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# ON THE RELATION BETWEEN GHAZALĪ'S COSMOLOGY AND HIS MYSTICISM

BY

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ON THE RELATION BETWEEN GHAZĀLĪ'S  
COSMOLOGY AND HIS MYSTICISM

BY

A. J. WENSINCK

I

In several of his works Ghazālī makes use of the terms *mulk*, *malakūt* and *djabarūt* in a way which attracts the attention of every reader. Professor D. B. Macdonald<sup>1)</sup> has tentatively compared this triad with *βασιλεία, δόναμις, δόξα* in the doxology of Our Father in some Mss. and translations of Matthew vi. 13. Professor Tj. de Boer<sup>2)</sup> has compared these terms with the *κροτότητες, ἀρχαί, ἐξουσίαι* mentioned in Colossians i. 16. The divergency of opinion between so distinguished authorities would in itself prove the necessity of an enquiry into the provenience, the meaning and the use of these terms.

Investigation at the outset is facilitated by the fact that *mulk* and *malakūt* are used in the Kur'ān. Here *mulk* denotes human as well as divine sovereignty, *malakūt* divine sovereignty alone. In accordance with this it is stated by the commentaries<sup>3)</sup> that *malakūt* is the more lofty of the two terms, just as *rahabūt* and *raḥamūt* are loftier than *rahba* and *rahma*. But further *mulk* and *malakūt* are synonyms<sup>4)</sup>, as appears from sūra xxiii. 90 and sūra xxxvi. 83: "In His hand is the *malakūt* of all things". In this phrase *malakūt* may, however, also mean "treasuries"<sup>5)</sup>.

<sup>1)</sup> *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, xx. 116, note 3.

<sup>2)</sup> Art. *Khalk* in the *Encyclopaedia of Islām*.

<sup>3)</sup> *Tabarī, Tafsīr*, vii. 147.

<sup>4)</sup> *Bukhārī, Da'awāt*, b. 8; *Baidāwī ad sūra vi. 75*.

<sup>5)</sup> *Tabarī, Tafsīr*, xviii. 33 ad sūra xxiii. 90



The meaning sovereignty suits also the two other passages of the Kur'ān where *malakūt* occurs, viz. sūra vi. 75: "In this way we showed Ibrāhīm the *malakūt* of the heavens and the earth"; and sūra vii. 84: "Have they not looked on the *malakūt* of the heavens and the earth?". Yet Geiger<sup>1)</sup> goes too far by saying that *malakūt* applies exclusively to the divine government. For the context admits also the interpretation of the phrase by "the visible wonders of heaven and earth", as the commentators remark<sup>2)</sup>.

Side by side with the phrase "the *malakūt* of heaven and earth" the Kur'ān frequently uses "the *mulk* of heaven and earth"<sup>3)</sup>, or "the *mulk* of heaven and earth and what is between them"<sup>4)</sup>.

The commentators have further rightly noticed that the term *malakūt* is Nabataean, i.e. Aramaic<sup>5)</sup>. Dalman has carefully collected the passages in Jewish-Aramaic literature where *malkūtā* in several combinations is used in the sense of "the kingdom of God" or, what is the same, "the kingdom of heaven", for "heaven" is a substitute for "God"<sup>6)</sup>. Apparently it was not the term *malkūt(ā)* itself that was picked up by Muhammad, but the combination *malkūt shemaiā* which he took in its literal sense, as appears from the addition "and the earth".

It seems impossible to decide whether Muhammad heard the expression in Jewish or in Christian circles<sup>7)</sup>. At any rate Jewish literature contains such expressions in a cos-

<sup>1)</sup> *Was hat Mohammed aus dem Judenthume aufgenommen*, p. 59.

<sup>2)</sup> *Tabarī, Tafsīr*, vii. 147; Baiḍāwī ad sūra vi. 75.

<sup>3)</sup> Sūra ii. 101; iii. 186; v. 20, 44, 120; vii. 158; ix. 117; xxiv. 42; xxv. 2; xxxix. 45; xlii. 48; xlv. 26.

<sup>4)</sup> Sūra v. 21; xxxviii. 9; xliii. 85.

<sup>5)</sup> *Tabarī, Tafsīr*, vii. 147; Geiger, *loc. cit.*; S. Fraenkel, *De vocabulis . . . peregrinis*, p. 22.

<sup>6)</sup> *Die Worte Jesu*, p. 75 sqq.

<sup>7)</sup> Cf. J. Horowitz, *Jewish proper names and derivatives in the Koran*, in *Hebrew Union Annal*, ii. 222.

mological sense, as appears from *Berakot* 58 a: מלכותא דארעא כעין מלכותא דרקיעא "The kingdom of the earth resembles the kingdom of heaven". This is nearer to the Kur'ānic expressions than the terminology of the Gospel is. Moreover the Kur'ān shows no trace of the eschatological nor of the mystic sense which the expression "the Kingdom of God" possesses in the New Testament and which appears, though rarely, in later Arabic literature<sup>1)</sup>.

The term *djabarūt* appears for the first time, as far as I can see, in Tradition; wherever it occurs it is combined with *malakūt* and other terms denoting the sovereignty of Allah. The formulas are the following: سبحان ذى الجبروت والملكوت "glory to the Lord of Power, Sovereignty, Majesty and Greatness"<sup>2)</sup>; and : سبحان الله ذى الملكوت "glory to God, the Lord of Sovereignty, Power, Majesty and Greatness"<sup>3)</sup>. Far more frequent in this literature is the term *mulk*, especially in the formulas "to Him (Thee) belongs the glory and to Him (Thee) belongs the kingship"<sup>4)</sup> and ان الحمد والنعمة لك والملك "verily the glory and the bounty belong to Thee, and the Kingship"<sup>5)</sup>.

Evidently these expressions have no direct connection with the terminology of the Kur'ān; moreover *djabarūt* is new<sup>6)</sup>.

