrous. Súfíism has discriminated between those who by renouncing the world profess to know God, and those whom it terms the ignorant herd. When man's apparent individuality is looked upon as a delusion of the perceptive faculty, there seems no room left for will or conscience. 'A movement animated at its outset by a high and lofty purpose has degenerated into a fruitful source of ill. The stream

گفت پیغمبر باراز بلند * با توکل زانو اختر بیند
رمرالکاسب حبیب الله همنو * از توکل در سبب کاهل نشو

Mathnavi, Book I, Tale v.

² 'To doubt the existence of God is a thing which never occurs to the Súfí in whom God is not merely the *greatest* but the *only* Reality. In other words, he regards God as identical with Pure Being. Thus, from the philosophical point of view Súfíism is pantheistic.' After showing that it is not a materialistic pantheism 'which dignifies with the name of God the mere sum and totality of the universe', Browne proceeds to show that it is a spiritualistic pantheism which sees in the universe a reflection of the eternal spirit of whom alone 'reality and existence can be predicated.' 'Súfíism, then is an idealistic pantheism. To the Súfí everything speaks of God.' 'There is nothing that does not celebrate His name' [Súratu Bani Isrá'íl (xvii) 46], Browne, *Religious Systems of the World*, p. 327.

which might have been a fertilizing river has become a vast swamp, exhaling vapours charged with disease and death.' Count Gobineau says that the Şúffis in Persia encourage the use of opium in order to excite the imagination of their followers, and he considers that they are responsible, in a great measure, for implanting habits of intoxication among the people. He further adds: 'In any case one can say boldly that this vast association . . . has been and is still, in the nature of its influence, very fatal in Asiatic countries. All that it has produced are quietism, use of opium, and abject drunkenness.'¹

How it all deadens the sense of sin is seen in 'Umar Khayyám's verse:—

Khayyám! why weep you that your life is bad;
What boots it thus to mourn? Rather be glad.
He that sins not can make no claim to mercy;
Mercy was made for sinners—be not sad.²

In a collection of short fragmentary pieces like the 'Diván' of Háfiz, or in a longer poem like the 'Mathnavi' of Jalálu'd-Dín Rúmi the pearls of Şúffistic lore, to use an eastern meta-

¹ *Les Religions et les Philosophes dans L'Asie Centrale*, pp. 769, 770-2.

عیام از هر گنه این ماتم چیست
وز خوردن غم فایده بیش و کم چیست
انرا که گنه نکرد غفران نبود
غفران ز برای گنه آمد غم چیست
Rub'áiyát-i-'Umar Khayyám.

phor, are loosely strung together, and it is only very patient students who can find the esoteric meaning of the poet. There is, however, a small poem less widely known, but which is unrivalled as an exposition of Şúffism. It is the 'Salámán and Absál' by the great poet Jámi. The advantage of the form of instruction he has adopted in it is that the tale is continuous and is explained by the author himself.

Jámi according to the usual custom of the poets, commences by an invocation of the eternal Spirit. Then confused and lost in the contemplation of self and of that 'other than self' he prays:—

Do Thou my separate and derived self
Make one with thy Essential! Leave me room.
On that Diván which leaves no room for twain;
Lest, like the simple Arab in the tale,
I grow perplexed, oh God, 'twixt Me and Thee.
If I—this spirit that inspires me whence?
If Thou—then what this sensual impotence?¹

This gives the key-note to the whole story which is an account of the way in which the soul returns to Him who made it. The Arab story referred to is an amusing and excellent illustration of the manner in which matters of serious moment were lightly parodied.

A simple Arab of the desert came to the busy city of Baghdad. The busy bustling crowd

¹ The English translation of the *Salámán and Absál* is by Fitzgerald and will be found in *Poems from the Persian* (Bernard Quaritch, 1879).

confused this child of the desert. He longed for rest and sleep:—

But then, on waking

'How,' quoth he, 'amid so many
Waking know myself again?'
So to make the matter certain,
Strung a gourd about his ankle,
And, unto a corner creeping,
Baghdad and himself and people
Soon were blotted from his brain.
But one that heard him, and divined
His purpose, slyly crept behind;
From the sleeper's ankle slipping,
Round his own the pumpkin tied,
Then laid him down to sleep beside.
By and by the Arab waking,
Looks directly for his signal,
Sees it on another's ankle,
Cries aloud, 'oh good-for-nothing
Rascal to perplex me so!
That by you I am bewildered,
Whether I be I or no!
If I—the pumpkin why on you?
If you—then where am I and who?'

