IBN 'ARABI AND HIS INTERPRETERS
PART II (CONCLUSION): INFLUENCES AND INTERPRETATIONS

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Concluding our survey of major historical tendencies in the interpretation and reception of Ibn 'Arabî's writings in various traditions of later Islamic thought, as illustrated by recent translations and related studies, this final section deals with representative figures in the more philosophic 'school' founded by Qûnawî (Kâshânî, H. Âmulî, and Jîlî); in mystical poetry (Jâmî, 'Irâqî, and others) and philosophy (Mullâ Sadrâ and his successors); and with the more recent Sufi writings of 'Abd al-Qâdir al-Jazâ'irî, who recapitulates and integrates many of these traditions while returning to the spiritual sources and intentions underlying Ibn 'Arabî's own work and teaching.

IV [Cont.] 'Abd al-Razzâq al-Kâshânî (d. ca. 736/1335) has almost certainly been the most widely read (and cited) of these early interpreters of Ibn 'Arabî, to such an extent that much of the subsequent discussion of 'Ibn 'Arabî's' thought and doctrine, whether in the Eastern Islamic world or in the modern West, can best be understood as in fact a reference to Kâshânî's writings—especially where writers are expounding what they take to be Ibn 'Arabî's 'system' or philosophic 'doctrine' (e.g., of *wahdat al-wujûd).*[72] In this regard, the modern attribution to Ibn

[72] This is even true to a certain extent of T. Izutsu's fundamental study of Ibn 'Arabî's thought, *Sufism and Taoism...* (see Part I, n. 6 above). which, as the author himself stresses in the Introduction, is heavily reliant on Kâshânî's commentary, usually citing it at the same time as the text of the *Fusûs al-Hikam*. (This is another illustration of the characteristic pedagogical

'Arabî of Kâshânî's *Ta'wîlât al-Qur'ân* is unfortunately as symptomatic as it is historically unfounded.[73] Professor Pierre Lory's recent study of that frequently reprinted work [*Les Commentaires ésotériques du Coran d'après 'Abd ar-Razzâq al-Qâshânî*. Pp. 171. Paris: Les Deux Oceans. 1981.] is not only an excellent introduction to the main outlines of Kâshânî's metaphysics or 'spiritual cosmology,' hut also a useful illustration of those characteristic features of his writings and interpretations that help explain their great influence on later Muslim thinkers, especially philosophers and theologians. (Readers without access to the Arabic can supplement Professor Lory's analysis of this commentary by referring to the carefully annotated partial translations of M. Vâlsan, or to the summaries of certain sections in M. Ayoub's *The*

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usefulness and intention of Kâshânî's works, discussed below in relation to his Qur'anic commentaries.)

[73] Although Prof. Lory, following Brockelmann, remarks that all the manuscripts of this work are attributed to Kâshânî (or one of the other variant forms of his name, such as 'al-Kâshî,' etc.), Osman Yahia *(Histoire...,* no. 732 and 724) does mention a few later manuscripts of this work attributed to Ibn 'Arabî (along with Kâshânî's treatise on *qadâ'* and *qadar*, OY no. 723). However, it is certainly true, as P. Lory indicates, that the most recent modern publishers of this work (in India, Cairo, and Beirut) must have been primarily motivated by commercial considerations in continuing to affix "Ibn 'Arabî's" name to the text. Some of the more important distinctions between Kâshânî's and Ibn 'Arabî's respective approaches to the Qur'an are discussed below in this section or, for Ibn 'Arabî, in several earlier parts of this article as well.

Both Prof. Lory (p.23) and O. Yahia (II, p. 483, based on Kâshânî's own autograph version of his work, attributed by later librarians to Ibn 'Arabî) note that certain manuscripts of Kâshânî's commentary go only as far as Sura 32; the same fact is noted in H. Landolt's important study of Kâshânî's correspondence with 'Alâ' al-Dawla al-Simnânî (discussed at n. 80 below), without any hypothesis as to who might have completed it—possibly an immediate disciple, since readers do not seem to have noticed any great differences between the earlier and later sections. Professor Landolt also points out pp. 36) that the commentary on Ibn al-Fârid's *Nazm al-Sulûk* usually attributed to our author (in several printed editions and in Arberry's translation of Ibn al-Fârid, see n. 63 above) is actually by 'Izz al-Dîn Mahmûd al-Kâshânî (d. 735/1334-35), best known for his widely read Persian translation of 'Umar Suhrawardî's famous Sufi manual *'Awârif al-Ma'ârif*, the *Misbâh al-Hidâya*. (The *Misbâh*, rather than Suhrawardi's original Arabic, was the actual basis for Wilberforce Clarke's still frequently reprinted partial English paraphrase "*The 'Awârif u'l-Ma'ârif*," Calcutta, 1891.) In the context of this article, the fact that this commentary on Ibn al-Fârid has for so long passed as the work of 'Abd al-Razzâq al-Kâshânî is still another interesting sign of the remarkably rapid penetration of subsequent Iranian (or more broadly 'Persianate') Sufi thought by the conceptions and terminology of this 'school' of Ibn 'Arabî.

Qur'ân and Its Interpreters.)[74]

Kâshânî's work is in fact not so much a *ta'wîl* in the more specifically Sufi usage of a profound and inevitably quite personal awareness of the immediate spiritual implications of particular Qur'anic verses,[75] as it is the *application* to the Qur'an of a coherent metaphysical

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[74] Prof. Lory gives a brief reference to M. Vâlsan's translations, which are again of consistently high quality and with extremely useful notes and explanations, in the *Bibliography* (p.167) at the end of his book; for full biographical details and a complete listing of the passages translated, see the bibliography of all of Mr. Vâlsan's writings, including many translations from the *Futûhât,* discussed in Part 1, n. 27 above (the collected articles entitled *L'Islam et la Fonction de René Guenon,* ed. C. Gayat).

Prof. Mahmoud Ayoub's work—vol. I (Albany, NY, SUNY Press, 1984) covers *Sûrat al-Baqara* and the *Fâtiha,* but the study is to be extended to the entire Qur'an—can be used only for a general notion of Kâshânî's interpretations, since usually it gives only a paraphrase or summary of certain brief sections. Although Prof. Ayoub briefly mentions that 'it is more commonly believed' that this work is 'by one of Ibn 'Arabî's disciples 'Abd al-Razzâq al-Qâshânî' (p. 6), he concludes that 'whoever the author may be, the work clearly represents the thought and style of Ibn 'Arabî, and then proceeds to cite 'Ibn 'Arabî'—with no further mention of Kâshânî—throughout the rest of his study, including the index, bibliography, and key to the sources. This practice—which hopefully will be corrected in the second and subsequent volumes—is especially unfortunate not only because Kâshânî is *not* at all representative of Ibn 'Arabî's 'style' or 'method' of exegesis, and only to a very limited extent (for reasons outlined below in this section) of Ibn 'Arabî's 'thought.' More important, far from 'representing Sufi thought at its highest level of esoteric exegesis' (p.6), it is—as Kâshânî himself explicitly brings out in his Introduction (n. 75 below)—an *elementary* work, for beginners on the spiritual Path, with very limited pedagogical aims, and therefore is completely different in style and content from what one usually finds (to take only examples in the framework of this article) in either the works of Ibn 'Arabî or the more intimate passages in 'Abd al-Qâdir's *Mawâqif* (translations discussed below).

[75] P. Lory gives a remarkably condensed summary of these typical features of Sufi 'hermeneutics' at the beginning of this study (pp- 9-18), with appropriate emphasis on the fundamental role of individual spiritual realization (p.l5) in all the forms of Sufi exegesis—a dimension which makes it extremely diffcult to 'summarize' or systematize, even within the works of a single author. However, he does not draw the reader's attention to the great degree to which precisely Kâshânî's commentary tends to depart from this norm. (For a relatively accessible sampling of some more typical cases of Sufi *ta'wîl*—typical precisely in their radical diversity of outlook and interpretation—see the translated selections from discussions of Rûzbehân Baqlî, Najmuddîn Kubrâ, Simnânî [n. 110 below], and others included H. Corbin's The *Man of Light in Iranian Sufism,* tr. N. Pearson, Boulder & London, 1978.)

It is perhaps also indicative that Ibn 'Arabî himself rarely uses the term *ta'wîl* (which in his work can often have a pejorative sense of any sort of artificially 'forced' interpretation arbitrarily attached to a Qur'anic expression, with no essential inner connection to the actual

system, elaborated in all of his works,[76] based on elements from both Ibn 'Arabî's writings and the prevalent Avicennan school of philosophy in which Kâshânî himself was originally trained. The first half of Professor Lory's outline of Kâshânî's system (chapters 4-7) is a remarkably clear and readable summary of its metaphysical structure (the divine 'Presences' and the onto logical levels of the divine Essence, Attributes, and Acts) and its manifestations or expressions in cosmology, theology, and spiritual psychology. The second half of his account (chapters 8-11) deals with Kâshânî's application of this conceptual schema to more practical and experiential aspects of the spiritual life, with regard to a representative selection of Qur'anic verses and themes (eschatology, morality, the religious Law and its application, prophecy and sainthood, etc.) traditionally taken to refer to these issues in Sufi writing more generally. The author's exposition throughout is aimed primarily at readers without much previous background in Islamic spirituality, and thus may well serve (for that group) as an extremely useful general

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intended spiritual meaning of the text), and that he commonly uses the broader term *tafsîr*—which, as P. Lory notes, was traditionally used for 'exoteric,' historical and grammatical commentaries—precisely for his own spiritual understanding. This is only one sign of Ibn 'Arabî's broader metaphysical outlook. For him, in general, what we would ordinarily call the 'spiritual' meaning *is* precisely the 'literal' meaning (as typified in his characteristic linguistic, 'etymological' approach to the meaning of key Qur'anic terms)—indeed is the 'Reality' of the Qur'an itself—in a sense which *includes*, but is in no way reducible to, the sort of historicist and legalistic viewpoints (themselves 'interpretations') that are unthinkingly accepted as the 'obvious' meaning of the text most of the time. This 'Platonic' understanding of the Qur'an (and of revelation in general) is in no way reducible to the sort of *zâhir/bâtin* or *tafsîr/ta'wîl* schema implicit in Kâshânî's approach (and in the philosophic, Sufi, and Shiite perspectives he ultimately draws on). Thus it cannot really be 'taught'—precisely because that would imply that the actual spiritual 'meaning' were somehow reducible to a system or set of concepts somehow separable from the ontological triad of Qur'an-reader-Reality which alone is the matrix within which, for Ibn 'Arabî, that meaning is necessarily both manifested and perceived.

It is certainly true that Kâshânî's works in general (cf. nn. 74, 76, 78) are extremely helpful pedagogical tools, for those previously unacquainted with Ibn 'Arabî's outlook and terminology, in bringing out some of his key concepts and technical vocabulary. But the relation of these elements to the Shaykh's own works can probably best be expressed as that of a grammar in relation to all the richness of a living language, both spoken and written.

