Ahmad Zarrūq's *Qawā'id al-Tasawwuf.* Style and Sources

*Dr. Ghulam Shams-ur-Rehman

Abstract

The erudite North African Ahmad Zarrūq (d. 899/1493) authored the Qawā'id al-Tasawwuf. This landmark of Sufi literature imparts Sufi ideology and ritual in a distinctive aphoristic style designed to appeal to the highly educated reader. The work is concisely structured. using terse language that reveals the writer's familiarity with a ‹ .le array of Islamic sciences. My essay proposes to investigate the style and sources of the Qawā'id in order to understand its nature and methodology, and to identify its proper place in the literature of Sufism..

Keywords: Ahmad Zarrūq, *Qawā'id al-Tasawwuf,* Sufi literature, the Shādhilīyah, North African Sufism.

Ahmad Zarrūq was a prolific and versatile writer of his time. One can observe through the reading of his various works on different topics that he had a tremendous ability to write in simple, easy prose as well as a very complex rhetorical rhymed prose and poetry. The language of Sufi writing is usually very simple as compared to the literary rhetoric or rhyme tradition because the authors of Sufi writings aim to convey their message to the masses. Winter writes: "The Sufis wrote for simple people who were not versed either in poetry and *adab*, or in the theological and judicial sciences. They opposed the tendency to overestimate language and poetry, a fact which shows in their writing, both implicitly and explicitly."[1]

Although Zarrūq has a great command of Arabic language, he uses very simple language in his works. Winter observes that he writes in precise down to earth language.[2] But in contrast to his other writings and general Sufi literature, *Qawā'id al-Tasawwuf* has an aphoristic style. The construction of sentences and usage of phrases are very complex. He has not used rhymed prose (*saj'*) in his works, however he uses this genre in the preface of his books as was common in his time, using *saj'* in the preface of the *Qawā'id* also. An Arabic reader can observe the beauty of his *saj'* and how he expounded his idea in a concise manner:

*Department of Islamic Studies, B.Z. University, Multan

al-ḥamad li-Allāh li-'aẓīm majdihi wa-jalālihi

Praise be to God as the greatness of His Glory and Majesty mandates;

wa-al-salāt wa-al-taslīm 'alā sayyidinā Muḥammad wa-ālihi

and prayers and peace be upon our Liegelord Muhammad and his kinsfolk.

wa-ba'd: fal-qaṣd bi-hadhā al-mukhtaṣar wa-fuṣūlihi

Now then, the aim of this short work and its subsections

tamhīd qawā'id al-taṣawwuf wa-uṣūlihi

is to present the principles of Sufism and its foundations,

'alā wajh yajma' bayna al-sharī'ah wa-al-ḥaqīqah

in a way that marries the sacred law with reality,

wa-yaṣil al-uṣūl wa-al-fiqh bil-ṭarīqah

and integrates the theological sciences and jurisprudence with the spiritual path.

wa-'alā Allāh a'tamid fī taysīr mā aradt

And I rely upon God to facilitate what I have desired,

wa-ilayhi astanid fī taḥqīq mā qaṣadt

and I seek His support in realizing this goal that I have set;

wa-huwa ḥasbunā wa-ni'm al-wakīl

He is our Sufficiency, and what a great Trustee is He!

thumma aqūl:[3]

Then I say:[4]

Qawā'id is written for a well-versed highly educated man who knows the fundamental discourse of Islamic studies and has a profound knowledge of the Sufi tradition. It is a highly condensed book in which the author quotes verses, Prophetic traditions and Sufi sayings without proper citation and references. The fragments of sayings are used without referring to the details of the context. The reader has to consult the original books to understand the complete meaning of the text. The text of *Qawā'id* contains ambiguous use of reflexive pronoun in many places. Zaineb Istabadi writes: "While Zarrūq draws heavily on the sayings of *shaykhs* and jurists in order to make a point, he does not identify his sources in the accepted fashion...that

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is to say, there are no *isnād*, or chains of transmission, given in the text. All of this would seem to indicate that the work was written for his own disciples, who were already familiar with the master's sources. The legendary ambiguity of the "attached returning pronoun" (*al-ḍamā'ir al-muttaṣil al-'ā'id*) makes a comprehension of the *shaykh*'s whole conceptual scheme a necessary prerequisite for deducing the meaning of many particular phrase."[5] It can be concluded that *Qawā'id* was written for a highly learned scholar and it needed elaboration for common people to grasp.

