

We realized the identity of the Arabic philosophical terms through the books, which the scholars considered, mother of lexicons in the philosophical context as those books reflect the nature of such terms in their comprehensive way. We do not take those terms from Jābir ibn Hayān, al-Kindī and al-Fārābī at the formulation stage only, but they were also taken at the stage of maturity from *al-Mubīn* of al-Amidī and *al-Ta'rifāt* of al-Jurjānī.

Mawsu'ah Muṣṭalahāt al-Falāsafah al-'Arabiyyah p. VI



الجامعة الإسلامية العالمية ماليزيا
INTERNATIONAL ISLAMIC UNIVERSITY MALAYSIA
بِوَسْطِئِىَ اِسْلَامِ اَنْبِيَا رَا بَعْثْنَا مُلْكِيْنَا

KITĀB AL-TA'RIFĀT OF AL-JURJĀNĪ
**AN ANNOTATED ENGLISH TRANSLATION
AND EVALUATION STUDY**

BY

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A THESIS SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL
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ABSTRACT

This study offers an annotated English translation with critical evaluation to *Kitāb al-Ta'rifāt* of al-Jurjānī. As proven in this thesis, the book that hasn't been rendered into English yet is a unique scholarly work and a turning point in the history of Islamic lexicography as it sealed the efforts of institutionalizing the scientific technical terms of the miscellaneous disciplines that we call 'Islamic thought'.

The introductory chapter presents, analysis and evaluates the intellectual efforts of institutionalizing the Islamic scientific intellectual terms since the end of the first century AH up to the appearance of *al-Ta'rifāt* at the end of the 8th century AH. This section constructs a new –if not the first- approach in studying and evaluating the progress of Islamic intellectual terminology within its different processes and stages. As the researcher detected pioneers of each stage he rejected central view of some western historians on such stages by highlighting intensively on the emergence stage and pointing to the normality and up normality of the progression from stage to other. Counteraction and conformity between *al-Ta'rifāt* and the pioneers of the mother books that constituted the technical terms of Muslims intellectualism is highlighted along this section.

This chapter also presents relevant literature review and analytic account to the early concerns of the *al-Ta'rifāt* manuscript in modern age. The sources on which al-Jurjānī depended on have been traced, examined and selected out. The sources have been clearly detailed in each term and along the footnotes of the translated text.

Chapter two offers the English translation of this book which the researcher endorsed by intensive explanatory annotation.

Chapter three discusses the biography, the intellectual environment and the scholarly leadership of al-Jurjānī. This chapter also evaluates the main themes of *al-Ta'rifāt*, it examines the contents of the book, which was divided into nine units. Each unit has been studied separately as well as with relation to each other. The genuine and weakness in each unit have been presented. The common ground between those nine units indicates that *al-Ta'rifāt* is an encyclopedia of nomenclature of Islamic thought.

al-Jurjānī's distinguished approach in which he employed the philosophers' schema in defending the Sunni traditional thesis is also indicated in this chapter. Such approach constituted the last phase in the last theological technical term, which the researcher called it "the stage of philosophical theology".

Finally in chapter four the findings and conclusion of this thesis have been summarized where the main results are figured out and listed.

ملخص البحث

هذه الدراسة تقدم ترجمة إنجليزية مقرونة بدراسة تقويمية لكتاب التعريفات للعلامة الجرجاني. لقد ثبت من خلال هذا البحث أن هذا الكتاب، الذي لم يترجم بعد إلى اللغة الإنجليزية، بمجهود علمي أصيل يمثل نقطة تحول في تاريخ كتابة القواميس الإسلامية باعتباره عملاً قاموسياً خاتماً لمجهودات تأسيس مصطلحات مجموعة متنوعة من العلوم لإسلامية التي تكون ما أسميناه بـ "الفكر الإسلامي".

الباب المدخلي في هذا البحث يعرض ويحلل ويقوم المجهودات الفكرية التي أسهمت في تأسيس مصطلح الفكر الإسلامي منذ نهاية القرن الأول وحتى ظهور كتاب التعريفات في نهاية القرن الثامن الهجري. هذا الباب يقدم دراسة إن لم تكن غير مسبوقة فهي جديدة في طريقة تناول موضوع نشأة واستقرار مصطلح الفكر الإسلامي من خلال مراحل تطوره المختلفة. فبينما حددنا طلائع العلماء التي أسهمت في كل مرحلة من تلك المراحل رفضنا رؤية مركزية تبناها بعض المؤرخين الغربيين تتعلق بمراحل تطور هذا المصطلح. إن رفضنا لهذا الرأي الغربي بُني على تسليط ضوء مكثف على المرحلة الأولى لنشأة هذا المصطلح فضلاً عن الإشارة إلى الجوانب الطبيعية وغير الطبيعية التي لازمت تطوره في كل مرحلة. كذلك فقد تعرض هذا الباب إلى مناطق الخلاف والتوافق بين كتاب التعريفات وأمهاات الكتب التي أسهمت في تأسيس المصطلح الفكري للمسلمين. وبينما استعرضنا المجهودات العلمية في موضوع تطور المصطلح استعرضنا كذلك الاهتمامات الأولى بمخطوط التعريفات في العصر الحديث. إنّ المراجع التي اعتمد عليها الجرجاني في تأليف التعريفات قد أشير إليها مجملًا في هذا الباب بينما حشدت مفصلةً من خلال حواشي الترجمة الإنجليزية.