[76] For a further, more detailed introduction to this system, as it was developed in Kâshânî's famous commentary on the *Fusûs al-Hikam*, see T. Izutsu's *Sufism and Taoism*... (cf. n. 72 and Part I, n. 6), as well as substantial segments translated or summarized in the two articles of William Chittick on the commentators of the *Fusûs* cited at n. 71 (in the previous Part II-A) of this review article. (The same conceptual system is also presupposed in Kâshânî's untranslated, but widely read works mentioned at n. 78 below.)

introduction not only to Kâshânî's metaphysics, but also to certain essential features common to many forms of Sufism and their spiritual approach to the Qur'an. For example, Professor Lory's explanation in a number of later chapters of the fundamental shift in perspective from a 'moralistic' and historicist framework (in which Qur'anic categories and judgments are viewed as applying to specific external groups and individuals) to a profoundly and rigorously internalized spiritual (or 'ontological') understanding of those passages, is especially helpful in that regard.[77]

Indeed the relative clarity and simplicity of Professor Lory's book also reflect similar features in all of Kâshânî's own works—features which have to do with both the form and the substance of that work, and which in some key respects are radically different from what one finds in Ibn 'Arabî's own writings (or in many of his more purely Sufi commentators). Kâshânî's Qur'anic commentaries, like his other books, are all clearly distinguished by a thoroughgoing pedagogical concern and didactic procedure[78] that is manifested in such

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[77] In this regard, it should be noted that Prof. Lory's book is evidently intended not only as an introduction to Kâshânî's own thought, but also as a general introduction to certain common features of Sufi exegesis, as well as their relation to other forms of Islamic Qur'an interpretation (as explained, for example, in the author's Foreword and the opening and concluding chapters). There is certainly a great need for such an introduction for students unable to read exemplary texts in the original Arabic or Persian, since the most adequate modern Western-language studies of this subject (e.g., P. Nwyia's *Exégèse Coranique et Langage Mystique* [Beirut, 1970] and G. Böwering's *The Mystical Vision of Existence in Classical Islam: The Qur'ânic Hermeneutics of the Sufi Sahl al-Tustarî* [Berlin/New York, 1980]) probably presuppose more background than can be expected from most beginning students, while the still frequently cited works of Goldziher and Massignon are both outdated and extremely misleading on fundamental points. However, one may question whether most readers of this work will be able to readily distinguish where (as in chapters 4-7, on the underlying 'spiritual cosmology') Kâshânî's views are relatively unique or representative only of this particular school, and where (as in most of the latter chapters) his approach and presuppositions are more broadly typical of Sufism in general.

[78] This particular intention is brought out very clearly in the Introduction to Kâshânî's *Ta'wîlât*, which is translated in full here (pp. 149-153), where he clearly explains that his intention is only to open up the *possibility* of a spiritual understanding of the Qur'an for those *beginning* Sufis who may still find that difficult (as he himself once did), and where he states that he will avoid his more personal (and possibly controversial) understandings of many points. However, the same pedagogical approach and broader audience likewise seem to be assumed in his other extant writings, including his commentary on the *Fusûs* (cf. n. 76), on Ansârî's *Manâzil*

interrelated characteristics as their rigorous systematization, the clarification and simplification of vocabulary (especially if compared with Ibn ‘Arabî), and the conceptualization (often in an openly reductionist manner) of what were originally multivalent symbols. These tendencies are not merely stylistic particularities; they also reflect a shift in the content and underlying intentions of Kâshânî’s writing (when compared with Ibn ‘Arabî) that brought him very close to the prevailing systems of Avicennan philosophy (especially in their interpretations of the phenomena and claims of Sufism) and related schools of kalam—to such a degree that their verbal formulations are sometimes virtually indistinguishable.[79]

The background of that tendency is at least partly explained by some rare autobiographical remarks in Kâshânî’s famous letter to ‘Alâ’ al-Dawla al-Simnânî defending his conception of *wahdat al-wujûd*—a passage translated in its entirety here (pp. 154-65) from Jâmî’s *Nafahât al-Uns*[80]—in which he explains that as a young man he reached the highest

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al-Sâ’irîn, and his frequently cited Sufi lexicon *(Istilâhât al-Sûfiyya),* which was explicitly intended as a learning aid for readers of the three above-mentioned commentaries.

[79] The permeation of Kâshânî’s thought by Avicennan concepts and presuppositions (largely explicable by the biographical elements mentioned at n. 80 below) is especially evident in his psychology and theory of intellection (e.g., at pp. 56-62 in P. Lory’s book), where his remarks could no doubt be read by the Avicennan philosophers of his day as simply a restatement of their own views. (This was especially likely since post-Avicennan philosophic thought had developed an explanation of Sufi practice and experience, building on hints in Ibn Sina’s *K. al-Ishârât,* which granted them a certain validity, albeit at a lower, pre-philosophic level.)

While Kâshânî’s adaptations of Avicennan thought can probably best be understood, on their *own* terms (and judging by his own autobiographical explanations, n. 80 below), as an attempt to explain the insights of Ibn ‘Arabî to students with a philosophic background, with the aim of drawing them into the practical efforts necessary to realize the more profound intentions of Ibn ‘Arabî (and Sufism more generally), they also made it easy for subsequent students to treat the Shaykh’s thought as a purely intellectual and, as it were, ‘alternative’ philosophical system, with little or no reference to its experiential and practical presuppositions and ultimate aims.

[80] Here readers are referred to H. Landolt’s much more detailed classic study of this correspondence (including Simnânî’s reply to Kâshânî): ‘Der Briefwechsel Zwischen Kâshânî und Simnânî über *Wahdat al-wuðûd,*’ *Der Islam,* Band 50, I (1973), pp. 29-81. There Prof. Landolt highlights the grounds for Simnânîs’s attack—which was an important source for later critiques of Ibn ‘Arabî, such as that by Ahmad Sirhindî (see n. 5, in Part II-A above), even if it was not exactly typical of Sufi attitudes at the time (Kâshânî notes [p. 163] the approval of Ibn ‘Arabî’s thesis by Simnânîs’s own Sufi master, Isfarâyinî)—in his personal fears for Islamic

degree of attainment in the study of logic and (Avicennan) philosophy, before continuing spiritual dissatisfaction drove him to seek the company and guidance of Sufi masters. It is not so surprising, then, that Kâshânî 's works often appear, at the very least, as a highly theoretical sort of 'theology' of Sufism directed—whether as apologetic or protreptic—more towards convincing readers with a similar *falsafa* or kalam training (rather than toward the spiritual direction of already practicing Sufis); or that often his writing turns toward a purely conceptual, 'rational' philosophic exposition in which only the broader problems and technical vocabulary recall the influence of Ibn 'Arabî or other Sufi authors. This latter development, through which selected themes and approaches from Ibn 'Arabî's works gradually became integrated into the intellectual discourse of a variety of later philosophic and theological schools, is especially well illustrated in the recent reprint of S. Guyard's much older translation (and Arabic edition) of Kâshânî's *R. fî al-Qadâ' wa al-Qadar* [*Traité sur la Prédestination et le libre arbitre, précédé de quarante hadiths*. Introduction (and supplementary material) by G. Leconte. Pp. 114 + 25 pp. of Arabic text. Paris: Sindbad/Editions Orientales. 1978.],[81] which (despite the limited title)

'orthodoxy' (especially in regard to official enforcement of Islamic law) in a situation in which his own conception of Islam appeared quite concretely threatened by other religions or sectarian views (such as the temporarily favoured Imami Shiism of certain rulers and viziers) under the relative tolerance enforced by the Mongol rulers of the time. For Simnânîs's own dramatic life and politico-religious role, see the bibliographic references in the same article (p. 37, n. 36); Prof. Landolt's Introduction (pp. 5-52) to his edition of the *Correspondance spirituelle* of Simnânî and Isfarâyinî (Tehran/Paris, Bibliothèque iranienne no.21, 1972); the article "'Alâ' al-Dawla al-Simnânî" (by F. Meier) in *EI*^{2} (I, pp. 346-7); and the additional sources on the Kubrâwiyya order and the historical context at this time discussed in notes 33 and 39 of Part II-A above.

Within the perspective of this article, Kâshânî's letter is especially significant in explaining (a) the early reception of Ibn 'Arabî's thought (once again, in the form of the *Fusûs)* in Iranian Sufi circles primarily as a form of 'mystical theology'—especially on the question of *wahdat al-wujûd*—filling a widely-felt need for a more adequate intellectual defense (or description) of the metaphysical claims of the existing Sufi orders, and (b) the pervasiveness of Avicennan conceptions (whether understood as theology or philosophy) in the intellectual training of the time (see nn. 79, 55-56, and 64-6 [in Part II-A above]). On the last point, especially, Prof. Landolt's article (pp. 33-36) adds a number of indispensable explanations (biographical details, etc.) to the list of names of his masters supplied by Kâshânî, including the fact that the philosopher-scientist Qutb al-Dîn al-Shîrâzî (cf. notes 14 and 64 in Part II-A above) studied with Kâshânî's own spiritual master, during his youth.

[81] The systematic scope of this treatise can be measured by consulting D. B. MacDonald's article "'Abd al-Razzâk al-Kâshânî," reprinted in the *EI*^{2} (I, pp. 88-90), which is

actually recapitulates the broad outlines of his distinctive metaphysical system. In this respect, Kâshânî is probably the best-known (if by no means the most profound) representative of this major intellectual tendency in the treatment of Ibn 'Arabî's heritage in later Islamic thought, among his philosophic and theological defenders and critics alike.[82]

Whether one happens to view this transformation positively or negatively, the distance separating Kâshânî's approach from that of Ibn 'Arabî—in style, content, audience, and ultimate intentions—stands out dramatically when one compares their writings on almost any issue. To take one of the most striking examples, the related problems of eschatology, resurrection, and the afterlife, Professor Lory clearly points out (pp. 107-21) how for Kâshânî—who in his interpretation follows the understanding both of earlier philosophers and many Sufi writers (cf. Nasafî above [Part II-A]) as well—'...the Resurrection is that "instant" in which the encounter of the atemporal (of the metaphysically "timeless") and historical duration shatters the latter while revealing to it its own true nature' (p. 120). But while that formula—and the insight and experience it conveys—surely corresponds to at least one important facet of Ibn 'Arabî's eschatology, taken by itself it could also lead, as frequently seems to be the case with Kâshânî, to a sort of allegorical reduction of the complex symbolism of the Qur'an and *hadith* to a single (or at most twofold) plane of reference, and even potentially to an implicit denial of any meaningful 'survival' of the individual soul, with its wide range of possibly serious practical consequences,

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largely an extensive summary of its contents, based on S. Guyard's translation and edition. The editor of this reprinted edition has added a helpful introduction placing Kâshânî's ideas in the larger context of Ibn 'Arabî's thought, with a number of references to the *Futûhât* and the *Fusûs,* as well as a *new* translation (again by Mr. Leconte) of a collection of 40 hadith from the *Risâla* by the jurist al-Qayrawânî, intended to show the dogmatic 'orthodoxy' of the Sufi position (here identified with Kâshânî). While these supplementary texts are fascinating in themselves and help to bring out the broader Islamic background behind Kâshânî's (and Ibn 'Arabî's) characteristic positions on this particular metaphysical issue, it is perhaps worth noting that the range of possible positions on this question—whether from the standpoint of hadith and Qur'an, *fiqh, kalâm,* and Sufism, among others—is not quite as simple as the editor might imply, since this particular problem (of *jabr* and *qadar*) has generated a monumental literature within each of those intellectual traditions, extending from the first Islamic centuries down to our own day.

[82] To take only his 'defenders' or later interpreters in the Eastern school of Ibn 'Arabî mentioned below, he is frequently cited by Haydar Âmulî, Jâmî, Ibn Abî Jumhûr, Ibn Turka, Mullâ Sadrâ (who, following Jâmî, discusses the correspondence with Simnânî at length in his *K. a1-Asfâr al-Arba'a*), and a number of the later Iranian thinkers included in the *Anthologie…* of S. J. Ashtiyani and H. Corbin (discussed earlier at n. 3, part II-A above).

both personally and politically. By contrast, in Ibn 'Arabî (e.g., *Futûhât*, chapters 60-64 and 371, for the most extended accounts of eschatology), what must strike any reader is the consistent and thorough 'literality'—an attitude equally removed from Kâshânî's 'symbolic' approach and from what we ordinarily think of as 'literalism'—with which the Shaykh treats the profuse descriptions given by the Qur'an and *hadith*, his extraordinary respect for each concrete detail in the 'timing' and 'location' of the stages of the human being's post—mortem existence (his ongoing development and spiritual experience in the *barzakh* or 'lesser Resurrection,' then the events of the Greater Resurrection, then the many facets of Gehenna, the Garden, and the beatific Vision).[83] When this characteristic procedure is combined with Ibn 'Arabî's repeated vivid descriptions of his own (or other Sufis') personal visionary experiences and encounters with many deceased individuals (earlier masters, prophets, etc.) in the other world *(barzakh)*, it is

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[83] (See already the discussion of Ibn 'Arabî's broader attitude toward the Qur'an and hadith in Part I and at notes 10 [Part II-A above] and 75.)