Sources Used in *Qawā'id al-Taṣawwuf*:

The material of *Qawā'id* is derived from different sources. Some references and insights are taken from earlier Sufis and jurists whilst others have been taken from the teachers and contemporaries of the author. For better understanding, the sources of this book can be divided into three basic categories:

I- Shādhilī Sufi literature

II- Mālikī legal literature

III- Other divergent sources

I- Shādhalī Sufi Literature

The edifice and skeleton of this book is based upon the literature of the Shādhilī order. The founder of the Shādhilīyah, Abū al-Ḥasan al-Shādhilī (d. 656/1258) and his successor Abū al-'Abbās al-Mursī (d. 686/1288) did not write any book or treatise on Sufism. However, they composed some litanies, some of which are still in circulation such as *Ḥizb al-Baḥr* (Litany of the Ocean)[6] and *Ḥizb al-Anwār* (Litany of Lights). Imām al-Būṣīrī (d. 694/1295), a disciple of al-Mursī, composed poems in the praise of the Prophet. These poems are very popular not only in the Shādhilī circles, but across the Muslim world, particularly his *Qaṣā'id al-Burdah* and *Hamzīyah*. Ibn 'Aṭā' Allāh was the successor of al-Mursī. He wrote many works explaining the basic doctrines of the order and preserved the legacy and teaching of his masters. His books *Kitāb al-Tanwīr fī Isqāṭ al-Tadbīr*, *al-Ḥikam*, and *Laṭā'if al-Minan* are central for understanding the teachings and methods of the Shādhilīyah.

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Sufism flourished among the jurists and traditionalist during the Marīnid Rule. Jurists and traditionalists sought to understand Sufi wisdom and integrated it into the mainstream of Islamic sciences.[7] Kugle writes: "Recent scholarship on Islamic saints has taken into account the important role of Sufis who are also jurists or *hadīth* scholars. Vincent Cornell has documented the important interactions between these two fields; not only were there many prominent Sufis who were also jurists, but many jurists contributed to the preservation of saintly narratives and reputations through the composition of hagiographies. Cornell has noted that the advent of *uṣūlī* methodology in jurisprudence sparked a major fluorescence at once intellectual and devotional and often in the protest against dynastic political power. He argued that the judicial Sufis, or *uṣūlī* Sufis as they can be called, contributed in important ways to developing paradigms for sainthood in Moroccan urban spaces."[8]

Ibn ʿAbbād (d. 1332/1390), Yaḥyā al-Sarrāj (d. 803/1401), Ibn Sakkāk (d. 818/1415), and Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Qūrī (d. 872/1467) were the central figures of this tradition in the Maghrib. According to Kenneth Honerkamp, ʿAbd al-Nūr al-ʿImrānī, the writer of *Taqyīd fī Tarjamat Aḥwāl al-Shaykh Abī al-Ḥasan ʿAlī bin ʿAbd Allāh al-Shahīr al-Shādhilī* (*The Record of the Biography and Spiritual States of Abū al-Ḥasan al-Shādhilī*), was the first person who introduced al-Shādhilī to the Maghrib. Then his students Ibn ʿAbbād, Yaḥyā al-Sarrāj and Ibn Sakkāk spread the teachings of the Shādhilīyah in the Maghrib and Andalusia. Ibn Sakkāk was the first Moroccan author to mention by the name the *ṭarīqah* Shādhilīyah in Morocco, he was also the first to ascribe the appellation of Shādhilī to Ibn ʿAbbād. His book *Kitāb al-Asālīb*, is an exposition of the essential principles, as Ibn Sakkāk perceived it, of Islamic spirituality: the abandonment of all claims to strength or personal capability (*atabarrī min al-ḥawl wa-al-quwwah*). Ibn ʿAbbād composed a commentary of *al-Ḥikam* of Ibn ʿAṭāʾ Allāh upon the request of Yaḥyā, who was also the recipient of the greater portion of the correspondence that comprises the two collections of the letters of Ibn ʿAbbād.[9]

