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### Front cover:

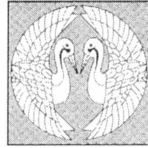
The depiction of Nāgeśvara-rāja, the “king of *nāgas*”, the central figure in the miniature from the first volume of the collection *Sungdui*. Manuscript K 6 in the collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, 17th century, lower cover, 63.0×21.5 cm.

### Back cover:

**Plate 1.** The depiction of *bodhisattva* Mañjuśrī, an embodiment of wisdom, on the left, and of Prajñāpāramitā as a *Yum*- “Mother”, on the right. Miniature from the second volume of the collection *Sungdui*, manuscript K 6, upper cover, 63.0×21.5 cm.

**Plate 2.** The depiction of the formidable deity Śrī Maqakala, the central figure, and of Guru Ganbo (Skt. Pañjara Mahākāla), on the left and right, the second volume of the collection *Sungdui*, manuscript K 6, lower cover, 63.0×21.5 cm.

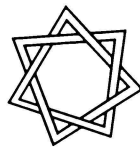
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## TEXTS AND MANUSCRIPTS: DESCRIPTION AND RESEARCH

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### KĪMIYĀ-YI SA'ĀDAT BY ABŪ ḤĀMID MUḤAMMAD AL-GHAZĀLĪ AL-ṬŪSĪ: SOME TEXTUAL OBSERVATIONS

The works of Abū Ḥamid Muḥammad al-Ghazālī al-Ṭūsī (1058—1111), the greatest Muslim thinker of the Middle Ages, constitute an extremely valuable intellectual inheritance for contemporary Islam. His numerous well-known works on philosophy, jurisprudence, logic, theology and Ṣūfism allow us to regard him as one of the most prolific authors in the Muslim world. It has been said of al-Ghazālī that if one divides the number of pages he wrote (in works known to us) by the number of days he lived, one finds that he wrote four pages a day [1]. The works by al-Ghazālī have come down to us in numerous manuscripts held in various repositories all over the world. Naturally, the oldest manuscripts are of special interest to specialists, constituting a valuable source for those engaged in text investigations.

The current article is devoted to al-Ghazālī's first composition written in Persian and entitled the *Kīmīyā-yi sa'ādat* ("The Alchemy of Happiness"). It should be noted that the oldest known manuscript fragment of the *Kīmīyā-yi sa'ādat* (call number B 4612) is kept in the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies. Judging from palaeographic features of the manuscript, it can be dated to the beginning of the twelfth century. It contains the complete third *rukn* of the work (see *fig. 1*) and was acquired by the Institute from the collection of O. L. Vilchevsky (1902—1964).

The manuscript was first described by Vilchevsky himself [2], but an unhappy error prevented him from identifying it as a fragment of the *Kīmīyā-yi sa'ādat*. Besides, the author's article focused not on the problem of identifying the fragment but on its importance to the reconstruction of the world-outlook of the urban population of Iran in the medieval age. Vilchevsky dated the manuscript "no later than the mid-eleventh century" and failed in identifying the work. He termed its author "the anonymous composer". In a note, however, he came close to his real name and only one step remained to be taken to make the correct suggestion. The late Husayn-i Khadiwjam used the copy while preparing a scholarly edition of the *Kīmīyā-yi sa'ādat* and confirmed the view of its unique age [3]. To convey a full sense of this precious copy, I present here a brief description of manuscript B 4612, which has not yet been cata-

logued. The manuscript (20.0×15.0 cm) contains 191 folios; originally polished yellow rude thick paper; black Indian ink, *naskh-i Irānī* (see *fig. 2*); text without frame (14.5×10.0 cm); 17 lines per page; cartouches remained unfilled; a twentieth-century restoration of the light-brown binding (pasteboard covered in stamped synthetic leather). On fol. 001a there are two inscriptions (*fig. 3*): the upper one comprises the date (Ramaḍān A. H. 605) and the name — Abī b. Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. 'Abd al-'Amīd; the lower, made on the occasion of the birthday, contains the date ("before breakfast, 25 Rabī' al-Awwal A. H. 584") and the name — Abū Bakr Aṣ'adallāh.

Before treating some questions arising from the examination of the *Kīmīyā-yi sa'ādat*'s text, let us make a brief outline of al-Ghazālī's life stages. There were three basic periods of his literary activity. The first period is linked to the beginning of his teaching, first in Nīshāpūr and then in Baghdād under the Seljuk *wazīr* Nizām al-Mulk al-Ṭūsī (killed in 1092) [4]. The latter was known for creating on the territory from Syria to Khurāsān numerous *madrasas*, charged with "reanimating" and defending Sunni Islam. In his honour they were called *Nizāmīya*. Nizām al-Mulk invited his countryman from Ṭūs to teach in one of these *madrasas* [5]. In the period of his teaching in 1091/2—1095, al-Ghazālī, wrote a number of works, for the most part on philosophy, jurisprudence, theology and *madhabs*. Toward the end of this period, having studied all of the basic works of his time on theology and philosophy, al-Ghazālī took interest in the works of Ṣūfī authors, which made him a follower of Muslim mysticism. After his stopping the teaching in the *madrasa*, he, for half a year, became a follower of the mystical path. But al-Ghazālī's analytical mind and active nature apparently prevented him from wholly subjugating himself to his *shaykh*, which led to his failure in the area of the Ṣūfī practice, a spiritual crisis, and the scholar's departure from Baghdād [6].

The second period was marked by eleven years-journeying in 1095—1106, of which he spent two years in Syria before departing for other Arab countries. He visited Jerusalem and then completed the *ḥājj*, after which al-Ghazālī returned to his native Ṭūs. From there, he was invited to teach in Nīshāpūr at a *Nizāmīya* by the son of Nizām





al-Mulk, Fakhr al-Mulk. His eleven years of travelling formed the most productive period in al-Ghazālī's life. Between 1097 and 1102, in Syria, Jerusalem, the Hijāz, and in his native Ṭūs, he wrote what is probably his best known and largest work — *Ihyā' 'ulūm al-dīn* ("Resurrection of the Sciences of Faith"). With his customary logic and style of argumentation, the scholar provides a detailed examination of absolutely all aspects of the practice of normative Islam as well as the mystical practice which grew out of it at that time.

The third period of al-Ghazālī's life can be designated as his return to teaching at the Nishāpūr *madrasa* in 1106. But this period was very short and continued no longer than five years, until his death in Ṭūs in 1111.

Al-Ghazālī's *Kīmīyā-yi sa'ādat*, completed presumably between 1102 and 1106, appeared together with other works written during the second period of the scholar's life. This work — one of the few written by the author in Persian — was one of the first among Persian-language works on Ṣūfism compiled by a Muslim religious authority. In its popularity among the population of the Iranian world it stands together with the first work on Ṣūfism written in Persian, the *Kashf al-mahjūb* ("Revelation of That Which Is Veiled") by 'Alī b. 'Uthmān al-Jullābī al-Hujwīrī (d. between 1072—1077). In fact, al-Ghazālī's *Kīmīyā-yi sa'ādat* significantly surpasses al-Hujwīrī's work in the number of

manuscript copies which have reached us, let alone publications of the *Kīmīyā* which continue to appear. Nearly all large manuscript collections contain at least three or four manuscript copies of the work. The reason is not only the author's fame and authority, but the simple expository style of the writing. It should be also noted the diminishing significance of the Arabic language and the rebirth of Persian-language cultural tradition, a process which began under the Sam'ānids (875—999) with the literary activity of Rūdākī (d. 940/941) and Firdawsī (934—1020) and continued during the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Moreover, the dates of copying indicate a constant demand for the *Kīmīyā-yi sa'ādat* across the centuries, beginning in the twelfth and continuing to the present. This testifies to its popularity on the intellectual market within the Iranian ethno-linguistic region and even beyond its borders. It should be stressed here that al-Ghazālī, who had previously written only in Arabic — the sacred language of the Qur'ān, Arab science, and international relations within the *dār al-islām* — felt it necessary to compile his work in Persian, addressing quite a different readership.

Leaving aside the numerous lithograph editions of the work which appeared in the nineteenth century, we list here copies of the work preserved at large manuscript collections (see *Tables 1—5*).

Table 1

## Collection of the Russian National Library

Nos.	Century	Catalogue number [7]	Date	Call number
1.	XV	1031	IX/XV century	Dorn 261
2.	XVII	1034	1089/1678	P.n.s. 119
3.	XVIII	1032	1118/1706	P.n.s. 167
4.	XIX	1033	1283/1866—67	P.n.s. 10

Table 2

## Collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies

Nos.	Century	Catalogue number [8]	Date	Call number
1.	XII		/[1120—50]	B 4612
2.	XV	3526	900/1495	B 928
3.	XVI	3527	958/1551	B 930
4.	XVI	3780	984/1576	C 1351
5.	XVI	3525	1000/1592	A 314
6.	XVII	3531	1032/1622	B 929
7.	XVII	75 (Addendum)	1111/1699	B 4549
8.	XVIII	3529; 3764	[1200]/1786	B 2385
9.	XIX	3862	[1261]/1845	B 1977

Table 3

## Collection of the National Library of Egypt

Nos.	Century	Catalogue number [9]	Date	Call number
1	XII	1869	576/1180	٤٦ تصوف فارسی
2	XIII	1865	600/1204	٧٢ تصوف فارسی طلعت
3	XIII	1866	689/1290	٢٧٨ تصوف تیمور
4	XIV	1858	774/1372	١٣ م تصوف فارسی
5	XV	1857	835/1431	١٢ م تصوف فارسی
6	XV	1863	855/1451	٦٠ تصوف فارسی طلعت
7	XV	1859	893/1487	١٢ تصوف فارسی طلعت
8	XVI	1860	911/1506	١٤ تصوف فارسی طلعت
9	XVII	1862	1069/1659	٢٣ تصوف فارسی طلعت
10	XVIII	1868	1122/1711	١٢ تصوف فارسی

Table 4

## Collection of the British Library (Indian office)

Nos.	Century	Catalogue number [10]	Date	Call number
1.	XV	1781	905/1499	424
2.	XVII	1782	1020/1611	1414
3.	XVII	1783	1081/1670	2013
4.	XVII	1784	1086/1675	2121
5.	XVII	1785	1087/1676	2856
6.	XVII	1786	1096/1685	1277
7.	XVIII	1787	1173/1759	3149

Table 5

## Collection of the British Library [11].

Nos.	Century	Date	Call number
1.	XIII	672/1274	Add. 25,026
2.	XIII—XV	XIII—XV	Add. 7604
3.	XV	XV	Or. 258
4.	XV	XV	Add.25,841
5.	XVII	1023/1614	Add. 16,809
6.	XVIII	1142/1730	Add. 16,810
7.	XVIII	XVIII	Add.25,842

ما ذریم فدای تو باد از جه خندیده گفت دو مورد  
 از امت من قیامت بلیش رب العزه خصوصت برانو  
 در افتید یکی گویند بار خدایا حسات من همه  
 خصمان من بردند و مواهی چیز نماید خدای عوجل  
 مظلم را گوید هیچیز از حسنه ندارد گوید بار خدایا  
 معصیتها من با و چه حوائت کن پس معصیت وی بر  
 وی نهند و هنوز مظلمتی بماند انگاه رسول  
 علیه السلام اجابگو نیست گفت اینست عظیم روزی  
 و همه کمر حاکمندان باشند که بازی از وی بود  
 کیوند انگاه حق تعالی مظلم را گوید بر نکتا  
 چه بینی بر نکتد گوید یارب شهرهای منم از دست  
 و موضع خواهر و مروارید ایا که این کدام بیغامها  
 و یا کدام صدیقی را و یا کدام شهید را حق تعالی  
 گوید این از است که خرد و بها بدهد گوید بار خدایا  
 بها از که تواند داد گوید تو گوید بار خدایا نجه  
 گوید بد اخ عفو کنی گوید کدام گوید خیر دست  
 و یکتو و هر دو در بهشت شوید انگاه رسول علیه

Fig. 2

Other collections indicate the similar demand for the *Kīmiyā-yi sa'ādāt* by al-Ghazālī.

The *Kīmiyā* appeared not long before the emergence of the many Sūfī brotherhoods which formed on the basis of various Sūfī schools. Such, for example, was the school of Khwājagān, the founder of which, 'Abd al-Khālīq al-Ghijduwānī (d. 1180 or 1220), is considered to have developed the eight principles which later formed the spiritual-religious basis of the Naqshbandīya brotherhood. Bahā' al-Dīn Naqshband (1318—1389) later added only three provisions to them. These principles are considered the sovereign spiritual product of the Khwājagān school and the Naqshbandīya. However, the text of the *Kīmiyā* formulates in one fashion or another the majority of the principles of the Naqshbandīya-Khwājagān (twelfth — beginning of the sixteenth centuries), though not always as laconically as Kāshifī Wā'iz, the author of the basic hagiographic work on the Naqshbandīya-Khwājagān, the *Rashaḥāt 'ayn al-ḥayāt* ("Drops from the Well-Spring of Eternal Life") [12].