<sup>1)</sup> "Who shall have combined knowledge, work and teaching, shall be called great in the Kingdom of Heaven" is a well known tradition (Tirmidhī, *Ilm*, bāb 19; cf. Asin Palacios, *Logia et agrapha Domini nostri Jesu Christi*, No. 1.

<sup>2)</sup> Nasā'ī, *Tatbīk*, bāb 12, 25, 73, 86; Ahmad b. Hanbal, vi. 24.

<sup>3)</sup> Ahmad b. Hanbal, v. 288, 397, 398, 400, 401.

<sup>4)</sup> Bukhārī, *Adhān*, b. 155; Abū Dāwūd, *Djihād*, b. 158 etc.

<sup>5)</sup> Dārimī, *Manāsik*, b. 13, 333; Ahmad b. Hanbal, vi. 32, 181.

<sup>6)</sup> Cf. Carra de Vaux in the *Encyclopaedia of Islām*, s.v.

This term is, without any doubt, borrowed from Aramaic, just as *malakūt*. We can even indicate its origin with greater precision, in so far as it must be provenient from Christian circles; for the Jews used the deviating form נְכוּרְתָא, whereas the form used in Syriac, ܡܠܚܘܬܐ, bears a close resemblance to the Arabic one<sup>1)</sup>.

Further it can be stated that neither in Syriac nor in Arabic translations of the Bible the terms βασιλεία, δύναμις, δόξα of Matthew vi. 13 are rendered by terms corresponding to the triad *mulk*, *djabarūt*, *malakūt*.

## II

The above evidence, however helpful to elucidate the place these terms occupy in Ghazālī's thought, is far from accounting for the special and comprehensive cosmological and mystic notions he connects with them. We must therefore extend our survey to the philosophers and mystics which Ghazālī has studied, such as al-Fārābī († 950), Abū Tālib al-Makkī († 996) and Ibn Sīnā (Avicenna, † 1037).

As is well known the cosmology of the philosophers is based upon the Neo-platonic system of emanation which consists of four chief phases<sup>2)</sup>:

- 1°. The One
- 2°. The Spirit (νοῦς)
- 3°. The Soul
- 4°. The material world.

al-Fārābī has expounded his cosmological system or alluded to it several times in his works. The table printed over leaf may facilitate a survey of the terms used as by him.

<sup>1)</sup> Cf. Payne Smith, *Thesaurus Syriacus*, s.v.; and S. Fraenkel, *Die aramäischen Fremdwörter im Arabischen*, p. 278, who mentions جورة as a loanword from Christian Aramaic.

<sup>2)</sup> Article Neoplatonism in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*; cf. also M. Horten, *Das Buch der Ringsteine Farabis*, p. 169 sqq. and the *Theologie des Aristoteles*, p. 104 sq., 136 sqq.

I. <i>Iḥbāt al-Mufārahāt</i> , p. 2.	II. <i>Uyūn al-Masā'il</i> , p. 57 sqq., No. 3 sqq.	III. <i>Kitāb al-Siyāsa</i> , transl. Dieterici, p. 1 sqq.	IV. <i>Kitāb al-Fuṣūṣ</i> , Faṣṣ, No. 13.
1. الوجود الذي لا سبب له	1. الوجود الأول العقل الأول الخ The Spheres	1. The First  The Spheres	1. Unity Power
2. العقول الفعالة	2. العقل الفعال	2. العقل الفعال	2. Second knowledge
3. القوى المساوية	3. The Soul	3. النفس الكلية Form Matter	3. Preserved Table Lotus Pen Human spirit (soul) Word
4. النفوس الانسانية	4. The visible World	4. Heavenly bodies Man etc.	4. Heavens Throne Visible World

It is clear at first sight that the registers i-iii are mere reproductions of the Neo-platonic cosmology. More interesting is register iv, as it shows the influence of the doctrine of the *logos*, and chiefly because it introduces specifically Muhammadan notions into the Neo-platonic system.

For our present purpose the chief question is to know whether the terms *mulk*, *malakūt* and *djabarūt* occupy a place in the system of al-Fārābī. At the outset it may be stated that, as far as I can see, the term *mulk* does not occur in his system nor in that of Ibn Sīnā or the Brethren of Baṣra. As regards the other terms we have some, if scarce, evidence.

al-Fārābī identifies the *malakūt* with the Active Mind in the following passage: "Of the Active Mind it must be said that it is the 'reliable Spirit'<sup>1)</sup> and 'the Holy Ghost'<sup>2)</sup> . . . and its rank may be called the *malakūt*"<sup>3)</sup>.

It cannot be doubted that al-Fārābī uses the term 'Holy Ghost' in the Kur'ānic sense, so that it would mean one of the highest angels. So the *malakūt* in the system of al-Fārābī is the realm of the highest angels. The lower angels usually belong to the realm of the *amr*<sup>4)</sup>.

The second passage touching upon the present subject is the following<sup>5)</sup>: "The spirit thou possessest is from the substance of the world of the *amr*; it does not assume a shape in any form . . . therefore thou art able to perceive what is absent in the past and what is expected in the future, and

<sup>1)</sup> Cf. sūra xxvi. 193.

<sup>2)</sup> Cf. sūra xvi. 104.

<sup>3)</sup> Ms. Leiden, or. 1002/3, fol. 22<sup>a</sup>: والعقل الفعّال هو الذي ينبغي ان يقال انه هو الروح الامين وروح القدس ورتبته تسمى الملكوت

<sup>4)</sup> Cf. Ibn Sīnā, *Kitāb al-Nad̄jāt*, p. 490.

<sup>5)</sup> *Kitāb al-Fuṣūṣ*, Faṣṣ No. 26.

thou wilt swim in the world of the *malakūt* and receive the stamp of the *djabarūt*"<sup>1)</sup>.