After this serious and this comic introduction the story begins. A king, a successor of the famous Sikandar, had a wise counsellor who guided him in all matters of state-craft with so much skill that the rule of the Sháh extended to the Koh-i-qáf, the limits of the then known world. Far and wide went the mandate of the Sháh, and none dared to disobey his behest, but notwithstanding all this power and glory

the heart of the Sháh was sad. He had no son and heir. He called for his counsellor, known as the Sage, and confided to him his intense desire for a son; but the Sage points out that all the advantages of a son so eloquently described by the Sháh relate to a good son, but, as bad sons are not unknown, his advice is that the Sháh should not trouble about it.

The Sháh retains his desire and 'with magic mighty wisdom his own will colleague, and wrought his own accomplishment, when lo! from darkness came a child to light, a child formed in no carnal mould.' His name was Saláman.¹ As he had no earthly mother, a young and beautiful nurse, Absál by name, tended him with loving care till he reached the age of fourteen. As a lad he excelled in all manly exercises, was skilful with the lyre, melodious in song, and played to perfection the 'chess' of social intercourse.

Meanwhile Absál looks with desire upon the beauty of the lad whom she had cared for and tended. At length he falls a victim to her blandishment. The Sháh and the Sage are sorely grieved. The father bids the boy ride, hunt,

¹ A compound of Salámat, (peace) and Asmán (heaven), for he brought the peace of paradise to his father.

² Metaphors and similes drawn from the game of chess are constantly used by Persian poets.

fight, do anything except submit 'to be slain by the arrow eye of a gazelle'.

The Sage next tried to reason with the lad. But Salámán turned a deaf ear to the entreaties of both, and being unable to meet the arguments of the Sage, he placed Absál on a fleet camel, and mounted by her side stole away. Six days and nights they hurried on, till their further flight was arrested by a mighty sea. The lovers felt that safety was only to be secured on the other side, and to attain this end they constructed a skiff of scented wood and launched upon the deep. At length, they reached an island, rich in flowers and fruit, and in birds of varied plumage and sweet of song. Salámán now found rest. All thought of journeying onward passed away and both gave themselves up to full enjoyment.

All this time the Sháh had mourned for the flight of his son. He changed his 'royal robe for ashes, and his throne for dust'. All search for the fugitives failed.

Then from his secret art the sage vizier
A magic mirror made—a mirror like
The bosom of all-wise intelligence.

The Sháh looked upon the mirror and saw in the far distant isle his darling entranced by the charms of the beautiful Absál. Days passed by and still the Sháh

Beheld his son now in the woman lost,
And still the crown that should adorn his head,
And still the throne that waited for his foot,
Both trampled under by a base desire,
Of which the soul was still unsatisfied.

The Sháh lost all patience, he brought all the power of his will to bear on the young prodigal. Then Salámán, being mesmerized, could see but could not reach his love. In agony and despair he turned and saw his father's arm ready to rescue him from his fate. But the attractions of Absál were still too strong. Again he leaves his home and flees with the partner of his faults and follies. This time it is not an earthly paradise, but to the solitude of desolation—a wilderness of death. Sad and weary they construct a funeral pile, apply a light and leap into the flame.

But the Sage
In secret all had order'd, and the flame
Directed by his self-fulfilling will,
Devouring her to ashes, left untouched
Salámán—all the baser metal burn'd,
And to itself the authentic gold returned.

Salámán now stood alone in his individuality, but that utter loneliness was maddening, his eyes wept blood, his sighs rose up like smoke to heaven. Then the Sage found him pensive and sad, and, exercising his magic will, raised a phantom of Absál which appeared for a while and then passed into oblivion. The sight recalled Salámán to himself and again the flame of love was kindled.

The Sage saw this and described in glowing terms the lovely Zuhra', (Venus), a very star of beauty, to whom Absál and all such worldly creatures were but as the glimmer of a taper. Salámán listened and, as he listened, Zuhra' in all her glorious beauty stood beside him, and then for ever blotted Absál's image from his breast. Thus he left that which was earthly, and let it go for the eternal love, which he at last had found.

