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to the 70th Birthday of Prof. Dr. Aida Imanguliyeva
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***EAST AND WEST:
COMMON SPIRITUAL VALUES,
SCIENTIFIC-CULTURAL LINKS***



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CLOSING SESSION

PRESIDENT OF ACADEMY OF NATIONAL SCIENCES, ACADEMICIAN MAHMUD KERIMOV'S CLOSING SPEECH FOR THE SYMPOSIUM ...	661
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in this book, there are articles on mutual influences and relations belonging to Eastern- Western civilizations; Ibn Arabi's letter symbolism and Hurufi Order in Azerbaijan; the relations between Azerbaijani philosopher Shihabaddin Suhrawardi's Israq doctrine and Ibn Arabi's symbolism of light; elements that form the cultural basis of new development process belonging to Eastern and Western civilizations; and common spiritual values in the works of Aida Imanguliyeva who opened a new phase for studies on this field in our country. Prof. Aida Imanguliyeva analyzed and determined Eastern and Western scholarly cultural relations concerning history of social ideology of Azerbaijan systematically and in a detailed way as a theoretical problem. She was a great Arabist of 20th century and a distinguished scholar/researcher as well. She also studied on Ibn Arabi's literary, philosophical and Sufi views and classical Azerbaijani literature.

Baku, 2010

PROPHET MUHAMMAD IN THE ŞŪFĪ TRADITION AS THE PERFECT MANIFESTATION OF MYSTICAL LOVE OF GOD

Prof. Dr. Stanislav M. Prozorov

Russia

this article is based on the unique Arabic manuscript (207 fols.) of *Lawāmi' anwār al-qulūb fī jam' asrār al-muḥibb wa-'l-maḥbūb*, "The flashes of the hearts' lights in the collection of mysteries of the Lover and the Beloved."¹ This book was written by *al-qāḍī al-imām* Abū 'l-Ma'ālī 'Azīzī b. 'Abd al-Malik b. Maṣṣūr al-Jīlī (al-Gīlānī), known as Shaydhala (d. 494/1100), who was a Şūfī and ascetic (*zāhid*), Shāfi'ī *faqīh* (a follower of the school of Abū Ishāq al-Shīrāzī, d. 476/1083), an admonishing preacher (*wa'iz*), *mutakallim*, connoisseur and collector of Arabic poetry and short stories (*ḥikāyāt*), and an author of numerous books (*taṣānīf*, *muṣannafāt*) on admonishing preaching (*al-wa'z*), jurisprudence (*al-fiqh*), and foundations of faith (*uṣūl al-dīn*). Born in Gīlān (hence his *nisba*), Shaydhala moved to Baghdad where he took the office of *qāḍī* (*walī 'l-quḍā'*) in the quarter of Bāb al-Azaj and later became the Chief *qāḍī* (*qāḍī 'l-quḍāt*) of Baghdad in the wake of Abū Bakr al-Shāmī.²

1. Copied in the village of Zirikhgeran (Dagestan) in 954/1547-48, the manuscript is now stored at the Oriental Department of the State Hermitage, St. Petersburg, Russia.
2. The sources univocally stress two areas of knowledge in which Shaydhala played a significant role. Firstly, he was an outstanding, eloquent and witty

All ten chapters of his book Shaydhala devoted to the multifaceted description of Mystical love of God (*al-maḥabba*) — one of the most important “[spiritual] stations” (*al-maqāmāt*) on the Ṣūfī Path (*al-ṭarīqa*). The book covers: “[spiritual] states” (*aḥwāl*) and “[spiritual] resting stops,” or “degrees,” (*manāzil*) of Mystical love, etymology of the term *al-maḥabba*, “meanings” (*maʿānī*), “names” (*asāmī*) and attributes (*ṣifāt*) of Mystical love, its “essence” (*al-ḥaqīqa*) etc. Of primary importance for the above stated topic, however, is the data on the correlation of statuses of Ibrāhīm (Bibl. Abraham) and Muḥammad, who appear in the Ṣūfī literature as “the friend of God” (*khalīl Allāh*, or *al-khalīl*) and “the beloved of God” (*ḥabīb Allāh*, or *al-ḥabīb*) respectively.¹ Muslim theoreticians of Ṣūfism traced these epithets to *khulla*, “friendship,” and *maḥabba*, “love.” Both terms found their way into the technical language of the Ṣūfī tradition in their definite forms *al-khulla* and *al-maḥabba* as the names of mystical stations (*al-maqāmāt*), and when compared Ṣūfī authors always argue for the more elevated status of those who reached the station of *al-maḥabba*.

preacher (*waʿīz*): in al-ʿIrāq he was known as “the Master of preachers” (*shaykh al-wuʿāz*) and medieval authors praised him for his contribution to this field. Secondly, he was a collector and connoisseur of Arabic poetry. Shaydhala expressed his love of “the poetry and stories of the Arabs” on the pages of his *Lawāmiʿ anwār*. Abundant in poetic quotations, this book, in its turn, confirms the author’s fascination with the subject.

At the same time, the sources mention his hot temper (*hidda*), foul language (*badhāʿat al-lisān*), of Shaydhala; the latter is also confirmed by his blatantly derogatory description of the people of Bāb al-Azaj, whom he compared to asses; this description must be based on his experience as a judge in that quarter of Baghdad. In their own turn, the people of Bāb al-Azaj rejoiced on the account of Shaydhala’s demise.