We shall meet similar expressions several times in the course of our enquiry. The question which must be asked at present is whether al-Fārābī uses *malakūt* and *djabarūt* in this passage as synonyms. In Faṣṣ No. 42 he says that the spirit receives impressions from the highest *malakūt*. Does this mean that in his opinion there exist two *malakūt*?<sup>2)</sup>

We cannot decide this question by means of the *data* to be found in the works of al-Fārābī; they are too scarce. We turn therefore to Ibn Sīnā. The first of the passages we must pay attention to is the following: "When it [i.e. the spirit] loosens itself from the body and its accidents, it may become united to the Active Mind in a perfect union. There it will find mental beauty and everlasting delight"<sup>3)</sup>.

This is a close parallel to al-Fārābī's Faṣṣ No. 26 as cited above. In Ibn Sīnā's *Kitāb al-ishārāt*<sup>4)</sup> there is a passage of this tenour: "Nay, those who are rapt in the contemplation of the *djabarūt*, who have turned away from all impediments, will obtain, while in the body, a large portion of this delight". From a comparison of this sentence with the foregoing one there ensues the identity, in Ibn Sīnā's terminology, of the Active Mind and the *djabarūt*.

<sup>1)</sup> With this cf. al-Ghazālī, *Ma'aridj al-huds*, p. 3, where he says that the mind may travel in "the highest *malakūt*".

<sup>2)</sup> Cf. also Horten, *Das Buch der Ringsteine*, p. 175 sqq.

<sup>3)</sup> *Kitāb al-shifā'*, I, fol. 360 *apu.*: فإن خُص من البدن وعوارضه

البدن فيجوز ان يتصل بالعقل الفعّال تمام الاتصال ويلقى هناك الجمال العقلي واللذة السرمديّة

بل المنعمسون في تأمل الجبروت المعرضون عن: p. 196<sup>1)</sup>

الشواغل يصيبون وهم في الابدان من هذه اللذة حظًا وافرا

Further Ibn Sīnā uses the terms *djabarūt* and *kuds al-djabarūt* in the sense of 'the higher world'. The latter of the terms reminds us of the fact that al-Fārābī identifies the Active Mind with the *rūh al-kuds* and the *malakūt*. In other passages Ibn Sīnā uses the terms *al-'ālam al-a'lā* "the highest world" and *'āwālim al-djabarūt* as synonyms of *malakūt*.

The evidence gathered from the works of al-Fārābī and Ibn Sīnā does not appear to be conclusive for the question regarding the mutual relation between *malakūt* and *djabarūt*. It affords the notion, which will return in the fundamental ideas of Ghazālī, that the human spirit belongs to the realm of the Logos or *malakūt*, that it may elevate itself unto this realm and, perhaps, to the still higher realm of God Himself.

In the works of the Brethren of Baṣra the term *djabarūt* does not occur, as far as I can see. *Malakūt*, on the other hand, is frequently used in association with heaven in order to denote the spiritual Paradise to which the human spirit may ascend on the Day of Resurrection or, at moments, even during this life<sup>1)</sup>.

Here may follow the translation of a passage which is characteristic for this conception: "Wake up, o brother, from the sleep of abandonment... possibly thou wilt be quickened on the Day of Resurrection amidst the blessed, and ascend to the *malakūt* of heaven and enter into the host of the angels"<sup>2)</sup>.

This passage is the first to show the eschatological side of the *malakūt*, a connection of ideas which may be due to the influence of Neo-platonism as well as to that of Christianity. As to Neo-platonism I may remind readers of the fact that the Muslim Platonists, who reject the resurrection of the body, emphasise the idea of the immortality of the soul and its entering the spiritual Paradise after the separation from

<sup>1)</sup> *Rasā'il*, ii. 53.

<sup>2)</sup> *Rasā'il*, ii. 127; cf. 146, 377; i. 65, 261, 268; iii. 63; iv. 95, 138.

the body. As to Christianity it is less known, but nevertheless of some importance for our enquiry, that in Syriac *malakūtā* may denote heavenly Paradise<sup>1)</sup>.

The eschatological meaning of *malakūt* is prominent in the work of Abū Tālib al-Makkī, one of Ghazālī's chief sources of information. This may be illustrated by the translation of some passages from his *Kūt al-kulūb*. "The facial eye belongs to the *mulk* and is turned towards the world, but the eye of the heart belongs to the *malakūt* and is turned towards the world-to-be"<sup>2)</sup>. And: "The *malakūt*, the world-to-be in the hearts"<sup>3)</sup>, or "the world of the *malakūt* i.e. the knowledge (*ma'rifa*) of the realia and the mysteries"<sup>4)</sup>, as compared with the expression "the heart is the treasury of the *malakūt*"<sup>5)</sup>, which is also found in Ghazālī's works<sup>6)</sup>.

The first of the passages just cited shows that Abū Tālib makes a distinction between the Kur'ānic terms *mulk* and *malakūt*, in this way that he applies *mulk* to the visible world. As far as I can see he is the first to do so and it is apparent that Ghazālī, who makes a frequent use of this term, is indebted for it to him.

Finally the two following passages from the *Kūt al-kulūb* may be translated as illustrations of the mutual relation existing between the three realms in the terminology of Abū Tālib: "The preeminence of inward before outward knowledge is like the preeminence of the *malakūt* before the *mulk*"<sup>7)</sup>. And: "The *mulk* is perceived by the intellectual light, the *malakūt*, which is the world-to-be, by the light

<sup>1)</sup> Brockelmann, *Lexicon Syriacum*, refers to Jacob of Sarug (*Bibl. Orient.*), ed. Assemani, i. 315; cf. also the adjective *malakūtā* "paradisiacus", Brockelmann, *loc. cit.*

<sup>2)</sup> *Kūt*, i. 235.

<sup>3)</sup> *Kūt*, ii. 32.

<sup>4)</sup> *Ma'aridj al-kuds*, p. 104.

<sup>5)</sup> *Kūt*, i. 156.

<sup>6)</sup> *Vide infra*, p. 14, 18.