Great where now the rejoicings in the Court of the Sháh. Kings and Princes, Amírs, and Nobles, all from far and near obeyed the call of their sovereign lord the Sháh, and came to do obeisance to the son lost and found, the heir to the golden crown and throne of gold.

This is a bare outline of the tale, after the relation of which the poet proceeds to supply 'the key to unlock the cabinet of meaning'. It is this.

According to Jámi's interpretation of the Súff cosmogony,

The incomparable Creator, when this world
He did create, created first of all
The First Intelligence—first of a chain
Of ten Intelligences, of which the last
Sole agent is in this our universe,
Active Intelligence so called—the one
Distributor of evil and of good,
Of joy and sorrow. Himself apart from matter
In essence and in energy, He yet
Hath fashioned all that is—material form
And spiritual, all from Him, by Him
Directed all, and in His bounty drown'd.

Therefore is He that firmán-issuing Sháh
To whom the world was subject.

A higher power supplies all that the Sháh distributes to the universe. The higher power is the Sage, the wisdom. Then of pure spirit, with no taint of matter, the soul of man was produced. This is Salámán. The soul for its outward garb requires a body, through which as a medium it may perceive and receive the joy and delight of things of sense. This body is Absál.

These ¹ in such a bond
United which God only can divide,
As lovers in this tale are signified

The island in the deep is the 'world of being', in which the soul remains apart from its Creator. Salámán fell short of his desire, and this shows that in the external world of sense there is no permanent joy, and that existence in the 'other' leads to no real peace. Thus he goes back to his father, the soul returns to its true parentage. Still it needs discipline, until all desire of separate existence is purged away. The process, even after the fiery trial is slow, and so the Sage calls up a picture of the past, a phantom Absál, but follows it up by a revelation to Salámán of one purer and better far than the companion of his existence in the world of sense. Then all mortal love, all desire for phenomenal existence, passes away, and he reigns one with the Last and First Intelligence.

¹ That is, soul and body.

The point of the allegory is that Salámán returns not to the 'Incomparable Creator,' but to that which He created 'the Last and First Intelligence.'¹ It is certainly to this, and not to the Creator to which Jámi makes Salámán return. The Muslim idea of God is that of a pitiless fate—a God afar off. Súfíism is an attempt of the human mind to bridge over this gulf. This first Intelligence, or Primal Element, is represented as a manifestation of God, a means by which other created beings are formed. The question then arises, whether all allusions in the Súfí poets to the absorption of the soul in a superior Being mean re-union with God, or with some manifestation of God. The Qur'án says plainly enough 'Unto Him shall ye return, all together.'² Jámi might reply that 'Him' here means God as manifested in the First and Last Intelligence, by which he, the Sháh of the allegory, created the worlds and through which He executes His decrees. If Jámi's exposition of Súfí doctrine is correct, it makes even the most spiritual aspect of Islám dark and dreary, for it shows us how men, apparently longing for a closer communion with God, fell short of the mark; how even to them He is still 'sterile in His inaccessible height,' satisfied to let them feel that they can never be more

¹ For the various names by which this First Intelligence is described, see p. 25.

² Súratu Yúnas (x) 4.

than slaves, that nearness to Him is impossible. They felt the need of some intermediary, they found it in a revival of the old gnostic notions of the æons, forms of manifestation of the Ineffable and Incomprehensible. The gnostic theory was that God was immanent, incomprehensible, and the original source of all perfection. 'From this incomprehensible essence of God an immediate transition to finite things is not conceivable. Self-limitation is the first beginning of a communication of life on the part of God, the first passing of the hidden Deity into manifestation, and from this proceeds all further self-developing manifestation of the divine essence. Now, from this primal link in the chain of life there are evolved, in the first place, the manifold powers or attributes inherent in the divine essence, which, until that first self-comprehension, were all hidden in the abyss of His essence. These divine powers, evolving themselves to self-subsistence, become thereupon the germs and principles of all further developments of life.'¹ All this, to which the Súfí would subscribe, shows how much Súfíism owes to gnosticism. The true antidote for both is a faith in great historical facts, on which the religious convictions of all men alike can depend.