الباب الثاني في هذه الرسالة حوى الترجمة الإنجليزية لهذا الكتاب مطعّمةً بمحاشية تفسيرية معمقة. الباب الثالث استعرض السيرة العلمية والريادة الفكرية للجرجاني والبيئة الثقافية التي عاش فيها كما تعرض الباب للمحاور الأساسية التي تناول الكتاب حيث قسمت إلى تسع وحدات تم دراسة كل واحدة بعزل عن الأخرى فضلاً عن الروابط الرابطة بين تلك المجموعة. إنّ الأرضية المشتركة التي تجمع تلك الوحدات التسع خلصت إلى نتيجة مفادها أن التعريفات عبارة عن دائرة معارف حوت المصطلحات المفتاحية للفكر الإسلامي. إنّ المنهج الفلسفي الذي اعتمده الجرجاني منافحاً عن الأطروحات العقائدية التقليدية للمسلمين السنة قد تمت الإشارة إليه باعتباره المرحلة الأخيرة من مراحل تطور المصطلح الكلامي التي أطلقنا عليها مرحلة علم الكلام الفلسفي.

الباب الرابع خُتِمَ به هذه الرسالة لخصنا من خلاله النتائج الأساسية المستخلصة من هذا البحث.

APPROVAL PAGE

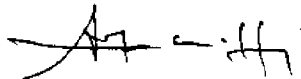
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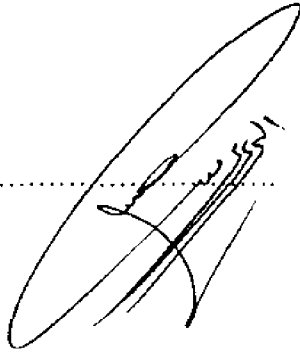
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DECLARATION

I hereby declare that this dissertation is the result of my own investigation, except where otherwise stated. I also declare that it has not been previously or concurrently submitted as a whole of any other degrees at IIUM or other institutions.

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Signature

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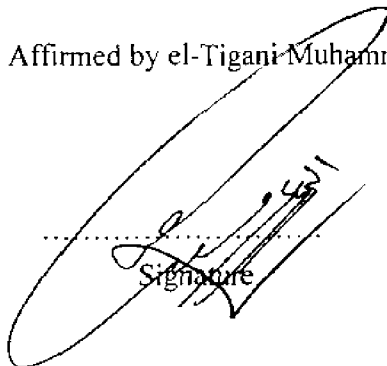
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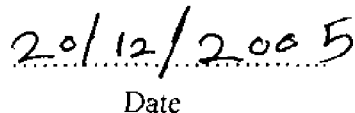
***KITÀB AL-TA'RIFÀT OF AL-JURJÀNI*
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To Nola: For her patient, support and love

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I also take this opportunity to extend my gratitude and thanks to the government of Malaysia, university of Khartoum and the formers and present ISTAC's Directory for giving me an opportunity to study in ISTAC, IIUM and for solving my frequent administrative problems. My thanks also goes to the ISTAC's librarianship, officers and secretaries, particularly sisters Mar'iyah and Asma for their co-operation, good manners and assistance offered.

Finally, in spite of the rigidity of the time that I almost exhausted in writing this thesis, still my wife, who took care of our triplet roses (Rayan, Rawan and Ranim), encouraged and inspired me to finalize this rigid study in a state of tranquility and peace of mind. It is to her (Dr. Manal) that this work is dedicated.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

FIQ.	Fiqh and uşul al-Fiqh
TAS.	Taşawwuf
LAN.	Language
PHIL.	Philosophy
THEO.	Theology
LOG.	Logic
PRO.	Prosody
SEC.	Sects
OTH.	Belongs to other disciplines

The above mentioned abbreviations with their respective meanings are used in the translation, basically to classify which discipline a term belongs.

CONTENTS

Abstract	ii
Abstract in Arabic	iii
Approval Page	iv
Declaration Page	v
Copy right Page	vi
Dedication Page	vii
Acknowledgements	viii
List of Abbreviations	ix
List of Arabic Transliteration	x
CHAPTER ONE: Introduction.....	1
CHAPTER TWO: An Annotated Translation of <i>al-Ta'rifāt</i> into English.....	44
CHAPTER THREE: An Evaluation of al-Jurjāni's Academic Authorization.....	398
CHAPTER FOUR: Findings and Conclusion	431
BIBLIOGRAPHY.....	437
GLOSSARY	448

INTRODUCTION

The preliminary knowledge of any science requires the knowledge of its technical terms; whereas the profound knowledge of such science entails the knowledge of the conditions and the degree of the progress through which those technical terms have emerged, developed and established. With reference to the technical terms of Muslims intellectualism we may primarily examine the action and reaction between these conditions and such progression over three main phases, i.e. the emergence stage, the development stage and the stage of crystallization.¹

By the emergence stage of any technical terms for any science we mean the language whereby the pioneer/s of specific science has carefully selected aiming at expressing the main ideas which he/she has articulated in schematic framework qua a seed of a newborn science². Newborn sciences in early Islamic civilization are like sciences of the *Ḥadith*, theology, Islamic jurisprudence and its principles, exegesis, *Taṣawwuf*, sciences of the Arabic language, philosophy, etc. Professor Alparslan in the following quotation gives some enlightenment on the pioneers of the early Islamic sciences as well as their technical terms and the background from which such language have been formulated³:

¹ This division is of our own ideas although some books inspired me on making such approach. In this point I owe to *Islamic Science: Towards A definition* of Alparslan Açıgenç, ISTAC, Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia, 1996, as well as *Mawsu'ah mustalahāt al-Taṣawwuf al-Islāmi* of Rafiq al-'Ajm, maktabah lubnan nashirūn, 1999, see the introduction.