Shaydhala died on Friday, on Ṣafar, 17 494 AH / December, 23, 1100 CE in Baghdad from whence he was buried on the cemetery of Bāb Abrāz (?), next to the grave of his master, al-Shaykh Abū Ishāq al-Shīrāzī. See, al-Subkī. *Tabaqāt al-Shāfiʿiyya al-Kubrā*, III, 287-288; GAL, I, 433, SBd, I, 775.

A pious ascetic, Abū Bakr al-Shāmī (400-488/1010-1095) became the Chief Qāḍī of Baghdad in 478/1085, succeeding Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Damaghānī, one of the most “skilled” (*mutkin*) jurists of the Shāfiʿī *madhhab*, who studied *fiqh* in Baghdad under al-Qāḍī Abū ʿI-Ṭayyib al-Ṭabarī (born in Ṭabaristān in 348/960 and lived for 102 years). See, al-Subkī. *Tabaqāt al-Shāfiʿiyya al-Kubrā*, III, 83-84, 176.

In the Qurʾān, the nickname *khalīl*, as applied to Ibrāhīm, is found only once (4:124/5), although even in the Old Testament he is called “the friend of God;” as to the nickname *ḥabīb*, it is nowhere to be found in the Qurʾān at all.

According to the Şūfî tradition, the first defender of pure and selfless love of God, Rabî'a al-'Adawîyya (714-801), considered "the station of Mystical love of God" (*maqām al-maḥabba*) more advanced than "the station of friendship" (*maqām al-khulla*) primarily because Mystical love is not contingent on reward (*al-mukāfāt*) and a believer worships his "Beloved" (*al-maḥbūb*) neither out of fear of the Hellfire nor out of ardent desire for Paradise. A believer never worships anyone but God alone¹ and only the Almighty ("Beloved") at His will decides whom He will send to Paradise and whom to Hell.

On the basis of the fact that God chose Ibrāhīm as His "friend" (*al-khalīl*) and Muḥammad as His "beloved" (*al-ḥabīb*) and backed up by the authorities on the Arabic language and "pedantic investigators" (*al-mudaqqiqūn*), Shaydhala argues that the status of al-Ḥabīb is more elevated and more perfect than that of al-Khalīl and considers the nickname of al-Khalīl as a derivative of the word *al-khulla*, which grasps only certain aspects of "Mystical love" and in no way can substitute the more encompassing notion of *al-maḥabba*. In his comparison of these two notions, which favors *al-maḥabba* over *al-khulla*, Shaydhala also based on the sayings of five Şūfî authorities,² each of whom argued for the more

1. I.e. a true believer never commits the sin of associating partners with God (*shirk*) [Translator's note].
2. Abū 'l-Qāsim al-Mudhakkir (Admonisher) was a preacher. Among his contemporaries were al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥaddād and 'Abd Allāh b. Munāzil; the latter actually met with Abū 'l-Qāsim. See, al-Qushayrī, 'Abd al-Karīm ibn Hawāzin. *al-Qushayrī's Epistle on Sufism = al-Risāla al-qushayriyya fī 'ilm al-taṣawwuf*. Translated by Alexander D. Knysh, Great Books of Islamic Civilization. Reading, U.K.: Garnet Publishing : The Center for Muslim Contribution to Civilization, 2007, 227.
 Maṣṣūr b. 'Ammār Abū 'l-Sarī al-Būshanjī al-Wā'iz (al-Marwazī, or al-Dandānkānī, as in al-Qushayrī. *al-Qushayrī's Epistle on Sufism*, 42, 153-4, with the reference to al-Sulamī. *Ṭabaqāt al-Şūfiyya*) (d. in 225/839-40), an ascetic and a preacher.
 Abū Sa'īd (Abū Sa'd?) al-Kharkūshī al-Zāhid al-Ustādh al-Jalīl al-Imām — 'Abd al-Malik b. Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm Abū Sa'īd (Abū Sa'd?) al-Kharkūshī (Kharkūsh is the name of a road, or a street in Nīshāpūr, hence his second *nisba* al-Naysābūrī/al-Nīshāpūrī) — a famous ascetic and mystic, preacher, *faqīh* and benefactor (See, al-Subkī. *Ṭabaqāt al-Şāfi'iyya al-Kubrā*, III, 282-283).
 Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad al-Damāghānī al-Baghdādī — a Ḥanafī *imām*, chief judge (*qādī 'l-quḍāt*) in Baghdad; quoting his sayings Shaydhala refers to him as his master and teacher (*qāla sayyidu-nā wa-shaykhu-nā*). During the reign of the caliph al-Qā'im his house in Baghdad — as well as houses of other Sunnīs — was ransacked.

elevated status of al-Ḥabīb by interpreting certain verses of the Qur'ān. Their major line of argument may be summed up as follows.