In metaphysical terms, one could say that the difference turns especially on their differing conceptions of what Ibn 'Arabî calls *khiyâl*, in both its cosmic dimensions, on many planes of being (including even the 'material' world); and its microcosmic, human manifestations (where 'imagination' is both a weak and misleading equivalent, since khiyâl in this metaphysical sense underlies *absolutely all* phenomena—not merely the 'religious' or imaginal—of experience in general). For a more concrete example, one can compare Ibn 'Arabî's treatment of the eschatological materials of Islamic tradition with that of Ghazâlî in his *Durrat al-Fâkhira fî Kashf 'Ulûm al-Âkhira* (*The Precious Pearl: a Translation from the Arabic*, tr. Jane Smith, Missoula, Mont., 1979 [not to be confused with Jâmî's entirely different and much later *Durrat al-Fâkhira*, whose translation and edition are discussed in section V. below]), a work whose restricted exoteric rhetorical intentions and underpinnings—more or less aimed at 'frightening' the common people (*'awâmm*) into carrying out all their religious and ethical duties—are clearly outlined in Ghazali's more philosophic writings (cf. n. 13, Part II-A above). It is precisely the relative separation of 'ethical' and 'intellectual' (or spiritual) planes of meaning and intention—and the consequent division of types of writing and teaching—which Ghazali took over from the Avicennan philosophy of his day that is called into question by Ibn 'Arabî's metaphysics and his distinctive understanding of prophecy and revelation in all their dimensions.

The same fundamental metaphysical role of *khiyâl* for Ibn 'Arabî likewise seems to underlie his cryptic response, in his famous first encounter with the noted philosopher Ibn Rushd (Averroes), to his question whether the answer—to a mysteriously unnamed problem—achieved by illumination and inspiration was the same as that provided by rational inquiry: 'Yes and no. Between the yes and the no, spirits take their flight from their matter and heads are separated from their bodies.' See pp. 41-2 in the English translation of H. Corbin's *Creative Imagination in the Sufism of Ibn 'Arabî*, Princeton, 1969; a more complete translation of the same passage, from the *Futûhât*, I, 153-54, can also be found in Asin Palacios' *L'Islam christianisé* [recent French translation discussed in Part I], pp. 30-31.)

relatively easy to see that his own constant—and highly problematic, not to say disconcerting—insistence on the primary role of *kashf* (immediate experiential 'unveiling') and the concomitant limitations of abstract, formal 'reasoning' (*'aql*) have been substantially altered, if not indeed reversed, in Kâshânî's far more sober philosophic perspective.[84]

At the same time, it must be stressed that Kâshânî's relatively conceptual treatment of Ibn 'Arabî's symbols—or rather, of his personal experience and re-expression of the data of the Qur'an and *hadith,* in so many domains—represents only one typical strand among Ibn 'Arabî's later interpreters. One cannot help but be reminded again of the similar diversity of approaches in Western civilization to Plato's dialogues, according to subsequent readers' emphases on his myths, psychology, ontology, cosmology, logic, and so forth. The fecundity of Ibn 'Arabî's writing and his richness of expression (and possibilities of interpretation) are certainly comparable, even if their later creative development is still far less known to us. Continuing beyond Kâshânî, students can gain some notion of those alternative lines of interpretation by referring to relatively accessible works by Haydar Âmulî (d. 787/1385) and 'Abd al-Karîm al-Jîlî (d. 805/1403), both likewise commentators of the *Fusûs*, but also independent and important thinkers in their own right.[85]

The three works by Haydar Âmulî edited by H. Corbin and O. Yahya (and at least partially accessible to non-Arabists in Professor Corbin's French introduction and related studies) have a considerable historical and an intrinsic interest, even if Âmulî's own immediate

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[84] Some of the grounds of the differing outlooks of Ibn 'Arabî and Kâshânî have been discussed in general terms in notes 75 and 83 above. Still another typical example of Kâshânî's assimilation of Ibn 'Arabî's very different ideas to prevailing Avicennan notions is in his treatment of cosmology (= Prof. Lory's study, pp. 50-59), where the various co-equal and concomitant elements of Ibn 'Arabî's cosmology—discussed briefly in Part I in the context of a translation of D. Gill—are transformed into degrees of 'progressive particularization' (p.54), with 'prime matter' as the lowest level.

It should be stressed that Kâshânî's approach was *not* necessarily typical of all other commentators and interpreters of Ibn 'Arabî. Something of the distinctiveness of his approach (in all the ways outlined above) comes out more clearly, for example, when it is contrasted with Jîlî's much more faithful commentary on Ibn 'Arabî's *Risâlat al-Anwâr* discussed below. Jîlî's relative faithfulness to the Shaykh's language and intentions can be plainly seen, e.g., in his discussion (pp. 72ff.) of Ibn 'Arabî's allusions to the stages and realities of the next world.

[85] Their line is continued by such figures as Jâmî (d. 1198/1492), Mullâ Sadrâ, and a number of other less renowned thinkers who are briefly mentioned below (e.g., at n. 91).

influence in Islamic thought seems to have been relatively limited.[86] To begin with, they are an excellent illustration of those general features which, as we have already noted, characterize most of the later, more 'scholastic' and theoretical treatments of Ibn 'Arabî's thought: the relative concentration (among the Shaykh's own works) on the *Fusûs al-Hikam*, the determinant role of the commentaries of Qaysarî and Kâshânî, and the centrality of the complex of problems—at once philosophic, theological, and mystical—summed up in the controversial formula of the 'Unity of Being' *(wahdat al-wujûd)*.[87]

More important, however, these books have certain qualities which might recommend them more particularly to modern readers, if only they were better known. To begin with, both the massive *K. Jâmi' al-Asrâr wa Manba' al-Anwâr* and the much shorter *R. Naqd al-Nuqûd fî Ma'rifat al-Wujûd* printed with it ('*La philosophie shî'ite*.' Ed. H. Corbin et O. Yahya. Pp. 832 (Arabic introduction, texts, and extensive indexes) + 76 pp. French introduction. Tehran/Paris: Bibliotheque Iranienne, n°. 6. 1969.)[88] are mainly devoted to explaining some of Ibn 'Arabî's

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[86] The relative rarity of manuscripts of Âmulî's works (compared with authors like Kâshânî, Qunawi, or Jîlî) seems to reflect not so much the intrinsic qualities of his thought or expression, as the restricted nature of his original audience—primarily Imami Shiite theologians and jurists—and his pioneering status in defending the writings of Ibn 'Arabî in that sectarian context. (Tellingly, he is among the authors cited by the later Shiite writer Ibn Abî Jumhûr [see the article of W. Madelung on this figure at n. 39, in Part II-A above], who likewise attempted to assimilate many of Ibn 'Arabî's perspectives in the Imami Shiite theological context.) For a tentative listing of Âmulî's works and extant manuscripts, see especially the introductions to his *Jâmi' al-Asrâr* (full references in the text below).

[87] The indexes to he *Jâmî' al-Asrâr* and *Naqd al-Nuqûd* are especially revealing of the leading role of Kâshânî and Qaysarî in determining Âmulî's conception of Ibn 'Arabî's 'philosophy.' Figures from the same 'school' of interpreters seem to have been equally influential in his later commentary on the *Fusûs* (the *Nass al-Nusûs*...), to judge by the references in his Introduction (the only part so far edited: see n. 90 below).

[88] The much wider importance of Osman Yahia's long Arabic introduction to this volume for outlining the entire history of the commentaries and reception (critical as well as favorable) of the *Fusûs al-Hikam*, in many different parts of the Islamic world, has already been mentioned at n. 5, in Part II-A above.

Readers unable to consult the Arabic texts in this volume will find an excellent brief introduction to Âmulî's metaphysical thought, based largely on both the works edited there, in Toshihiko Izutsu's article on 'The Basic Structure of Metaphysical Thought in Islam,' now most readily accessible in French translation in the collection of his essays entitled *Unité de*

key concepts (and their practical, experiential presuppositions) to readers who are not assumed to be familiar with his works, an especially difficult challenge that must obviously be faced by any contemporary writer on these subjects. As a result, Âmulî's discussions, while no doubt lacking the philosophic subtlety and complex technical vocabulary of the classical works directed toward 'specialists' (Qaysarî, Kâshânî, Jîlî, etc.), are likely to be considerably clearer and more accessible to readers approaching these issues, at least in their Islamic form, for the first time. This pedagogical interest is amplified, at least in the *Jâmi' al-Asrâr*—a work of Âmulî's youth, written soon after his 'conversion' to Sufism in the form of Ibn 'Arabî's teachings—by a revealing personal openness and directness, an unconcealed autobiographical dimension which is relatively rare in Islamic literature in general, and certainly in most works of this school. This personal aspect is especially visible in Âmulî's impassioned attempts—which provide the justification and framework for the book—to convince his mostly hostile and suspicious Twelver Shiite colleagues and friends (in the holy cities of Iraq where he was writing) of the ultimate unity of Ibn 'Arabî's Sufi path and the insights and teachings traditionally attributed to the early Shiite Imams.[89]

I'Existence et Création Perpétuelle en Mystique Islamique (Paris, Les Deux Océans, 1980), pp. 9-47 (see also n. 14, Part II-A above).

[89] This latter point deserves some further amplification, since Professor Corbin's introduction focuses on the 'meta-historical' or philosophic unity (as perceived by Âmulî and a few other relatively rare Shiite scholars) between Sufism and Shiism, but does not stress the real *historical* difficulties Âmulî (and his successors: see n. 91 below) encountered in trying to convince many of their fellow Shiite scholars of the validity of this extremely ecumenical conception. In fact, Âmulî's argument is almost entirely intended to explain Ibn 'Arabî's outlook to Imami Shiite religious scholars (whose training was traditionally in distinctively Shiite forms of hadith, *fiqh*, and *kalâm* theology), and thereby to convince them of the superiority of Sufism and its related spiritual practices, in the forms expressed by Ibn 'Arabî, as the proper and uniquely effective way to grasp the true intentions and meanings of the teachings of the early Imams—a distinctive approach which Âmulî understands and presents as yet another spiritual 'Path' (*tarîqa*), sharing many of the key personalities (e.g., Imam 'Alî and Ja'far al-Sâdiq) also found in many classical Sufi chains of initiation.

This work is *not* at all devoted (and in this respect the French title may be unintentionally ironic) to defending Shiism to non-Shiite Sufis, for example. Âmulî consistently writes from the perspective of the directly experienced True Reality *(haqîqa)* underlying these and many other religious traditions, and does not attempt to circumscribe the universal import of Ibn 'Arabî's message. In that light, it is easy to understand the relative hostility—or perhaps more often simple indifference—which was the usual clerical response to similar attempts by Âmulî and his successors.

The second volume edited by Corbin and Yahya, the long introduction to 'Âmulî's commentary on the *Fusûs al-Hikam* [*Nass al-Nusûs fi Sharh al-Fusûs / 'Le Texte des Textes.'* Ed. H. Corbin et O. Yahya. Pp. 547 (text) + 77 pp. French introduction and 80 pp. Arabic introduction. Paris/Tehran: Bibliotheque Iranienne, n°. 22-21. 1975.][90] written in his old age, is still marked by his Twelver Shiite convictions on the question of *walâya* (which may have accounted for its relative neglect by subsequent non-Shiite authors), but is instead an advanced, philosophically elaborate treatise, aimed at other highly trained students of Ibn 'Arabî, discussing all the key themes of the *Fusûs* from the threefold standpoint of *naql* (*hadith* and Islamic tradition), *'aql* (the dialectic 'reason' of later kalam and Avicennan philosophy), and *kashf* (the direct experiential realization of the Sufis). Âmulî's explicit comparative analysis of these three dimensions (at once of intellectual form and spiritual method), which are inextricably interwoven in Ibn 'Arabî's own writings, is a typical feature of virtually all subsequent commentaries and discussions of his teachings—at least when some attempt was made to explain

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Historically speaking, the efforts of Âmulî and such later Shiite scholars as Mullâ Sadrâ (or in our own day, by the renowned Iranian specialist, S. J. Ashtiyânî: see n. 57, Part II-A above) to bring out this universal spiritual dimension of Shiite tradition (almost always under the direct or indirect influence of Ibn 'Arabî) have usually—with the possible exception of certain widely influential teachers in Qajar Iran—remained at best somewhat marginal in the eyes of the vast majority of the Imami *'ulamâ'*, and often subject to harassment or even open persecution as a suspect heresy. (The typical case of Mullâ Sadrâ and his visible attempts to 'veil' the profound influence of Ibn 'Arabî in his more popular and accessible writings, in early Safavid times, is detailed in our translation and extensive Introduction to his *The Wisdom of the Throne...*, Princeton, 1981.) Without an awareness of this historical background, more recent developments in Imami Shiism might appear somewhat anomalous, rather than as being the continuation of ongoing and deeply-rooted tendencies.