² As usual progress, the selection of any technical term has to be developed from the available literature. Thus the backgrounds of the technical terms of the early Islamic sciences, as we would see, have naturally been based on the language of the revelation namely the holy Qur'an and Ḥadith (traditions) of the prophet (s.a.w.s). See Açıgenç, Alparslan, *Islamic Science: towards a definition*, ISTAC, Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia, 1996, p.63.

³A. Alparslan, *Islamic Science: towards a definition*, ISTAC, K. L, Malaysia, 1996, pp.85/86.

The early generation of scholars were naturally very simple in their ideas concerning special sciences, although they were extremely sophisticated in their knowledge of religion and related issues, primarily because of the guidance of Revelation. But soon, as a new generation of scholars began to take over this scholarly tradition, the desire for learning increased; as a result, a group of scholars with a sophisticated scientific mentality emerged. Among them, we can give the following names: al-Qāḍī' Shurayḥ (d. 80/699), Muḥammad Ibn al-Ḥanafīyyah (d. 81/700), Ma'bad al-Juhamī' (d. 84/703), Sa'id Ibn al-Musayyab (d. c. 91/709), 'Urwah Ibn al-Zubayr Ibn al-'Awwām (d. 94/712), Ibrāhīm Nakha'ī (d. c. 96/717), Abān Ibn 'Uthmān (d. 100/718), Mujāhid Ibn Jabr (d. 100/718), 'Umar Ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz (d. 102/720), Wahb Ibn Munabbih (d. 110, 114/719, 723), Ḥasan al-Baṣrī (d. 110/728), 'Aṭā' Ibn Abī Rabāḥ (d. 114/732), Ḥammād Ibn Abu Sulaymān (d. 120/737), Ghaylān al-Dimashqī' (d. c. 123/740), al-Zuhri' (d. 124/742), Wāṣil Ibn 'Aṭā' (d. 131/748), Ibn Ishāq (d. 151/768), Ja'far al-ṣādiq (d. 148/765), Abu, Ḥanīfah (d. 150/767), al-Awzā'ī' (d. 158/774), Hishām Ibn al-Ḥakam (d. 179/795-6), Mālik Ibn Anas (d. 179/796), Abu Yusuf (d. 182/799), Sufyān al-Thawrī' (d. 161/778), al-Shāfi' (d. 204/819), and so on.

It is primarily through the efforts of these scientists and many others that a sophisticated technical scientific vocabulary gradually emerged towards the end of the second century of Islam. This technical vocabulary included, among others, the following: *'ilm, uṣūl, ra'y, ijtihād, qiyās, fiqh, 'aql, qalb, idrāk, wahm, tadabbur, fikr, nazar, hikmah, yaqīn, waḥy, tafsīr, ta'wīl, 'alam, kalām, zann, ḥaqq, bāṭil, ṣidq, kidhb, wujūd, 'adam, dahr, ṣamad, sarmad, azal, abad, khalq, khulq, firāsah, fiṭrah, ṭabī'ah, ikhtiyār, kasb, khayr, sharr, ḥalāl, ḥaram, wajīb, mumkin, amr, imān, iradah*, and so on. Who can claim that these scientific terminologies were not contained in the Islamic worldview? For all these usages had a basis in the Qur'ān as well. In fact, they were available not only as everyday terms, but also as concepts with sophisticated and rich meanings that made them available for later technical scientific usage.

By the development stage we mean the stage within which those selected key terms have been subjected to studies for critical exposition. Such studies which usually used to be done under authoritative exegetes and based on descriptive, etymological and analytical studies- lead the researchers to some sort of consensus in connection with the new concepts of conventional meaning of each term. However the stability on the new meaning, the fruit of such wide consensus, leads specific experts in lexicography to constitute the final stage in the light of the rich literature of the critical studies i.e. the studies on which the second stage was achieved. Thus out of such critical studies those particular lexicographers have carefully sorted out the basic meaning of each single term and recorded it in clear, accurate and concise manners⁴. This final process

⁴ Clearness, preciseness and conciseness are the basic distinction between lexical terminological studies and the other publications. See: Anwar Abi khuzām, Mu'jam al-Muṣṭalaḥāt al-Ṣufīyyah, p.10, lubnān nāshirun, 1993.

of recording such technical terms in certain lexicon we classify as the stage of crystallization. It simply means that the technical terms as well as their sciences have reached the status of maturity as the stage of crystallization of the technical terms of any science naturally comes subsequent to the stage of maturity of that science. The conditions and progression within which those three phases took place along the early eight centuries⁵ of Islamic civilization would be discussed in the following pages.