In describing the special principles of spiritual-religious life, al-Ghazālī says that they were arrived at by mystics, "who realized that they appeared in the world for trade. Their deals are with their own souls. The profit or loss from these transactions are paradise or hell" [13]. He defines these mystics as "possessing inner vision" (*ahl-i baṣīrat*) and "great men of faith" (*buzurgān-i dīn*). In other words, although these principles are included in the system of the philosopher's world-outlook, occupying the fourth *rukṇ*, sixth *aṣl* of his work, al-Ghazālī makes it clear that they came into being before him and are not his creation. At other places in the work, al-Ghazālī explains his own views on the Sūfī path, views which differ somewhat from the principles he singles out elsewhere.

Further, both in the *Kīmiyā* and the *Rashaḥāt*, these principles are termed either necessary conditions (*shart*), which must be observed **simultaneously** in order to set off on the path, or stations (*maqāms*) through which he who follows the path (*sulūk*) must pass successively in order to attain the desired goal. In the first case, there is no need for successive order in following the *sharts* either on the path or in explanations. One must simply accept them all at once as a given. But in the second case, the absence of a clearly defined order makes nonsense of the concept of *maqām*. The seemingly illogical nature of this terminological combination is explained only in the *Kīmiyā*: all necessary conditions are set one's soul as to a partner in a game and are set forth once and for all. Later, as the game with one's soul progresses, the participant must successively pass through the stations articulated as conditions.

Al-Ghazālī says the following about the stations:

"They (Sūfīs — *A. Kh.*) have defined for themselves six stations (*maqāms*) — *mushārakat* (partnership), *muḥāsabat* (self-accountability), *murāqabat* (observation), *mu'ātabat* (repentance), *mu'āqabat* (punishing oneself), and *mujāhadat* (inner struggle, exerting efforts)" [14].

All terms are given as 3rd *masdars*, implying interaction (in this particular case, with one's own soul).

We provide here several typical, clearly delineated parallels between the principles of the spiritual life of the Naqshbandīya-Khwājagān as described in the *Rashaḥāt* and the stations indicated in the *Kīmiyā*.

1. *Mushārakat* (partnership, participation) — *hūsh dar dam* (consciousness in breathing):

## Text

### *Rashaḥāt* [15]

رشحه هوش در دم و آن آنست که هر نفسی از درون بر آید که از سر حضور و آگاهی باشد و غفلت بآن راه نیابد < ... > هوش در دم یعنی انتقال نفسی بنفسی میباشد که از سر غفلت نباشد و از سر حضور باشد و هر نفسی که میزند از حق سبحانه خالی و غافل نباشد

### *Kīmiyā* [16]

مقام اول در مشارکت < ... > هر نفسی از انفس عمر گوهی نفیس است که ازوی گنجی توان نهاد در وی مکاس و حساب اولی تر < ... > با نفس خود بگوید که مرا هیچ بضاعت نیست مگر عمر و هر نفس که رفت بدل ندارد که انفس معدود است در علم خدایتعالی و نیفزاید

## Translation

### *Rashaḥāt*

The drop (*rashḥa*). Consciousness in breathing requires that each breath which emanates from within stem from divine consciousness and presence, and that it preclude unconcern < ... > Consciousness in breathing signifies the movement from breath to breath and demands an absence of unconcern and the presence of consciousness. Each breath which one takes must be filled with the Most High and devoid of unconcern.

In illuminating the *mushārakat* station, al-Ghazālī explains that one must set one's soul the condition of always remembering God, just as partners set each other conditions at the beginning of a game. In one of the Indian lithographs, this station is even renamed the station of 'conditionality' (*mushāratat*), which is evidently an error [17]. It is imperative to see to the observance of this condition at each

### *Kīmiyā*

The first station is partnership < ... > Each breath among the breaths in our life is a gem which can enrich [one]. The most important element in this is accounting and [self]-accounting < ... > one says to one's soul: "I have no other wealth than life. Every breath which has been emitted is irreplaceable, and their number, in accordance with the science of the Most High, is limited and cannot be increased ...".

breath, since " ... every breath which has been emitted is irreplaceable, and their number, in accordance with the science of the Most High, is limited and cannot be increased" [18].

2. *Murāqabat* (observation, control) — *khalwat dar anjuman* (alienation from society, solitude within society).

## Text

*Rashaḥāt* [19]

رشمه خلوت درانجمن <...> خلوت درانجمن بظاهر با خلق و بیاطن با حق سبحانه <...> خلوت درانجمن آنست که اشتغال و استغراق در ذکر بمرتبه رسد که اگر بازار در آید هیچ سخن و آواز نشنود بسبب استیلاء ذکر بر حقیقت دل

*Kṭmiyā* [20]

مقام دوم مراقبه است و معنی مراقبه پاسبانی بود <...> و اصل مراقبه آنست که بداند که خدای تعالی بر وی مطلع است در هر چه میکند و می اندیشد و خلق ظاهر وی میبینند <...> بدانکه مراقبه بر دو وجه است یکی مراقبه صدیقانست که دل ایشان بعظمت خدای مستغرق باشد و در هیبت وی شکسته بود و در وی جای اختلافات بغیر نبود <...> کسی باشد که درین جهان مستغرق شود که با وی سخن گویی و نشنود و کسی پیش وی فرا شود اگر چشم باز دارد نبیند <...> این است حال درجه و مراقبه صدیقان که همگی ایشان حق سبحانه مستغرق بود

## Translation.

*Rashaḥāt*

*Rashḥa*. Solitude within society. <...> Solitude within society is outwardly being with people while inwardly being with God. <...> Solitude within society is when one's occupation with and immersion in the mention of the Most High attains such a degree that if one were to visit the market-place, one would notice neither the voices nor the words, because the truth of the heart is entirely in the grips of *dhikr*.

*Kṭmiyā*

The second station is *murāqabat*. The meaning of *murāqabat* is control. <...> The basis of *murāqabat* is the knowledge that the Most High is informed about all that is committed and thought by him (i.e. the mystic — *A. Kh.*). People see his outer side. <...> Know that *murāqabat* is of two types. The first is *murāqabat* of the sincere, whose hearts are immersed in the grandeur of the Most High and are not able to withstand its awe-inspiring sight. There is no room in them to pay attention to anything else. <...> There are those whose immersion in this world is so great that one addresses them and they do not hear; one approaches them, but they do not see, even though their eyes are open. This is the state of degree, the *murāqabat* of the sincere, when they are wholly immersed in the Most High.

Al-Ghazālī distinguishes two types of the *murāqabat* stations, one of which — the *murāqabat* of the sincere (the *murāqabat-i ṣādīqān*) — is paralleled by the station of *khalwat dar arjuman* in the Naqshbandiyya-Khwājagān. Both demand total immersion (*istighrāq*) in the mention of the Most High. They attain a level of isolation at which their surroundings, all which is not related to God, are no longer apprehended by the

sensory organs of vision and hearing. One finds an analogy for al-Ghazālī's second type of *murāqabat* in the Naqshbandiyya-Khwājagān principle of *nigahdāsh*t (preservation, vigilance), as presented in the *Rashaḥāt*.

3. *Murāqabat* (observation, control) — *nigahdāsh*t (preservation, vigilance).

## Text

*Rashaḥāt* [21]

رشمه نگهداشت و آن عبارت از مراقبه خواطرست <...> باید که یک ساعت و دو ساعت و زیاده از دو ساعت آن مقدار که میسر شود خاطر خود را نگاهدارد که غیری بخاطر وی نگذرد

*Kṭmiyā* [22]

درجه دوم مراقبه پارسایان <...> پس کسی که درین درجه بود او را احوال و خواطر و حرکات خویش همه مراقبت باید کرد <...> اول خاطر که در دل آید گوش دارد و همیشه دل را مراقبه میکند تا در وی چه اندیشه پدید آید تا آن اندیشه که بدیدار آید نگاه کند اگر خدای را ست تمام بکند. و اگر در هوای نفس است بترسد و از خدای تعالی شرم دارد و خود را ملامت کند

## Translation

*Rashaḥāt*

The *rashḥa* of preservation consists of observing one's thoughts. <...> For an hour, or two or more hours, one must guard one's thoughts against the interference of the superfluous to the extent that this is possible.

*Kṭmiyā*

The second stage is the *murāqabat* of the pious. <...> Thus, he who is at this stage must watch all of his states, thoughts and movements. <...> At first, one listens to a thought which appears in one's heart. One always looks after one's heart — and the thoughts arising in it — in order to scrutinize the thought which has appeared. If it is from God, one completes it. But if it stems from the desires of the soul, one is afraid, experiences shame before the Most High, and censures oneself.

Here al-Ghazālī speaks of the *murāqabat* of the pious, who should control all their states, thoughts, and actions. He

stresses in particular constant control of the thoughts which visit one's heart. If these thoughts are from God or about

him, they are permissible; but if they stem from the desires of the soul, then one should feel ashamed before God and blame oneself (*malāmat*). As for the *Rashaḥāt*, it also terms the concept of *nigahdāsh*t control over thoughts and rec-

ommends that one spend as much time as possible controlling them.

4. *Muḥāsabat* (self-reckoning) — *wuqūf-i zamānī* (consciousness of time).

## Text

*Rashaḥāt* [23]

وقوف زمانی نزد صوفیه قدس الله ارواح عبارت از محاسبه است و حضرت خواجه بزرگ قدس سره فرموده اند که محاسبه آنست که در هر ساعتی آنچه بر ما گذشته است محاسبه میکنیم که غفلت چیست و حضور چیست میبینیم که همه نقصان است و بازگشت میکنیم و عمل از سر میگیریم

*Kṭmiyā* [24]

مقام سوم محاسبه است پس از عمل باید که بنده را بآخر روز وقتی باشد در وقت خفتن که با نفس خویش حساب جمله روز بکند تا سرمایه از سود و زیان جدا کند و سرمایه فرایض است و سود نوافل و زیان معاصی

## Translation

*Rashaḥāt*

Among Ṣūfīs — may Allah sanctify their souls — the consciousness of time consists of self-reckoning. Haḡrat-i Khwāja — blessed be his grave — said that self-reckoning is when we take into account each hour which has passed for us: what passed in unconcern, and what with divine consciousness. When we see that it is all wrong, we return and begin anew.

*Kṭmiyā*

The third station is self-reckoning after action. It is necessary that the servant of God have at the end of the day time before going to sleep in order to settle accounts with his soul for the day, in order to separate the capital of profit from the capital of loss. Capital consists of obligatory religious tenets; profit is what is done above and beyond them, loss is violation.

In this case, the *Rashaḥāt* draws a direct parallel between its principle of *wuqūf-i zamānī* and *muḥāsaba*.

5. *Safar dar waṭan* (travel in the place where one lives), as presented in both texts.

## Text

*Rashaḥāt* [25]

رشحه سفر در وطن آنست که سالک در طبیعت بشری سفر کند یعنی از صفات بشری بصفات ملکی و از صفات ذمیمه بصفات حمیده انتقال فرماید

*Kṭmiyā* [26]

و دانستن آن راهیست از طریق بصیرت و مشاهده باطن و باین کسی رسد که از وطن خود مفارقت کند و آنجا که مولد و مسقط الرأس وی بود نایستد و سفر راه دین پیش گیرد و باین وطن نه از شهر و خانه میخوایم که آن وطن قالب است و سفر قالب را قدری نباشد لیکن آن روح که حقیقت آدمیست آنرا قرارگاهی است که از آنجا پدید آمده و وطن وی آنست و ازینجا او را سفریست

## Translation

*Rashaḥāt*

*Rashaḥa*. Travel in the place where one lives means that he who follows the path of instruction (*sālik*) undertakes travel within his human nature, that is, he makes the transition from human qualities to angelic ones, from the blameworthy to the praiseworthy.

*Kṭmiyā*

Knowledge of this path includes both inner vision and inner contemplation. The person who achieves this is he who separates himself from his native realm, leaving the place where he was born and which was his homeland to set off on a journey of faith (*safar-i dīn*). By homeland (*waṭan*) one should understand not a city or house, which are home only to the outer shell, the perambulations of which are worth nothing. One cannot say this about the spirit, which is the truth of man. It (the spirit — *A. Kh.*) has a quiet place from which it came into being. That is its homeland. And from there it undertakes the journey.