<sup>7)</sup> *Kūt*, i. 156.

of faith, the divine majesty by the light of certainty and the *ḍjabarūt*, which is the divine unity, by the light of the higher knowledge" 1).

Here the *ḍjabarūt* occupies the highest place, that of the godhead itself; elsewhere 2) *ḍjabarūt* denotes the divine attributes.

### III

The evidence discussed in the foregoing pages may have sufficiently cleared the way for an enquiry into and an understanding of Ghazālī's use of the triad *mulk*, *malakūt* and *ḍjabarūt*.

First of all we shall pay attention to his cosmology. Before going into details, in so far as these are of importance for the mutual relation between Ghazālī's cosmology and his mysticism, we must remember, that the former shows the influence of Neo-platonism as well as of the Ptolemaic system. Ghazālī has taken the ideas of the Active Mind 3) and of the Universal Soul 4) from the Neo-platonists. These cosmological representations have their counterpart in man, who also bears within him reason and soul 5). Thus a basis for the relation between his cosmology and mysticism is given. On the other hand Ghazālī adopts the Ptolemaic doctrine of the heavenly spheres, combined with the well known idea, that each of these is moved by an angel 6); he has worked

1) *Kūl*, i. 245: بنور العقل يشهد الملك وبنور الايمان يشهد

الملكوت وهو الآخرة وبنور اليقين يشهد العزة وهي الصفات

وبنور المعرفة يشهد الجبروت وهو الوحدة

2) *Vide infra*, p. 11.

3) Mind corresponds to *ʾakl*, *νοῦς*, terms which are also rendered by reason.

4) e.g. *Maʾāridj al-kuds*, p. 124, 136, 159, 203.

5) *Maʾāridj*, p. 59, 139.

6) *Maʾāridj*, p. 149.

out this representation in his *Maʾāridj al-kuds* as well as in his *Mishkāt al-anwār*.

Turning now to Ghazālī's cosmology we shall not be surprised to find that in his works the mutual relation between *malakūt* and *ḍjabarūt* appears not to be always the same. In his *Durra* the highest degree is occupied by the *ḍjabarūt*, as may be seen from the opening passage: "God says: Every soul shall taste death. This is said in three places in the *Kurʾān* 1). The Almighty means the three kinds of death in the three worlds; he who belongs to this world shall die; he who belongs to the world of the *malakūt* shall die and he who belongs to the world of the *ḍjabarūt* shall die. To the first category belong Adam and his posterity and all animals, three kinds 2). To the second category, that of the *malakūt*, belong the classes of angels and the *djinn*, and to the third, that of the *ḍjabarūt*, belong the elect among the angels".

In this passage the *malakūt* as well as the *ḍjabarūt* are the realm of the angels; but the *ḍjabarūt* is the higher region, for to it belong the Cherubs and the bearers of the throne of God and the chamberlains of the godhead, as Ghazālī points out.

Another passage in the *Durra*, which supposes the same difference of rank between the *malakūt* and the *ḍjabarūt* is the following: "He who is acquainted with the essence of the *Kurʾān*, will not share the view of the *Djahmites* 3) that the *Kurʾān* is created, ignorant as they are of the fact that the *Kurʾān* exists personally in the *ḍjabarūt*, whereas Islām, just as prayer, fasting and resignation, belongs to the *malakūt* 4). It must be kept in mind, that the *Kurʾān*, "the word of God", belongs to His attributes, which partake of His being. To

1) *Sūra* iii. 182; xxi. 36; xxix. 57.

2) Man, animals and birds, according to Gautier.

3) The followers of *Djahm* b. *Safwān*.

4) p. 108 sq.



this high rank, therefore, belongs the *djabarūt*. Djurdjānī<sup>1)</sup> also mentions the identity of the *djabarūt* and the divine attributes and Ghazālī, in another passage<sup>2)</sup>, calls God "His Majesty of the *djabarūt*".

The high place attributed to the *djabarūt* in the passages mentioned is not in accord with the mutual relation between *malakūt* and *djabarūt* which appears in Ghazālī's older works. Here may follow the translation of a passage from the *Ihyā'* which does not leave any doubt as to this point. Here personified knowledge is explaining the relation between liberty and determination: "Thou must know" it says, "that the worlds thy way has to cross, are three in number. The first is the world of *mulk* and sensual apperception<sup>3)</sup> . . . this stage thou wilt pass without difficulty. The second is the world of the *malakūt*; this is beyond me, and when thou hast passed beyond me, thou wilt have reached the stations of that world. In the *malakūt* there are vast deserts, steep mountains and deep seas, so that I do not know how thou wilt be saved in them. The third is the world of the *djabarūt*; it is between the world of the *mulk* and that of the *malakūt*, and thou hast already passed through three of its initial stations, viz. power, will and knowledge. It lies in the middle between the world of *mulk* and sensual apperception, and the world of the *malakūt*. For the world of the *mulk* has a smoother path, whereas that of the *malakūt* is a rougher track."

"Now the world of the *malakūt*, between that of the *mulk* and that of the *malakūt*, resembles a ship which is moving between the beach and the water; it has neither the utter fluxity of the water nor the utter stability and fixedness of

<sup>1)</sup> *Ta'rifūt*, p. 77; cf. also the art. *djabarūt* by Carra de Vaux in the *Encycl. of Islām*.

<sup>2)</sup> *Risālat al-tair*, p. 148: جناب الجبروت

<sup>3)</sup> *Shahāda*.

the beach. Everyone who walks on the earth walks in the world of the *mulk* and of sensual apperception. And when he has sufficient power to sail on a ship, he is as one who walks in the world of the *djabarūt*. And when he has reached such a stage that he can walk on the water without a ship, he walks in the world of the *malakūt* without sinking. But when thou art not able to walk on the water, then go away, for thou hast left the beach behind thee and demolished the ship, and there is nothing before thee but mere water . . . And everyone who has passed the world of the *djabarūt* and knocks at one of the gates of the *malakūt*, receives revelations through the Pen<sup>1)</sup>).