[90] This edition does not include Prof. Yahya's extensive indexes mentioned in the French introduction (as forming part of the the projected Part 2 of this volume in the 'Bibliothèque iranienne'); apparently they (and the remainder of the actual commentary on the *Fusûs*) have not yet been published. An especially interesting feature of this text are Âmulî's many circular, mandala-like pedagogical diagrams used to illustrate aspects of the doctrine of *wahdat al-wujûd* and *tajalliyât*, which are considerably more elaborate than those actually given by Ibn 'Arabî in the *Futûhât*.

A physical indication of the extent (and relative philosophic independence) of this tradition of 'commentary' on the *Fusûs* by this time can be gleaned from the editors' remark that an edition of only the first half of Âmulî's actual commentary (the only sections now available in manuscript) would have taken four or five volumes the size of this 'Introduction' (already 547 pages of Arabic text alone).

or defend them to philosophers and theologians outside strictly Sufi circles.[91]

'Abd al-Karîm al-Jîlî (d. 832/1428) was undoubtedly both the most original thinker and the most remarkable and independent mystical writer among the figures we have discussed in the 'school' of Ibn 'Arabî (or of Qûnawî). Indeed the sort of derivative 'scholastic' relationship implied by that expression is quite misleading, unless we understand their relation as comparable, for example, to Proclus' position vis-à-vis Plotinus.[92] For, having completely assimilated the teachings and writings of the Shaykh (and his earlier commentators), Jîlî proceeds to develop the same broad themes (metaphysics, cosmology, spiritual psychology, etc.), but with an originality and independence which is consistently grounded—like Ibn 'Arabî's—in his own spiritual insight and experience. These distinctive qualities, which are especially striking

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[91] See the very similar analysis of *wahdat al-wujûd* and related themes, in contrast with the Avicennan philosophic and *kalâm* standpoints, by another, slightly later Imami Shiite writer, Sâ'in al-Dîn Turka Isfâhânî (d. ca. 835 A.H.) in his *Tamhîd al-Qawâ'id* [ed. S J. Ashtiyani 274 pp. + 6 pp. English introduction by S. H. Nasr. Tehran, 1976.]. This work was an important teaching text in later Iranian philosophic circles, as indicated by the glosses by 19th and early 20th-century traditional Iranian philosophers included in this edition; their role is explained in the editor's lengthy Persian introduction (181 pages!). This Ibn Turka was apparently the son or grandson of Sadr al-Dîn Ibn Turka, another Imami scholar 'converted' to the Sufism of Ibn 'Arabî much earlier, whose *Risâla fî al-Wujûd al-Mutlaq* is cited by Âmulî himself in the *Jâmî' al-Asrâr*, pp. 496-97.

Another successor in this hierarchical resolution of the competing perspectives of kalâm, philosophy, and Ibn 'Arabî (often representing 'Sufism' more generally) is the famous Imami Shiite thinker Ibn Abî Jumhûr (d. late 9th/15th century), whose views in his major work, the *K. al-Mujlî* are outlined in W. Madelung's 'Ibn Abî Ðumhûr al-Ahsâ'î's Synthesis of *Kalâm*, Philosophy and Sufism' (see n. 39, Part II-A above), which also mentions his preparation of a forthcoming article on Ibn Abî Jumhûr for the *Supp1ement* to the *EI*^{2}. (This article, which was first presented in 1976, does not mention the possible lines of 'Akbari' transmission connected with the earlier Shiite works of H. Âmulî and Ibn Turka.)

Comparative works along similar lines by the poet-philosopher Jâmî and by Mullâ Sadrâ are discussed in the section V on Jâmî below.

[92] The analogy in this case is particularly strong because one of the important features of Jîlî's independent philosophic contribution, as with Proclus and subsequent Neoplatonists, has to do with his subtle analysis and multiplication of ontological distinctions concerning the 'intermediate' conditions and states of being: see, for example, E. Bannerth, 'Das Buch der 40 Stufen von 'Abd al-Karîm al-Ðîlî,' *Österrechische Akademie der Wissenschaften, philologisch-historische Klasse* 230, no.3 (1956). 'Abd al-Qâdir al-Jazâ'irî's defense of Ibn 'Arabî against some of Jîlî's 'innovations' or disagreements on certain points is discussed by M. Chodkiewicz in the Introduction to his translations from the *Mawâqif* (the *Écrits spirituels* discussed at the end of this article), pp. 31 and 189.

when set against the relatively greater theological and philosophic emphasis of most earlier (and later) writers in this school, no doubt helped account for the wide diffusion and acceptance of his writings among Sufis from Muslim India (where Jîlî traveled) to the Ottoman lands.[93] However, that same richness and depth of implicit references (again comparable to the later Neoplatonists), which pose such a dilemma for students in most domains of later Islamic culture, are a formidable obstacle for modern students and translators—a fact which may explain the limited availability of his writings in any Western language.

Titus Burckhardt's partial translation of the opening, metaphysical chapters of Jîlî's *K. al-Insân al-Kâmil* [*De l'Homme Universel.* Pp. 101. Paris: Dervy-Livres. 1975 (1st ed. 1953). / English transl. (from the French) by A. Culme-Seymour. *Universal Man.* Pp. 93. Sherborne, UK: Beshara Publications. 1983.], with its extensive introduction and careful treatment of philosophic vocabulary (including an excellent glossary), has been a classic introduction to this dimension of Ibn 'Arabî's thought for many years. However, the translator's intentionally limited selection of topics and particular pedagogical intention—both carefully acknowledged in the opening sections[94]—necessarily lead the uninitiated reader in a direction almost the opposite (at least historically speaking) of that actually followed by the author. For it is very difficult, unless the reader is already quite familiar with Ibn 'Arabî and his earlier commentators, to see how Jîlî is actually using their familiar concepts and terminology in an independent, creative

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[93] For Jîlî's travels and life, see the article by Helmut Ritter, "'Abd al-Karîm al-Djîlî" in *EI*^{2}, vol. I, p. 71; the importance of the Yemen in Jîlî's life reminds us of the still virtually unknown story of the acceptance and development of Ibn 'Arabî's influence among Sufis there (a subject evoked only briefly at the end of A. Ateº's article on Ibn 'Arabî in the *EI*^{2}). Some idea of the spread of Jîlî's ideas and writings, especially in subsequent Turkish Sufism, can be gathered from the locations of manuscripts of his works listed in Brockelman, *GALS* II, pp. 283-84, and—for Jîlî's commentaries on several of Ibn 'Arabî's works—in O. Yahia's *Histoire*....

The most accessible popular introduction to Jîlî is probably still that included in R. A. Nicholson's *Studies in Islamic Mysticism* (Cambridge, 1921; repr. 1967), chapter II.

[94] This version, as the translator stresses, covers only roughly one quarter of the total work, and is not entirely complete even for the chapters that are included. The translator gives a careful outline of the chapter headings of the rest of the book, but—as often with both Ibn 'Arabî and many of his later interpreters—a bare outline often does not really suggest the likelihood of such fascinating discussions as those mentioned in n. 95 below. Readers of Jîlî's work, not to mention translators, are certainly not aided by the state of the available printed texts, where it is clear that the editor/printer has himself often not been able to follow the discussion.

fashion to develop and express new insights and original ideas.[95] Indeed a relatively complete and appropriately annotated translation of such a work, difficult as that might be, could help transform many widespread misconceptions concerning this whole current of later Islamic thought.

In the meanwhile, readers can find an excellent, eminently readable illustration of these distinctive qualities of Jîlî's work in the recent partial translation of his commentary on Ibn 'Arabî's *R. al-Anwâr* [*Journey to the Lord of Power*. Tr. R. T. Harris. Pp. 116. New York: Inner Traditions International. 1981.].[96] What is remarkable about that 'commentary,' in comparison with the works by authors discussed earlier in this section, is its consistent, unmistakable reference to *direct experience* of the realities in question, not just as a premise of the discussion,

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[95] In Jîlî's case, the almost universal problem, for modern students and translators of later Islamic thought, of widespread ignorance of the distinct traditions of later *kalâm* and Avicennan philosophy (already cited at nn. 55-56 and 59-60, Part II-A above) is further compounded by his often *creative* development of Ibn 'Arabî's own technical terminology, which also assumes a considerable acquaintance with the Shaykh's writings in general, especially in his more complex metaphysical discussions.

This is not always the case with Jîlî, as indicated by two fascinating brief excerpts from the *K. al-Insân al-Kâmil* (from later chapters than those included in the Burckhardt translation), which are readily accessible in the English translation of H. Corbin's *Spiritual Body and Celestial Earth*, (tr. N. Pearson, Princeton, 1977), pp. 14-63. (The first selection concerns the favorite Sufi theme of the 'men of *al-A'râf*' [cf. Qur'an 7:46 ff.], the second a mystical encounter with the initiatic figure of al-Khadir/Khizr.) Without already being informed that Jîlî was their author, it would be difficult indeed for readers to imagine that these passages are drawn from the same book as the earlier chapters translated by T. Burckhardt in the above-mentioned volume.

[96] The excerpts drawn from Jîlî's commentary here cover 33 pages, versus only 24 pages for the actual translation of Ibn 'Arabî's text. (Asin Palacios' earlier translation of the same influential text was discussed in Part I above.) This partial English version also includes a helpful 11-page glossary (including explanations of biographical references to earlier Sufi authors), while the work as a whole—including the introductory material by two contemporary Jerrahi Sufi shaykhs—reflects the great esteem Jîlî long enjoyed in Ottoman (by no means exclusively 'Turkish') Sufi circles, a phenomenon also indicated by the many manuscripts of his works found in libraries in that region (n. 93 above).

Although the translations in this work are not by a scholarly specialist, any shortcomings in that regard (e.g., technical terms not always clearly explained as such, references and allusions not always identified) are somewhat counterbalanced by the translator's obvious care for the clarity and readability of her final version—a fundamental consideration that is unfortunately not always so apparent in the available translations in this field.

but as its very *raison d'être*. Jîlî, like Ibn 'Arabî and unlike so many of the Shaykh's other commentators, is careful here to raise questions of 'theory' or intellectual explanation as they naturally arise within the context and ultimate aim of spiritual realization—not as they are generated by extraneous apologetic concerns, or by an internal intellectual dialectic taken as an end in itself. The result of that approach, aided by his frequent references from appropriate passages of the *Futûhât* and other works of Ibn 'Arabî, is a truly Sufi commentary (not so much a philosophic or theological one), grounded in terms accessible to any reader willing to follow the spiritual progression underlying Ibn 'Arabî's exposition in this work. (The same distinctive qualities are likewise evident in the translations from the more recent figure of 'Abd al-Qâdir al-Jazâ'irî discussed at the end of this essay below.)