With reference to the studies that concern themselves with historicity and progression of the technical terms on which the Islamic sciences have been based we may consider *al-Ta'rifāt*, the book which we are dealing with, as a turning point at which the studies on such field have been sealed. By “sealing” we mean the book reached the highest level of technicality as first attempt, which comes in line with contemporary encyclopedic publication whether in terms of form or of contents. The forthcoming paragraphs attempt to prove this assumption.

No doubt some attempts of terminological monographs had been done before *al-Ta'rifāt* was written. But indeed such previous attempts, as we will be explaining in the paragraphs below, were either very weak or incomplete (i.e. concerning with, in best cases, two sciences). Thus it is significant to notice that no terminological studies similar to encyclopedic publication has been received before the appearance of *al-Ta'rifāt*. Perhaps the only exception, which includes few technical terms for more than one science, was *mafāṭih al-'ulum* of al-Khawārizmī' al-Kātib⁶ (d. 387).

⁵ Since the beginning of the civil war by the assassination of 'Uthman (d.35/656) up to the death of al-Jurjāni (816/1414).

⁶ Al-Khawārizmī' al-Kātib, Abi 'Abdilāhi Muḥammad Ibn Aḥmad Ibn Yousuf, *Mafāṭih al-'Ulum*, manshurāt maktabah al-Kuliyāt al-Azhariyyah, Cairo, 1401/1981.

Al-Khawārizmī' in this study touched, very briefly, fifteen disciplines, which he enumerated as follows: Islamic jurisprudence and its principles, theology, language, prosody, history, philosophy, logic, medicine, mathematics, geometry, astronomy, geography, musicology, trickery and chemistry. The few key terms of each discipline have been discussed randomly along two essays. The embryonic nature of this work compared with *al-Ta'rifāt* has been shown in many aspects. In the technical way of publication as well as the quantity and quality of the selected terms as, for instance, no specific order has been shown for such selected terms. In terms of quantity the limited number of the whole list of terms was very clear. For instance under chapter of *Uṣūl al-Fiqh*⁷ he mentioned and defined in brief, i.e. in less than two pages, six key terms, which were the main principles of this science i.e. Qur'ān, *Sunnah*, *ijmā'* (consensus), *qiyās* (analogy) etc. Under the chapter *fi mawāḍi'āt mutakalimī al-Islām*⁸ (on conventions of Muslim theologians) he defined in not more than one page the following terms⁹: *Shai'*, *ma'dum*, *mawjūd*, *qadīm*, *Muḥdath*, *azalī*, *jawhar*, *khaṭ*, *jism*, *'araḍ*, *ayis*, *dhat*, *ṭafrah* and *raj'ah*. Under the chapter *fi dhkir asāmī arḥab al-Ara'* wa *al-Madhāhib min al-Muslimīn* (names of Muslim sects) he mentioned seven schools together with their subdivisions.¹⁰ After explaining the conceptual meaning of the term 'philosophy' he indicates its divisions as a science.¹¹ He selects and defines only 20 terms in connection with philosophy. No sign can be seen in connection with Sufism or any disciplines other than what have been

⁷Al-Khawārizmī' al-Kātib, *Mafatih al-'Ulum*, pp.6,7,8.

⁸ Ibid., pp17, 18.

⁹ See the English equivalent of each term in its proper place along this thesis.

¹⁰ Ibid., pp.18-23.

¹¹ See *ibid*, p.81 under chapter: *fi jumal al-'ilm al-ilahī al-a'la'* (sentences of transcendental metaphysical science), and p.82 under chapter *fi ilfaz yakthur zikrahā fi al-falāsafah wa kutubahā* (terms that circulated frequently in philosophy and the books that concern with it).

listed before¹². In total quantity the book was less than one third of *al-Ta'rifāt* but those shortcomings meant nothing as the *mafāṭih al-'ulūm* was absolutely the most significant attempt in the field of terminological studies with reference to the time during which the book appeared.

The second attempt was *al-Ḥudūd fī al-Uṣūl* of Ibn Furak¹³ (d.406). Compared with the *mafāṭih*, the *al-ḥudūd*¹⁴ was well done in terms of quantity (contains around 200 terms), quality and arrangement, but according to its title the book was limited to two sciences, namely *kalām* and *uṣūl al- fiqh*. Ibn Furak as student of al-Ash'ari's students he published this book to serve the school of Ash'ariyyah. His editor considered him as 'scholar of the Nation and revivalist of his century.¹⁵

The other exception was the brief tractate of al-Āmidī (d.631/1233) entitled "*al-Mubīn fī sharḥ alfāz al-Ḥukamā' wa al-Mutakalimīn*" which was, according to the title, limited to some technical terms of philosophy and theology. Sometimes he deals with some terms into the field of *fiqh* "perhaps to identify the meeting points between

¹² Along the whole book there was mentioned one suspicious sentence by which perhaps he meant Sufism. Such sentence was said while he divided Muslims into seven broad ideological schools. He mentioned first *M'tazilah* (which he divided into six subdivisions), second *Khawārij* (divided into fourteen), third *Ashāb al-Ḥadīth* (flowers of the prophetic tradition, which he divided into four), fourth *Mujbirah* (determinists, divided into five), fifth *Mushabihah* (Anthropomorphists, divided into thirteen), sixth *Murjjah* (lit. group of waiting), which he divided into six and the seventh was *shī'ah*, which he divided into five. The suspicious sentence was mentioned in the description of number eight subdivision that belongs to the *Mushabiha* group. He said "the eighth of them [i.e. of the *Mushabiha*] was called " *al-Ḥibbiyyah*, they have been called as such [i.e. *ḥibbiyyah*] due to their claim in which they have asserted that they worship Allah neither for fear nor for avidity but for love) see pp.18, 19, 20, 21,22. If he meant Sufism then it would be controversial to categorize such group with the *Mushabihah*!