With this passage from the *Ihyā'* we may compare the interesting explanation of it in the *Imlā'*, which runs as follows: "The domain of the world of the *malakūt* is what God has caused to originate<sup>2)</sup> in the eternal *amr*, without gradation, remaining in one and the same state, without increase or decrease. The realm of the world of the *djabarūt* lies between the two worlds; partly it may become visible in the world of the *mulk*, partly it is related to the eternal Power and belongs to the world of the *malakūt*"<sup>3)</sup>).

The following is to the same effect: "The world is divided

<sup>1)</sup> *Ihyā'*, iv. 223 sq.; on the Pen cf. also *Djawāhir al-kur'ān*, p. 37.

<sup>2)</sup> The Arabic term is أحدث. Ghazālī avoids خلق

<sup>3)</sup> *Imlā'*, p. 218 sq.: وخذ عالم الملكوت ما أوجد الله سبحانه بالأمر الأزلي بلا تدرج وبقي على حالة واحدة من غير زيادة فيه ولا نقصان منه وخذ عالم الجبروت هو ما بين العالمين مما يشبه أن يكون في الظاهر من عالم الملك فجزء بالقدرة الأزلية بما هو من عالم الملكوت

into the world of the *mulk*, that of the *malakūt* and that of the *djabarūt*. The world of the *mulk* is that which is apparent to the senses. The world of the *malakūt* is inward, in the minds. The world of the *djabarūt* is the middle one; it touches at an extremity of each of the two. And so is man" <sup>1)</sup>).

The last enunciation is explained in the following passage from Ghazālī's *Kitāb al-arba'īn*: "Thou must know that the pure lights of knowledge (*ma'rifa*) shine from the world of the *malakūt* into the inner heart, for the latter also belongs to the *malakūt*. The other states, such as anxiety, fear, joy, awe etc. descend from the world of the *djabarūt*, and their abode is the breast, which is the world of the *djabarūt*. The breast is another world of thine; we call it breast, whereas we call the other heart. For the world of the *djabarūt* lies between the world of the *malakūt* and the sensual world, just as the breast is between the heart and the limbs" <sup>2)</sup>).

This idea of the relation between man and the super-world — an idea we have already found in the philosophers and which is favourite with the Brethren of Baṣra <sup>3)</sup> — is essential for Ghazālī's views: the heart belongs to the *malakūt*. <sup>4)</sup>

#### IV

The *djabarūt* cannot be said to occupy a prominent place in the works of Ghazālī. Full light, on the other hand, is

وذلك ان العالم قد انقسم بالعوالم الى عالم الملك وهو ظاهر الحواس وإلى عالم الملكوت وهو الباطن في العقول وإلى عالم الجبروت وهو المتوسط الذي بطرف من كل عالم منهما والانسان كذلك

<sup>1)</sup> p. 56. On the relation between psychic functions and the *djabarūt*, cf. also *Iḥyā'*, iv. 225.

<sup>2)</sup> *Rasā'il*, i. 91; ii. 20 sq.; iii. 3; iv. 275 sq.

<sup>3)</sup> *Iḥyā'*, iv. 23; *Arba'īn*, p. 61; *Mishkāt*, p. 12.

shed on the *malakūt*, which he also calls the *amr* <sup>1)</sup>, the realm of the ideas. Just as the Muslim Neo-platonists <sup>2)</sup> Ghazālī places in the centre of this world the Preserved Table. The following passage from the *Iḥyā'* <sup>3)</sup> may illustrate this statement: "All that God has decreed from the beginning of the world up to its end is recorded on and fixed in one of the objects created by Him, which is sometimes denoted by the term 'The Table', sometimes by 'The Perspicuous Book', sometimes by 'The Perspicuous Imām', as the Kur'ān expresses it" <sup>4)</sup>).

"All that has happened and shall happen in the world is written and represented on it in a way which is not discerned by the eye. Do not think that this Table is from wood or iron or bone or that the Book is from paper or parchment. But thou must understand once for all, that the Table does not resemble a material table and that the Book of God does not resemble a material book, just as His essence and qualities do not resemble the essence and qualities of created beings. If thou wantest a comparison to make this clear to thee, take the following: The way in which the decrees are fixed in the Table resembles the way in which the words and letters of the Kur'ān are fixed in the brain of him who knows this book by heart. It is recorded in his brain, so that it is as if he sees it when he recites it. Yet, if thou shouldst examine his brain bit by bit, thou wouldst not find a single letter of this script. In the same way thou must

<sup>1)</sup> Cf. also the *nisba*: الأمر الربويّ and أمرى, *Ma'āridj al-kuds*, p. 59.

<sup>2)</sup> Cf. Ibn Sinā, *Tis' rasā'il*, p. 47: فالقلم يتلقى ما في الأمر

من المعاني ويستودعه اللوح بالكتابة الروحانية

<sup>3)</sup> iv. 457, cf. 21 sq.; iii. 14.

<sup>4)</sup> Sūra xv. 79; xxxvi. 11.

understand that all that God has decided and decreed is represented on the Table. The Table may also be compared to a mirror in which the forms are reflected. Now if another mirror be placed opposite it, the form of this second mirror will be reflected in the first, except if there should be a veil between the two<sup>1)</sup>. Now the heart is a mirror which receives the data of knowledge, and the Table is the mirror in which all the data of knowledge are found. When the heart is occupied by its lusts and the exigencies of the senses, a veil is dropped, which screens it from the sight of the Table that belongs to the world of the *malakūt*. But when a breeze moves this veil and lifts it up, there flashes in the mirror or the heart something from the world of the *malakūt*, like a flash of lightning. Sometimes it is constant and lasting, usually, however, it does not last" etc.