In Zarrūq's time, Abū al-Qāsim Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Qūrī was the leader of the

juridical Sufis as well as the *qaḍī* of Fez and *khaṭīb* in Jāmi' al-Qarawiyyīn. Zarrūq claims that al-Qūrī was his first spiritual mentor and he taught him the books of Ibn 'Aṭā' Allāh.[10]

Kugle writes about the circle of al-Qūrī: "In al-Qūrī circle, Usuli Sufis were moving beyond this participation in wider Sufi communities; the Usuli Sufi of Fez were building a distinctive Sufi community unto themselves (along with those in Maknes and Sale where the Marinid dynasty also build *madrasas*). In this context, they moved toward defining a type of saint particular to their own community: a saint who not only had jurists as devotees and allies, but a saint who was himself a jurist. This mode of sainthood stood out in particular relief to Zarrūq, who perceived in al-Qūrī its zenith. Zarrūq later would commit to paper the contours of this mode of sainthood in sharply defined ways, and commit himself to embodying its ideals."[11]

Zarrūq was a *faqīh* by training and temperament, formulating coherent arguments and making from general principles, defining Sufism based on interiorized morality, based on application of the divine law. He saw *fiqh* and *taṣawwuf* as complementary aspects of the *ṭarīqah*. These two elements, a tendency to systemize, and the integral view of *fiqh* and *taṣawwūf* led Zarrūq to a concise enumeration of the *qawā'id* of Sufism. These *qawā'id* show the extent to which Zarrūq was influenced by earlier Shādhilī Sufis, and from it one may discern the effect of this influence on the Shādhilīyah in the following centuries.

II- Mālikī Legal Literature

The realm of Sufism is spiritual and is concerned with the purification of the heart and refinement of intention and it is not confined to any particular school of thought or sect. The claim of the Shādhilīyah Sufi order is not different from other Sufi orders in this respect. However the region where it thrived and developed was highly influenced by Mālikism. The whole Maghrib from Andalusia to Libya was dominated by Mālikism. Abū al-Ḥasan al-Shādhilī, the founder of this order, was also an expert of Mālikī jurisprudence. Victor Danner writes: "Although it is not surprising that the origin of Shādhilism, in Tunis, were under the governance of

Malikism, it may come as a surprise to learn that the second centre of the order, Alexandria, was likewise a stronghold of Mālikī jurisprudence in Egypt...The Ayyūbids built *madrasahs* in the city for the teaching of Malikism, and great authorities in the *madhhab* were to be found in the city, some of whom, like Ibn al-Ḥājib (d. 646/1248) or Ibn al-Munayyir (d. 283/1285), were actually disciples of Shaykh Abū al-Ḥasan al-Shādhilī."[12]

Ibn 'Aṭā' Allāh, the main preserver of Shādhilīyah legacy, was also considered the leader of the Mālikī school of thought at the time. Later Shādhilī Sufis were also mainly associated with Malikism. However the impact of the Shādhilīyah can be observed on the jurists of other schools of law. Al-Shādhilī himself attracted many leading scholars of Egypt like al-Mundhirī (d. 656/1258), an eminent Shāfi'ī traditionalist, and 'Izz al-Dīn b. 'Abd al-Salām al-Shāfi'ī (d. 660/1262), a prominent Shāfi'ī jurist.[13]

Being a jurist of the Mālikī school of thought, Zarrūq composed many commentaries on the books of Mālikī jurisprudence and he referred mainly to Mālikī jurists in the *Qawā'id*. However he revered all jurists of the four Sunnī schools of law. He writes: "Every discipline had its leaders and experts whose supremacy in knowledge and piety was recognized, such as Mālik, al-Shāfi'ī, Ahmad and al-Nu'mān in jurisprudence."[14]

He consistently praises the teaching of Imām Mālik and gives him special respect, preferring his opinion and juridical interpretation over others. He records the legal opinion of Suhnūn that only the juridical judgment or legal opinion of the Mālikī school of thought would be acceptable and valid in the Maghrib.[15] He states that Sufism is of various kinds, and the Sufism of the jurist is outlined in the *Madkhal* of Ibn Ḥājj[16] which is a representative book of Mālikī jurisprudence.