¹³ Imām Abu Bakr Muḥammad Ibn al-Ḥasan, see his full autobiography in: Ibn Ḥazm, Abu Muḥammad 'Alī Ibn Ahmad, *al-Faṣl bayna al-Milāl wa al-Aḥwā' wa al-Niḥal*, Lebanon: Dār al-Ma'rifah, Beirut, 1975, vol.1, p.75, vol.4, p.162., Ibn Khalkān, *wafiyāt al-A'yān*, vol.4.p.272.

¹⁴ Ibn Furak, *kitāb al-Ḥudūd fī al-Uṣūl*, edit. Muḥammad al-Sulaymāni, dār al-Garb al-Islāmī, Beirut, 1999.

¹⁵ Ibid p. 17, for good analysis to the book see the editor introduction pp.43-53, which was done by Muḥammad al-Sulaymāni.

those sciences”¹⁶. But due to its limited numbers of disciplines no comparison has to be made with *al-Ta'rifat*.

In the following pages we have been chosen some scientific disciplines to give details in verifying claims stated in the foregoing paragraphs dealing with the stages, within which the technical term took place, and the significance of *al-Ta'rifāt* over such progress.

To investigate each stage in every discipline let us start with the technical terms of the Islamic mysticism that is known as *Taşawwuf* and conclude with philosophy as foreign discipline rendered into Arabic by non-Arab Christian translators (probably clerics)¹⁷ and developed apparently by non-Arab Muslim philosophers.¹⁸

Sufi Technical term:

The first stage in connection with *Sufi* technical term can be divided into two periods. The first period started with the early second generation of the Companions of the prophet time in which *taşawwuf* as technical term was not known.¹⁹

¹⁶ Jirār Jahāmi, *al-Ishkaliyyah al-Lughawiyah fi al-Falsafah al-'Arabiyyah*, p.70

¹⁷ Abd al-Rhman Badawi, *al-Turāth al-Yunānī fī al-Ḥadārah al-Islāmiyyah*, dār al-Nahḍah al-'Arabiyyah, Cairo 1967, pp. 61-67, 76. Badawi here translated Professor Max Meyerhof's views which appeared in his book *Von Alexandrien nach Baghdad*, [From Alexandria to Baghdad] in *Sitzungsberichte d. preuss. Ak. D. Wissensch., Ph.-hist. Klasse*, 1930, XXXIII, PP.129-387. See also the Christian agendas beyond popularizing Greek philosophy in the same book p.44.

¹⁸ The role of al-Kindi as a pure Arabic philosopher can not be omitted in this context.

¹⁹ *Taşawwuf* as technical term, according to Ibn Khaldun, appeared at the latest second century of the Hijrah (Ibn Khaldun, *al-Muqaddima*, Mecca: Dar al-Bāz, 1978, p.467). Although there was a claim that the term was used since the time of al-Ḥasan al-Baṣri (d.110H) but according to Ibn Khaldun himself as well as Ibn al-Jawzī and Ibn Taymiyyah the term qua a title of Muslim school has been popularized after the third century of Hijrah. See Ibn Khaldun, *al-Muqaddima*, p.467, Ibn al-Jawzī, *Talbis Iblis* dār al-Qalam, Beirut, p.157. Ibn Taymiyyah, *al-Ṣufiyyah wa al-Fuqara'*, Cairo, p.5.

Thus this period can be traced since the beginning of the second century of Hijrah with early pious figures known among the second and early third generation of Muslim community as ascetic personalities.²⁰ From those figures we can mention of names like Uways al-Qurani²¹, Şafwān al-Māzini²², Haram Ibn Ḥayyān al-‘Abdī²³, al-Rafi‘ whether Abu al-‘Āliyyah al-Riyāhī (d.90)²⁴ al-Ḥasan al-Başrī (d.110), ‘Abdu Allah Ibn al-Mubārka (118-d.181)²⁵ Mālik Ibn Dinār 131, Mus‘ir Ibn kadam Ibn Zuhair (d.155), Ibrahim Ibn Adham²⁶(d.161), Rabi‘ah al-‘Adawiyah (d.180), Ibn al-Sammāk Muḥammad Ibn Şubaih (d.183), Hashīm Ibn Bishr (d.183), al-Fuḍail Ibn ‘Ayyād (187), Shafiḡ al-Balakhī (d.194), Ma‘rūf al-Karakhī (d.201), etc.

The early ascetic figures resisted and, to some extent, abandoned the new spirit of Muslims community as deterioration had effected its body as well as its spirituality due to the terrible civil war²⁷ and the new luxurious life style that started to appear by the end of ‘Umar’s abstinent government. This early asceticism and renunciation in early Muslim community were destined to lead in due course to Sufism as Ibn Khaldun explained in the following paragraphs.