V. Although 'Abd al-Rahmân al-Jâmî (d. 898/1492) could quite justifiably be considered a major figure in the 'school' of Ibn 'Arabî and Qûnawî discussed in the preceding section, simply on the basis of his Sufi commentaries and more philosophical writings, he is certainly far better known today as one of the greatest classical Persian poets. Professor Yann Richard's translation (and new edition, with facing Persian text) of his famous *Lawâ'ih* [*Les Jaillissements de Lumière*. Pp. 179. Paris: Les Deux Oceans. 1982.], whose thirty-six 'Illuminations' are a masterful combination of powerful, immediately accessible Sufi poetry and complex metaphysical analysis (almost entirely based on Ibn 'Arabî and his earlier commentators), thus illustrates the inner connection between these two equally essential aspects of Jâmî's life and work. At the same time, among all the translations discussed here, this work (along with 'Abd al-Qâdir's *K. al-Mawâqif,* discussed below) is especially suitable as an introduction to this current of later Islamic thought for students without any previous background, precisely because Jâmî—whose intentions are ably conveyed in Professor Richard's careful translation—has constructed the work as a sort of dialogue in which the poetry (although occasionally didactic) most often directs the reader to the immediate and indispensable experiential insights (the 'illuminations' or 'flashes' of the title) whose metaphysical and theological implications are then clarified and elaborated in the accompanying prose, often by contrasting the approach of the Sufi 'knowers' (as exemplified here by Ibn 'Arabî and Qûnawî) with the limited methods of the

mutakallimûn and *falâsifa.*[97]

In virtually every section, he thereby brings the reader explicitly face-to-face, in extremely concise fashion, with the three essential elements of all the writings of this school: the experiential ground (and its broader Sufi presuppositions); its doctrinal or theoretical elaboration; and its broader dialectical context (i.e., the competing or ostensibly opposed doctrines, methods, and interpretations, each usually expressed in the shared technical vocabulary of post-Avicennan kalam). The apparent difficulty or obscurity of most of the more abstract and purely 'theoretical' writings of this school—including Jâmî's own longer prose works whose translations are discussed below—is almost entirely due to the modern reader's understandable lack of acquaintance with the first and especially the third of those elements, which were naturally presupposed in his original audience.[98]

The same carefully conceived spiritual pedagogy clearly underlies the structure of the work as a whole: Jâmî begins with fundamental conditions of each individual's search (the state of 'dispersion' and its causes, 'illuminations' no.1-4), points out the profound inner relation of the seeker and God *(tawhîd*, no. 5-6) which is the ultimate context of all that follows, alludes to some of the key features of the spiritual method (no. 7-10) leading to a growing awareness of

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[97] This sort of 'dialogue' of ecstatic poetry and philosophic prose often strikingly illustrates the sorts of problems and possible misconceptions (at once practical, theological, and spiritual) that frequently gave rise to the need for theoretical and doctrinal clarification in earlier Sufism, as explained in our discussions of Balyânî (and his critics) in Part II-A above. A classic example is the dramatic poetic refrain of '*hama ûst*' ('all is He!') in Illumination 22, immediately followed by Jâmî's cautious theological and practical explanations of what such an ecstatic expression really means (sections 23-24).

See note 100 for some of the explicit references to Ibn 'Arabî and Qûnawî. Jâmî's characteristic comparison of the methods and conclusions of the Sufis, Avicennan philosophers, and kalam theologians is expressed in its most systematic form in his *K. al-Durrat al-Fâkhira* (recent translation and critical edition by N. Heer discussed below).

[98] This problem stands out most clearly when one compares the *Lawâ'ih* with the English translation of the *Durrat al-Fâkhira* (see below), which is often virtually incomprehensible—at least to nonspecialists—for lack of adequate explanation of those presuppositions. (This is not to minimize the difficulty of the challenge faced by translators in this domain, since there really is no simple way to condense several years of study—which would likewise be required for uninitiated readers approaching most Western theological or philosophic traditions for the very first time!—into some more easily accessible form; cf. our remarks on other aspects of this problem at notes 56, 60 in Part II-A above, and at n. 95 above.)

this Reality, [99] and above all to one's awakening to the true nature of Love (no. 11-12), the sign and companion of one's subsequent progress on this path. This first third of the work has a universality that seems to justify Jâmî's initial claim (in his Introduction here) to be nothing but a 'translator' *(tarjumân)* of the Truly Real (*al-Haqq*); and there are constant allusions to this indispensable personal dimension throughout the subsequent metaphysical discussions, until he returns to that plane of immediate insight even more forcefully in his conclusion: 'To express the Realities in words is but a dream . . . Silence is better than this conversation of ours!' The intervening sections (13-36), however, are mainly devoted to an elaborate metaphysical analysis, in terms at once ontological and theological, of the inner structure and dynamics of absolute Being *(wujûd/hastî)* and the divine Reality (*al-Haqq*) in relation to the manifest, phenomenal world, a discussion almost entirely based on the *Fusûs al-Hikam* and its subsequent commentators.[100]

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[99] The translator's brief outline (pp. 12-15) of some of the key features of Naqshbandî spiritual method is especially illuminating and helpful at this point.

[100] In addition to the explicit references to the *Fusûs al-Hikam* (section 26 [from the *Fass* of Shu'ayb], discussing the heart of the true Knower and the stage of *'ayn al-jam'* is especially important, along with other explicit citations in sections 30 and 36) and to Qûnawî (section 33, citing his *K. al-Nusûs*), students of Ibn 'Arabî will recognize that much of this part of the book is basically a Persian translation or paraphrase of famous passages from the *Fusûs* or from commentaries in the line of Qûnawî. Often the subject has been so deeply assimilated that it is difficult to say whether Jâmî was knowingly translating certain passages or simply rephrasing their common insights. (See below for Jâmî's own explicit studies of the *Fusûs.)*

Also noteworthy in this regard are Jâmî's quotations of lines from Rumi's *Masnavî* (in section 6) and from Mahmûd Shabistârî's (d. 720/1320-21) *Gulshân-i Râz,* indicative of the extent to which Ibn 'Arabî's (or Qûnawî's) ideas had come to be accepted as the standard Sufi interpretation for the mystical verses of many earlier Sufi poets not directly influenced by the Shaykh or his writings. In fact, Shabistârî's *Gulshân-i Râz,* composed in 1311, is—like the works of Nasafî already discussed above (Part II-A)—an interesting example of the early, popular Eastern Sufi 'piecemeal' assimilation of Ibn 'Arabî's ideas (e.g., concerning the *insân kâmil*), in a form not yet heavily influenced by the much more systematic philosophic and theological language characteristic of the school of Qûnawî. Unfortunately, although there are a number of popular, frequently reprinted English versions (*The Rose-Garden of Mysteries,* tr. E. H. Whinfield, London, 1880 [reprinted]; *The Secret Garden,* tr. J. Pasha, New York, 1974; *The Secret Garden,* tr. Juraj Paska, N.Y. and London, 1969), the lack of annotation makes it difficult to grasp the more systematic aspect of that work which made it such a common teaching text in Persian Sufi circles for many centuries. The most widely read commentary, in this connection, was no doubt Muhammad Lâhîjî's *Mafâtih al-I'jâz fî Sharh Gulshân al-Râz* (ed. K. Samî'î, Tehran, 1337 h.s./1958), written sometime in the later 8th/14th century. (One may hope that

Rather than attempting a detailed commentary of these complex, still highly condensed discussions (which would no doubt overwhelm this brief and intentionally introductory work), Professor Richard has often referred the reader to two of Jâmî's own longer commentaries on Ibn 'Arabî and his metaphysical/theological thought *(al-Durrat al-Fâkhira* and *Naqd al-Nusûs)* which are fortunately now readily available in recent critical editions and at least partial English translations (see discussion below); a detailed, comprehensive understanding of the more philosophic parts of the text is probably impossible without extensive reference to those expanded prose sources. However, his translation (and edition) is especially marked by an awareness of and careful attention to Jâmî's systematic thought and technical vocabulary (including a useful glossary of key terms) that is one of its several distinct improvements over the outdated English version by Whinfield and Kazvini.[101] The translator's brief introduction (pp. 7-28)—again clearly designed for a general audience with little or no specialized background—is a marvel of concision, since it covers not only Jâmî's life and eventful historical context (including his scientific training, his extensive travels and contacts with the Ottoman and Aq Quyunlu sultans, his Naqshbandî Sufi affiliations, his equally famous contemporaries in Herat's 'Golden Age' under Husayn Bayqara, Behzâd and Mîr 'Alî Shîr Navâ'î), and the manuscripts, edition and commentaries of the *Lawâ'ih,* but also a fascinating summary of Naqshbandî principles of spiritual method and a long list of Jâmî's principal writings (with

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projected translations of at least parts of that famous commentary, in both French and English, will soon be completed.)

[101] This book, *Lawâ'ih: A Treatise on Sufism,* has recently been reprinted (London, 1978) with the very useful addition of an introduction by Prof. S. H. Nasr (pp. xix-xxvii) covering in a briefer form many of the same points as Y. Richard's French introduction, and correcting Whinfield's extremely misleading introductory comments. (Whinfield's Victorian-era remarks—with their allusions to all sorts of 'causal' explanations of Sufism in terms of supposed Indian, Buddhist, and Neoplatonic sources—are symptomatic of his apparent ignorance of the Islamic traditions themselves, but do indicate the very real progress that has been made in these studies over the past century, when one compares them, for example, with the major recent works of W. Chittick and N. Heer on Jâmî discussed below.) That the English translation itself is still quite useful is no doubt explicable by the fact (explained by Whinfield at the end of his original Preface) that virtually all of it, including the entire philosophic later part, was translated not directly from the Persian, but from a French translation by the renowned Persian scholar Mîrzâ Muhammad Kazvînî.

available translations and editions).[102]

Within the historical context of this article (and given Jâmî's modern reputation primarily as a poet rather than a mystical philosopher and theologian), that list is especially revealing in several respects. Not only are 32 of the 44 titles cited on Sufi subjects (including the renowned biographical compilation *Nafahât al-Uns*, a classic source for the most diverse historical aspects of Sufism), but the majority of those works actually involve either commentaries on Ibn 'Arabî (including *two* on the *Fusûs al-Hikam*) or elaborations (mostly in Persian prose, but also in poetry and even—notably with *al-Durrat al-Fâkhira*—in Arabic prose) of classical themes and problems within the Akbarî 'school.' Often these analyses are applied, as in the *Lawâ'ih* itself, to the interpretation of mystical poetry, including Sufi verses by Ibn al-Fârid (both the *Mîmîya* and the *Nazm al-Sulûk)*, Rumi (the *Masnavî)*, Jâmî himself (his *Rubâ'iyyât*), and Fakhr al-Dîn 'Irâqî *(Ashi''at al-Lamâ'ât)*.

The mention of the last of those books is especially significant, since 'Irâqî's *Lama'ât*, with its masterful mixture of ecstatic Persian love poetry and short prose interludes, not only provided the obvious formal model for the *Lawâ'ih*, but was actually composed under the immediate inspiration of Sadr al-Dîn al-Qûnawî's lectures on Ibn 'Arabî's thought. In this regard we can only briefly mention—so as not to preclude the full-length review it richly deserves—the recent study and English translation of 'Irâqî's work by William Chittick and Peter Lamborn Wilson [*Divine Flashes*. Pp. 178 + xvi (Preface by S. H. Nasr). New York: Paulist Press. 1982.], and especially Prof. Chittick's analytical introduction ('The Mystical Philosophy of the Divine Flashes') and his extensive commentary and index of technical terms bringing out the systematic metaphysical underpinnings of 'Irâqî's poetry. Those sections, which often cite or paraphrase Jâmî's commentary on the *Lama'ât (Ashi''at al-Lama'ât)*, in themselves constitute a substantial introduction to Qunawi and his interpretation of Ibn 'Arabî's

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[102] For more complete and detailed historical references, see the Persian introduction by W. Chittick to his editon of Jâmî's *Naqd al-Nusûs*.... (discussed below), and the long bio-bibliographical study by A. A. Hekmat, *Jâmî*…, Tehran, 1320 h.s., pp. 161-213. (Dr. Richard acknowledges those key sources for his abridged bibliography here.)

teaching, and clearly demonstrate its profound influence on Jâmî's own thinking.[103]

The juxtaposition of these two widely read and genuinely popular works of 'Irâqî and Jâmî is also a reminder of the much broader—if still little studied—problem of the 'influences' of Ibn 'Arabî (and especially the vocabulary and systematic interpretations of the *Fusûs*) in the later poetry and literature of the Eastern Islamic world, in Turkish, Urdu and other Indian languages (and even Malay or Indonesian), as well as in Persian. Two outward, easily discernable (and no doubt interrelated) signs of that influence are the almost universal use of the systematic conceptions of this 'school' (especially such symbolically rich themes as *wahdat al-wujûd*, *tajalliyât*, the 'presences' of divine Being, etc.) in commentaries on earlier, widely-read Sufi poets such as Rumi and Ibn al-Fârid,[104] and the pervasiveness of Ibn 'Arabî's technical vocabulary (again largely as transmitted by Qûnawî and his successors) throughout the poetry composed in those languages down through the 19th century. Readers familiar with this school can readily note the existence of its terminology and problems; but determining to what degree those formal metaphysical allusions (and Sufi language in general) actually represent conscious

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[103] This work is a model of the sort of background that must often be provided in order to enable non-specialist readers to understand the meaning and intentions of writers in these traditions. In addition to the philosophic commentaries, the book also includes a fascinating—and less demanding—biographical and historical introduction, discussing 'Irâqî's long stay (and subsequent influence) in Muslim India as well as his role in the larger circle of Sadr al-Dîn Qûnawî (see also notes 61-64, in Part II-above).