Abū 'l-Qāsim al-Mudhakkir (31 b—31 bb):

1. The "[Spiritual] resting stop," or "degree," of "friendship" (*manzilat al-khulla*) is merely a consequence of God's reward: Ibrāhīm was bestowed with the status of "friend" (*al-Khalīl*) because he gave up his property to his guests, manifested his readiness to sacrifice his son, by exposing his body to fire. It was after this that God chose him as His "friend" ("... And God took Abraham for a friend," 4:124).¹ As for the "resting stop" of "Mystical love," at times it is not a consequence of God's reward but rather the care and mercy which He shows in advance. Thus, the words of the Almighty "Say: 'If you love God, follow me, and God will love you..." (3:29) refer to Muḥammad al-Ḥabīb.
2. Every "beloved" (*ḥabīb*) is a "friend" (*khalīl*), but not every "friend" is a "beloved." Ibrāhīm al-Khalīl was not able to reach "degrees" ("resting stops," *manāzil*) of Muḥammad al-Ḥabīb in the "Divine Kingdom" (*al-malakūt*) and could not become a "witness" (*shāhid*) of Muḥammad and his community, while the latter surpassed the "degrees" of al-Khalīl in the "Divine Kingdom" and was appointed as a "witness" for all the prophets and communities. (God said: "How then shall it be, when We bring forward from every nation a witness, and bring thee to witness against those?" 4:45).
3. "Friendship" may be limited in time ("Alas, would that I had not taken so-and-so for a friend!" 25:30), while "Mystical love" is eternal (*mukhallada, mu'abbada*) ("... God will assuredly bring a people He loves, and who love Him..." 5:59).
4. "Friendship," for the most part, exists between created beings and some of them feud with others ("Friends on that day

Abū Sa'īd al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī al-Muṭawwa'ī al-Ustādh al-Imām — I was not able to find any biographical details on him.

1. Unless otherwise stated, the translation of the Qur'ānic verses is by A.J.Arberry (Arberry, A. J. *The Koran interpreted: a translation*, A Touchstone book. New York, N.Y.: Simon & Schuster, 1996.) [Translator's note].

shall be foes to one another, but the god-fearing," 43:67), while "Mystical love," for the most part, exists between servants of God and their Master ("God will assuredly bring a people He loves, and who love Him..." 5:59).

5. The difference between the "resting stops" of "friendship" and that of "Mystical love" as well as "degrees" of their proximity to the "Divine Kingdom" lies in the fact that the "Divine Kingdom" was shown to al-Khalīl from behind the "curtain," beyond which he was not allowed to tread ("So We were showing Abraham the kingdom of the heavens and earth, that he might be of those having sure faith," 6:75), while al-Ḥabīb was allowed to go beyond this "curtain" and remain in the immediate proximity to the "King of the Divine Kingdom" (*malik al-malakūt*) ("[then He] drew near and suspended hung, two bows'-length away, or nearer, then revealed to His servant what He revealed," 5:8-10).

Maṣṣūr b. 'Ammār Abū 'l-Sarī al-Būshanjī al-Wā'iz (31 bb — 32 a):

1. God chose Ibrāhīm as His "friend" on Ibrāhīm's request ("... And God took Abraham for a friend," 4:124), as to Muḥammad, He chose him as His "beloved" without any requests from him ("God will assuredly bring a people He loves, and who love Him..." 5:59).
2. al-Khalīl was first to have started entreating the "satisfaction" ("contentment," *riḍā*) of his Master ("Our Lord, forgive Thou me and my parents, and the believers, upon the day when the reckoning shall come to pass," 14:42), while al-Ḥabīb longed for the "satisfaction" of his Master ("We have seen thee turning thy face about in the heaven; now We will surely turn thee to a direction that shall satisfy thee," 2:139; "Thy Lord shall give thee, and thou shalt be satisfied," 93:5).
3. Etymologically, *khalīl* is the one who stays inside Mystical love, yet he did not reach its limits, while *ḥabīb* is the one whose body is overwhelmed with Mystical love and he reached its boundaries.
4. When the Angel of Death appeared to Ibrāhīm al-Khalīl, the latter did not dare to wish for a meeting with his "Friend,"

while Muḥammad al-Ḥabīb desired to meet his "Beloved," thus, having faced a choice between "staying" (*al-maqām*) and "moving" ("being-taken-to," *intiḳāl*), he chose the latter.

5. al-Khalīl asked God to strengthen his faith by demonstrating the rise of the dead ("And when Abraham said, 'My Lord, show me how Thou wilt give life to the dead,' He said, 'Why, does thou not believe?' 'Yes,' he said, 'but that my heart may be at rest,'" 2:262), while al-Ḥabīb was steadfast in his faith from the very beginning ("Our Lord, we believe; so do Thou write us down among the witnesses..." 5:86).

Abū Sa'īd al-Kharkūshī al-Zāhid al-Ustādh al-Jalīl al-Imām (32 a—32 b):

1. al-Khalīl rejoices whenever his "Friend" is mentioned ("...who created me, and Himself guides me..." 26:78), while al-Ḥabīb rejoices only when he is close to his "Beloved": "...then [He] drew near and suspended hung, two bows'-length away, or nearer" (53:8-9).
2. al-Khalīl worshiped his "Friend" out of fear and ardent desire ("My Lord, give me Judgment, and join me with the righteous," 26:83), while al-Ḥabīb's worship of his "Beloved" was based on contemplation (*al-mushāhada*) and intimacy with God (*al-mu'ānasa*) ("he saw him another time by the Lote-Tree of the Boundary,"¹ 53:13-14).
3. al-Khalīl did not go beyond "submitting himself to God" (*islām*) ("I have turned my face to Him who originated the heavens and the earth, a man of pure faith [*ḥanīf*]; I am not of the idolaters," 6:79), yet al-Ḥabīb was created a monotheist-*ḥanīf* ("Nay, but whosoever submits his will to God, being a good-doer, his wage is with his Lord..." 2:106).
4. al-Khalīl asked his "Friend" not to shame him on the Day of Resurrection ("Degrade me not upon the day when they are raised up," 26:87), while it was said to al-Ḥabīb: "... upon the

1. "The Lote-Tree of the Boundary:" according to the story that describes Muḥammad's night ascension, on the seventh heaven there is a tree, beyond which neither angels, nor prophets tread. Possibly, this is a description of some location near to Mecca (Makka).

day when God will not degrade the Prophet and those who believe with him..." (66:8).