This world of the *malakūt* is the only reality; persons as little as shadows possess any real existence. Real existence possesses only the world of the *amr* and the *malakūt*<sup>2)</sup>; the material world is no more than a shadow<sup>3)</sup>, a reflex<sup>4)</sup>, an image<sup>5)</sup>, a copy<sup>6)</sup> of the *malakūt*, and in the latter there is nothing that has not its likeness on the earth<sup>7)</sup>.

It is clear that all this is Platonic or Neo-platonic. In his popular writings Ghazālī does not use the term ideas. In his *Mishkāt*<sup>8)</sup>, on the other hand, and, though to a smaller extent, also in his *Ma'āridj*, he goes far into the relation between the ideas (*ma'ānī*) and their material manifestations (*mithāl*). God is above all relation, and He has made the

<sup>1)</sup> This comparison is also in the *Kāṣida tā'īya*, p. 218, lines 4 sq.

<sup>2)</sup> *Kitāb al-arba'in*, p. 60 sq.

<sup>3)</sup> *Arba'in*, p. 62 paen.

<sup>4)</sup> *Ihyā'*, iii. 21; *Theologie des Aristoteles*, p. 87.

<sup>5)</sup> *Mishkāt*, p. 14.

<sup>6)</sup> *Ihyā'*, iv. 95: *muḥākāt*.

<sup>7)</sup> *Mishkāt*, p. 29 apu.

<sup>8)</sup> p. 27.

human spirit able to observe the relation between the spiritual and the visible world. This relation, which is an outflow of God's mercy, makes the visible world [the offprint of the ideas<sup>1)</sup>]. Nobody can give a complete description of this doctrine of the ideas. Therefore Ghazālī will give a few instances only.

In the *malakūt* there exist light-substances (*djawāhir nūrānīya*), which are denoted by the name of angels and from which light is emanated into the hearts of men<sup>2)</sup>. Their ranks vary according to their luminous intensity. Their *mithāl* in the visible world are the sun, the moon and the stars. Other visible things which are symbols of ideas are e.g. writing-table, book and paper. The highest symbol on earth is the human form, for Adam was created as the image of the godhead. For this reason man is a microcosmos, and he is able to know his Lord: nobody knoweth his Lord, who does not know his self.

This relation between the visible world and its heavenly prototypes in general enables man to elevate himself to the super-world. A classical instance of this ascent is that of Abraham, who, according to the *Kur'ān*, adored successively the stars, the moon and the sun and finally turned to the Creator of heaven and earth: "So we showed Abraham the *malakūt* of the heavens and the earth"<sup>3)</sup>. This is a special *charisma* of the prophets. But also dreams are a revelation of the super-world, and there is a symbolism of dreams<sup>4)</sup>.

## V

Ghazālī uses *malakūt* and *amr* as synonyms. An instance of this identification is found in a passage in which he says that essential being does not belong to the world of shadows,

<sup>1)</sup> Also *Djawāhir al-kur'an*, p. 35.

<sup>2)</sup> *Vide supra*, p. 14.

<sup>3)</sup> *Sūra* vi. 75.

<sup>4)</sup> Cf. also *Kistās al-mustakīm*, p. 64, and *Ma'āridj al-ḥuds*, p. 12.

but "to the world of the *amr* and the *malakūt*. The heart belongs to the world of the *amr*. God says: 'Say, the spirit belongs to the *amr* of my Lord'<sup>1)</sup>. The forms of existence, on the other hand, belong to the created world"<sup>2)</sup>. 'Forms of existence' is the translation of *قوالب*, the plural of *قالب*), i.e. the mould into which metal is cast.

In his *Ihyā'*<sup>3)</sup> Ghazālī gives the following explanation of the verse from the *Kur'ān* just cited and of the term *amr*: "*Amr* does not mean here the opposite of prohibition; for *amr* in that sense is speech, and the spirit is no speech. Nor does *amr* mean here thing, so that the sense would simply be that it belongs to the creation of Allah, for this is true for all things created. But the meaning is this: the world is twofold, the world of the *amr* and the created world, which both of them belong to God. Now the bodies which possess quantity and dimension belong to the created world, for creating, according to the use of the language, means "to procure dimensions". Every being, on the other hand, which is bare of quantity and dimensions, belongs to the world of the *amr*".

(The identity of *malakūt* and *amr* appears also from the fact that in the *Djawāhir al-kur'ān*, p. 12 sq., it is said that to the *malakūt* belong the angels, the spiritual beings, the spirit, the heart, the earthly angels, the heavenly angels, and the Cherubs). "The explanation of this is the mystery of the spirit, which may not be divulged, for this would be obnoxious to the large majority of men".

As to the literal meaning of the term *amr*, Ghazālī explains it in the sense of "the world which is predominant (*amīr*) over the created world"<sup>4)</sup>. In this connection it must not be forgotten

<sup>1)</sup> *Sūra* xvii. 87.

<sup>2)</sup> *Kitāb al-arba'in*, p. 60 sq.

<sup>3)</sup> This term is also found in *Djawāhir al-kur'ān*, p. 39 sq.

<sup>4)</sup> iii. 336 sq.; cf. *Maḍnūn ṣaghīr*, ii. 95.

<sup>5)</sup> *Ihyā'* iv. 23.

that, also in the opinion of the Arabic philologists, *malakūt* has the meaning of sovereignty<sup>1)</sup>, and that Ghazālī looks upon the *malakūt* as the abode of the angels<sup>2)</sup>.

Ghazālī has entered into the details of the part of the angels in moving the heavenly spheres in his *Mishkāt*<sup>3)</sup> and in his *Ma'āridj*<sup>4)</sup>. Each of the heavens is put into motion by an angel especially entrusted with this task; the whole of the spheres is moved by God himself<sup>5)</sup>. Yet this view, so he goes on in the *Mishkāt*, supposes a connection between God and celestial motion, which is too direct for abstract thought. According to the latter God has entrusted with this function an angel whom he calls "the obeyed one"<sup>6)</sup>.