Al-Ghazālī does not formulate this particular principle as a station, as in previous cases, although the idea of a spiritual journey is a fundamental one which runs through the entire work as *safar dan waṭan*. In *Rashaḥāt*, in addition to what is found above, this principle is explained by a citation from a famous work on Ṣūfism, *ʿAwārif al-maʿārif* ("Gifts of Knowledge") [27] by Shihāb al-Dīn Abū Ḥafṣ

ʿUmar al-Suhrawardī (1145—1234/35). The latter founded an independent Arab Ṣūfī school the basic principles of which provided the foundation for the Suhrawardiya brotherhood which later took shape in India. He was a follower of the teachings of al-Ghazālī's brothers — Abū Ḥāmid al-Ghazālī, who was responsible for the theoretical, and Aḡmad al-Ghazālī (d. 1126), who took care of the practical side of the

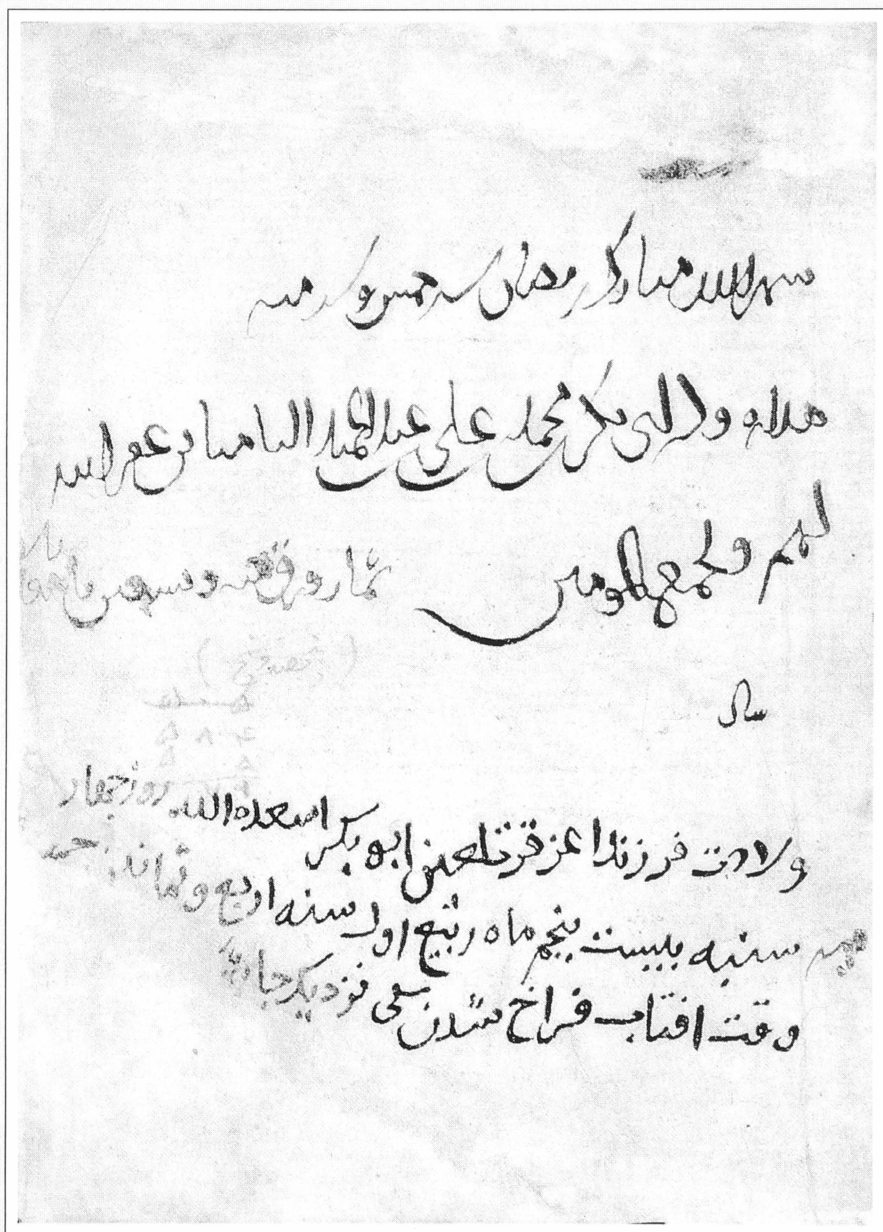


Fig. 3

teaching. One can often encounter this work on the margins of *Ihyā' 'ulūm al-dīn* ("Resurrection of the Sciences") [28].

Apart from the clearly delineated parallels in the chosen principles of the Naqshbandiyya-Khwājagān, one should also note the principles of *yādkard* and *wuqūf-i qalbī*, which signify, successively, the mention of God (*dhikr*) and consciousness of the heart. Since *dhikr* as a form of practical exercise was known long before al-Ghazālī — passing the mention of God through one's heart or pronouncing *dhikr* with the heart — there is no need to focus special attention on them in this context, although al-Ghazālī explains both in his *Kīmīyā*.

A comparison of the Naqshbandiyya-Khwājagān's principles cited with the parallel principles formulated in the *Kīmīyā* does not yield sufficient grounds for considering the former the result of adaptation made by a single man on the basis of a manuscript work. For this reason, it is unlikely that the similarity indicated here should be considered a direct borrowing by al-Ghijduwānī of the principles of spiritual-religious life from the text of al-Ghazālī's *Kīmīyā*. But a single source in the formulations cited here is evident. Most likely, al-Ghijduwānī learnt of them from his *shaykh*, Abū Ya'qūb Yūsuf al-Hamadānī (1048—1140), a contemporary of al-Ghazālī. Al-Hamadānī received education together with al-Ghazālī at practically the same time and from the same teachers: Abū Ishāq al-Shīrāzī (d. 1083) and *shaykh* Abū 'Alī Farmadī al-Ṭūsī (d. 1084/85) [29]. It is probable that these two men (or one of them) were the source of the subsequent formation of the Naqshbandiyya-Khwājagān's principles. But it is also possible that because Abū Ishāq al-Shīrāzī and Abū 'Alī Farmadī al-Ṭūsī were al-Ghazālī's teachers, the latter gives so detailed exposition of these principles in his work.

One cannot also exclude the possibility that the principles of religious-spiritual life under discussion were adopted by al-Ghazālī from the works of his Ash'arite predecessors, for example, from al-Ḥārith al-Muḥāsibī (ca. 781—857), or that al-Ghazālī could familiarise himself with these principles during his extensive travels. They could also be the principles of the *malāmatiyya* movement in Khurāsān, the adepts of which accepted the ideas of al-Muḥāsibī. Whatever the case may be, the fact that al-Ghazālī's work contained a discussion of the principles renamed and adapted for the Naqshbandiyya-Khwājagān by al-Ghijduwānī only increased the popularity of this Ṣūfī school and, later, brotherhood.

If we accept the fact that the principles of spiritual-religious life under review here were known to mystics before they were formulated by al-Ghijduwānī for the Khwājagān school, then the only new element introduced into Ṣūfī practice by al-Ghijduwānī was the practice of *dhikr* by holding one's breath. According to the tradition, this exercise was taught to him in visions by al-Khiḍr, that is why the brotherhood's tradition considers al-Ghijduwānī *uwaysī*, that is, initiated without the participation of a *shaykh*. Here is how the author of the *Rashahāt* describes this mystical experience:

"Enter the reservoir (*hawḍ*), lower yourself entirely into the water and say with your heart (*dil*): 'Lā ilāha illā Allāhu wa-Muḥammadun rasūlu Allāhi'" [30].

This laconic description plays on two words — the reservoir (*hawḍ*), into which one must lower oneself completely, and the heart (*dil*), with which one must pronounce

the formula. This exercise naturally implies the holding one's breath (*ḥabs-i nafas*, *ḥabs-i dam*), since full immersion (including the head) in water compels one to hold one's breath as well as to assume suitable position under water to disassociate oneself from all outer stimulants, leading to an altered perception of the world.

Despite the seeming simplicity of this exercise's performance, one must consider it in a metaphorical sense, otherwise the question arises whether it was easy to al-Ghijduwānī's numerous followers to find deep reservoirs permitting full daily immersion in Bukhara or surrounding regions. Besides, it is known that Bahā' al-Dīn Naqshband did not regard the principle of holding the breath, proposed by al-Ghijduwānī, as obligatory (*lāzim*) [31]. A quotation from the first *'unwān* of al-Ghazālī's *Kīmīyā*, seems to elucidate the question:

"From the preceding, the virtue of the nature of the human heart has become intelligible and the nature of the path of Ṣūfīs has become clear. Just as one might hear from those who say that the religious science is the curtain which hides that path and could deny it, do not deny these words: the truth is that when one is busy with or immerses (*mustaghraq*) in what has been acquired through the senses, a curtain appears [hiding] the path. As though one were to liken the heart (*dil*) to a reservoir (*hawḍ*), and the senses to five *ariqs* which bring water from without into the reservoir. If you wish for pure water to rise from the depths of the reservoir, then see to it that you release that water in full, closing off all *ariqs* so that it does not return. Deepen the reservoir that pure water might rise from its depths. And, as long as the reservoir is filled with water which flows in from without, pure water cannot rise from within, just as religious knowledge, which bursts out from within the heart, will not be acquired until the gates of the heart are freed from all that comes from without" [32].

As is evident from the excerpt, al-Ghazālī employs the same two words, likening the heart to a reservoir consisting both of pure, ground water from the reservoir itself and of water brought in from without by the five senses.

If one accepts that the exercise proposed by al-Ghijduwānī must be considered as a metaphor, it can be interpreted as follows: the disciple enters into the heart-reservoir and immerses himself fully in its water, which belongs to the heart itself, thus shutting off all outer senses, and pronounces the formula of *dhikr* with the heart. Holding the breath is necessary in order to wholly concentrate attention on the heart itself. Apparently, the same effect is achieved by the mental calculation of the number of repetitions of *dhikr* while pronouncing them, a practice introduced by Naqshband and defined as consciousness of number — *wuqūf-i 'adaḍī* [33].

Since it is possible that al-Ghijduwānī only transmitted a tradition of spiritual-religious life from Abū Ya'qūb al-Hamadānī, one can conjecture that this exercise was suggested to the former during the period of his instruction by the latter, and not earlier.

We can find unreferenced borrowings from al-Ghazālī's *Kīmīyā* can be found in works by later Naqshbandiyya-Khwājagān *shaykhs*, for example, in Muḥammad Pārsā (1345—1420), in his *Risāla-yi qudsiyya* ("Treatise on Holiness") [34]. For example, listed below are several passages on the mention of God, borrowed from the *Kīmīyā* practically without alteration by Pārsā, therefore, they are given here without translation or commentary.



*Risala-yi qudsiyya* [35]

ذکر بر وی مستولی گردد و در دل متمکن شود و معنی کلمه توحید آن معنی که در آن حرف نبود و عربی و فارسی نباشد در دل غالب آید <...> چون زمین دل از خار و وسوس دنیا خالی گردد و تخم ذکر درو و دینت نهاد اکنون هیچ نمائد که باختیار تعلی دارد اختیار تا اینجا بود پس بعد از آن منتظر میباشد تا چه پیدا آید و غالب آن بود که این تخم ضایع نمائد که من کان یزید حرت الاخرة نزوله فی حرتہ <...> و اینجا بود که صورت ملکوت بر وی روشن گردد و ارواح انبیا و اولیاء و جواهر ملائک علیهم الصلوات و التسلیمات و علی الهم اجمعین بصورتهای نیکو نمودن گیرد <...> هر کس را چیزی دیگر پیش آید و درین گرفتن فایده نیست این راه رفتن است نه راه گرفتن

*Kīmīyā* [36]

معنی این کلمه بر دل غالب شود آن معنی که در آن حرف در دل متمکن و مستولی شود <...> نبود و تازی و فارسی نبود که گرفتن بدل هم حدیث بود ... پس آن معنی باید که چون دل از خار و وسوس دنیا خالی گردد و این تخم بنهاد هیچ چیز نمائد که باختیار تعلی دارد اختیار تا اینجا بود بعد ازین منتظر باشند تا چه رود و چه پیدا آید و غالب آن بود که این تخم ضایع نشود که حق تعالی می فرماید من کان یزید حرت الاخرة نزوله فی حرتہ <...> لیکن جواهر ملائک و ارواح انبیا علیهم السلام او را بصورتهای نیکو نمودن گیرد ... در گرفتن آن فایده نبود که این راه رفتن است نه راه گرفتن و هر کس را چیزی دیگر پیش آید

Thus, even these parallels provided allow us to suggest that by the time of the Khwājagān school's emergence, Muslim mystics already possessed principles of spiritual-religious life analogous to those which were later formulated by al-Ghijduwānī for his numerous Persian-language followers.