5. al-Khalīl longed to be forgiven ("and who [i.e. God] I am eager shall forgive me my offence on the Day of Doom," 26:82), while al-Ḥabīb was forgiven from the very beginning and without his plea ("... that God may forgive thee thy former and thy latter sins, and complete His blessing upon thee..." 48:2).

Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad al-Damāghānī al-Baghdādī (33 a—33 b):

1. al-Khalīl desired and asked for his names to be remembered by the posterity after his death ("...and appoint me a tongue of truthfulness among the others..." 26:84), while it was told to al-Ḥabīb that he would be honored and praised together with God on the seven Heavens, in the "Divine Kingdom," on the seven earths and in the tongues of humankind, *jinn*s, wild animals, birds and plants ("Did We not exalt thy fame?" 94:4).
2. "The station of friendship" (*maqām al-khulla*) is a "station of abstinence," thus al-Khalīl pleads: "My Lord, make this land secure, and turn me and my sons away from serving idols" (14:38), while "the station of Mystical love" was a "station" after God's protection was granted. Thus, it was said to al-Ḥabīb without any pleas from him: "Did We not expand thy breast for thee and lift from thee thy burden, the burden that weighed down thy back? Did We not exalt thy fame?" (94:1-2).
3. al-Khalīl asked God to reveal him some signs of where and how to worship ("and show us our holy rites..." 2:122), yet when it came to al-Ḥabīb, God took him — without his asking — around al-Ka'ba and showed him the signs of religious rites ("Glory be to Him, who carried His servant by night from the Holy Mosque to the Further Mosque the precincts of which We have blessed, that We might show him some of Our signs," 17:1).
4. al-Khalīl humbly asked to be let in Paradise ("Make me one of the inheritors of the Garden of Bliss," 26:85), while to al-Ḥabīb — without any of his supplications — it was said: "Surely We

have given thee abundance;¹ so pray unto thy Lord and sacrifice" (108:1-2).

5. *al-Khulla* is the state of the one who is still on his way looking for his friend and his friendship, hence al-Khalīl said: "...I am going to my Lord" (37:97) and "I have turned my face to Him who originated the heavens and the earth" (6:79); *al-maḥabba*, on the other hand, is the state of the one who had already reached his "Beloved" and experiences "Mystical love": "then [He] drew near and suspended hung, two bows'-length away, or nearer" (53:7-8).

Abū Sa'īd al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī al-Muṭawwa'ī al-Ustādh al-Imām (33 b—34 a):

1. al-Khalīl saw the "Divine Kingdom" ("So We were showing Abraham the kingdom of the heavens and earth, that he might be of those having sure faith," — 6:75), while al-Ḥabīb saw God Himself in the "Divine Kingdom" ("Hast thou not regarded thy Lord, how He has stretched out the shadow?" — 25:47).
2. al-Khalīl was sent to a certain people ("And We have sent no Messenger save with the tongue of his people, that he might make all clear to them," — 14:4), while al-Ḥabīb was sent to all the people (We have sent thee not, except to mankind entire, good tidings to bear, and warning," — 34:27).
3. In case of any trial al-Khalīl used to say: Suffice it to me to pray to God so that He would know about my condition ("God is enough for me," — 9:130, 39:39), while al-Ḥabīb in similar situations used to say: "God is sufficient for us; an excellent Guardian is He" (3:167); "So they returned with blessing and bounty from God" (3:168).
4. al-Khalīl swore by God ("And, by God, I shall assuredly outwit your idols, after you have gone away turning your backs," 21:58), as to al-Ḥabīb, it is God Who swore by him: "[O Muḥammad!]² (15:72).

1. Al-Kawthar ("Abundant"), the name of a river in Paradise.
 2. Muḥammad is not mentioned in this verse.

5. al-Khalīl's supplication preceded God's mercy ("My Lord, give me Judgment, and join me with the righteous," — 26:83), as to al-Ḥabīb, God's mercy preceded his supplication ("By the white forenoon and the brooding night! Thy Lord has neither forsaken thee nor hates thee and the Last shall be better for thee than the First. Thy Lord shall give thee, and thou shalt be satisfied. Did He not find thee an orphan, and shelter thee? Did He not find thee erring, and guide thee? Did He not find thee needy, and suffice thee?" — 93:1-9).

Shaydala also quotes another (anonymous) list of five reasons supporting a more lofty status of al-Ḥabīb vis-à-vis that of al-Khalīl (34 b–35 a).