²⁰ Furthermore some researchers have been trying to hunt people around the Prophet (s.a.w.s) e.g. Abu Dhar al-Ghifārī (d.32 the fourth person converted to Islam), Ḥuzayfah Ibn al-Yamān (d.36) and Salmān al-Fārisī (d.36) have been cited as seed of Sufism.

²¹ Uways Ibn ‘Āmir Ibn Jaz’a Ibn Malik Ibn ‘Amr Ibn Sa‘id Ibn Şafwān Ibn Qarn Ibn Radmān Ibn Najjiyyah Ibn Murād. He did not meet the Prophet (s.a.w) although Uwais was living during the Prophet’s life. Aḥmad Ibn Ḥanbal in his *musnad* mentioned a ḥadīth said that the prophet (s.a.w) said: “the best followers would be Uwais al-Qurani”. Al-Aşbahānī described him as ‘the master of worshipers and the eminent figure of ascetic elite. see Al-Aşbahānī, Al-Ḥāfiḡ Abu Na‘im in his *ḥilyah al-Awliyah wa ṭabaqāt al-Aşfiyā*, dār al-Kitāb al-‘Arabi, Beirut 1980.

²² From the upper class of followers narrated a ḥadīth on behalf of ‘Abduallah Ibn ‘Umar and Abi Musa’ al-Ash‘arī’. His death was in al-Başrah.

²³ He served ‘Umar Ibn al-Khaṭṭāb.

²⁴ al-Sulamī’ in *Ṭabaqāt al-Sufiyyah* has mentioned that Abu al-‘Āliyyah al-Riyāhī do not like people who used to wear wool.

²⁵ See Nuzhah al-Fuḍalā’ vol.2, p.656.

²⁶ A prince of Balkh who abandoned his throne and became -according to professor Goldziher- “a wandering dervish” see *Reynold A. Nicholson, The Mystics of Islam*, p. 17, Routledge, Kegan Baul, London, 1914. Qushairi, al-Risālah al-Qushairiyyah, p.22, dār al-Kutub al-‘ilmiyyah, Beirut 1998.

²⁷ Started, between ‘Ali and Mu‘awiyah, by assassination of ‘Uthmān (d.35AH/656 AC).

This knowledge is a branch of the sciences of Sacred Law that originated within the Umma. From the first, the way of such people had also been considered the path of truth and guidance by the early Muslim community and its notables, of the Companions of the Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace), those who were taught by them, and those who came after them.

It basically consists of dedication to worship, total dedication to Allah Most High, disregard for the finery and ornament of the world, abstinence from the pleasure, wealth, and prestige sought by most men, and retiring from others to worship alone. This was the general rule among the Companions of the Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) and the early Muslims, but when involvement in this-worldly things became widespread from the second Islamic century onwards and people became absorbed in worldliness, those devoted to worship came to be called *Sufiyya* or *People of Tasawwuf*.²⁸

The technical term, which has been circulated during this early period, almost stands on revealed knowledge i.e. derived from Qur'ān and ḥadīth vocabularies. Thus it was familiar to the intellectual as well as to the public opinions of that period which extended up to the end of the second hundred of Hijrah. It includes familiar terms like²⁹ *imān*, *kufr*, *zuhd*, *khishu'*, *khawf*, *ḥub*, *ikhlaṣ*, *sidq*, *riyā'*, *ghflah*, *taqwā'* *tawbah*, *dhikr*, *jannah*, *nār*, *mūr*, *irādah*, *huriyyah*, *ḥayāh*, *mawt* etc.

During such period no strangeness has been shown, whether in terms of language or ideas as progress moved smoothly. Perhaps the only shaking ideas appeared with the term *ḥub* (love), which Rabi'ah tried to replace it instead of fear (*khūf*). Both terms have been applied in the relation of man with Allah while the first performing *'ibādah* (worship). Nicholson says in this context:

The mainspring of Moslem religious life during the eighth century was fear; fear of God, fear of Hell, fear of death, fear of sin but the opposite motive had already begun to make its influence felt, and produced in the saintly woman Rabi'a at least one conspicuous example of truly mystical self-abandonment.³⁰

Indeed the notion of divine love was not alien to the Islamic legacy before the time of Rabi'ah as Nicholson's quotation connotes. Perhaps the unfamiliar was Rabi'ah's

²⁸ Ibn Khaldun, *al-Muqaddima*, Mecca, Dar al-Baz, p. 467, 1978.

²⁹ See Rafiq al-'Ajmi, *Mawsu'ah muṣṭalahāt al-Taṣawwuf al-Islāmi*, p. xv.

³⁰ *Reynold A. Nicholson*, *The Mystics of Islam*, Routledge, Kegan Paul, London, 1914, P.4.

application of the term. There are many verses from Qur'ān and Prophetic Ḥadīth mentioned the principle of loving Allah as crucial element in devotion³¹.