[104] See also notes 2, 63, [in Part II-A above], 73, and 104 (for Shabistârî and Lâhîjî). Among other, more influential poets whose work was strongly marked by the ideas of Ibn 'Arabî, one would also have to mention 'Ibn 'Arabî's faithful interpreter [Shams al-Dîn M. al-Tabrîzî] al-Maghribî d. ca. 1406)' (quoting A. Schimmel, *op. cit*., p.167), whose mystical ghazals have yet to find their translator, and the founder of the Ni'matullâhî Sufi order, Shâh Ni'matullâh Walî Kirmânî. A popular, readily accessible introduction to his life and subsequent spiritual influence can be found—along with translations from his poetic works and those of his disciples and successors (pp. 191-245)—in *Kings of Love: The History & Poetry of the Ni'matullâhî Sufî Order of Iran*, tr. P. L. Wilson and N. Pourjavady, Tehran, 1978; see Index under 'Ibn 'Arabî,' 'Qûnyawî,' and '*wahdat al-wujûd*.' (This study also gives some indication of the vast Persian bibliography on this subject, including the extensive editions of Shah Ni'matullâh's poetry and prose treatises by the contemporary Ni'matullâhî shaykh, Javâd Nûrbaksh.) In French, see the brief introduction to J. Aubin's *Matériaux pour la biographie de Shâh Ni'matullâh Wali Kermânî* (Tehran, 1956), and the relevant notices in H. Corbin's *Histoire de la philosophie islamique*, Part II (full references to that work at n. 3, Part II-A above), pp. 1125-26 and 1130-33.

acquaintance with and serious understanding of Ibn ‘Arabî and his followers, rather than merely traditional (or even ironic) use of those materials, usually requires close acquaintance with each individual writer and his personal background (Sufi affiliations, studies, etc.) and an informed sensitivity to their actual roles in his writing.[105]

Fortunately, in the case of Jâmî at least, that necessary background is readily accessible, even in English translation, through two recent in-depth studies (including major critical editions) of some of his key metaphysical prose writings—works which are perfectly complementary, and which clearly represent the fruits of years of research in this area.[106] William Chittick’s carefully annotated critical edition of Jâmî’s early commentary on the *Fusûs al-Hikam* (or rather, on Ibn ‘Arabî’s own condensed metaphysical summary of it, the *Naqsh al-Fusûs* [*Naqd al-Nusûs fî Sharh Naqsh al-Fusûs*. Tehran, 1977.]—frequently cited in Professor Richard’s own introduction—actually constitutes a sort of broad historical introduction (but proceeding backwards in time) to the whole school of Qûnawî, since Jâmî often uses long excerpts from many of the commentators discussed above (though *not* Âmulî and Jîlî). A partial English translation (some 15%, summarizing the main outlines of the work, according to Prof. Chittick) is now readily accessible in the first volume (1982) of the *Journal of the Muhyiddin Ibn ‘Arabî Society.*[107]

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[105] The interpretive problem is essentially no different than with, for example, the question of Platonic or Neoplatonic themes in Western vernacular literatures. One has a similar range of possibilities, from conscious literary ‘allusions’ (which can often be purely formal or ‘literary’ in nature) to more meaningful and convincing poetic use by writers who may have had little or no formal study of their ‘original’ philosophic sources. The sensitivity needed to judge these questions is especially great with these later Islamic literatures because the ‘*sabk-i Hindî*’ style (common to Persian, Turkish, Urdu, etc. in the centuries following Jâmî—assumed such a tremendous range of cultural references—including extensive knowledge of metaphysics and theology) on the part of its writers and cultured readers alike. (See the related observations at notes 56, 60, [Part II-A] and 98 of Part II above.)

[106] Our comments here are intentionally limited to a brief description, given the framework of this article, so as not to preclude the fully detailed reviews each of these major works deserves—especially since both these recent studies involve more extensive and ambitious scholarly efforts than most of the translations which have been our primary focus in this review article.

[107] “Ibn ‘Arabî’s Own Summary of the *Fusûs:* ‘The Imprint of the Bezels of Wisdom,’” pp. 30-93; the article is reprinted here from two earlier issues of the Tehran journal *Sophia*

Jâmî's *al-Durrat al-Fâkhira*—an Arabic prose treatise comparing the views of the Sufis (i.e., the school of Ibn 'Arabî), the *mutakallimûn*, and the Avicennan philosophers on the central metaphysical/theological questions of Islamic thought (as expressed in their shared theological vocabulary of the divine Essence and Attributes), and implicitly demonstrating the superiority and comprehensiveness of the Sufi understanding of each of those issues—is an even more fascinating historical document, since it was apparently written at the express demand of the powerful Ottoman sultan Muhammad II. That background clearly illustrates both Jâmî's contemporary renown as a metaphysician (as well as poet), and the truly 'ecumenical' nature of Islamic higher culture immediately prior to the historic divisions introduced by the Safavid revolution. At the same time, this work (and the intellectual situation it exemplifies) clearly pointed the way toward the creative resolution of those different points of view by Sadr al-Dîn al-Shîrâzî ('Mullâ Sadrâ,' d. 1050/1641), whose comprehensive synthesis and readily accessible presentation of the fundamental insights of Ibn 'Arabî and his commentators (in language largely drawn from both Suhrawardî's 'Illuminationist' [*ishrâqî*] thought and Avicennan philosophy) was to dominate subsequent treatment of these problems in the Iranian world, at least.[108]

Perennis, vol. 1(1975), pp 88-128, and vol. 11(1976), pp. 67-106. This work by Jâmî includes the complete translation of Ibn 'Arabî's work *(Naqsh al-Fusûs)* itself. 'Summary' is probably not the precise term to describe its relation to the *Fusûs al-Hikam,* given the extreme concision of Ibn 'Arabî's *Naqsh* (itself incomprehensible without a commentary) and its greater focus on the 'metaphysical' side of the *Fusûs,* to a certain extent prefiguring Qûnawi's own primary interpretive orientation.

[108] See the long introductory contextual section of our study, *The Wisdom of the Throne: An Introduction to the Philosophy of Mulla Sadra* (Princeton, 1981). For Sadra's own treatment of the same questions summarized by Jâmî in the *Durrat al-Fâkhira,* Part I of Sadra's work translated here (pp. 94-129) should be supplemented by his more lengthy discussion of those issues in his companion volume, the *Kitâb al-Mashâ'ir,* tr. H. Corbin: *Le Livre des Pénétrations metaphysiques* (Tehran/Paris, 1964). (Prof. Corbin's work includes an edition not only of the Arabic original of Sadra's treatise, but also of a 19th-century *Persian* translation by the same Qajar prince who translated Jâmî's *al-Durrat al-Fâkhira:* see n. 109 below.) For a more recent, increasingly scholastic stage of this Qajar Iranian philosophic development—in which the immediate influence of Ibn 'Arabî's thought is far less apparent—see the translation by T. Izutsu and M. Mohaghegh of the widely-read metaphysical part of the *Ghurar al-Farâ'id* (or '*sharh-i Manzûma-yi Hikmat'*), by Mullâ Hâdî Sabzavârî (d. 1284/ 1878), *The Metaphysics of Sabzavari* (Delmar, N.Y., 1977). This work also includes a translation (by Paul Sprachman, pp. 11-24) of Sabzavari's *autobiography*, a historically revealing document in its own right. The philosophic and theological developments of the intervening period in the Iranian (and Imami Shiite) milieu

Professor Nicholas Heer's translation of the *Durrat al-Fâkhira* [*The Precious Pearl* . Pp. 237 + ix. Albany: SUNY Press. 1979.], together with Jâmî's own glosses and the subsequent commentary by his foremost disciple al-Lârî (d. 912/1504), is (along with the Arabic edition itself) a monument of industry and erudition, whose careful philological attention to detail (illustrated, among other things, by the massive index/glossary of Arabic technical terms, the identification and discussion of Jâmî's sources for each of the three 'schools' discussed, location of subsequent commentaries, etc.) will make it especially useful to specialists in this area. However, little or no attempt has been made in the translation volume to explain the actual philosophic and spiritual meaning and more universal significance of Jâmî's discussions, so that this text is likely to appear opaque and merely 'scholastic' (in the pejorative sense) to readers without extensive background in the three wide-ranging intellectual traditions in question. In fact, the deeper significance and ongoing historical influence of Jâmî's work is brought out far more clearly in the volume containing the Arabic editions of both of these texts (also due to Professor Heer) and an edition of its Persian translation—by the same Qajar prince who translated Mulla Sadra's widely studied 'textbook' on the same ontological and theological issues, the *K. al-Mashâ'ir*.[109]

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are partially covered in the anthology volumes of H. Corbin and S. J. Ashtiyânî discussed in n. 3, Part II-A above. As already noted, the fate of Jâmî's more philosophic writings—and the broader intellectual tradition they represent—in most of the rest of the Islamic world still remains to be explored; those further developments and influences were certainly not limited to Safavid Iran.

For Jâmî's predecessors among commentators of Ibn 'Arabî correlating the elements or relative contributions of *naql*, *'aql*, and *kashf*—terms which could be very loosely connected with the respective methods or presuppositions of *kalâm* (and *fiqh*), Avicennan philosophy, and Sufism—see the earlier discussions of Âmulî, Ibn Turka, Ibn Abî Jumhûr al-Ahsâ'î, and Nasafi above in this Part II-A. Jâmî's work here is distinguished primarily by its more systematic and scholastic presentation of the 'rational' (*'aqlî*) formulations of each of those earlier key Islamic intellectual traditions.

[109] See n. 108 above for H. Corbin's edition and translation of the *K. al-Mashâ'ir*. The volume of editions of *al-Durrat al-Fakhira* and the related commentaries and Persian translation (No. XIX in the 'Wisdom of Persia' Series, Tehran, 1980) is also note-worthy for the long introduction by the Persian editor, A. Mûsavî Behbehânî; it is a philosophically serious and creative attempt to rethink the issues which have traditionally been taken to distinguish the schools in question, and thereby to go beyond the standard repetition of stereotyped scholastic descriptions. That sort of original, philosophically independent viewpoint is relatively unique

That 19th-century princely translation of Jâmî's work is only one sign of the vigorous, ongoing development in Safavid and Qajar Iran (and the traditional Shiite centers of 'Irâq) of this school whose language and problematic is so deeply rooted in the study of Ibn 'Arabî—a historical development we are fortunate enough to be able to follow in some detail only through the coincidence of that area's relative insulation from direct colonization, plus the devoted efforts of a handful of more recent scholars. However, when one looks at the actual location of *manuscripts* of works by Jâmî or any of the other writers (including Ibn 'Arabî himself) discussed above—or at the even greater multitude of poets and literary figures who transmuted their contributions into so many Islamic languages—it is clear that their influence, at least up to the 19th century, was probably at least as great and diverse in the higher culture and among the Sufi orders both of the Ottoman empire and the Muslim regions of India, Central Asia, and even China and Indonesia.[110] In other words, our relative ignorance of those later developments in those far-flung Islamic regions reflects factors other than any lack of written sources. If the Sufi writings of 'Abd al-Qâdir al-Jazâ'irî (d. 1300/1883) discussed in the following section appear to us today as a sudden, mysterious 'renaissance' of the creative study of Ibn 'Arabî in the Arabic world,[111] that is simply a reminder of how much research remains to be done in this (and so many other) areas of later Islamic thought.