Further, there is a view that the *Kīmīyā* is but an abridged Persian version of al-Ghazālī's *Ihyā' 'ulūm al-dīn*. This view seems to arose first at the end of the nineteenth century in the description of one of the earliest full copies of the work, stored in the British Museum [37] and dated to 672/1274. Despite the presence of English and German translations of the work [38], from that time until the present this view has made its way from one catalogue to another [39], appearing even in serious researchs [40]. The reason is probably that al-Ghazālī's works have been studied and continue to be studied mainly by Arabists who consider the existence of an abridged translation of the *Ihyā' 'ulūm al-dīn* into Persian quite natural. On the other hand, one must take into account that translations of the *Kīmīyā-yi sa'ādat* into, say, English, were undertaken not from the original Persian but from translations into Turkish [41] and Urdu [42]. Besides, Claud Field's English translation is so abridged in comparison with the Persian original, constituting as little as a third of its original size [43], that it hardly provides an adequate sense of the work's contents, although it may be "ideally suited for educational purposes" [44]. True, in the second edition of the translation, a new foreword prepared by Elton L. Daniel appeared. It is significantly expanded with a brief biography of al-Ghazālī, a description of the historical, religious, and intellectual situation during his lifetime (including his influence and significance for the Islamic world), a short analysis of certain questions connected with the *Kīmīyā*, and a good bibliography dealing with al-Ghazālī's works.

As concerns H. Ritter's German translation, one must take into account that it contains a translation only of the first *'unwān* and one short chapter from the second *rukn*. The rest consists of the text of the *Ihyā' 'ulūm al-dīn* abridged by Ritter himself, or as he put it himself: "Der erste Teil *Von der Selbsterkenntnis* ist eine wortliche Übersetzung der ersten 'Eingangs' ('unwān) des *Kimija as-sa'adat*... Das Kapitel über die *Freundschaft und Bruderschaft in Gott* folgt dem arabischen Text der *Ihya*, das Kapitel über die Pflichten gegen Muslimen, Nachbarn, Verwandte und Sklaven wieder ganz dem *Kimija*, der Rest wieder dem arabischen Text. In der *Ihya* entnommenen Stücken sind einzelne Teile, besonders die Belege aus Koran, Hadith und athar, nach dem Vorgangs des *Kimija gekürzt*" [45]. The second edition of Ritter's translation differs from the first in a new foreword prepared by Anne-Marie Shimmel [46].

In other words, in Europe there are to this day no scholarly translations of the *Kīmīyā* despite the numerous full editions of the text which have lately appeared in Iran and the presence of the work's copies in all of the major European manuscript collections. In essence, the contents of the work remain little known to scholars. Otherwise, it is difficult to explain the fact that chronologists of al-Ghazālī's works until recently erroneously considered that one of his Arabic-language works, the *Mishkāt al-anwār wa-misfāt al-asrār* ("The Niche for Light and Filter for Secrets") was written after the *Kīmīyā*, in 1106/07 [47], although the text of the *Kīmīyā* contains a direct reference to the *Mishkāt al-anwār* [48]. Some researchers, for example, D. B. Macdonald, considered the *Mishkāt al-anwār* to be al-Ghazālī's last work, locating the period of its composition "à la fin de sa vie" [49], i.e. to the time of the author's final return to Tūs (1109—1111), while M. W. Watt believed that "the citations leave a wide margin for the *Mishkāt* but its contents indicate a last date" [50]. The opinion of 'Abd al-Raḥīm is that al-Ghazālī compiled the work "between the year 503 and 505 of the Hijra (A. D. 1109/10—1111/12 — A. Kh.), that is after his last return to Tūs" [51]. Finally, sharing this view, Elton Daniel, in his foreword to the 1991 edition of Field's translation of the *Kīmīyā* asserts: "Since the *Mishkāt* is a very late work by Ghazzālī, it would appear that the *Alchimy* should be dated to the final years of Ghazzālī's life" [52], despite the fact that this does not agree with the already established chronology as set forth in the author's own references [53].

Although no one appears to have conducted any special work on a comparative analysis of the *Kīmīyā* and the *Ihyā' 'ulūm al-dīn*, several researchers on al-Ghazālī have recently made cautious comments on the "slightly altered" contents of the *rukns* of the *Kīmīyā* in comparison with the *Ihyā' 'ulūm al-dīn* [54]. Some remarks point to "certain" or even extremely "significant differences". According to Watt, "there are some differences which have not been fully investigated" [55], while Elton Daniel says that "there are... some significant differences between the two works" [56].

As for Iranian scholars, the overwhelming majority of them do not even raise the issue of an abridged version of the *Ihyā' 'ulūm al-dīn* into Persian under the title *Kīmīyā-yi sa'ādat*. They consider it self-evident that these are two independent works with certain similarities in chapter titles and structure. Here, for example, is only one opinion: "*Kīmīyā-yi sa'ādat* is similar to *Ihyā' 'ulūm*, both are composed along the same pattern and scheme. However, each supplements the other. In particular, the *Kīmīyā-yi sa'ādat*, which Ḥujjat al-Islām (i.e. al-Ghazālī — A. Kh.) wrote in Persian, is probably more important from the point of view of Persian-language people" [57].

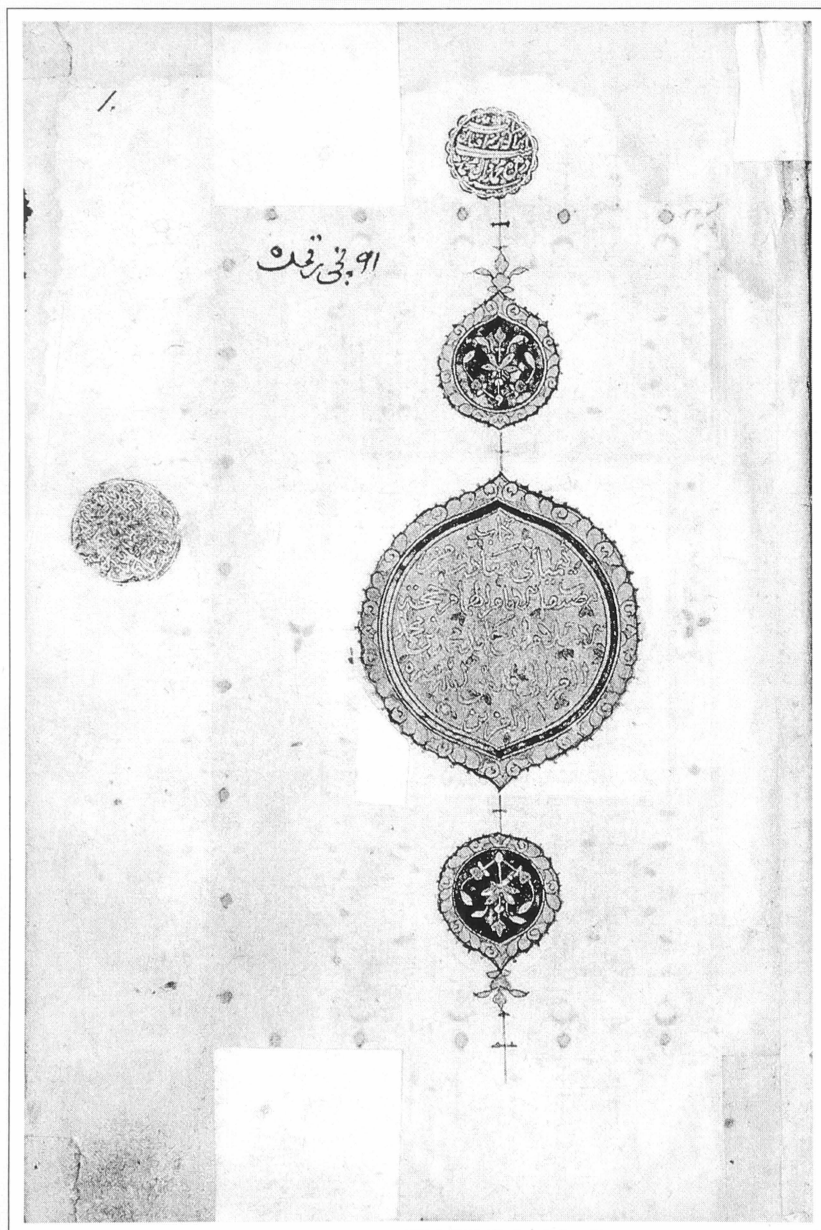


Fig. 4

It is really difficult to imagine that as an adult already well-known in the Muslim world, al-Ghazālī undertook to “repeat” what he had already written, even in abridged form and in a different language. It is true that the subject matter of the *Kīmīyā* in some ways overlaps with the questions treated in the *Ihyā*. But this is not surprising, as both works treat theological, philosophical, and Ṣūfī questions. At times, the author makes references to the *Ihyā* [58]. This is not, however, a reason to consider the *Kīmīyā* an abridgment of the *Ihyā* ‘*ulūm al-dīn*. After all, contemporary authors who refer a reader to their own works for further details in no wise consider their later creations to be a “brief reworking” of what they wrote earlier on the same topic. Al-Ghazālī himself points to a difference between the two works: “We spoke about this in more detail in the book *Dhikr al-mawt* (“Comments on Death”) from the book *Ihyā*. Here we limit ourselves (*iqṭisār*) to an explication of the truth of death, and focus attention (*ishārat*) on...” [59]; or also “anyone who wants to learn in detail about physical torment should consult the *Ihyā*, while anyone who wishes to learn of spiritual torment should consult the ‘*unwāns* of this book ...” [60].

Regarding the wide-spread opinion that *Kīmīyā-yi sa'ādāt* is an “abridged” version, or “translation”, into Persian of the *Ihyā* ‘*ulūm al-dīn*, it is appropriate here to cite some figures. The approximate ratio of characters in eponymous *rub*’s of the *Ihyā* and *rukns* of the *Kīmīyā* is as follows: for the first *rub* — 1:5.6; for the second — 1:2.9; for the third — 1:3.2; for the fourth — 1:3.8. Thus, in comparison with the *rub*’s, the *rukns* are “abridged” by an average factor of 3.9. If we take into account the volume of the four ‘*unwāns*, the basic ratio will be slightly less, approximately 1:3.6. In other words, assuming that al-Ghazālī set himself the task of translating into Persian the contents of the *Ihyā* ‘*ulūm al-dīn*, one must admit that this resulted in a foreign-language summary with theses in which less than one third of the basic work was retained. A quick glance suffices to espy the difference between the two

works, a difference which goes beyond the “brevity” of the *Kīmīyā*. Writing in Persian, it must have cost al-Ghazālī, who knew Arabic well and wrote in it his entire life, no little effort to restructure to some degree his conceptual apparatus and express for the first time on paper his ideas in a language which had hardly been used for this purpose before. To speak and to write are different things, especially when complex philosophical concepts and ideas are at issue.

This is what the author himself says about the “Alchemy of Happiness”:

“In this book ... we will give explications for speakers of Persian, refraining from long and unclear expressions, from difficult and abstruse content, in order to make it accessible. If someone wishes to undertake research and to refine what is discussed here, he should consult books (my emphasis — *A. Kh.*) in Arabic such as the books *Ihyā* ‘*ulūm al-dīn*, *Jawāhir al-Qur’ān* (“Gems of the Qur’ān”), and other works of similar content written in Arabic, as the aim of this book is to be understood by simple people (*‘awām-i khalq*) ...” [61].

Moreover, in the *Kīmīyā*, the author refers readers to such his works as *Ma’āni asmā-yi Allāh* (“On the Meaning of the Divine Names”), which in the Arabic bears the title *al-Maqṣad al-isnā fī asmā’ Allāh al-ḥusna* [62], *Mishkāt al-anwār wa-misfat al-asrār* (“The Niche for Light and Filter for Secrets”) [63], *Bidāyat al-hidāya* (“Setting out on the True Path”) [64], and books on logic [65] and *fiqh* [66]. Furthermore, in all four *rukns* one encounters references to the ‘*unwāns* located at the beginning of the work and lacking in the *Ihyā* ‘*ulūm al-dīn*. This testifies to the cohesion of the work’s conception and its independence from the *Ihyā*.

As another argument, one can pinpoint the author’s own comments on the aims of the *Ihyā* ‘*ulūm al-dīn* and the *Kīmīyā-yi sa'ādāt*:

## Text

### *Ihyā* [67]

المقصود من هذا الكتاب علم المعاملة فقط دون علم المكاشفة التي لا رخصة في ابداعها الكتاب وان كانت هي غاية مقصد الطالبين و مطمح نظر الصديقيين و علم المعاملة طريق اليه

### *Kīmīyā* [68]

اما علم مكاشفه آنست كه خدايتعالى را و صفات او و ملائكه و رسل اورا بشناسد و علم معامله آنست كه درين كتاب گفته ايم كه عقبات راه دين است چنانكه در ركن مهلكات گفتيم و زاد راه چنانكه در ركن عبادات و معاملات است و منازل راه چنانكه در ركن منجيات است ...