He made some reference to Shāfi'ī and Ḥanbalī jurists, but he did not cite any Ḥanafī jurists in the *Qawā'id*. It can be concluded that the material of the *Qawā'id* regarding juridical interpretation is derived primarily from the books of Mālikī jurisprudence.

III- Other Divergent Sources:

Apart from Mālikī and Shādhilī literature, the material which has been utilized in *Qawā'id* is mainly comprised of Qur'ānic verses, *hadīth* literature, the sayings and writings of the classical and North African Sufis. He recorded some insights of, and information about his contemporary Sufi masters. In some cases, the *Qawā'id* is the sole source of this kind of information. After an examination of the *Qawā'id*, it can be concluded that Zarrūq may not have been profoundly acquainted with the eastern tradition of Sufism, which would explain why he does not cite other than the works of classical Sufis and al-Ghazālī , al-Jīlānī and al-Suhrawardī.

3- The Names of People Mentioned in the *Qawā'id*:

Zarrūq's struggle to fuse juridical rectitude with Sufi devotion demands a comprehensive and analytical study in the field of Sufism and jurisprudence. The *Qawā'id* is the best example of this kind of work. It is an abridged and condensed work filled with sayings of Sufis and jurists. Brief biographical notes of these scholars have been made in the annotated text. The people cited in the book can be classified in three groups: 1. Sufis, 2- Jurists, 3- Traditionalists and Exegetes

The Sufis cited in this book can be classified further into three groups: classical Sufis, Western Sufis and Eastern Sufis. The term classical Sufis denotes all of the Sufis of the first four centuries of Islam. The term Western Sufis is employed for the Sufis of Africa and Andalusia, to differentiate them from the Sufis of the East, that is, the eastern part of the caliphate because of their specific traditions and Sufi orders. A list of these peoples has been prepared to understand the sources of the author, and the authentication of his *isnād*. They are as follows:

1- Classical Sufis:

1- 'Abd Allāh b. al-Mubārak, 2- Abū Ḥamzah, 3- Abū Nu'aym, 4- Abū Sulaymān al-Dārānī, 5- Abū 'Uthmān, 6- Al-Aswad al-Aqta', 7- Al-Aykī al-'Ajmī, 8- Bishr al-Ḥāfī, 9- Fuḍayl b. al-'Ayāḍ, 10- Al-Ḥallāj, 11- Ḥārith al-Muḥāsibī, 12- Ḥasan al-Baṣrī, 13- Ibn al-Jallā', 14- Ibn Najīd, 15- Ibn Sīrīn, 16- Ibn Dhī Sikīn, 17-

Al-Jarīrī, 19- Al-Junayd Abū al-Qāsim, 20- Al-Kharrāz, 21- Khayr al-Nassāj, 22- Al-Khawwāṣ, 23- Maʿrūf al-Karkhī, 24- Mūsā al-Kāzim, 25- Al-Nūrī, 26- Al-Qushayrī, 27- Sahl Tustarī, 28- Shiblī, 29- Sarrī al-Saqtī, 30- Sufyān al-Thawrī, 31- ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, 32- Yūsuf b. al-Ḥusayn