1. al-Khalīl was given a trial and only after he passed it, God chose him as His "friend" ("And when his Lord tested Abraham with certain words, and he fulfilled them" — 2:118), as for al-Ḥabīb, he was chosen first and only after put to trial ("Thy Lord creates whatsoever He will and He chooses," — 28:68).
2. al-Khalīl asked God to take him on the "true path" (*al-hidāya*) ("He said, 'I am going to my Lord; He will guide me...' — 37:97), as to al-Ḥabīb, he was given guidance without any requests ("that God may ... guide thee on a straight path," — 48:2).
3. Out of submission and need, al-Khalīl asked God to give him his sustenance ("Our Lord, I have made some of my seed to dwell in a valley where is no sown land by Thy Holy House; Our Lord, let them perform the prayer, and make hearts of men yearn towards them, and provide them with fruits; happily they will be thankful." — 14:40), yet to al-Ḥabīb sustenance was granted from the very beginning ("but it is We who provide thee. And the issue ultimate is to god-fearing," — 20:132).
4. When al-Khalīl reached his highest status ("station," *maqām*), he aspired to "friendship" with God (al-Ḥaqq) ("They are an enemy to me, except the Lord of all Being [who created me, and Himself guides me, and Himself gives me to eat and drink]" — 26:77); al-Ḥabīb, on the other hand, was embraced with Mystical love long before he reached the highest of his

status ("station") ("Say: 'If you love God, follow me, and God will love you, and forgive you your sins,' — 3:29).

5. Close to God during their secret conversation, al-Khalīl nonetheless turned to another ("When night outspread over him he saw a star and said, 'This is my Lord.' But when it set he said, 'I love not the setters.' When he saw the moon rising, he said, 'This is my Lord.' But when it set he said, 'If my Lord does not guide me I shall surely be of the people gone astray.' When he saw the sun rising, he said, 'This is my Lord!' ..." — 6:76). Yet, when al-Ḥabīb was in the proximity of God, He defined him as having two modes of "existence" (or "condition," — *al-kawṇayni*) — closer to Him and below Him ("[H]is eye swerved not; nor swept astray. Indeed, he saw one of the greatest signs of his Lord," — 53:17-8).

Shaydhala and those religious authorities on whom he relied looked to the Qur'ān, of course, for the proof of the correctness of their statements. In the Qur'ān, as Shaydhala argued, God provided description (*waṣf*) of those who love Him; He made each of those "descriptions" one of the "prerequisites" (*shurūt*) of Mystical love (*al-maḥabba*) as well as one of "qualities" (*ḥiṣāl*) of the "perfection of their beliefs" (*kamāl 'aqīdati-hā*) (165b). Yet, from the very inception of Muslim exegetical tradition, even until now, the selection and interpretation of Qur'ānic verses have been goal oriented and contingent on both objective and subjective factors.¹ This is also true about Shaydhala's argument on Muḥammad as the ideal of Mystical love of God. In order to support his main thesis, Shaydhala chooses to quote only the most suitable parts of relevant verses, omitting their other parts, thus stripping them of their original context. For example, he quotes "God took Abraham for a friend," while ignoring the beginning of the verse — i.e. its main part: "And who is there that has a fairer religion than he who submits his will to God being a good-doer, and who follows the creed of Abraham, a man of pure faith? And God took Abraham for a

1. See, for example, my article: Metodologicheskiye podhody k perevodu Korana na russkiy yazyk / Shigabutdin Marjani: nasledie i sovremennost' / Materialy mezhdunarodnoy nauchnoy konferentsii. Kazan', 15-17 maya 2008, Kazan', 2008, 73-76. (in Russian; "Methodological approaches to the translation of the Qur'ān into Russian," in Shigabutdin Marjani: legacy and modernity / Proceedings of International Scholarly Conference, Qazan', May 15-17, 2008; Qazan' 2008, 73-76).

friend" (4:124). The more elevated status of al-Ḥabīb vis-à-vis al-Khalīl is argued, in particular, because from the very beginning and without his supplication Muḥammad was granted God's guidance (*al-hidāya*), sustenance etc., which contradicts other verses, for example: "Did He not find thee an orphan, and shelter thee? Did He not find thee erring, and guide thee? Did He not find thee needy, and suffice thee?" (93:6-7). As to al-Khalīl, for example, he quotes the beginning of the verse in which it is said that God "tested Abraham" (according to al-Bayḍāwī, he was tested with different religious duties), while the following ending is omitted: "[God] said, 'Behold, I make you a leader (*imām*) for the people,'" (2:118).

Shaydhala devoted a separate chapter (165 b–170 b) to the description of "prerequisites" (*shurūṭ*), "components" (*ab'ād*), "foundations," or "pillars" (*arkān*) and "outward forms," or "kinds" (*hay'āt*) of Mystical love of God. Each of these descriptions he divided into ten "[spiritual] resting stops" (*manāzil*), or "degrees" of Mystical love.

As to "prerequisites" of Mystical love, they are, primarily, normative ritual and ethical duties, which comprise the initial stage on the Mystical way of knowing God. They are as follows:

1. "Penitence" (*al-tawba*); according to the words of the Almighty: "...When they have cleansed themselves (from menstruations), then come unto them as God has commanded you.' Truly, God loves those who repent, and He loves those who cleanse themselves," (2:222).
2. "[Ritual] purity" (*al-ṭahāra*); according to the words of the Almighty: "... therein (i.e. in the mosque) are men who love to cleanse themselves; and God loves those who cleanse themselves" (9:109).
3. "[Normative] prayers" (*al-ṣalawāt*); according to the words of the Almighty: "Surely those who believe and do deeds of righteousness — unto them the All-merciful shall assign love" (19:96).
4. "Justice" (*al-ḥadl*); according to the words of the Almighty: "If it reverts, set things right between them equitably, and be just. Surely God loves the just" (49:9).
5. "Patience" (*al-ṣabr*); according to the words of the Almighty: "... and they fainted not for what smote them in God's way,

neither weakened, nor did they humble themselves; and God loves the patient," (3:140).