ازان جمله معلوم شد كه سعادت آدمى در شناخت حق تعالى است و در بندگى او و اصل شناخت بمعرفت آن چهار عنوان حاصل شد و بندگى باين چهار ركن حاصل ايد

## Translation

### *Ihyā*

What is sought after in this book is only the science of conduct, without the science of revelation, which would be impermissible to include in this book, for the latter represents the final goal of seekers and the desired object of the sincere gaze. The path to it lies through the science of conduct.

### *Kīmīyā*

As concerns the science of revelation, it is knowledge of the most High, His qualities, angels, and His messengers. The science of conduct forms the subject matter for this book: those obstacles on the religious path of which we spoke in the *rukn* “harmful things”; the amount traveled discussed in the *rukns* “religious observance” and “conduct”; the stages of the path discussed in the *rukns* “things which save” ...

Thus, it has become clear that human happiness resides in the knowledge of the Most High and in obedience to Him. The bases of [this] knowledge were acquired with the mystical knowledge of the four ‘*unwāns*. And obedience will be acquired with the four *rukns*.

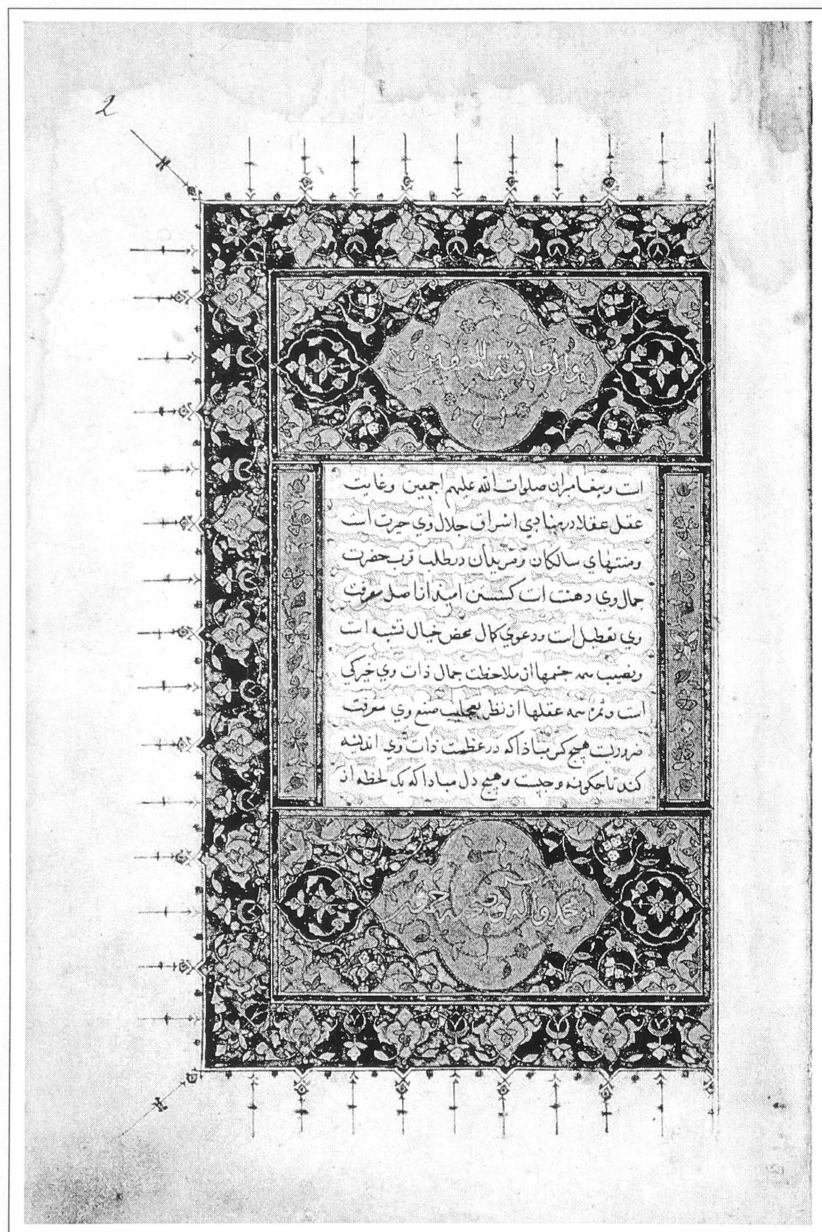


Fig. 5

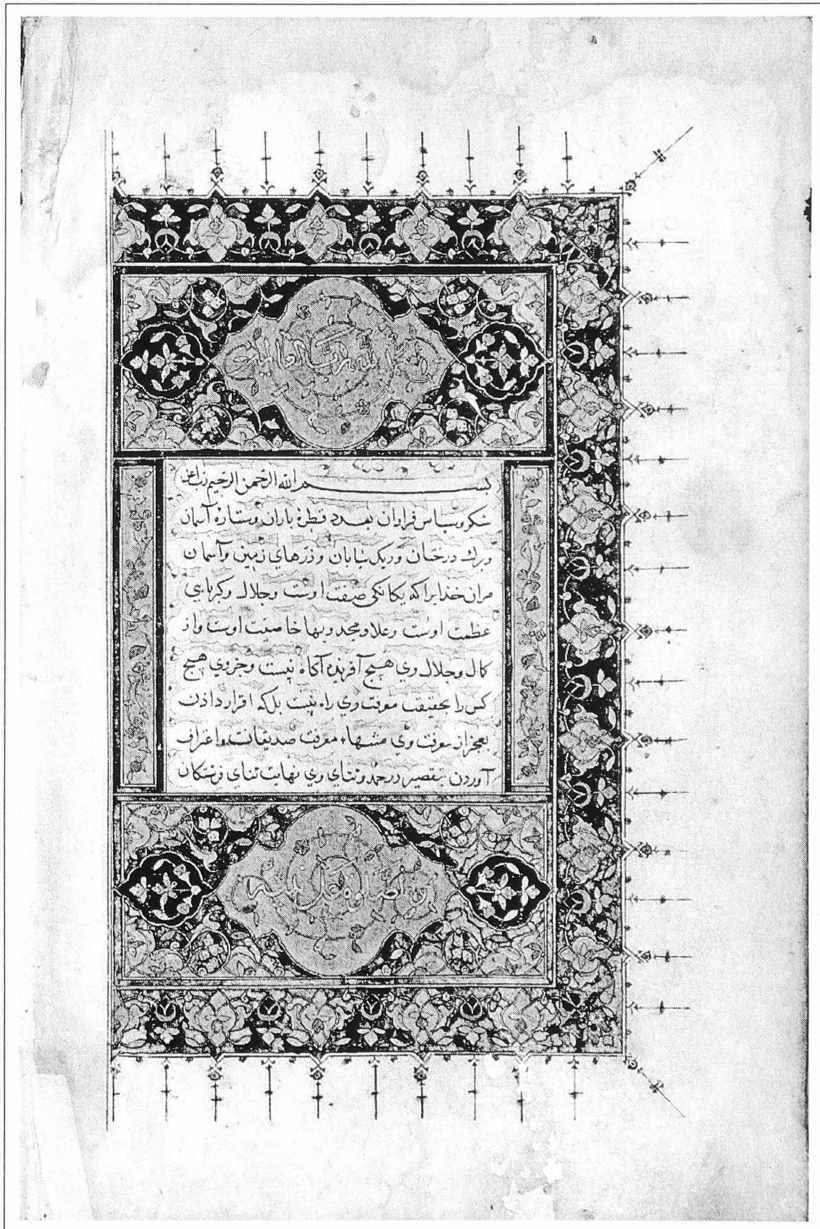


Fig. 6



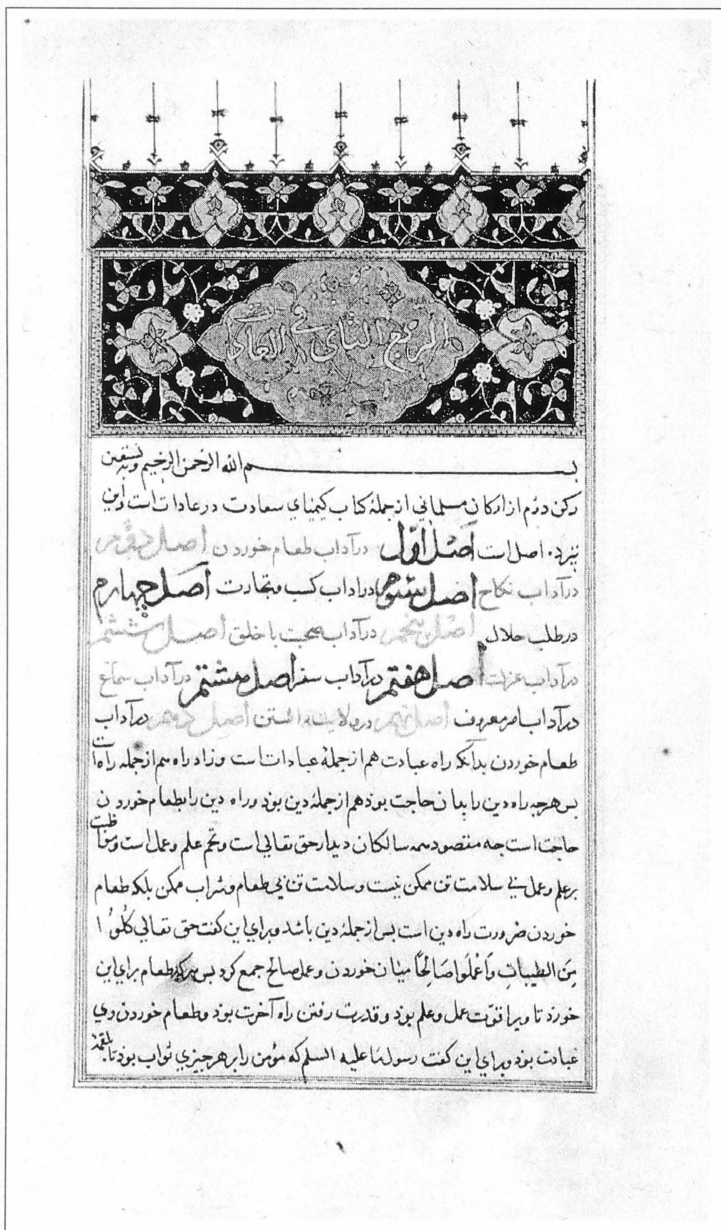


Fig. 7

As the citations show, in the *Ihyā'* 'ulūm al-dīn al-Ghazālī does not set himself the task of presenting the science of revelation ('ilm al-mukāshafa), saying that the path to it lies through the science of conduct ('ilm al-mu'āmalā), to which he dedicates his work. In the *Kīmiyā*, he says that the science of revelation is the "knowledge of the Most High, His qualities, angels, and His messengers... the bases of [this] knowledge were acquired with the mystical knowledge (*ma'rifat*) of the four 'unwāns ...". That is, the exposition was structured so that first the 'unwāns treat the science of revelation, while the *rukns* concern the science of conduct. Consequently, the science of conduct is perceived differently, through the prism of mystical knowledge, or the science of revelation. In other words, knowledge of God initially points to a different understanding of the observation of religious duties and the behavioral norms required by Islam and described in the *rukns*. Hence, the title contains the word of Greek origin, *kīmiyā*, which in the middle ages signified the transmutation or transformation of an ordinary substance into something of great value. This is the meaning with which it entered the Persian language [69]. The author himself states a preference for the word *kīmiyā* he employs in the title and explains his understanding of it:

"Inasmuch as the essence of man at the beginning of his formation (*āfarīnīsh*) is imperfect and base, it is impossible to bring it from imperfection to perfect stages without inner struggle (*mujāhadat*) and healing. Just as it is difficult to effect the transmutation (*kīmiyā*) which brings copper and brass to pure, unalloyed gold — and this [art] is not known to all, it is difficult to effect the transmutation of human nature, which belongs to the base animals, into the purity and refinement of the angels in order to obtain eternal happiness, and this [art] is not known to all. The aim of this book's creation is to explain the [four?] components [necessary] for this transmutation (*akhlāt īn kīmiyā*), which, in truth, is the elixir of eternal happiness. Having precisely this in mind, we entitled this work *Kīmiyā-yi sa'ādāt*. The noun *kīmiyā* in the title is preferable, as the difference between copper and gold consists of no more than yellowness and hardness, and the fruit of the transmutation is no more than earthly well-being. How much time is allotted to mere earth and what exactly are earthly goods? And the difference between animal and angelic qualities is as between the lowest of the low and the highest of the high. Its fruit is human happiness which knows no end and the enjoyments of which are boundless. Thus, the noun *kīmiyā* would be borrowed and unworthy (*āriyat-ast wa saẓāwār nīst*) except for [the designation of] this book" [70].