2. Western Sufis

1- Al-ʿAfīf al-Tilmisānī, 2- Abū al-ʿAbbās al-Ḥadramī, 3- Abū al-ʿAbbās al-Mursī, 4- Abū al-Ḥasan al-Shādhilī, 5- Abū Isḥāq al-Tujībī, 6- Abū Madyan, 7- Abū Muḥammad al-Mirjānī, 8- Abū Yaʿzāʾ, 9- Abū Yūsuf al-Dahmānī, 10- Aḥmad Ibn ʿĀshir, 11- Aḥmad Ibn Jaʿfar al-Bastī, 12- Al-Bilālī, 13- Al-Būnī, 14- Ibn ʿAbbād, 15- Ibn Abī Jammrah, 16- Ibn al-ʿArabī al-Ḥātimī, 17- Ibn ʿArīf, 18- Ibn ʿAṭāʾ Allāh al-Iskandarī, 19- Ibn al-Bannāʾ, 20- Ibn al-Fārid, 21- Ibn Mashīsh, 22- Ibn Sabʿīn, 23- Al-Qūrī, 24- Al-Shushtarī

3. Eastern Sufis:

1- ʿAbd al-Qādir al-Jīlānī, 2- Abū ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Sulamī, 3- Abū al-Najīb Ḍiyāʾ al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Qāhir al-Suhrawardī, 4- Muḥammad al-Ghazālī

2. Jurists:

1- Abū Isḥāq al-Shāṭibī, 2- Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, 3- Al-ʿAnbarī, 4- Ibn Al-Fākihānī, Tāj al-Dīn, 5- Al-Harawī, 6- Ibn ʿAbd al-Salām , 7- Ibn Abī Zayd al-Qayrawānī, 8- Ibn al-ʿArabī al-Mālikī, 9- Ibn Fawrak, 10- Ibn Ḥabīb, 11- Ibn al-Ḥājj, 12- Ibn Ḥazm, 13- Ibn Kātib, 14- Ibn Mālik, 15- Ibn Mujāhid, 16- Ibrāhīm b. Saʿd, 17- Al-Layth, 18- Mālik b. Anas, 19- Al-Maqdisī, Abū al-Ḥasan ʿAlī al-Lakhmī, 20- Muḥammad b. Idrīs al-Shāfiʿī, 21- Qarrāfī, 22- Ṣāliḥ b. Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, 23- Saḥnūn, 24- Sulaymān b. Yasār, 25- Al-Ṭurṭūshī

3. Traditionalists and Exegetes

1- Al-Ḥākim, 2- Ibn Aḥlāʾ, 3- Ibn al-Athīr, 4- Ibn Ḥayyān , 5- Ibn Ḥibbān, 6- Ibn al-Jawzī, 7- Ibn al-Madīnī, 8- Ibn Mahdī, 9- Tirmidhī, 10- Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl al-Bukhārī, 11- Al-Mundhirī, 12- Muslim b. al-Ḥajjāj.

4- The Books Mentioned in the *Qawāʿid*

Zarrūq consulted a plethora of literature of Islamic sciences in order to construct the

edifice of the *Qawā'id*. There are forty one books mentioned in the *Qawā'id*, out of them twenty eight are about Sufism and remaining are of *ḥadīth*, *fiqh*, *tafsīr*, and *sīrah*. Their detail is as follows:

Sufism:

1- *Ādāb al-ʿĀlim wa-al-Mutaʿallim*, Abū Nuʿaym al-Aṣfahānī (d. 656/1258), Qa. 191

2- *Aḥzāb*, Abū Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Ḥaqq Ibn Sabʿīn al-Ashbaylī (d. 669/1270), Qa. 108

3- *Aḥzāb*, Abū al-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Shādhilī (d. 656/1258), Qa. 108

4- *Aḥzāb*, Abū Zakariyā Yaḥyā b. al-Sharf al-Nawwawī (d. 676/1277), Qa. 108

5- *Al-Azkār*, Ibn al-ʿArabī al-Mālikī, (d. 386/996) Qa. 67

6- *Dalāʾil al-Khayrāt*, Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. Sulyamān al-Jazūlī (d. 870/1465) Qa. 119

7- *Futūḥāt al-Makkīyah*, Abū Bakr Muḥyī al-Dīn Muḥammad Ibn al-ʿArabī al-Ḥātimī, (d. 638/1240), Qa. 214