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among the traditional (i.e., non Western-educated) Iranian philosophers dealing with these schools of later Islamic thought.

[110] A case in point is Prof. Richard's mention of a commentary on the *Lawâ'ih* by one of Jâmî's disciples which was recently discovered in a library in *Beijing* (details on p. 29).

Equally far afield is the Indonesian Qâdiri Sufi and Malay poet Hamza al-Fansûrî (late 10th/16th century), who 'belonged to the school of mysticism characterized by names like Ibn al-'Arabî and 'Irâkî' (article 'Hamza Fansûrî' by P. Voorhoeve in *EI*^{2}, III, p.155). We may also mention the study by Syed Muhammad Naquib al-Attas, *The Mysticism of Hamza al-Fansûrî*, Kuala Lumpur, 1970, cited in A. Schimmel, *op. cit.*, p. 354.

Another, historically quite influential example would be the later Kubrâwî Sufi 'Alî al-Hamadânî (d. 786/13115), author of still another commentary on the *Fusûs al-Hikam*, who played an important role in the establishment of Sufism (and Islam more generally) in Kashmir; see H. Corbin, *Histoire…*, Part II (n. 3, Part II), pp. 116-17, and additional bibliographic references in the article "'Alî Hamadânî' by S. M. Stern, *EI*^{2}, I, p. 392.

[111] See n. 4, Part II-A above, for recent studies of the 18th-century Moroccan Sufi Ibn 'Ajîba, for whom Ibn 'Arabî seems to have played a role that more fully reflects the broad range of the Shaykh's actual writings and activities—although it is difficult to know how far one can generalize from this single case.

VI. ‘Abd al-Qâdir al-Jazâ’irî (1222/1807-1300/1883) is today no doubt most widely known, at least in the nations immediately concerned, as the leader of Algerian resistance to the gradual invasion and colonialization of that country between 1832 and 1847. However, the two recent French translations of parts of his *Kitâb al-Mawâqif,* a vast work including his lectures, meditations, and a sort of ‘spiritual diary’ from the decades of his exile in Damascus (1857-1883), present a very different aspect of his character and historical persona: an extraordinary Sufi writer and teacher who—if these selections can be taken as representative—was not only responsible for reviving the teachings of the Shaykh al-Akbar, but was also himself in many ways a sort of Ibn ‘Arabî reborn.[112] Compared to the relatively ‘scholastic’ traditions discussed above, ‘Abd al-Qâdir’s work (like Ibn ‘Arabî’s) consistently conveys a striking, unmistakable sense of true originality, of the fresh and compelling expression of immediate spiritual experience, grounded in the most profound personal reflection on the Qur’an and hadith as well as extensive study of the works of Ibn ‘Arabî and their commentators. That impression of immediacy and authenticity is no doubt a reflection both of ‘Abd al-Qâdir’s distinctive personal virtues and at the same time of his indebtedness to a broader (not merely literary) Sufi tradition of the study and application of the Shaykh’s writings in a practical, effective spiritual context.

All of these features are carefully explained in Michel Chodkiewicz’ remarkable introduction to his selection of shorter chapters from the *K. al-Mawâqif (Ecrits spirituels.* By Emir Abd El-Kader. Pp. 226. Paris: Editions du Seuil. 1982.], a text which is itself a mine of valuable historical references. To begin with, in recalling the successive external stages of ‘Abd al-Qâdir’s own spiritual initiation—his youthful reception of the *khirqa akbariyya* from his own

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[112] Among the significant biographical facts noted in the translator’s Introduction *(Écrits spirituels,* full references below), proceeding from the outward signs inward, are his having lived several decades in same the house where Ibn ‘Arabî died in Damascus, his being buried next to the Shaykh there (until the quite recent removal of his remains to Algeria), his reception of the *khirqa akbariyya* (see also n. 113 below) from his father, named ‘Sîdî Muhyî al-Dîn,’ and his repeated compelling visions and encounters with the ‘spiritual reality’ (*rûhâniyya*) of the Shaykh al-Akbar. See the discussion of these incidents, with full references to the specific passages in the *Mawâqif,* in M. Chodkiewicz’s book, pp. 28 and 187-88.

The deeper resemblance of ‘Abd al-Qâdir’s writing to that of Ibn ‘Arabî, both in style and content, is discussed in detail below.

father, himself a Qâdiri master;[113] his encounter with the noted Shaykh Khâlid al-Naqshbandî during his first pilgrimage and visit to Damascus (at age 20); and his mature study with the Shâdhilî shaykh Muhammad al-Fâsî at Mecca (in 1269/1863)—Mr. Chodkiewicz clearly brings out an indispensable dimension of Ibn 'Arabî's influence and spiritual function which is at once more fundamental and yet inherently less visible than its occasional 'historical' or literary manifestations.[114] However, in 'Abd al-Qâdir's own exceptional case—again, not unlike Ibn 'Arabî's—the usual forms and methods of the Sufi path (the spiritual combat of the *murîd*, the 'one who desires' union) appear to have only supplemented and confirmed a special vocation for the more direct and relatively effortless path of 'ecstatic illumination' *(jadhba)* that typifies those rare individuals 'chosen' by God (the *'murâd').*[115] Yet as the translator indicates (pp. 25-26), it

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[113] It is important to note, as the translator stresses, that the *khirqa akbariyya* (which 'Abd al-Qâdir's grandfather had earlier received in Egypt) did not distinguish a separate Sufi 'order,' but was transmitted by certain shaykhs of several *tarîqa*s, including (at least most recently) the Naqshbandiyya and Shâdhiliyya. Especially interesting in this regard is the long historical note (pp. l83-84) on Ibn 'Arabî's own *silsila*s or chains of spiritual initiation (of which the note lists five, three going back to the Prophet and two to Khizr); it also mentions the initiatic *silsilas* from Ibn 'Arabî down to 'Abd al-Qâdir, all of them beginning with Qûnawî. (Again, see Qûnawî's central role in the lines of direct transmission of the *Fusûs* outlined by O.Yahia, *Histoire...*, II, Appendix B.)

[114] Especially valuable in this regard is the extensive information (pp. 35-38 and accompanying notes), drawn largely from still unpublished sources and recent studies by Egyptian and Syrian scholars, on the influences of 'Abd al-Qâdir's teaching and personal example on contemporary Sufi Shaykhs in his time (primarily of the Shâdhilî and Naqshbandî orders) and their successors down to the present. On another level, but no less important, the translator also notes (p. 35) that it was 'Abd al-Qâdir who financed the first publication (in Cairo) of the complete text of *al-Futûhât al-Makkiyya*.

On the historical plane which is our main focus here, this introduction also offers a valuable summary (with lengthy references in the notes) of three salient issues in the long controversy surrounding Ibn 'Arabî and the *Fusûs al-Hikam* (see n. 5, Part II-A, and a number of other related passages above). The questions discussed here (pp. 32-35) are the 'faith of Pharaoh,' the 'eternity' of punishment in Hell, and the 'universality' of the Shaykh's spiritual outlook. Each of those points is treated, with reference to both Ibn 'Arabî and 'Abd al-Qâdir, with a clarity and concision that makes this section useful even for those who are not already acquainted with these disputed sections of the *Fusûs*.

[115] 'Abd al-Qâdir speaks of his own unusual path and draws the distinction between these two ways—while underlining the dangers and advantages of each—in some quite revealing autobiographical remarks in *Mawqif* 18, the second selection (pp. 46-49) translated here. The distinction of *murâd* and *murîd* alluded to here, as M. Chodkiewicz points out (referring to Ibn

is perhaps even more characteristic that having had this transforming experience of enlightenment (with the concomitant insight and passion that illuminates all these *mawâqif),* 'Abd al-Qâdir should subsequently return to follow the guidance of a more traditional master (the Shâdhilî shaykh M. al-Fâsî, at Mecca) and to carefully retrace all the accustomed stages and states of the more 'normal' path, in order to perfect his own insight as spiritual guide and teacher,[116] the activity that largely occupied the final decades of his life.

Certainly it is this unifying practical aim of spiritual pedagogy (rather than either Sufi 'apologetics' or theoretical elaborations pursued for their own sake), an intention constantly illumined and guided by immediate personal experience and insight into the issues in question, that typifies 'Abd al-Qâdir's writings (or at least the texts translated here) and distinguishes them

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'Arabî's brief *Istilâhât*), is taken over from the Shaykh. There is a more complete and extremely clear discussion of this same distinction at the end of Ibn al-'Arabî's *Mawâqi' al-Nujûm,* summarized by Asin Palacios, *l'Islam Christianisé* (French translation discussed in Part I above), p. 319. [Ibn 'Arabî's *Istilâhât al-Sûfiyya*—the full range of titles is given in O.Y., *Histoire...*, no. 315—a short work he also included, in inverse order, within the actual *Futûhât* (II, 128-34 = chapt. 73, question 153), has been recently translated by R. T. Harris in the *Journal of the Muhyiddin Ibn 'Arabî Society,* III (1984), pp. 27-54, in a popular version with a minimum of notes or explanations; it should he used with extreme caution in reading other works of the Shaykh, since the 'definitions' given here often touch on only one limited aspect or a single meaning among the multitude of senses that a given technical term may have elsewhere in his own writings.]

Although 'Abd al-Qâdir's own reference to a special divine 'attraction' or *jadhba* in the passage just mentioned would allow one, in purely linguistic terms, to call him '*majdhûb'* we must stress that there is nothing either in his writings or in what is described here of his life that would suggest the sort of pathological characteristics (sometimes rather euphemistically called 'divine madness') that are often associated with the term '*majdhûb'* in many Islamic countries. Such a usage could be highly misleading: see, for example, 'Abd al-Qâdir's typically 'sober' remarks concerning al-Hallâj's relative 'madness' or intoxication, pp. 45, 88, etc. (Fortunately—and quite exceptionally among the French translations dealt with in this review article—this book is provided with an excellent Index!)

[116] Again (see n. 112) the year and a half 'Abd al-Qâdir spent in Mecca and Medina was marked by an extraordinary set of symbolic 'coincidences' mentioned by the translator (pp. 25-26, citing the biography by the Emir's son which is one of the main sources for this introduction). In Medina, he lived and kept his spiritual retreat on the site of the house of Abû Bakr, adjoining the mosque of the Prophet; he achieved his culminating, 'highest degree of illumination' while meditating in the cave of Hîra site of the Prophet's first revelation.

For the significance of this careful 'retracing' of the spiritual Path normally followed by most individuals, in relation to the specific title of this work, see n. 119 below.

so strikingly from many of the interpreters discussed above.[117] The central metaphysical/theological problems and intuitions, and even the technical vocabulary, are all essentially the same as in Ibn ‘Arabî and such commentators as Qûnawî and Kâshânî—and Mr. Chodkiewicz stresses and elaborately documents ‘Abd al-Qâdir’s profound debts to those particular authors[118]—but they are treated here in a practical spiritual perspective whose immediacy and universality (and resulting coherence) are far more directly accessible to non-specialist readers. In sum, ‘Abd al-Qâdir is not so much ‘commenting on’ Ibn ‘Arabî (or his successors) as actually recreating the Shaykh’s deepest intentions. The difference of perspective is palpable, and makes this work itself an excellent introduction to the study of Ibn ‘Arabî’s own writings, given its relative simplicity and clarity of exposition.

The thirty-nine shorter ‘halts’ (often only two or three pages long) translated in this selection[119] usually begin with a short Qur’anic citation (or occasionally a saying of the Prophet)

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[117] It is important to recognize that ‘Abd al-Qâdir’s *Mawâqif* are for the most part directed toward a very different audience than many of the works in the school of Qûnawî, Kâshânî, etc. That is, they are not trying to convince, defend, or persuade a larger public; not trying to ‘explain’ a text in systematic and continuous fashion; and not directed toward other *‘ulamâ’* in general; but rather are intended for sincere and ‘practising’ seekers. The similar clarity and directness one finds in certain of the works of Jîlî (see above) may also reflect the same sort of conditions. In any case, the relatively intimate spiritual nature of these texts, more immediately grounded in experience, means that there is relatively less need for explanation and preliminary background for modern readers.