6. "Good-doing" (*al-iḥsān*); according to the words of the Almighty: And God gave them the reward of this world and the fairest reward of the world to come; and God loves the good-doers" (3:141).
7. "Fear of God" (*al-taqwā*); according to the words of the Almighty: "...With them fulfill your covenant till their term; surely God loves the god-fearing (9:4).
8. "Trust in God" (*al-tawakkul*); according to the words of the Almighty: "...and when thou art resolved, put thy trust in God; surely God loves those who put their trust" (3:153).
9. "Fighting with enemies" (*al-mujāhada ma'a 'l-a'dā'*); according to the words of the Almighty: "God loves those who fight in His way in ranks, as though they were a building well-compacted." (61:4).
10. "Love of the friends of God" (*al-maḥabba li-'l-awliyā'*); according to the words of the Almighty: "... God will assuredly bring a people He loves, and who love Him, humble towards the believers, disdainful towards the unbelievers..." (5:59).

All these "prerequisites" of Mystical love, Shaydhala stresses, were united in the Messenger of God and their union is the part of its "completeness" (*kamāl al-maḥabba*).

In his list of ten "components" (*ab'ād*) of Mystical love Shaydhala does not limit himself to simply quoting relevant verses of the Qur'ān, he also explains keywords, which — in his opinion — point to the meaning of a particular Qur'ānic term, thus "specifying" the meaning of the Divine revelation. They are as follows:

1. "Faith" (*al-imān*); according to the words of the Almighty: "... that He may recompense those who *believe* and do deeds of righteousness, justly..." (10:4). – God's mercy is not that He does not love unbelievers; these words of His mean that He loves *believers*.
2. "Rightfulness" (*al-inṣāf*); according to the words of the Almighty: "But as for the believers, who do deeds of righteousness, He will pay them in full their wages: and God loves not the evildoers" (3:50). – It is His indication that He loves *those who are just*.

3. "Humility" (*al-tawāḍuʿ*); according to the words of the Almighty: "Without a doubt God knows what they keep secret and what they publish. He loves not those who wax proud" (16:24-25). – His indication that He loves *those who are humble*.
4. "Loyalty" (*al-amāna*); according to the words of the Almighty: "And if thou fearest treachery any way at the hands of a people, dissolve it with them equally; surely God loves not the treacherous" (8:60). – His indication that He loves *those who are loyal*.
5. "Sadness" (*al-ḥuzn*); according to the words of the Almighty: "Do not exult; God loves not those that exult" (28:76). – His indication that God loves those who are *sad*.
6. "Righteousness" (*al-ṣalāh*); according to the words of the Almighty: "[...and forget not thy portion of the present world]; and do good, as God has been good to thee.' And seek not to work corruption in the earth; surely God loves not the workers of corruption" (28:77). – His indication that God loves *those who are righteous*.
7. "Endurance in battle" (*al-thabat fī 'l-ḥarb*); according to the words of the Almighty: "Assuredly God will defend those who believe; surely God loves not any ungrateful traitor" (22:39). – His indication that God loves and *helps those who endure in battle*.
8. "Obedience" (syn. "humility") (*al-khuḍūʿ*); according to the words of the Almighty: "... that you may not grieve for what escapes you, nor rejoice in what has come to you; God loves not any man proud and boastful..." (57:23). – This is his indication that God loves *those who fear God* and *those who are obedient*.
9. "Concealment" (*al-satr*); according to the words of the Almighty: "God likes not the shouting of evil words unless a man has been wronged; God is All-hearing, All-knowing" (4:147). – This is his indication that God loves when a believer *covers up* his brother-in-faith (i.e. instead of exposing, he conceals his misdeeds, drawbacks, — S.P.).
10. "Remaining within the boundaries [of permissible and forbidden]" (*ḥifẓ al-ḥudūd*); according to the words of the Almighty: "And fight in the way of God with those who fight with you, but aggress not: God loves not the aggressors" (2:186). – His

indication that God loves those who are just and who do not act with animosity.

All these "components" of Mystical love, Shaydhala concludes (167 a), were brought together in the Messenger; God the Almighty "tossed him the keys to the Divine Law (*al-shar'*)," saying: "Whosoever obeys the Messenger, thereby obeys God..." (4:82), i.e. "whoever obeys My beloved (*ḥabībī*), thereby obeys Me, and whosoever loves My beloved, thereby loves Me" ("Say: 'If you love God, follow me, and God will love you'..." — 3:29).

As to ten "foundations," or "pillars," of Mystical love of God (*arkān al-maḥabbā*), the author connects them with the Biblical prophets from Ādam to 'Isā/Jesus and supports this connection with references to the relevant, in his opinion, verses of the Qur'ān.