The technical terms of the second period in the first stage, which started probably by the beginning of the third hundred of Hijrah, we may consider as natural extension to the first period in terms of time. But the ordinary meaning of Arabic language as well as the intellectual primal sources from which the technical terms of the first period was derived seemed to be incapable of giving expression and giving feedback to such sophisticated ideas which were developed by some sophisticated mystical figures. This sophistication, probably, due to new intellectual elements that influenced Muslim community since the third century of Hijrah. Those elements in most cases were alien in terms of language as well as ideas. This alienation might be ascribed to the immense philosophical and mystical elements that infused the Islamic intellectual life during and after the translation era³². Mostly like the sources of these ideas were Manicheanism, Zoroastrian, Hellenism and Buddhism.³³ Thus starting from the third up to the seventh century AH many unfamiliar concepts of terms that connote unfamiliar philosophical and metaphysical connotations have been circulated in Sufi circles. The following terms have been selected to symbolize the alien terms or at least unfamiliar notions to the public of this period³⁴. Those are: *taṣawwuf*³⁵,

³¹ The prophet in correct ḥadīth says "O, God makes me love you more than myself and more than drinking water" Tirmizi, kitāb al-Da'awāt, chapter 73 report no.3490. See Qur'ān for example verses (2:165) and (5:54).

³² We may know the serious beginning of the translation period from the life and death of the eminent translators of Greek sciences. Probably it started intensively from 850 and continued up to 1050. See De Boer *ibid.*, p.37.

³³ As the history of early Islamic civilization does not have official translators of foreigner mystical legacy as the case of Greek philosophy and sciences but T. J. De Boer mentioned that the Indian wisdom spread out Islamic community through the merchants as well as some Persian wisdom and tales have been translated by Ibn al-Muqafa' during the time of al-Manṣūr (136/754-158/775)

³⁴ Checkup along this thesis the English equivalent of each term in its proper place.

³⁵ Some European researchers found alien root for *taṣawwuf* as identified it with the Greek "sophós in the sense of theosophist" see R. A Nicholson, *The Mystic of Islam*, p.3.

ma'rifah in sense of 'irfān (gnosis), *abad, azal, bast, qabd, fanā', mḥq, maḥw, wajd, shatḥ, ṣḥw, insān kāmil, ḥaqīqah muhammadiyah, itihād, wuḥdah al-wujūd, wuḥdah al-shuhūd, kashf, sitr, sir, talwīn, tamkīn ḥāl, maqām, safar* etc. These terms have been uttered by famous Sufi philosophers as Bastāmī (d.261), Ḥalāj (d.309), Ibn 'Arabi (d.638), Jalāl al-Din al-Rumī (d.672) etc.

The critical studies of the Sufi technical terms, which can be classified as second stage, were started at the end of the third and beginning of the fourth century AH with Abu Naṣr al-Sarrāj (d.378/988). In his thesis, known as *al-Luma*³⁶ Sarraj wrote a chapter in which he mentioned, exposed and analyzed the specific language, which the Sufis of the first stage have circulated among them³⁷. Abu Bakr al-Kalabādhī (391/1000) in *al-Ta'aruf li madhhab ahl al-taṣawwuf*³⁸, Qushairī (d.465/1072) in *al-Risālah al-Qushairiyyah*³⁹, Hujwayrī (d.465/1071) in *kashf al-Maḥjūb*⁴⁰, al-Ghazālī (d.505) in his famous book the *Iḥyā'* and Sahrawardī (632) in *'Awarif al-Ma'arif*⁴¹ have continued on the same line of Sarrāj. The writings of those scholars, who occupied the intellectual mystical arena for three centuries (350-630AH), have developed the second stage of the *Sufis* technical terms. Meaning the main key terms of the mystical literature of the early five centuries in Islamic civilization have been discussed etymologically and conceptually.

³⁶ published in Beirut, in 1991 by dār al-khair

³⁷ Al-Sarrāj, Abu Naṣr al-Tusī, *al-Luma' dār al-kutub al-ḥadithah*, Mīsr 1960.

³⁸ Al-Kalabādhī, Abu Bakr Muḥammad Ibn Ishāq al-Bukharī, *al-Ta'aruf li Madhhab ahl al-Taṣawwuf*, Cairo, maktabah al-Khānjī, 1933.

³⁹ Qushairi wrote in his *Risālah* long section on the terminology of the Sufī, each term being analyzed etymologically and conceptually, see Abu al-Qāsim 'Abd al-Karīm Ibn Hawāzin Qushairi, *Risālah* pp.89-125.

⁴⁰ Abu al-Ḥasan 'Alī Ibn 'Uthman Ibn abi 'Alī al-Jalābī al-Ghazwīnī

⁴¹ Al-Sahrawardī, Shihāb al-Din Abu Ḥafṣ 'Umar Ibn Muḥammad, *'Awarif al-Ma'arif*, Cairo, maṭba'ah al-Sa'ādah, n.d.

The third stage started with the *Ta'rifāt* of Ibn 'Arabī (d. 638H), which he compiled in 613AH during his resident in Turkey. According to his introduction Ibn 'Arabī wrote this tractate in responding to an intimate friend who had asked him to explain the Sufis technical terms. He introduced his pamphlet by the following:⁴²

In the name of Allah the merciful the compassionate, and peace be upon Muḥammad and his family. Praise be to Allah and peace upon His chosen servants, and Mercy and blessings of Him upon you O, dearest intimate and the best chosen friend. You have suggested to us to explain the terms, which the realized Sufis of friends of Allah have circulated among them. You suggested such as you have seen many scholars of the exterior sciences, who come across our publications and the publications of those who adhered to our path. Those scholars [as you have seen] inquired about the terms that we have agreed about as ignoring those terms through which we understand each other like any scholars of any other technical sciences. I have responded to you although I did not investigate all the terms but rather I have limited myself to the most significant ones. I gave up to mention the clearest ones as might be understood with reference to their metaphor and analogical indications . . .