Finally, one should note the fundamental differences in the compositional structures of the two works. The *Ihyā'* 'ulūm al-dīn is divided into four quarters (*rub*'s), each of which in turn contains ten books (*kitābs*). Nearly all of the books open with an introduction revealing the theme in the form of an apparently original matrix text. It begins with a glorification of Allah, goes on to reveal the concepts introduced, and closes with a glorification of the Prophet. In the *Kīmiyā*, a similarly structured text is explicitly found only at the start of the work and is lacking in eponymous *rukns* and *aṣls* (see below).

It is clear from the preceding that there is no mention of a Persian translation of some concrete Arabic work by al-Ghazālī. It is an independent book written in Persian in an accessible manner to ease the understanding of many com-

plex philosophical and theological questions treated by the author in his numerous works written in Arabic. Nonetheless, the text is distinguished by the impressive logic in making conclusions and deductions, which is characteristic of al-Ghazālī's style of composition.

Structurally, the *Kīmiyā* is divided into eight chapters, four of which have traditionally been viewed in the scholarly literature as a preface. Absent in the *Ihyā'* 'ulūm al-dīn, they are found at the beginning of the work and are titled by al-Ghazālī 'unwāns [71]. These are "On self-knowledge" (*Dar shinākhtan-i khūyish*) (fols. 4b—19a), "On the knowledge of the Most High" (*Dar shinākhtan-i Haqq-i Subḥāna wa ta'āla*) (fols. 19a—29a), "On the mystical knowledge of the world" (*Dar ma'rifat-i dunyā*) (fols. 29a—33a), and "On the mystical knowledge of life beyond the grave" (*Dar ma'rifat-i ākhirat*) (fols. 33a—48b). They are followed by four chapters entitled *rukns* ("pillars") by the author. Their titles coincide with the titles of the four *rub*'s ("quarters") found in the *Ihyā'* 'ulūm al-dīn, which seems to have misled those viewing the *Kīmiyā* a Persian translation of the *Ihyā'*. Two of these *rub*'s deal with the outward observance of religious commandments and performance from the point of view of the *sharī'a*: 'ibādāt ("religious observances") (fols. 49a—102a) and *mu'āmalāt* ("conduct") (fols. 102b—205a). The other two cover the inner spiritual qualities which a true believer must possess — *mahlukāt* ("that which brings ruin") (fols. 205b—315a) and *munjīyāt* ("that which brings salvation") (fols. 315b—441a). The smallest division of text in all eight chapters is the section (*faṣl*). It is the only division of text found in the first four, while the remaining chapters contain larger subdivisions of the text: *rukn* — *aṣl* (basis) — *bāb* (part) — *faṣl*. Each of the four *rukns* contains ten *aṣls*.

A more detailed analysis of the structure of the *Kīmiyā* reveals that the author did not see the four 'unwāns as a kind of prelude to the *rukns*. Using the term 'unwān, al-Ghazālī had in mind the word's broader range of meanings. The use of the word in the following combinations: *ma'rifat-i 'unwān-i musalmānī*; *nikū-yi zāhir 'unwān-i nikū-yi bāṭin ast*; *amma 'unwān-i ān 'ilmhā ān ast ki*; 'unwān-i musalmānī [72] gives one grounds to interpret it as "indicator", "possessive marker", "symbol" or "upper part", "peak". The phrases then read "mystical knowledge indicating submission to God", "outer beauty indicates inner beauty", "however, the mark of belonging to that sciences is...", "indicator of humility before God" respectively. The correctness of this interpretation is confirmed by the translation of the word 'unwān given in the brief glossary to a copy of al-Ghazālī's work dated to 1111/1699, where the compiler interprets it as follows: "'Unwān with *ḍamma* and *kasra*; introduction to the book; the beginning of something; that from which something comes from; that from which something becomes comprehensible and grasped" [73].

The interpretation of 'unwān offered here in many ways determines our understanding of the composite structure of the text. As was noted above, the beginning of the *Kīmiyā* is characterized by a structure which formally resembles a matrix one and which appears to determine the rest of the exposition. In the *Ihyā'* 'ulūm al-dīn, however, such texts precede nearly all of the 40 books. This organization of the text — the essence of the given theme — is typical of especially significant sections, where an ordinary linear exposition is no longer capable of reflecting the full depth or all

aspects of the author's thought. Matrix texts form a certain variety of independent syntactic unit and are based on parallelisms organised along grammatical, semantic and phonetic lines — syntagms. The size of a matrix text is determined by the interplay of textual segments which stand far apart from one another in linear exposition. To achieve this, the subject under discussion is ideally (i) subdivided by the author into a series of identically structured acts (states) (ii) which consist of syntagms equal in number, (iii) linked by parallelisms, and (iv) characterized by the same gradation (ascending, descending, etc.) [74]. By juxtaposing such segments according to the number of syntagms in each act (horizontally) and according to the number of acts themselves (vertically), one arrives at a table or matrix in which the ratio of first and second numbers usually corresponds to the ratio of sacred numbers typical of the author's cultural milieu.

In all likelihood, the basic task of a matrix text is the sacralization of consciousness during reading, the establishment of a certain rhythm. Moreover, one can surmise

that a "familiarity with matrix structures encouraged in attentive readers the ability to think and make decisions" [75].

Such texts are round in various cultural traditions: Christian, Vedic, Buddhist, Daoist, etc. [76]. In Muslim culture, texts functionally equivalent to matrices are known in Šūfi ritual practice as *khatm* [77]. However, outside this ritual practice, in the written tradition, they have not yet received sufficient study. Therefore, the question of how widely and purposefully they were employed remains open.

An example of a matrix structure in al-Ghazālī's *ḥyā' 'ulūm al-dīn* is for example found at the beginning of the fortieth chapter entitled "On the mention of death" [78]. The excerpt cited below (see Table 7) has very clear boundaries, beginning with the words in praise of Allah and ending with the words *wa-thumma* ("and then"). It is followed by a different segment (not cited here) of rhythmically organized text up to the traditional *ammā ba'd* ("and then"). In Table 7, key elements in the segment's rhythmic organization are highlighted in cursive (in the original) and in boldface (in the translation where possible).

Table 7

١	٢	٣
الحمد لله الذى قصم بالموت رقاب الجبابرة	و كسر به ظهور الأكاسرة	و قصر به آمال القياصرة
الذين لم تزل قلوبهم عن ذكر الموت نافرة	حتى جاء هم الوعد الحق	فأرداهم فى الحافرة
فنقلوا من القصور الى القبور	و من ضياء المهود الى ظلمة اللحد	و من ملاعبة الجوارى والغلمان الى مقاساة الهوام والبيدان
و من التعم بالطعام والشراب الى الصرع فى التراب	و من انس العشرة الى وحشة الوحدة	و من المضجع الوثير الى المصراع الويل
فانظر هل وجدوا من الموت حصناً و عزاً	و اتخذوا من دونه حجاباً و حرزاً	و انظر هل تحس منهم من أحد أو تسمع لهم ركزاً
فسيبحان من انفرد بالقهر و الاستيلاء	و استأثر باستحقاق البقاء	و أنزل اصناف الخلق بما كتب عليهم من الغناء

#### Actions of Allah (1—3)

الحمد لله الذى قصم بالموت رقاب الجبابرة  
و كسر به ظهور الأكاسرة  
و قصر به آمال القياصرة

#### Disclosure of actions (4—6)

الذين لم تزل قلوبهم عن ذكر الموت نافرة  
حتى جاء هم الوعد الحق  
فأرداهم فى الحافرة

#### Change of location (7—9)

فنقلوا من القصور الى القبور  
و من ضياء المهود الى ظلمة اللحد  
و من ملاعبة الجوارى والغلمان الى مقاساة الهوام والبيدان

#### Change of state (10—12)

و من التعم بالطعام والشراب الى الصرع فى التراب  
و من انس العشرة الى وحشة الوحدة  
و من المضجع الوثير الى المصراع الويل

#### Result (13—15)

فانظر هل وجدوا من الموت حصناً و عزاً  
و اتخذوا من دونه حجاباً و حرزاً  
و انظر هل تحس منهم من أحد أو تسمع لهم ركزاً

#### Oneness of the subject of action (16—18)

فسيبحان من انفرد بالقهر و الاستيلاء  
و استأثر باستحقاق البقاء  
و أنزل اصناف الخلق بما كتب عليهم من الغناء

#### Translation

<sup>1</sup>Praise be unto Allah, who snapped by **death** the necks of the tyrants, <sup>2</sup>and broke by **it** the backs of the *khusraws*, <sup>3</sup>and limited by **it** the aspirations of the Caesars,

<sup>4</sup>Who, no sooner did **their** hearts cease to mention death abhorrent, <sup>5</sup>then the true promise came to **them** <sup>6</sup>and felled **them** instantly.

<sup>7</sup>And they were taken **from** palaces to graves, <sup>8</sup>and **from** the light of the cradles to the darkness of the burial places, <sup>9</sup>and **from** amusements with girls and young boys to the struggle against insects and worms.

<sup>10</sup>And **from** the enjoyment of food and drink to immersion in dust, <sup>11</sup>and **from** the joy of interaction to the dejection of loneliness, <sup>12</sup>and **from** a soft bed to a harsh defeat.

<sup>13</sup>And look, did they find **against** death any fortitude and strength, <sup>14</sup>and did they acquire **against** it any bar or amulet, <sup>15</sup>and look, will you feel any of them or hear from them any rustle?

<sup>16</sup>Praised be He who is alone in subjugating and conquering, <sup>17</sup>and became a Lord in [his] right to permanence, <sup>18</sup>and disdained the horde of creations in the transience which is their fate



The basic movement within each triad is from worldly life to physical death. Somewhat separate from this movement is the final part, which, by virtue of its exceptional and singular nature is the fulcrum of the passage. But even there "this world" is initially described in terms of its full subjugation to the Creator and finally in terms of the transitory nature of worldly things. Syntagm 9 also stands apart, as it relates to the next series (change of

state) and appears to be in the wrong place. By doing this, the author likely wished to stress the sinful life led by tyrants in general and by the Sassanian *khusraws* and Roman Caesars in particular. The latter are enumerated in the first line in the chronological order of Islam's victories over them. Thus, the excerpt can be expressed in the form of a table (see *Table 8*) which reflects the  $3 \times 6$  matrix structure of the text:

*Table 8*

1	2	3
4	5	6
7	8	
		9
10	11	
		12
13	14	15
16	17	18

1	2	3
4	5	6
7	8	9
10	11	12
13	14	15
16	17	18

For comparison and as an example of matrix structures in the Eastern Christian tradition, one can cite a "word-

weaving" composition by Cyprian (*ca.* 1336—1406), a senior contemporary of Epiphanius the Wise (?—1420):

#### Text

<sup>1</sup> *Исходит* убо от обители <sup>2</sup>и *объходит* округ места она пустынная, <sup>3</sup>и *обретает* место безмолвно на реце, нарицаемой Рата, <sup>4</sup>и ту жилища себе *въдружает*, <sup>5</sup>и труды многи *подемяет*, <sup>6</sup>и болезни к болезнем *прилагает*, <sup>7</sup>и поты *пролиет*. <sup>8</sup>И церковь *въздвизает* во имя спаса нашего Иисуса Христа, <sup>9</sup>и келии *въставляет* въ пребывание приходящей к нему братии (cited from [79]).

#### Translation

<sup>1</sup>For he **goes out** from the dwelling <sup>2</sup>and **walks around** the place, it is desolate, <sup>3</sup>and he **finds** a silent place on the river called Rata, <sup>4</sup>and here he **erects** for himself a place to live <sup>5</sup>and **undertakes** many labours <sup>6</sup>and **endures** hardship after hardship <sup>7</sup>and **sweats** mightily. <sup>8</sup>And he **sets up** a church in the name of our Saviour Jesus Christ <sup>9</sup>and **puts in** it cells for the accommodation of the brothers who come to him.

