

AL-GHAZĀLĪ
THE REMEMBRANCE
OF DEATH AND THE
AFTERLIFE · *Kitāb*
dhikr al-mawt wa-mā
ba'dahu · BOOK XL of
THE REVIVAL OF THE
RELIGIOUS SCIENCES
Ihyā' 'ulūm al-dīn · translated
with an INTRODUCTION
and NOTES by T.J.WINTER

THE ISLAMIC TEXTS SOCIETY
CAMBRIDGE 1995

First published in 1989 by
The Islamic Texts Society
P.O.Box 842, Bartlow
Cambridge CB1 6PX, U.K.

Reprinted 1995

Copyright © The Islamic Texts Society 1989

British Library Cataloguing-in-Publication Data
A catalogue record for this book is
available from the British Library.

ISBN 0 946621 09 8 *cloth*
ISBN 0 946621 13 6 *paper*

No part of this book may be reproduced
in any form without prior permission of
the publishers. All rights reserved.

Printed by The Bath Press

CONTENTS

Abbreviations v
Preface ix
Introduction xiii
Notes to Introduction xxiv



THE REMEMBRANCE OF DEATH AND THE AFTERLIFE

Prologue

THE FIRST PART

CHAPTER ONE: On the Remembrance of Death, and an Encouragement to Remember it Abundantly.	7
<i>An exposition of the excellence of the remembrance of death, however done</i>	9
<i>An exposition of the way to bring about the recollection of death in the heart</i>	12
CHAPTER TWO: On Lengthy Hopes, and the Merit of Brief Hopes, together with the Reason for their Prolongation, and how this may be Cured.	15
<i>The merit of brief hopes</i>	15
<i>From the Narratives</i>	18
<i>An exposition of the cause of lengthy hopes, and how they may be cured</i>	25
<i>An exposition of people's diverse ranks in lengthy and brief hopes</i>	28
<i>An exposition of making haste to works, and a warning about the unworthiness of delay</i>	31

THE REMEMBRANCE OF DEATH

CHAPTER THREE: On the Agonies and Violence of Death, and the States Preferable upon its Advent.	37
<i>An exposition of the states preferable in the dying man</i>	47
<i>An exposition of the sorrow felt upon meeting the Angel of Death, through accounts uttered in the way of mute eloquence</i>	50
CHAPTER FOUR: On the death of the Emissary of God (may God bless him and grant him peace), and of the Rightly-guided Caliphs after him.	57
<i>The death of the Emissary of God (may God bless him and grant him peace)</i>	57
<i>The death of Abū Bakr al-Ṣiddīq (may God be pleased with him)</i>	74
<i>The death of ʿUmar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb (may God be pleased with him)</i>	77
<i>The death of ʿUthmān (may God be pleased with him)</i>	81
<i>The death of ʿAlī (may God ennoble his face)</i>	83
CHAPTER FIVE: On the Sayings of the Caliphs, Princes and Righteous Men when Nearing Death.	85
<i>An exposition of the sayings of a number of the most righteous men among the Companions, the Followers, and the Sufis who came after them</i>	88
CHAPTER SIX: On the Sayings of the Gnostics at Funerals and Cemeteries, and the Legal Verdict concerning the Visitation of Graves.	97
<i>An exposition of the condition of the grave, and of their sayings at the graveside</i>	100
<i>Some verses found inscribed upon graves</i>	107
<i>An exposition of their sayings upon the death of a child</i>	109
<i>An exposition of the visitation of graves, the offering of supplications for the deceased, and related matters</i>	111

Contents

CHAPTER SEVEN: On the True Nature of Death, and what the Dead Man Undergoes in the Grave prior to the Blast on the Trump.	121
<i>An exposition of the true nature of death</i>	121
<i>An exposition of the grave's discourse to the dead, and of their utterances, either on the tongue of common speech, or that of mute eloquence</i>	133
<i>An exposition of the Punishment of the Grave, and the questioning of Munkar and Nakīr</i>	135
<i>An exposition of the questioning of Munkar and Nakīr, their aspect, and the straitening of the Grave, and the remainder of what needs to be said regarding the Punishment of the Grave</i>	144
CHAPTER EIGHT: On the States of the Dead which have been known through Unveiling [<i>mukāshafa</i>] in Dreams.	149
<i>An exposition of visionary dreams which reveal the states of the dead and the works which have brought advantage in the Afterlife</i>	156
<i>An exposition of the visionary dreams of the Shaykhs, may God be pleased with them all</i>	159

THE SECOND PART

The Trumpet-Blast	173
The Land and People of the Concourse	177
The Perspiration	180
The Length of the Day of Arising	182
The Day of Arising, and its Calamities and Names	184
The Inquisition	188
The Scales	195
The Adversaries, and the Restoration of Wrongs	198
The Traverse	205
The Intercession	210

THE REMEMBRANCE OF DEATH

The Pool	217
The Inferno, and its Terrors and Torments	219
Heaven, and the Varieties of its Bliss	232
<i>The Number of the Gardens</i>	234
The Wall of Heaven, its Land, Trees and Rivers	239
The Raiment of Heaven's People, their Furnishings, Beds, Divans and Tents	240
The Food of Heaven's People	242
The Large-eyed Houris and the Pages	244
An Exposition of a Diverse Group of the Attributes of Heaven's People for which Accounts are Forthcoming	246
The Beatific Vision, and the Beholding of the Countenance of God (Blessed and Exalted is He!)	250
A Chapter on the Wide Compass of God's Mercy	252



Notes 262

Appendix: Persons cited in text	277
Index to Qur'ānic quotations	319
Qur'ānic chapter titles cited	325
Bibliography	327
General Index	337