8- *Al-Ḥikam al-ʿAṭāʾīyah*, Abū al-Faḍl Ibn ʿAṭāʾ Allāh al-Iskandarī (d.709/1309), Qa. 18

9- *Ḥilyat al-Awliyāʾ*, Abū Nuʿaym Aḥmad b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Aṣfāhānī (d. 430/1038), Qa. 3

10- *Iḥyāʾ ʿUlūm al-Dīn*, Abū Ḥāmid Muḥammad al-Ghazālī (d. 505/1111), Qa. 59, 70, 75, 88, 145, 157, 214

11- *Kitāb Mawāqif al-Ghāyāt fī Asrār al-Riyāḍiyāt*, Abū ʿAbbās Aḥamad al-Būnī (d. 622/1225), Qa. 59

12- *Al-Maḍnūn bihi ʿalā Ghayr Ahlihi*, Abū Ḥāmid Muḥammad al-Ghazālī (d. 505/1111), Qa. 214

13- *Maḥāsin al-Majālis*, Abū ʿAbbās Aḥmad Ibn al-ʿArīf (d. 526/114), Qa 172.

14- *Manāzil al-Sāʾirīn ilā al-Ḥaqq al-Mubīn*, known as *Maqāmāt al-Harawī*, Abū Ismāʿīl ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad al-Anṣārī al-Harawī (d. 481/1089), Qa. 172

15-*Miftāḥ al-Fallāḥ*, Ibn ʿAṭāʾ Allāh al-Iskandarī (d. 709/1309), Qa. 115

16-*Miftāḥ al-Saʿādah*, Abū ʿAbbās Aḥamad Ibn al-ʿArīf (d. 526/114), Qa. 41

17-*Miʿrāj al-Sālikīn*, Abū Ḥāmid Muḥammad al-Ghazālī, (d. 505/1111), Qa. 214

18-*Minhāj al-ʿĀbidīn*, Abū Ḥāmid Muḥammad al-Ghazālī (d. 505/1111), Qa. 59

19-*Al-Munqidh min al-Ḍalāl*, Abū Ḥāmid Muḥammad al-Ghazālī (d. 505/1111), Qa. 214

20-*Al-Nafkh wa-al-Taswīyah*, Abū Ḥāmid Muḥammad al-Ghazālī (d. 505/1111), Qa. 214

21-*Qūt al-Qulūb*, Abū Ṭālib al-Makkī (d. 386/996), Qa. 59, 70, 75, 214

22-*Al-Rasāʾil al-Ṣughrā*, Abū ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿAbbād al-Rundī (d. 792/1389), Qa. 47

23-*Al-Risālah al-Qushayrīyah*, Abū al-Qāsim ʿAbd al-Karīm al-Qushayrī (d. 465/1072) Qa. 59, 69

24-*Sirāj al-Murīdīn*, Abū Bakr Muḥyī Dīn Muḥammad Ibn al-ʿArabī (d. 638/1240), Qa. 47, 59,

25-*Tāj al-ʿArūs al-Ḥāwī li-Tahdhīb al-Nufūs*, Abū al-Faḍl Ibn ʿAṭāʾ Allāh al-Iskandarī (d. 709/1309), Qa. 73, 96

26-*Talbīs al-Iblīs*, Abū al-Faraj ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Jawzī (d. 597/1201), Qa. 211

27-*Al-Tanbīh*, Abū ʿAbd Allāh Ibn ʿAbbād al-Rundī (d. 792/1389), Qa. 59

28-*Al-Tanwīr*, Abū al-Faḍl Ibn ʿAṭāʾ Allāh al-Iskandarī (d. 709/1309), Qa. 74, 101, khātimah

Ḥadīth.