This highest angel is identical with him, whom Ghazālī elsewhere<sup>7)</sup> calls "the highest of the divine spirits" and who, as such, is opposed to the whole heavenly host, even to *Djibrīl*. This angel is also called "the spirit" or *Isrāfīl*<sup>8)</sup>, the Active Mind<sup>9)</sup> and the first being brought forth<sup>10)</sup>. This has been rightly observed by W. H. T. Gairdner<sup>11)</sup> who, however,

<sup>1)</sup> *Vide supra*, p. 1.

<sup>2)</sup> *Ihyā'* iii. 21: عالم الملكوت وهو اللوح المحفوظ وعالم الملائكة

<sup>3)</sup> p. 54.

<sup>4)</sup> p. 149.

<sup>5)</sup> Cf. the description of al-Fārābī's ideas in de Boer, *Geschichte der Phil. im Islam*, p. 105 sq.

<sup>6)</sup> The term is from the *Kur'ān* (*sūra* lxxx. 21): رسول كريم... مطاع ثم امين, where it also denotes one of the highest angels. The term *muṭā'* occurs also *Ma'āridj*, p. 149.

<sup>7)</sup> *Mishkāt*, p. 15.

<sup>8)</sup> *Mishkāt*, p. 16; *Ma'āridj*, p. 136.

<sup>9)</sup> *Ma'āridj*, p. 135, 136, 162.

<sup>10)</sup> *Ma'āridj*, p. 15, 124, 145.

<sup>11)</sup> p. 20.

to some extent has obscured this fact by mixing up into his discussion two questions which ought to be detached from it. The first is, whether the "obeyed one" may be identified with the mystic whose ascent and descent is described in the *Mishkāt*. I cannot now explain my reasons for keeping this question apart from the one which interests us presently. I may justify my doing so by saying that in my opinion it belongs to a different train of thought, as well as by pointing to the fact that the passages from the *Ma'āridj* referred to in the foregoing notes, plainly identify the "obeyed one" with the angel who was the first of the beings brought forth. It may be added that the *Ma'āridj* was not yet published when Gairdner wrote his study referred to above.

The second question discussed by Gairdner is that of the spirit mentioned in sūra xvii. 87. We have seen<sup>1)</sup> that, according to Ghazālī's own explanation, as occurring in his *Ihyā'*, spirit in this context means the human spirit and *amr* the world of the invisible realia. Gairdner has overlooked this explanation and thereby made his enquiry more penible than was necessary. It is to his credit only that he nevertheless found the solution of what was a problem to him.

Without any doubt Ghazālī took over the term '*ālam al-amr*' from the philosophers. Especially al-Fārābī<sup>2)</sup> appears to be acquainted with it. It cannot but have reached the Muslims through the channel of the Syrians, who were acquainted with the terminology of the fourth Gospel as well as with that of Philo<sup>3)</sup>. From al-Fārābī Ghazālī probably also took over the term 'Active Mind'<sup>4)</sup>.

<sup>1)</sup> *Supra*, p. 18.

<sup>2)</sup> *Kitāb al-fuṣūṣ*, Nos. 13, 47.

<sup>3)</sup> Cf. also Horten, *Das Buch der Ringsteine*, p. 174 sqq.

<sup>4)</sup> *Ma'āridj al-ḥuds*, p. 7, 10, 59 and the passages referred to in the foregoing lines.

The form the Platonic doctrine of the ideas takes in the mind of Ghazālī, has been seen to encompass the duplicity of the world.

This duplicity extends also to the sacred texts and it explains Ghazālī's attitude towards them. We know this attitude practically very well from the first book of the *Ihyā'*, where the divine cult, though obligatory, is shown to point to a higher reality. In his *Mishkāt* Ghazālī has plainly spoken his ideas on this point. "Do not think", he says,<sup>1)</sup> "on account of the examples given,<sup>2)</sup> that I should authorize anyone to apply an evaporating method to the plain sense of the texts, or that I should believe that they may be abrogated, so that I should say e.g.: there were no sandals with Moses, nor did he hear the command: put off thy sandals<sup>3)</sup>. Beware. Abrogating the plain sense of the texts is the method of the Bāṭinīya, who, single-eyed as they are, look towards one of the two worlds only, without thinking of paying attention to both of them. The Hashwīya, on the other hand, neglect the hidden sense on purpose. So he who clings to the plain sense is a *hashwī*, and he who confines himself to the inward meaning, is a *bāṭinī*; but he who combines the two, is complete. Therefore the Prophet has said: The Kur'ān has an outward and an inward sense, an earthly and a heavenly meaning — a tradition which is also ascribed to 'Alī. But I say: Moses took the commandment to put off his sandals in the sense of rejecting the two worlds<sup>4)</sup> and he obeyed to its plain sense by putting off his sandals, to the hidden by rejecting the two worlds".

As a matter of fact in a few cases only Ghazālī admits an interpretation of the sacred texts which evaporates their literal meaning, and which he calls *malakūṭī*.

<sup>1)</sup> p. 35.

<sup>2)</sup> Viz. the earthly symbols or offprints of the ideas.

<sup>3)</sup> Sūra xx. 12.

<sup>4)</sup> Viz. the present world and the world-to-be.

The first instance is the idea of the scales connected with the last judgment, in which either men or their acts will be weighed. Ghazālī declares<sup>1)</sup> that he rejects the allegorical and the symbolical interpretations. "But I" he goes on "relegate the scales to the world of the *malakūt*. For good and evil deeds are *accidentia*, and the weighing of *accidentia* can only take place in scales belonging to the world of the *malakūt*". In the *Kisās*<sup>2)</sup> he calls the scales "spiritual" (*rūḥānī*).

It is clear that this function of the *malakūt* means an important increase of its value, also in relation with the doctrine of the ideas.