The analysis of the text conducted by D. L. Spivak reveals its matrix structure, which fits into a  $3 \times 3$  table. Segment 4 is followed by a triad (5—7) which belongs to a dif-

ferent semantic category — "personal efforts". After this come syntagms 8 and 9, which relate to syntagm 4, as is evident from the following *Table 9* [80]:

*Table 9*

Search for a place	1	2	3
Building	4		
Personal efforts	5	6	7
Building		8	9

The text of al-Ghazālī's *Kīmiyā-yi sa'adat* reveals similar structure features in the section opening the entire text. It is evident both from the original and from the translation (see *Table 10* below) that the text is divided into paired,

or binary, syntagms. Each pair is anchored by a structure which, in the majority of cases, consists of a preposition and the copula. Here is the text organised in the form of a table:

Table 10

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم		رب اعن	
1	(a) شکر و سپاس فراوان بعدد	قطره باران و ستاره آسمان	
	(b) و برگ درختان و ریگ بیابان		
	(c) و ذره‌های زمین و آسمان		
2	(d) مران خدا را که	پگانگی	صفت او ست
	(e) و جلال و کبریائی	عظمت او ست	
	(f) و علا و مجد و بها	خاصیت او ست	
3	از کمال و جلال وی	هیچ آفریده	آگاه نیست
4	جز وی هیچ کس را	بحقیقت معرفت وی	راه نیست
	بلکه		
5	اقرار دادن بعجز از	معرفت وی	مشاء معرفت صدیقان است
6	اعتراف آوردن بتقصیر در	حمد و ثنای وی	نهایت ثنای فرشتگان (و پیغامبران) است
	صلوات الله عليهم اجمعین		
7	غایت عقل عقلا در	مبادی اشراق جلال وی	حیرت است
8	منتهای ساخکان و مریدان در	طلب قرب حضرت جمال وی	دهشت است
9	گسستن امید از	اصل معرفت وی	تعطیل است
10	دعوی کمال محض	خیال	تشبه است
11	نصب همه چشمها از	ملاحظت جمال ذات وی	خیرگی است
12	نمره همه عقلها از	نظر بعجایب صنع وی	معرفت ضروری است
13	هیچ کس مبادا که در	عظمت ذات وی	اندیشه کند
	تا	چگونه و چه	ست
14	هیچ دل مبادا که یک لحظه از	عجایب صنع وی	غافل ماند
	تا	هستی وی	بچسب و بکی ست
15	(a) تا بضرورت آدمی بشناسد که	همه	آثار قدرت او ست
	(b)	همه	بدایع و غرائب حکمت او ست
	(c)	همه	پرتو جمال حضرت او ست
16	(d)	همه	ازو ست
	(e)	همه	بدو ست
	(f) بلکه		
		همه	خود او ست
17	که هیچ چیز را جز وی	هستی بحقیقت	نیست
	بلکه		
18	هستی همه چیزها	پرتو نور هستی او	ست

## Translation

In the name of Allah, the Merciful, the Compassionate, Ruler of the worlds!

<sup>1a)</sup> Great gratitude and gratefulness to the **multitude** of drops of rain and stars in the heavens, <sup>b)</sup> the leaves of the trees and the grains of sand in the deserts, <sup>c)</sup> the specks of dust of the earth and sky. <sup>2d)</sup> To that Lord, the **oneness** of whom is His quality, <sup>e)</sup> the glory and greatness, His magnificence, and <sup>9)</sup> excellence, majesty and sparkle, His special quality.

<sup>3)</sup> **Not one** creation can comprehend His perfection and glory. <sup>4)</sup> **No one** except Him can grasp the truth of His mystical knowledge.

<sup>5)</sup> However, the admission of powerlessness before His mystical knowledge is the awakening of the mystical knowledge of the righteous, <sup>6)</sup> and the admission of negligence in granting to Him praise and glory is the completion of praise by the angels and prophets [may Allah's blessings be upon them all].

<sup>7)</sup> The limit of reason of the intelligent is amazement in the sources of the blaze of His glory. <sup>8)</sup> The end for those who go along the path and for followers in the desire to draw close to His beauty is surprise.

<sup>9)</sup> To despair in the bases of His mystical knowledge is *ta'fil* (i.e. denial that the Creator possesses qualities — *A. Kh.*), <sup>10)</sup> just as to pretend to pure perfection in imagination is *tashbih* (i.e. the attribution of qualities to the Creator — *A. Kh.*).

<sup>11)</sup> The fate of **every** eye from the contemplation of His essence **will be** blindness. <sup>12)</sup> The fruit for **all** reason from the sight of the marvels of His creation **will be** the indispensable mystical knowledge.

<sup>13)</sup> **May God forbid** that in relation to the greatness of His essence one should wonder of what type it is or what it is.

<sup>14)</sup> **May God forbid** that any heart in relation to the marvels of His creation for a moment become careless about with what and with whom is linked its being.

<sup>15)</sup> It is imperative for a person to know that <sup>a)</sup> **everything** is the doing of His might, <sup>b)</sup> **everything** is the marvel and unusualness of His wisdom, <sup>c)</sup> **everything** is the radiance of His grand presence. <sup>16d)</sup> **Everything** stems from Him, <sup>e)</sup> **everything** goes back to Him, <sup>9)</sup> but **everything** is He Himself.

<sup>17)</sup> **Nothing** has true being except for Him, <sup>18)</sup> but the being of **all** which exists is the radiance of His being.

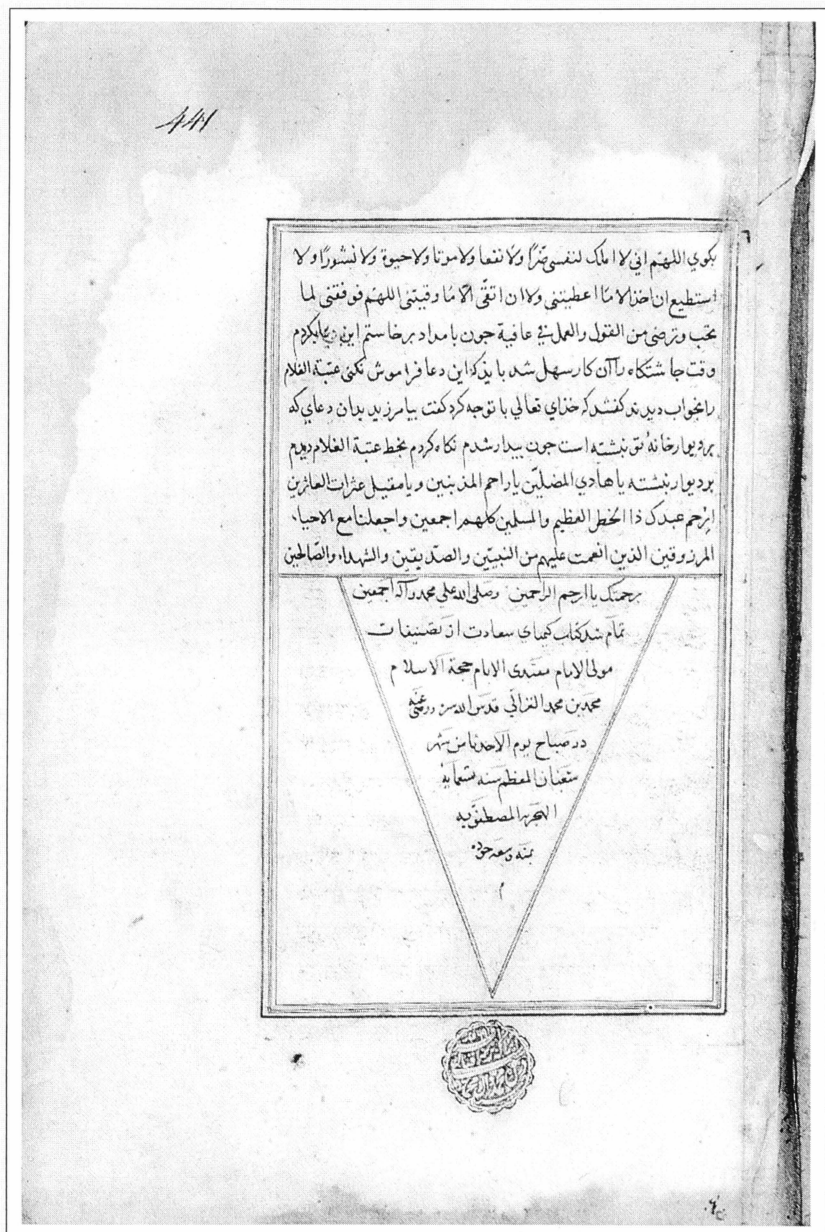


Fig. 8

The first triad (1—2)(3—4)(5—6) is structured in a somewhat unusual way: gratitude to the variety of God's creations goes first, then praise to God's oneness and, finally assertion of his unknowability are given. The gradation within the triad moves from a description of action to the result of that action. The triad ends with a formulaic blessing, as though summing up the passage.

The next triad (7—8)(9—10)(11—12) describes the lot of those who attempt to know the Creator and his creations in two fashions: with reason and with the heart. We find the same movement here.

Finally, the last triad (13—14)(15—16)(17—18) describes that which one must know in relation to the being of the Creator and his creations. A more detailed analysis would await a separate study, but the text as presented here in general form can easily be expressed as a  $3 \times 3$  matrix.

To sum up, the *Kīmīyā-yi sa'ādat* is one of the first theological-philosophical, and Sūfī works written in Persian. It is also one of the most popular and best known (if not the most popular) works of such kind, at least within the Iranian ethno-linguistic region, that is, where the Khwājagān school and Naqshbandiyya brotherhood arose. We can state that the *Kīmīyā-yi sa'ādat* is not an abridged translation of the *Ihyā' 'ulūm al-dīn*, but an independent work. Further, it should be stressed that al-Ghazālī received his education from the same teachers as the *shaykh* who founded the Khwājagān school. Present in the *Kīmīyā*, in more or less fully formulated fashion, are principles analogous to the principles of spiritual-religious life espoused by the Naqshbandiyya-Khwājagān and one can find direct borrowings from it in the words of *shaykhs* from the Naqshbandiyya brotherhood.

### Notes

1. Ḥaqīqat 'Abd al-Raḥīf, *Ta'rīkh-i 'irfān wa 'arīfān-i Irānī az Bāyazīd Bisṭāmī ta Nūr 'Alī-Shāh-i Gunābadī* (History of Iranian Mysticism and Mystics from Bāyazīd-i Bisṭāmī ta Nūr 'Alī-Shāh-i Gunābadī) (Tehran, 1993), p. 412.
2. O. L. Vičevskii, "Novyi istochnik dlia kharakteristiki mirovozzreniia gorodskogo naseleniia Irana v X—XI vekakh" ("A new source for describing the world-outlook of the urban population of Iran in the tenth—eleventh centuries"), in *Sovetskoe vostokovedenie* (Moscow, 1955), pp. 95—103.
3. Abū Ḥamid Muḥammad al-Ghazālī, *Kīmīyā-yi sa'ādat* (The Alchemy of Happiness), ed. Husayn-i Khadīwjm (Tehran, 1996), *ṣafḥa-yi sī-wa-nuh* (= p. 39).
4. G. F. Hourani, "The chronology of Ghazali's writings", *JAOS*, 79/4 (1959), pp. 225—33.
5. G. Makdisi, "Muslim institutions of learning in eleventh-century Baghdad", *BSOAS*, XXIV, pt. 1 (London, 1961), pp. 40—1; G. E. von Grunebaum, *Klassisches islam. Ocherk istorii (600—1258)* (Classical Islam. Essay on History (600—1258)), Russian translation from the English (Moscow, 1988), p. 146; Ḥaqīqat 'Abd al-Raḥīf, *Ta'rīkh-i 'irfān wa 'arīfān-i Irānī az Bāyazīd Bisṭāmī ta Nūr 'Alī-Shāh-i Gunābadī*, p. 416.
6. Ḥaqīqat 'Abd al-Raḥīf, *Ta'rīkh-i 'irfān wa 'arīfān-i Irānī az Bāyazīd Bisṭāmī ta Nūr 'Alī-Shāh-i Gunābadī*, p. 410.
7. *Persidskie i tadzhikskie rukopisi Gosudarstvennoi Publichnoi biblioteki im. M. E. Saltykova-Shchedrina* (Persian and Tadjik Manuscripts of the M. E. Saltykov-Shchedrin State Public Library), pt. 2 (Leningrad, 1989), pp. 134—5.
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9. *Fihrist al-makhtūṭāt al-Fārsiyyat. A Title Catalogue of Persian Manuscripts in the National Library till 1963* (Cairo, 1967), ii, pp. 77—9.
10. H. Ethé, *Catalogue of the Persian Manuscripts in the Library of the India Office* (Oxford, 1903), i, pp. 975—8.
11. Ch. Rieu, *Catalogue of the Persian Manuscripts in the British Museum* (London, 1879), i, pp. 36—38.
12. Wā'iz Kāshifī, *Rashahāt 'ayn al-ḥayāt* (Drops from the Well-Spring of Eternal Life) (Lucknow, 1897). Henceforth cited as Kāshifī, 1897.
13. I employed here the text of the work, as presented in another manuscript in the collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies: Abū Ḥamid Muḥammad al-Ghazālī, *Kīmīyā-yi sa'ādat* (The Alchemy of Happiness), manuscript B 928 (transcribed in Herat in 1495) in the collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, fol. 376a. Henceforth cited as MS B 928.
14. MS B 928, fol. 376 b.
15. Kāshifī, 1897, p. 21.
16. MS B 928, fol. 376 b.
17. Abū Ḥamid Muḥammad al-Ghazālī, *Kīmīyā-yi sa'ādat* (The Alchemy of Happiness) (Bombay, 1904), p. 364. Henceforth cited as al-Ghazālī, 1904.
18. MS B 928, fol. 376 b.
19. Kāshifī, 1897, p. 23.
20. MS B 928, fols. 377a—378 b.
21. Kāshifī, 1897, p. 25.
22. MS B 928, fols. 378 b—379 a.
23. Kāshifī, 1897, p. 26.
24. MS B 928, fol. 380 a.
25. Kāshifī, 1897, p. 22.
26. MS B 928, fol. 46a.
27. Kāshifī, 1897, p. 22.
28. Abū Ḥamid Muḥammad al-Ghazālī, *Ihyā' 'ulūm al-dīn* (Resurrection of the Sciences of the Faith) (Cairo, 1885).
29. Mīr Muṣayyib Mīrkhān Bukhārī, *Kitāb-i maqāmāt mashāyikh* (Book of the Degrees of Spiritual Perfection of the *Shaykhs*), manuscript 854 (transcribed in Bukhara in 1863/64) in the collection of the Oriental faculty of the St. Petersburg State University, fols. 45b—46a; Kāshifī, 1897, p. 6; M. Bouyges, M. Allard, "Essai de chronologie des oeuvres de al-Ghazali", *Recherches*, XIV (Beyrouth, 1959), p. 1; 'Abd al-Raḥīf, *Ta'rīkh-i 'irfān*, pp. 404, 423.
30. Kāshifī, 1897, p. 19.
31. Kāshifī, 1897, p. 27.