1. "Purity" (*al-ṣafwa*) is one of "stations" (*manāzil*), or "degrees" of "Mystical love" of Ādam and Nūḥ/Noah, according to the words of the Almighty: "God chose Adam and Noah and the House of Abraham and the House of Imran above all beings, the seed of one another" (3:30).
2. "Friendship" (*al-khulla*) is one of "stations" of Ibrāhīm al-Khalīl, according to the words of the Almighty: "And God took Abraham for a friend" (4:124).
3. "Asceticism in this life and remembrance of the life to come" (*al-zuhd fī 'l-dunyā wa-dhikr al-ākhirā*) is one of "stations" of Ibrāhīm, Ishāq/Isaac, and Ya'qūb/Jacob, according to the words of the Almighty: "Remember also Our servants Abraham, Isaac and Jacob — men of might they and of vision. Assuredly We purified them with a quality most pure, the remembrance of the Abode, and in Our sight they are of the chosen, the excellent" (38:45-47).
4. "Fear of God" (*al-taqwā*) is one of "stations" of Ismā'īl/Ishmael, al-Yasā'/Elisha, and Dhū 'l-Kifl' — all of them are amongst the righteous. "Remember also Our servants Ishmael, Elisha, and Dhul Kifl; each is among the excellent. This is a Remembrance; and for the god-fearing is a fair resort, Gardens of Eden, whereof the gates are open to them" (38:48-50).

1. Prophet Ezekiel, or Elija, or Zecharia.

5. "Truthfulness," or "sincerity," (*al-ṣidq*) is one of "stations" of Idrīs/Enoch/Ezra, Ismāʿīl/Ishmael, Yūsuf/Joseph, according to the words of the Almighty: "And mention in the Book Ishmael; he was true to his promise, and he was a Messenger" (19:55); "And mention in the Book Idris; he was a true man, a Prophet" (19:57); "Joseph, thou true man, pronounce to us regarding seven fat kine, [that seven lean ones were devouring,...]" (12:46).
6. "Proximity [to God]" (*al-qurb*) is one of "stations" of Mūsá/Moses, according to the words of the Almighty: "We called to him from the right side of the Mount, and We brought him near in communion" (19:53).
7. "Patience" (*al-ṣabr*) is one of "stations" of Ayyūb/Job, according to the words of the Almighty: "Surely We found him a steadfast man. How excellent a servant he was! He was a penitent" (38:43-44).
8. "Asking for [God's] forgiveness" (*al-istighfār*) is one of "stations" of Dāʿūd/David, according to the words of the Almighty: "And David thought that We had only tried him; therefore he sought forgiveness of his Lord, and he fell down, bowing, and he repented" (38:23).
9. "Penitence and self-scrutiny" (*al-tawba wa-ʿl-murāqaba*) is one of "stations" of Sulaymān/Solomon, according to the words of the Almighty: "And We gave unto David Solomon; how excellent a servant he was! He was a penitent" (38:29).
10. "Remembrance of [God's] mercy" (*dhikr al-niʿma*) is one of "stations" of ʿĪsá/Jesus, according to the words of the Almighty: "Jesus Son of Mary, remember My blessing upon thee and upon thy mother, when I confirmed thee with the Holy Spirit, to speak to men in the cradle, and of age" (5:109).

Shaydhala crowns this list of "foundations" of Mystical love of God with a summarizing conclusion (168a): when all these "resting stops" (*manāzil*) were united in Muḥammad, the Chosen One, his Mystical love of God became "perfect." Muḥammad was called "beloved," because whatever was divided between different prophets before became united in him: his commands became like those of God, and to obey him became like obeying God: "Whatever the Messenger gives you, take; whatever he forbids you, give over" (59:7).

Before giving his list of "outward forms" (*hay'āt*) of Mystical love, Shaydhala states that when they all in their entire totality got united in the Messenger, his "Mystical love" of God became "pure" (*khalaṣat*) (168 b). The names of all the "forms" Shaydhala connects to relevant verses.

1. "Modesty" (*al-tawāḍu'*); according to the words of the Almighty: "The servants of the All-merciful are those who walk in the earth modestly and who, when the ignorant address them, say, 'Peace,' (25:64/63).
2. "Meekness" (*al-ḥilm*); according to the words of the Almighty: "and who, when the ignorant address them, say, 'Peace,' (25:64/63).
3. "Night wakefulness" (*al-tahajjud*); according to the words of the Almighty: "[those] who pass the night prostrate to their Lord and standing..." (25:65).
4. "Obedience" (*al-taḍarru'*), according to the words of the Almighty: "... [those] who say, 'Our Lord, turn Thou from us the chastisement of Gehenna; surely its chastisement is torment most terrible..." (25:66).
5. "Renunciation of impoverishment and wastefulness" (*tark al-iqtār wa-'l-iṣrāf*), according to the words of the Almighty: "[those] who, when they expend, are neither prodigal nor parsimonious, but between that is a just stand" (25:67).
6. "Avoidance of associationism, fornication and killing" (*al-nazahāt 'an al-shirk wa-'l-zinā wa-'l-qaṭl*); according to the words of God: "[those] who call not upon another god with God, nor slay the soul God has forbidden except by right, neither fornicate, for whosoever does that shall meet the price of sin-doubled shall be the chastisement for him on the Resurrection Day" (25:68).
7. "Penitence" (*al-tawba*), according to the words of the Almighty: "...and whosoever repents, and does righteousness, he truly turns to God in repentance," (25:71).
8. "Renunciation of lying" (*tark al-kadhib*); according to the words of the Almighty: "And those who bear not false witness and, when they pass by idle talk, pass by with dignity" (25:72).
9. "Acceptance of admonitions" (*qabūl al-mawā'iz*); according to the words of the Almighty: "who, when they are reminded of the signs of their Lord, fall not down thereat deaf and blind" (25:73).