Another instance is to be found in the *Ihyā'*<sup>3)</sup>, where Ghazālī speaks of the nature of the punishment in the tomb. The idea that the infidels are bit and tortured by a host of snakes and scorpions in accordance with the number of their evil properties and the vices produced thereby may be interpreted, he says, in three ways. The first and soundest is to believe that these animals exist and bite the infidels, but invisibly, the eye being unable to perceive what belongs to the *malakūt*, viz. all the things of the world - to - be. The Companions also believed that Gabriel descended, though they did not see him. . . . Thus the snakes and the scorpions are not of the same kind as those in our world, but of a different kind which is perceived by different senses.

The second way is to think of one who dreams that he is bit by a snake and this causes him such a pain, that he screams in his sleep and sweatdrops appear on his forehead and he leaps up. The snake exists for him subjectively<sup>4)</sup> and punishment takes place without being apperceived objectively.

<sup>1)</sup> *Durra*, p. 69 sq.

<sup>2)</sup> p. 28.

<sup>3)</sup> iv. 453.

<sup>4)</sup> في حقه

The third way is to bethink of the fact that the torture is the effect of the poison. So the evil properties of the infidel may cause him pains which are equal to the pain caused by the biting of snakes, though the latter do not exist.

The interest of this passage for our present purpose lies in the fact that Ghazālī reckons the whole eschatology to belong to the *malakūt*<sup>1)</sup>, a reality which is above the senses. Although this is not the common orthodox view, it is akin to the method of *tanzīh* or *takdīs* as applied to the anthropomorphic statements regarding the godhead. The latter method is of purely Muslim origin, its genesis being the necessity to maintain the orthodox dogma without clinging either to the sensualism of anthropomorphists or to the evaporating methods of Mu'tazilism. Ghazālī's method, on the other hand, is based on the doctrine of the ideas and the reality attributed to them.

## VII

The essence of the relation between the cosmology of Ghazālī and his mysticism is the conception already mentioned<sup>2)</sup>, according to which the highest organ of man, his heart or spirit, belongs to the world of the *malakūt* or the *amr*. Ghazālī has worked out this conception in the following way<sup>3)</sup>: "Whosoever knoweth the mystery of the spirit knoweth his self and who knoweth his self knoweth his Lord. And who knoweth his self as well as his Lord knoweth that he is a divine being<sup>4)</sup> as to his nature and mould, and a stranger in the corporeal world, and that his descent into this world is not in accordance with his essential nature, but that it is

<sup>1)</sup> Cf. the view of al-Makkī, as referred to, *supra*, p. 9.

<sup>2)</sup> *Vide supra*, p. 14.

<sup>3)</sup> *Ihyā'*, iii. 337.

<sup>4)</sup> أمر رباني

due to an external cause foreign to his essence. This external cause came upon Adam; it is denoted by the term 'sin'. This it was that expelled him from Paradise, to which he belonged as to his essence, for Paradise was near to the Lord and he, as a divine being, longed after being near to the Lord, in accordance with his nature and essence. So external causes, from the world that was foreign to his essence, made him turn away from what was congenial to his nature, so that he forgot thereby his self and his Lord".

This passage is characteristic for Ghazālī, in so far as it contains Semitic and Neo-platonic elements. Often Ghazālī mentions Satans as the beings which occupy man's heart; but for them, his sight would reach as far as the *malakūt*<sup>1)</sup>. So man's heart has two gates; one is opened towards the senses, the other towards the *malakūt* and the contemplation of the Preserved Table<sup>2)</sup>. The latter is the aim of his life. How can he reach it?

For one part, it is hardly necessary to say, through asceticism. "The Prophet has said: Dress yourself in wool, turn up your sleeves and eat so much only as to satisfy half of your appetite, then you will enter the *malakūt* of the heavens<sup>3)</sup>. Jesus has said: O, my disciples, let your stomach be hungry and your body poorly clad; then your hearts may see God"<sup>4)</sup>.

For another part, through meditation. "In this period", viz. when the mystic has cut off the bonds with the world", the heart becomes lucid<sup>5)</sup> and reflection becomes easy to him; at these times God's mysteries in the *malakūt* of the heavens and the earth are revealed to him, a hundred times more

<sup>1)</sup> e.g. *Iḥyā'*, iii. 9, 14.

<sup>2)</sup> *Iḥyā'*, i. 24; iii. 21; *Mishkāt*, p. 12; cf. Abū Ṭālib al-Makkī, i. 235.

<sup>3)</sup> This is one of the few instances of the term being used in the sense it has often in the Gospel.

<sup>4)</sup> *Iḥyā'*, iii. 76.

<sup>5)</sup> This is the *ṣafā' al-ḳalb* which occupies a prominent place in the thought of Ghazālī.

than during a long period in which his heart is bound by earthly bonds"<sup>1)</sup>.

This meditation grants the mystic the highest delight: "Whosoever accustoms himself to meditating upon God's majesty and greatness and on the *malakūt* of His earth and heaven, findeth therein a delight greater than any other"<sup>2)</sup>.

"The delight caused to them by the perpetual contemplation of the wonders of the *malakūt* is greater than the delight of those who direct their gaze towards the trees of Paradise"<sup>3)</sup>.

Ghazālī speaks repeatedly of the way in which the mysteries of the *malakūt*<sup>4)</sup> are revealed. A remarkable instance has been translated above<sup>5)</sup>; one more specimen may follow here: "The mystics receive revelations of the mysteries of the *malakūt* in several ways. Sometimes in the way of inspiration (*ilhām*), so that revelation reaches them without their knowing how or whence. Sometimes, while they are awake, in the way of the revelation of ideas (*ma'ānī*), through the contemplation of parables, just as takes place in dreams. This is the highest degree, which belongs to the degrees of prophecy"<sup>6)</sup>.

<sup>1)</sup> *Iḥyā'*, iv. 70.

<sup>2)</sup> *Iḥyā'*, iii. 169.

<sup>3)</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>4)</sup> *Iḥyā'*, i. 257; ii. 252; iii. 18 etc.

<sup>5)</sup> *Supra*, p. 16.

<sup>6)</sup> *Iḥyā'*, i. 77.

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