Although this dictionary was very short (includes only 198 terms) it inaugurated the third stage since it (i.e. the dictionary) carried the necessary qualities of lexicon. The second attempt on the same line was *Iṣṭilāḥāt al-Ṣufiyyah* of al-Kāshānī (d.736AH) which included more than five hundred terms. The third distinguished attempt, which sealed all previous endeavors, was done by al-Jurjānī(816AH) who examined in his *Ta'rifāt* the Sufis' technical terms and the whole technical terms of the sciences that produced by Islamic civilization up to his time.

To what extent Jurjānī succeed in treating the Sufi technical term? This and other fundamental questions related to this studies will be discussed under *Taṣawwuf* and other related subtitles dealing with “the contents of *al- Ta'rifāt*” in section 2 of this introduction.

⁴² Ibn 'Arabī, *iṣṭilāḥāt al-Ṣufiyyah* introduction to this tractate indicated that he wrote those terminologies in response to a friend who asked him to explain the main keys in Sufis language.

Technical Term of Islamic Philosophy:

The emergence, development and crystallization stages of Muslim philosophical technical terms are quite different from the Sufi. These differences perhaps are on account of some major distinctions between the two. Primarily it could be due to *particularity of each as well as due to conditions within which the progressive stages* of each discipline took place along the flourished scientific context of Islamic civilization. On this regards one may mention the following points:

- a. While piety, asceticism and mysticism have been considered as universal tendency and the Islamic mystical technical term, at least in its emergence stage, was derived completely from the technical term of the Islamic revealed knowledge that was not the case with the so called “Islamic philosophy”.
- b. As well as no consensus among the intellectual historians that Islamic Mysticism is an alien to the spirit and general worldview of Islamic civilization no body denies that the key terms, problems and arguments of Greek philosophy rendered into different intellectual framework to reproduce what is known as ‘Islamic philosophy’.
- c. As we do not have official translators in the history of Islamic intellectualism for, e.g., Indian, Persian or Christian mysticism that was not the case with reference to our philosophical legacy as some learned men like Ishaq Ibn Hunayn, Hunayn Ibn Ishāq, Ibn al-Bitriq, Yahyah Ibn ‘Udi, ‘Isā Ibn Ishāq, Tadhāri (Theodore), ‘Isa Ibn Zur’ah, Abu ‘Uthmān al-Dimashqī, Ibrahim al-Kātib, Astat, Abu Bishr Mattā etc.

have been officially employed to translate the Greek philosophy into Arabic⁴³.

However the rendered, whether translated or transliterated, technical terms of Greek philosophy into language and structural mentality of the Arab has been looked at it as an alien agent to the mood, language and culture of the pre-Islamic as well as of early post-Islamic Arabian Peninsula.⁴⁴ However those differences between Arabs and Greek are quite reasonable as we read from the following responses of an Arabic contemporary scholar⁴⁵:

Every language reflects the interior system of its structures, which possesses particular composition and derived from two sources: its own constitution based on its own rules and its own reality of the environment within which reacts and responds across its [different] implications. Thus by its tools and tongue this language molds regular forms to such reality of environment and constitutes it according to its own way and genius.

To what extent the mentality of an Arab is capable to understand what the mind of the Greek thinker has produced in spite of the geographical, historic and civilizational differences between the two? The language of each one possesses general and individual concepts, which reflect the norms, behaviors, believes, psychology, passions and living style of the community of each one.

***Kalām* as an Emergence Stage of Islamic philosophical language:**

Should we regard the translation era within which Greek philosophy has been rendered into Arabic as an emergence stage of 'Islamic philosophical technical terms?

⁴³ Many official translators of Greek Philosophy have been recited in the history books of Muslim philosophy. The above-mentioned short-listed names have been selected from long list enclosed in Majid Fakhry's *Islamic Philosophy, Theology and Mysticism* pp.143/4.

⁴⁴ While Greek philosophy does not respect poets or poetry according to T. J. De Bore the class of the poets in the pre-Islamic Arabian community was the highest one. To him they represent the scholars and the intelligentsia of that community, and upon them and upon the Arabic language the unity of nation was manifested. See his book *Tārikh al-Falsafah fi al-Islām*, trans. M. A. Abu Raidah, p. 5. However there is different view presented by Ahmad Amin as he claimed that the governors was the highest-minded class. See his *Fajr al-Islām*, pp. 68-70. But we do not agree with Amin's encounter view as pre-Islamic Arabian community did not have class of governors in the sense of other civilized ancient nations as Roman, Egyptian, Persian etc. Let alone the tribal governor supposed to be from the poets' class as long as eloquence -the main character of the poet- is precondition for the ancient Arab leadership.

⁴⁵ Jirār Jahāmi, *al-Ishkālīyah al-Lughawīyah fi al-Falsafah al-'Arabiyyah*, dār al-Mashriq, Lebanon, Beirut, 1986, p.13.