The Súfí, being a Muslim, was too proud to search into the true historical facts of the Christian

¹ Neander, *Church History*, vol. ii, p. 11.

religion, or he would then have found just what would have met his case and satisfied his soul, God manifested, not in some intangible principle; but in a living person,¹ in One who 'is the image of the invisible God, the first born of every creature. For by Him were all things created that are in heaven, and that are in earth, visible and invisible, whether they be thrones, or dominions, or principalities, or powers: all things were created by Him and for Him, and He is before all things, and by Him all things consist.'² Those in whom His spirit dwells are His spiritual body. Thus, do they even now become joined to Him, as the branches are in the vine. They are one in life, one in purpose, but preserving now and evermore a conscious existence, are prepared to enjoy throughout time and eternity communion with one who is very God of very God. To such a conception the Sūfī never attained, for union with God to him seemed hopeless, and repudiating altogether,

¹ Christ is a spring of life, for 'as the Father hath life in Himself, even so gave He to the Son to have life in Himself' (St. John v. 26). The giver of life must have life. The Sūfī poet Jāmī recognized this truth by saying, 'The nature that is no life giver, how can it be a giver of life.'

ذات نا یافته هستی بخش * که تواند که هرد هستی بخش

He also expresses the same idea in figurative language: 'a dry and rainless cloud can give no water.'

حشک آبری که بود ز آب تہی * ناید آری صفت آب دہی

² Colossians i. 15-17.

or ignorant of the true meaning of the Incarnation of the Son of God, his only aspiration was to become extinct in the Primal Intelligence, the goal of all his efforts.

He failed to realize the higher truth which inspires the Christian poet:—

That each who seems a separate whole,
Should move his rounds, and fusing all
The skirts of self again, should fall
Remerging in the general Soul,

Is faith as vague as all unsweet:
Eternal form shall still divide
The eternal soul from all beside;
And I shall know him when we meet.¹

¹ Tennyson, *In Memoriam*, XLVII.

APPENDIX

A Persian gentleman gives the following account of the difference between the Muslim philosophers and the Sūfis. It is quoted in Rice's *Crusaders of the Twentieth Century*, pp. 484-5.

'The true philosophers are those who adhere to the philosophic teaching of the Greeks. But there are those who are not content with this mode of inquiry and have gone far beyond it. These are the Sūfis whose religious leaders (murshid) invent various formulas (dhikr) to be repeated by their followers. Besides these mysterious formulas the novices are instructed in the performance of ascetic practices in order that by these two means their hearts may be enlightened by visions of the unseen world, of prophets, etc. They believe in the existence of numerous worlds, the world of humanity ('ālam-i-nāsūt) the invisible world ('ālam-i-malakūt) which is the abode of the angels, the highest heaven ('ālam-i-jabarūt), the world of divinity ('ālam-i-lāhūt) and the world of essence ('ālam-i-dhāt). There are according to them many degrees of the knowledge of God and approach to Him; the final stage being that of reality (ḥaqīqat), in which individuality is lost (fānī) and the soul becomes absorbed (wāsil, muttahid, mustaghraq) in the deity. The main difference between the philosophers and the Sūfis in their search for truth is this, that the former confine themselves to reason and argument and have nothing to do with the ascetic practices of

the mystics. The beliefs and tenets of both are the same. The philosophers, for example, prove the existence of the above-mentioned worlds by reasoning (istidlāl): the Sūfis say that they actually behold them (mushāhidah) and speak disrespectfully of mere reasoning as compared with sight. Thus the author of the "Mathnavī", himself a Sūfī, says, "The foot of the reasoners (i.e. the philosophers) will be wooden; the wooden foot will be exceedingly feeble."¹ The following story is told of the Sūfī, Abū Sa'id-i-Abū'l-Khair and the philosopher Abū 'Alī Sīnā. The Sūfī remarked, "I am traversing the worlds," and he began to describe them. The philosopher rejoined "I too was traversing them." To which the Sūfī replied, "Quite right; you were doing so. But I was going along quickly, while you were hobbling along behind me with a stick." The Sūfis practically consider themselves as the religious guides of the age and the successors of the prophets. All the philosophers of the present day follow the teaching of Mullā Sadra, whose system, an eclectic one, called the "exalted philosophy (ḥikmat-i-muta'āliyah)", and expounded in a work named "Asfār", aims at reconciling Greek philosophy, Sūfism, the Qur'ān and the Traditions.'

پای استدلالیان چوبین بود * پای چوبین سخت بی تمکین بود^۱