29-*ʿĀriḍat al-Akhwadhī*, al-Qāḍī Abū Bakr Muḥammd b. ʿAbd Allāh Ibn al-ʿArabī (d. 543/1148) Qa. 109

30-*Al-Muwaṭṭāʾ*, Abū ʿAbd Allāh Mālik b. al-Anas (d. 179/785) Qa. 108

31-*Al-Ṣaḥīḥ al-Jāmiʿ*, Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl al-Bukhārī, (d. 250/870) Qa. 186

32-*Al-Sunun al-Tirmidhī*, Muḥammad b. ʿIsā al-Tirmidhī (d. 279/1398), Qa. 89

33-*Al-Targhīb wa-al-Tarhīb*, Abū Muḥammad 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Mundhirī (d. 656/1258), Qa. 119

Fiqh.

34-*Al-Anwār al-Barūq fī Anwā' al-Furūq* known as *Qawā'id al-Qarāfī*, Aḥmad b. Idrīs al-Qarāfī al-Miṣrī (d. 684/1258), Qa. 47

35-*Madkhal al-Shara' al-Sharīf*, Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad Ibn al-Ḥājj al-Mālikī al-Fāsī (d. 737/1336), Qa. 59, khātimah

36-*Al-Mudawwanah al-Kubrā fī Furū' al-Mālikīyah*, Abū 'Abd Allāh Ibn al-Qāsim al-Mālikī (d. 191/ 814), Qa. 128

37-*Al-Risālah al-Qayrawānī*, Abū Muḥammad 'Ubayd Allāh b. Abī Zayd al-Qayrawānī (d. 386 or 390/996 or 1000), Qa. 50

38-*Al-Taḥrīr wa-al-Tajbīr fī al-Risālah al-Qayrawānī*, 'Umar b. 'Alī b. Sālim al-Lakhmī al-Iskandarī al-Mālikī khown as Ibn al-Fākihānī (d. 731/1330) Qa. 126

Tafsīr.

39-*Al-Baḥr al-Muḥīṭ*, Abū Ḥayyān al-Andalusī (d. 745/1344), Qa. 211

40-*Al-Nahr (Mukhtaṣar al-Baḥr)*, Abū Ḥayyān al-Andalusī (d. 745/1344), Qa. 211

Sīrah.

41- *Al-Iktifā' fī Maghāzī Rasūl Allāh wa-al-Thalāthah al-Khulafā'*, Abū al-Rabī' Sulaymān b. Mūsā al-Kalā'ī (d. 634/1236), Qa. 145

Adherence to a terse and pithy style meant that the composer of the *Qawā'id* often neglected to cite fully the divergent sources upon which he drew. Zarrūq recommends to his readers the works of al-Muḥāsibī, Suhrawardī, Ibn 'Aṭā' Allāh al-Iskandarī, Ibn Abī Jamrah and Ibn Ḥājj, while suggesting that they avoid authors like Muḥyī al-Dīn Ibn al-'Arabī and Ibn Sab'īn. However, this list of authors cannot represent a complete bibliography. Zarrūq clearly has not seen fit to mention all of his source materials.

The aphoristic style of the *Qawā'id al-Taṣawwuf* would have been familiar to an advanced student of Sufism, since the use of maxims was a convention employed in

treatises on the Islamic sciences. However, the succinctness of the work may well have confused beginners, and even posed problems for advanced readers. As a North-African Shādhilī Sufi, Zarrūq relied upon the literature of the Shādhilīyah and other North African Sufi schools. Similarly, due to his adherence to the Mālikī school of law, he derived most of his legal references from the books of Mālikī jurisprudence. We may also note that Zarrūq was not well-informed about Sufi traditions of the so-called "eastern part" of the Caliphate or of South Asia. Therefore it can be concluded that his main source of Sufi concepts are the earlier Shādhilīs while he relied upon the Mālikī sources for juridical interpretation. Consequently, one may observe that the reception and impact of *Qawā'id* was prevalent mainly in Shādhilī circles, although it later attracted the attention of scholars across the Muslim world because of its distinctive style and sound sources.

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[11] Kugle, 'Aḥmad Zarrūq', p. 182

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[15] Zarrūq, *Qawā'id*, Qa: 44, vol. 2, p. 39.

[16] Zarrūq, *Qawā'id*, Qa: 59, vol. 2, pp. 59, 60.