32. al-Ghazālī, 1495, fol. 14b.
33. A. A. Khismatulin, *Sūfīskaia ritual'naia praktika (na primere bratstva Nakshbandiia)* (The Sūfī Ritual Practice (the Naqsh-bandīya Brotherhood)) (St. Petersburg, 1996), pp. 73—104.
34. See Muḥammad Pārsā, "Risāla-yi qudsiyya" ("Epistle on holiness"), in *Maqāmāt-i Khwāja Naqshband* (Bukhara, 1910).
35. *Ibid.*, pp. 90—2.
36. al-Ghazālī, 1904, p. 208 (since I am citing the text of Pārsā from a lithograph edition of his work, I found it appropriate in this particular case to employ a lithograph edition of al-Ghazālī's writing).
37. Rieu, *op. cit.*, i, pp. 36—7. Add. 25,026.
38. *Alchemy of Happiness*, by Mohammed al-Ghazzali, the Mohammedan Philosopher, trans. by H. A. Homes (Albany—New York, 1873); *The Alchemy of Happiness*, by Abu Hamid Muhammad al-Ghazzali, trans. by Claud Field (London, 1910); *The Alchemy of Happiness*, by Abu Hamid Muhammad al-Ghazzali, trans. by Claud Field, revised and annotated by Elton L. Daniel (Armonk—New York—London, 1991); H. Ritter, *Das Alchemy der Glückseligkeit* (1923); H. Ritter, *Das Alchemy der Glückseligkeit* (Düsseldorf—Köln, 1989).
39. Ethé, *op. cit.*, p. 976; *Sobranie vostochnykh rukopisei Akademii nauk Uzbekskoi SSR* (Collection of Eastern Manuscripts in the Uzbek Academy of Sciences), ed. A. A. Semenov (Tashkent, 1952—1967), iii, p. 97; *Fihrist al-makhtūṭāt al-Fārsiyyāt*, ii, pp. 79 ff.
40. Ye. E. Bertel's, *Izbrannye trudy: sufism i sufiiskaia literatura* (Selected Works: Sūfism and the Sūfī Literature) (Moscow, 1965), pp. 42—3; I. P. Petrushevskii, *Islam v Irane v VII—XV vekakh* (Islam in Iran from the Seventh—Fifteenth Centuries) (Leningrad, 1966), p. 223; Abū Ḥamid al-Ghazālī. *Voskresenie nauk o vere (Ihyā' 'ulūm ad-dīn)*. *Izbrannye glavy*. (Abū Ḥamid al-Ghazālī. Resurrection of the Sciences of Faith. (*Ihyā' 'ulūm ad-dīn*). Selected Chapters), trans. from the Arabic, research, and commentary by V. V. Naumkin (Moscow, 1980), pp. 77 ff.
41. See *Alchemy of Happiness*, by Mohammed al-Ghazzali, the Mohammedan Philosopher, trans. by H. A. Homes.
42. *The Alchemy of Happiness*, by Abu Hamid Muhammad al-Ghazzali, trans. by Claud Field (London, 1910) and the 1991 impression of the translation.
43. See *The Alchemy of Happiness*, by Abu Hamid Muhammad al-Ghazzali, trans. by Claud Field, revised and annotated by Elton L. Daniel (Armonk—New York—London, 1991), p. XXXVIII.
44. See Alexander Knysh's review of *The Alchemy of Happiness*, by Abu Hamid Muhammad al-Ghazzali, trans. by Claud Field, revised and annotated by Elton L. Daniel, in *The Middle East Journal*, 47/1 (1993), p. 152.
45. Ritter, *Das Alchemy der Glückseligkeit* (1923), p. 3.
46. Ritter, *Das Alchemy der Glückseligkeit* (1989), pp. 6—10. I express my sincere gratitude to Prof. A. D. Knysh (University of Michigan) and Dr. L. Rhehak (Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin) for providing information on the latest English and German editions of the *Kīmīyā-yi sa'ādat*.
47. W. H. T. Gairdner, "Al-Ghazali's *Mishkāt al-anwar* and the Ghazali-problem", *Der Islam*, Bd. 5 (1914), pp. 121—53; Bouyges, Allard, "Essai de chronologie des oeuvres de al-Ghazali", pp. 65—6; 'Abd al-Rahmān Badawī, *Muallafāt al-Ghazālī*. *Les oeuvres d'al-Ghazālī* (Cairo, 1961), pp. 471—8.
48. al-Ghazālī, 1495, fol. 23b.
49. D. B. Macdonald, "al-Ghazālī", *Encyclopédie de l'Islam* (Leyde—Paris, s.a.), ii, p. 157a.
50. M. W. Watt, "al-Ghazālī", *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd edn. (Leiden—London, 19??), ii, p. 44.
51. 'Abd al-Rafī', *Ta'rikh-i 'irfān*, p. 413.
52. *The Alchemy of Happiness*, by Abu Hamid Muhammad al-Ghazzali, trans. by Claud Field, revised and annotated by Elton L. Daniel, p. XXXVII.
53. References to the *Kīmīyā-yi sa'ādat* are found in two works by al-Ghazali: *al-Mustasfā min 'ilm al-uṣūl* and *al-Munkidh min al-dīlāl*, see Badawī, *Muallafāt al-Ghazālī*. *Les oeuvres d'al-Ghazālī*, p. 216. The first indicates the time of the *Kīmīyā's* composition as before his return to teaching at the Nishāpūr Nizamiya, that is, before July 1106. Therefore, following G. F. Hourani, we can confidently state that the *Kīmīyā* was written by al-Ghazālī in Ṭūs before his return to Nishāpūr: "Thus *Kīmīyā* can be assigned with some confidence to the years at the *zawiya* at Tus, before the return to Nishāpūr", see Hourani, "The chronology of Ghazali's writings", p. 232.
54. For example, Mohamed Ahmed Sherif, *Ghazali's Theory of Virtue* (Albany, 1975), p. 159; *Muhammad al-Ghazzali's Lehre von den Stufen zur Gottesliebe: die Bücher 31—36 seines Hauptwerkes*, eingeleitet, übers. und kommentiert von R. Gramlich (Wiesbaden, 1984), p. 7.
55. Watt, "al-Ghazālī", p. 1041.
56. *The Alchemy of Happiness*, by Abu Hamid Muhammad al-Ghazzali, trans. by Claud Field, revised and annotated by Elton L. Daniel, pp. XXXVI—XXXVII.
57. Mujtabā Minūwī, "Ghazālī Ṭūsī", *Majalla-yi Dānishkada-yi adabīyāt wa 'ulūm-i insānī-yi Mashhad*. *Revue de la Faculté des Lettres et Sciences Humaines de Meched*, 6/2 (1349/1970), p. 283.
58. al-Ghazālī, 1495, fols. 32a, 100a, 326b, 332b and other.
59. *Ibid.*, fol. 33b.
60. *Ibid.*, fol. 437b.
61. *Ibid.*, fol. 4a.
62. *Ibid.*, fol. 14a.
63. *Ibid.*, fol. 23b.
64. *Ibid.*, fol. 99b.
65. *Ibid.*, fol. 21a.
66. *Ibid.*, fol. 119a.
67. al-Ghazālī, *Ihyā' 'ulūm ad-dīn*, 1885, p. 4.
68. al-Ghazali, 1495, fols. 337a and 49a.
69. 'Alī Akbar Dihkhudā, *Lughat-nāma* (Tehran, 1963), No. 191, pp. 490—2; Muḥammad Mu'in, *Farhang-i Fārsī* (The Persian Dictionary (Tehran, 1992), iii, pp. 3157—8.
70. al-Ghazālī, 1495, fols. 2b—3a.
71. Here the text of al-Ghazālī, 1495, is used.
72. *Ibid.*, fol. 49a; al-Ghazālī, 1904, pp. 47, 189, 325, 340, etc.
73. Abū Ḥamid Muḥammad al-Ghazālī, *Kīmīyā-yi sa'ādat* (The Alchemy of Happiness), manuscript B 4549 (transcribed in 1699) in the collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, fol. 11a—11b. See also *Persidskie i tadzhikskie rukopisi Instituta narodov Azii AN SSSR*, i, p. 628, No. 75 (Addenda).

74. D. L. Spivak, "Matrichnye postroeniia v stile pleteniia sloves" ("Matrix constructions in 'the word-weaving style'"), in *Trudy Otdela drevnerusskoĭ literatury* (St. Petersburg, 1996), p. 108.

75. *Ibid.*, p. 109.

76. For more detail, see D. L. Spivak, *Iazyk pri izmenēnnykh sostoiianiakh soznaniia* (Language in the Altered States of Consciousness) (Leningrad, 1989), where a vast bibliography is provided.

77. Fritz Meier, *Zwei Abhandlungen über die Naqšbandiyya* (Istanbul—Stuttgart, 1994), pp. 188—211; Khismatulin, *Sufiiskaia ritual'naia praktika*, pp. 105—26.

78. al-Ghazālī, *Ihyā' 'ulūm al-dīn*, 1885, p. 408.

79. Spivak, "Matrichnye postroeniia v stile pleteniia sloves", p. 105.

80. For a detailed analysis, see *ibid.*, pp. 105 and 110.

### Illustrations

**Fig. 1.** *Kīmiyā-yi sa'ādat* ("The Alchemy of Happiness") by Abū Ḥāmid Muḥammad al-Ghazālī, the beginning. Manuscript B 4612 in the collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, mid-11th century, Iran, fol. 1b, 20.0 × 15.0 cm.

**Fig. 2.** A sample of *naskh-i Irānī*, the same manuscript, fol. 99b.

**Fig. 3.** Readers' notes, the same manuscript, fol. 001a.

**Fig. 4.** *Kīmiyā-yi sa'ādat* (The Alchemy of Happiness) by Abū Ḥāmid Muḥammad al-Ghazālī, manuscript B 928, Herat, 1495, in the collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies. Manuscript folio with the name of the work placed in a round cartouche (blue paint against a gilded background and white paint for the work's name), two palmettes (upper and lower), fol. 1a, 13.7 × 21.0 cm.

**Fig. 5.** The left part of the frontispiece, the same manuscript, fol. 2a.

**Fig. 6.** The right part of the frontispiece, the same manuscript, fol. 1b.

**Fig. 7.** *'Unwān* with the name of the second *rub* (*al-'Ādāt*) of the work, the same manuscript, fol. 102b.

**Fig. 8.** Colophon, the same manuscript, fol. 441a.