10. "Modesty in supplication to God" (*ḥusn al-ibtihāl ilā 'Llāh*); according to the words of the Almighty: "who say, 'Our Lord, give us refreshment of our wives and seed, and make us a model to the god-fearing,'" (25:74).

Since all these "outward forms" of Mystical love were merged in the Messenger, he deserved, Shaydhala concludes, "proximity to God" (*al-qurba*) of "...two bows'-length away, or nearer..." (53:9).

Thus, in this work of Shaydhala, Muḥammad is presented as the perfect manifestation of Mystical love of God.

The idealization of the Prophet Muḥammad had begun while the corpuses of reports (sing. ḥadīth) about him were being collected.¹ A very significant role in this process was played by the Ṣūfis — pious and ascetics. Contrary to the Qur'ānic image of the Prophet Muḥammad as an ordinary human (with his weaknesses, illnesses and mistakes) sent to humankind with the prophetic mission, the Ṣūfī tradition endowed him with an ability to work "miracles," supernatural knowledge, wisdom etc., which logically led to the creation of the notion of the "perfect man" (*al-insān al-kāmil*, see, for example, the doctrines of the intellectual Ibn al-'Arabī, d. 1240 CE). Already in the 10th century CE, the famous mystic al-Ḥallāj (executed in Baghdād in 922 CE), influenced by the Gnostics, would speak about sempiternal existence of the Prophet: he is the luminary which lit up all the lights of all the other prophets; all the knowledge of this world is nothing but a drop from the sea of his knowledge, all the wisdom of this world is nothing but a handful from the spring of his wisdom, all the time of this world is nothing but a moment of his life. The image of Muḥammad was thus elevated to the cosmic scale.

This process could not but negatively affect the status of Ibrāhīm, distorting his Qur'ānic image of the late-Yathrib (i.e. "Medinan") period of Muḥammad's life when the core of his message was the return

1. Veneration of the Prophet and his tomb in Medina (*al-Madīna*): the famous Sunnī scholar-*muḥaddith* al-Bukhārī (d. 870 CE) used write his works sitting next to the Prophet's tomb, high-rank officials used to buy houses in the vicinity of his tomb in order to be buried close to him, they served in the "sanctuary" — by sweeping floors, arranging floor mats, cleaning oil lamps. On idealization of the image of Muḥammad in public conscience and in daily life, see, for example, A. Mez. *Musul'manskii Renesans*. M., 2-e izd., 1973 (Mez, Adam. *The renaissance of Islam*. Translated by S. Khuda Bukhsh and D. S. Margoliouth. 1st ed. London: Luzac & co., 1937).

to the pristine, true monotheism, which was connected to the name of the prophet Ibrāhīm the Ḥanīf (bibl. Abraham, — at that time, a rather vague image that took shape under the influence of Judeo-biblical traditions). The rupture of relations with the Jews of Yathrib also compelled Muḥammad to cut ideological connections with them and to search for the alternative roots of Islam as pristine monotheism. As a result a number of changes and introductions followed: rethinking of the legendary history of the Arabians; the change of the direction for the ritual prayer; the proclamation of the ancient shrine of al-Ka'ba as the temple of monotheism erected by Ibrāhīm; the encircling of al-Ka'ba; pilgrimage; the legalization of the ritual sacrifice connected with Ibrāhīm; the ten commandments of Ibrāhīm; and the turn to the Arabian cultural and historical context that preserves the traces of the ruined cities, destroyed tribes and ancient peoples as evidences of God's punishment for the corruption of the true monotheism and religious cult. In the *sūras* of the Qur'ān of the Yathrib period, after the break with the Jews and decisive steps to set ideological boundaries between the Jews and the Muslims, Ibrāhīm was proclaimed the spiritual ancestor of Muḥammad and Islām, the true monotheist-*ḥanīf*.¹

As God's beloved in whom all "resting stops" (*manāzil*) that comprise "Mystical love of God" were united, Muḥammad came into opposition with Ibrāhīm, the "friend of God"; this led to the cardinal change in their statuses in the favor of the former. Formally, this metamorphosis of the Qur'ānic images of Ibrāhīm al-Khalīl, the first one in the line of the prophets of the true monotheism, and Muḥammad al-Ḥabīb, the last one from that very line, as well as the change of their "statuses" in the minds of the Muslims is a departure from the "Qur'ānic" monotheism. On the other hand, however, it was a rather natural, even logical development of the cult of Muḥammad — religious dogma that satisfied eternal human need for worship and adoration and therefore possessing tremendous appeal. Thus, eventually, the charismatic personality of Muḥammad as the "seal of the prophets" (*khatam al-anbiyā'*) and the "beloved of God" outshined the image of Ibrāhīm, the "friend of God."

1. "And who is there that has a fairer religion (*dīn*) than he who submits his will to God being a good-doer, and who follows the creed (community, *milla*) of Abraham, a man of pure faith (*ḥanīf*)? And God took Abraham for a friend" (4:124).