[118] For the more explicit references to Ibn ‘Arabî and his works, see the Introduction, pp. 27-31 and index under the appropriate headings, plus the elaborate notes—based on the *Fusûs, Futûhât, Istilâhât,* and other works—detailing his direct borrowings and debts to the Shaykh al-Akbar. However, as the translator suggests, ‘Abd al-Qâdir has so perfectly recreated the problematic and guiding insights of Ibn ‘Arabî that the mere enumeration of explicit quotations or allusions is in itself quite misrepresentative. An anecdote he recounts (p. 31) suggests something both of ‘Abd al-Qâdir’s special devotion to the Shaykh and his deep concern for the exactitude of his teaching: he once sent two of his close disciples to Konya to verify certain readings in his own text of the *Futûhât* by comparing them directly with Ibn ‘Arabî’s own autograph manuscript preserved in a library there (the same manuscript which is the main basis for Osman Yahia’s new scientific edition).

[119] Chosen from among almost 400 in the original work, most of them evidently much longer, since the Arabic edition takes up three large volumes. There is a concordance (p. 221) of the French translation and numbering of sections here, related to the corresponding numbering and pages of the Arabic text.

illustrating and illuminating a particular spiritual insight or problem and guiding a more extended reflection—sometimes didactic, sometimes quite personal and even ecstatic—on its metaphysical, moral, or theological implications. The result, at its best, is neither a sermon nor formal (even mystical) exegesis, but something much more intimate and direct, namely, the communication of what 'Ibn 'Arabî often calls an *ishâra,* the 'allusion' or inner meaning that applies specifically to one's own immediate spiritual condition. This aspect of the *Mawâqif* is especially apparent in the more intimate, autobiographical passages (e.g., sections 1 and 36-37 here)—a sort of writing relatively rare in Arabic mystical *literature,* but revealing the very essence of the spiritual work and relation between master and disciple—in which 'Abd al-Qâdir recounts his own repeated experiences of what he calls (again following Ibn 'Arabî) *'ilqâ',* that is, the direct inner awareness of the 'projection' into one's awareness of a passage of the Qur'an together with the specific meaning uniquely appropriate to one's spiritual state at that moment.[120]

The majority of these selections, however, are comparatively more didactic and impersonal. Often reflecting 'Abd al-Qâdir's own teaching activity (including daily lectures in his later years at Damascus), they all revolve around the central transforming insight into the

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The significance of the title is carefully explained at pp 27-28. More important than any allusion to the work of the same name by the famous early Sufi Niffârî, as M. Chodkiewicz notes, is its characteristic usage by Ibn 'Arabî, for whom *mawqif,* in the context of the spiritual path, is the 'halt' or 'stopping' place between two spiritual stations *(manzil* or *maqâm)* where the traveler *(sâlik)* receives the guidance or instructions that enable him to realize fully and in detail the spiritual understanding appropriate to the following station. There is thus a profound inner connection between the 'spiritual itinerary' traced out in detail in these writings and 'Abd al-Qâdir's decision (see n. 116 above) to return and retrace in full the different stages required of most spiritual wayfarers.

[120] See especially 'Abd al-Qâdir's revealing description of this phenomenon in the opening *Mawqif* (= section 36, p.157 in the translation), where he states that 'everything in these *Mawâqif* is of this nature.' Other explicitly autobiographical allusions to this phenomenon can be found here in sections 2-4 and 9.

One is reminded of Jâmî's related statement at the beginning of the *Lawâ'ih* (see above) that he is *only a 'translator' (tarjumân,* in the sense of one who grasps and conveys the true, intended meaning, without coloring it with anything of his own addition)—a statement that evidently refers mainly to his poetry in that work. (See also Ibn 'Arabî's own famous reference to his function as *tarjumân*—in this very specific sense—in his introduction to the *Fusûs al-Hikam;* the *Futûhât* contains many more detailed explanations of the importance of this awareness and fundamental human process of 'mediation,' in regard to the roles both of the prophets and the 'saints' [*awliyâ'*].)

transcendent Unity of Being (*wahdat al-wujûd*) and the apparent paradoxes and potential misunderstandings that inevitably result when the awareness of that reality is approached as an external 'theory' rather than the expression of an inner realization.[121] Formally speaking, both the problems and the responses offered here had for the most part long been classic in the 'school' of Ibn 'Arabî. But what so powerfully distinguishes 'Abd al-Qâdir's writing, even on the most apparently abstract metaphysical topics, from that of Kâshânî, for example—and what at the same time so strikingly unites him with Ibn 'Arabî—is his constant contact with and reference to the immediate vision, the experiential Source underlying those formulations, and (scarcely distinguishable from the preceding point) his fresh, authentic realization of the reality and intentions of the Qur'an and the Prophet (via hadith) as they are grasped precisely at that level of immediate perception.[122]

This intuitional, often ecstatic ground of 'Abd al-Qâdir's (and Ibn 'Arabî's) spiritual insight—reminiscent, in its most direct lyrical expressions, of a sort of *shath*, or of the rhapsodic *ghazals* of Rumi—is even more directly apparent in some of the nineteen poems from his Introduction to the *K. al-Mawâqif*, translated by Charles-André Gilis *[Poèmes Métaphysiques*. By Émir Abd al-Qâdir l'Algérien. Pp. 80. Paris: Les Editions de l'Oeuvre. 1983.], which form an excellent complement to the more expository prose of the preceding work (without which, one should add, they would often be difficult to understand).[123] A few of these poems are complex,

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[121] Although the translator has attempted to divide these selections concerning Ibn 'Arabî's teaching topically—according to such themes as the 'unity of Being' 'theophanies,' 'God and gods,' 'intermediate causes,' and 'the Prophet'—the controlling focus of 'Abd al-Qâdir's interest and insight is so great that one scarcely notices the intended transitions from one subject to another.

[122] In this volume, the 'ecstatic' element is most openly expressed in the closing poem (section 40, p.177, the only selection taken from his poetic *Dîwân)* and in the opening *Mawqif*. It is almost as though the translator intended the rest of the work, generally more elaborately 'doctrinal' and theoretical, to be taken as a sort of commentary on those two framing selections—and for them to stand for the indispensable *basis* of what comes between. (As noted below, the poems from the Introduction to the *Mawâqif* are often in this more openly ecstatic key.)

[123] The translator's very brief introduction, which tells us virtually nothing about either the *Mawâqif* or their author, appears to assume considerable previous acquaintance with both—a background which is fortunately supplied by the preceding work. Likewise, the broader doctrinal or theoretical context of the poems—which may well have been supplied in the

but relatively conceptual summaries of metaphysical issues and paradoxes using a traditional Sufi imagery (Majnûn-Laylâ, etc.); as such, they are often reminiscent of the elaborate metaphysical verses that usually open the chapters of the *Futûhât* and the *Fusûs*.[124] But the best and most powerful of them, transcending and transforming those traditional poetic forms, directly express that decisive unitive—and truly universal—insight which is at the core of all of 'Abd al-Qâdir's (and Ibn 'Arabî's) writing, through daring reference to the theophany of the divine 'I', or in an intimate dialogue of the soul with God that cannot but recall similar poems of St. John of the Cross. In translation, at least, these verses are surely as fresh and evocative as the more celebrated poems from Ibn 'Arabî's own lyrical *Tarjumân al-Ashwâq*. And if their underlying unity of insight and perception is such that they could hardly be distinguished, in that respect, from the works of the Shaykh al-Akbar, 'Abd al-Qâdir is clearly far from being a 'disciple' in the sense of an epigon. One's impression here, as throughout the *Mawâqif*, is not so much of dependency or derivation, but rather (to borrow his own language) of two equals drinking from a common Source.

Finally, the recent translation of a public letter of 'Abd al-Qâdir to the *Societé asiatique* (written in 1855 from Bursa in Turkey, where the Emir first lived after being released from imprisonment in France) [*Lettre aux Francais: Notes brèves destinées à ceux qui comprennent, pour attirer l'attention sur des problèmes essentiels.* Tr. René R. Khawam. Pp. 279. Paris: Phébus. l977.],[125] brings out a very different aspect of his thought—his acquaintance with the

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intervening prose sections of 'Abd al-Qâdir's Introduction, about which we are told nothing!—is again apparently taken for granted, since the notes are limited mainly to identifying the most evident Qur'anic quotations and allusions.

[124] It is interesting to note that the poems of this sort are distinguished by 'Abd al-Qâdir's addressing his reader in the second person, like a teacher with his students (as in the more prosaic parts of the *Mawâqif* mentioned above). But the more intimate—and convincing—verses are those in the first person or in immediate dialogue with God, often with complex allusions to the corresponding Qur'anic modes of addressing the Prophet.

[125] The original title of the public letter is that translated as the subtitle of this translation. We should also note the recent republication (Editions Bouslama, Tunis, n.d.) of the *original French translation* (in 1858) by Gustave Dugat, *Le livre d'Abdel Kader. . . ,* which is revealing of the prejudices of his day (as Mr. Khawam points out at great length), but which is also provided with extensive notes and an index (pp. 187-370) which show some serious effort (based on the very limited knowledge available at that time) to acquaint the 19th-century reader with the traditions of Islamic philosophy underlying 'Abd al-Qâdir's letter. R. Khawam's translation is

traditions of Islamic philosophy, and more particularly of *political* philosophy, transmitted (in his case) through such central figures as Avicenna, Tûsî, and Ibn Khaldûn. This work, in its more philosophical sections, is a brief (and relatively unoriginal) paraphrase of the basic conceptions of those authors concerning the nature and perfection of the human being as 'knower,'[126] and of the essential guiding role of the prophets and the communities they establish in helping enable humanity to realize that perfection. What is remarkable here is 'Abd al-Qâdir's matter-of-fact reliance on that (reputedly extinct) intellectual tradition, apparently in no way felt to be incompatible with his Sufism or 'alien' to Islam, and the extraordinary clarity and serenity with which it helped him to comprehend and come to terms with the dramatic historical changes that marked his own life and times. As such, it is an appropriate reminder of other, no less universal and humanly significant dimensions of later Islamic thought which have since become, if anything, even more unknown (and misunderstood) than the manifold contributions of Ibn 'Arabî and his interpreters.

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somewhat closer to the Arabic, and gives a useful chronology (pp. 35-59, primarily political, but with some interesting biographical details) and a selection of accounts (pp. 241-76: 'Abd el-Kader en France') by French contemporaries that aptly convey the perception of the dignity and spiritual force of the Emir's personality even by overtly hostile witnesses.

However, neither translation gives much inkling of the actual content of the traditions of Islamic thought (and especially the Islamic political philosophy of Avicenna, Tûsî, and Ibn Khaldûn) underlying and informing 'Abd al-Qâdir's 'brief remarks.' (One revealing and grimly humorous example is when 'Abd al-Qâdir's allusion to the Mahdi's unifying humankind 'by the sword'—a detail specified in numerous *hadith*, frequently commented on (but in a very different direction!) by Ibn 'Arabî—is treated as a prescient 'prophecy' (p.164) of the FLN's liberation of Algeria.) The modern translator's frequent impassioned asides, while symptomatic of the consequences of the contemporary ignorance of the complexity and universality of the diverse intellectual traditions underlying 'Abd al-Qâdir's letter, are in revealing contrast with 'Abd al-Qâdir's own serene and—for those aware of the traditions in question—closely reasoned discourse.

[126] 'Abd al-Qâdir's own Sufi commitments and understanding are most evident here in his allusions to the relevant sorts of metaphysical 'knowledge' (*'ilm*) considered as our highest human end, and in his statement at the end of his discussion of prophecy (p. 164, translated here from the French): 'If someone came to me wishing to know the way of the truth, and provided that he knew my language perfectly well, I would lead him to the way of the truth without difficulty—not by pressuring him to accept my ideas, but simply by making the truth appear before his eyes, in such a way that he could not avoid acknowledging it.' If nothing else, such words suggest the spirit with which he approached the *Mawâqif*.