ABBREVIATIONS

Ājurri	: al-Ājurri, <i>K. al-Sharī'a</i>
ʿAṭṭār	: Arberry (tr.), <i>Muslim Saints and Mystics</i>
Azami	: M.M. Azami, <i>Studies in Early Hadith Literature</i>
ʿĀriḍat al-aḥwadhī	: Ibn al-ʿArabī, ʿĀriḍat al-aḥwadhī ...
Bayḍāwī	: al-Bayḍāwī, <i>Anwār al-tanzīl ...</i>
Bidāya	: Ibn Kathīr, <i>al-Bidāya wa'l-nihāya</i>
BSOAS	: <i>Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies</i>
<i>De Anima</i>	: Ibn Sīnā, <i>De Anima</i>
Ḍuʿafāʾ	: al-Nasāʾī, <i>K. al-Ḍuʿafāʾ wa'l-matrūkīn</i>
Durra	: al-Ghazālī, <i>al-Durra ...</i> , ed. Gautier
EI	: <i>Encyclopaedia of Islam</i> (First edition)
EP	: <i>Encyclopaedia of Islam</i> (Second edition)
<i>Escatología</i>	: M. Asín Palacios, <i>La Escatología ...</i>
<i>Faḥ al-Bārī</i>	: Ibn Ḥajar, <i>Faḥ al-Bārī ...</i>
<i>Fihrist</i>	: Ibn al-Nadīm, <i>K. al-Fihrist</i>
<i>Fiṣal</i>	: Ibn Ḥazm, <i>al-Fiṣal fi'l-milal ...</i>
GAL	: Brockelmann, <i>Geschichte ...</i>
GALS	: Brockelmann, <i>Geschichte ... (Supplement)</i>
GAS	: Sezgin, <i>Geschichte ...</i>
<i>Ghāya</i>	: Ibn al-Jazarī, <i>Ghāyat al-nihāya ...</i>
Ḥākīm	: al-Ḥākīm al-Nisābūrī, <i>al-Mustadrak ...</i>
Ḥalīmī	: al-Ḥalīmī, <i>al-Minhāj fi Shuʿab al-īmān</i>
al-Ḥakīm al-Tirmidhī	: al-Ḥakīm al-Tirmidhī, <i>Nawādir al-uṣūl ...</i>
<i>al-Ḥawī</i>	: al-Suyūṭī, <i>al-Ḥawī li'l-fatāwī</i>
Hujwūrī	: Nicholson (tr.) <i>Kashf al-mahjūb</i>
Ibn Abī Shayba	: Ibn Abī Shayba, <i>al-Muṣannaf</i>
Ibn Aʿtham	: Ibn Aʿtham, <i>al-Futūḥ</i>
Ibn al-Daybaʿ	: Ibn al-Daybaʿ, <i>Tamyīz al-ṭayyib ...</i>
Ibn Rajab	: Ibn Rajab, <i>Ahwāl al-qubūr ...</i>
Ibn al-Mubārak	: Ibn al-Mubārak, <i>al-Zuhd wa'l-raqāʾiq</i>

THE REMEMBRANCE OF DEATH

- Ibn Shaddād : Ibn Shaddād, *al-A^llāq al-Khaṭīra* ...
 Ibn al-Sunnī : Ibn al-Sunnī, *ʿAmal al-yawm wa'l-layla*
Iljām : al-Ghazālī, *Iljām al-ʿawāmm* ...
Inbāh : Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *al-Inbāh* ...
Iqtisād : al-Ghazālī, *al-Iqtisād fi 'l-ī'itiqād*
Iṣāba : Ibn Ḥajar, *al-Iṣāba fi tamyiz al-Ṣaḥāba*
Istīʿāb : Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *al-Istīʿāb* ...
 JAOS : *Journal of the American Oriental Society*
 JRAS : *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*
Kāshif : al-Dhahabī, *al-Kāshif* ...
Khālid : Ḥasan Khālid, *al-Islām wa-ru'yatuhu* ...
 Lane : Lane, *An Arabic-English Lexicon*
Mashāhīr : Ibn Ḥibbān, *Mashāhīr ʿulamā' al-amṣār*
Ma'thūr : al-Daylamī, *al-Firdaws bi-ma'thūr* ...
 Māturīdī : al-Māturīdī, *Kitāb al-Tawḥīd*
 MIDEO : *Mélanges de l'Institut Dominicain d'Etudes
 Orientales*
 MW : *The Muslim World*
 Nawawī, Sharḥ : al-Nawawī, *al-Minhāj fi sharḥ* ...
Pensée : Gardet, *La Pensée Religieuse d'Avicenne*
 Q. : *al-Qur'ān al-Karīm*
 Quḍā'ī : al-Quḍā'ī, *Musnad al-Shihāb*
 Qurtubī : al-Qurtubī, *al-Tadhkira* ...
 Qushayrī : al-Qushayrī, *al-Risāla fi 'ilm al-ṭasawwuf*
 Ṣafadī : al-Ṣafadī, *al-Wāfi bi'l-wafayāt*
Sakhāwī : al-Sakhāwī, *al-Maqāsid al-Ḥasana* ...
 Schimmel : Schimmel, *And Muhammad is His Messenger*
 SEI : *Shorter Encyclopaedia of Islam*
Sharnūbī : al-Sharnūbī, *Taqrīb al-ma'ānī* ...
Shawkānī : al-Shawkānī, *al-Fawā'id al-majmū'a* ...
 Smith and Haddad : Smith and Haddad, *The Islamic
 Understanding...*
 Sulamī : al-Sulamī, *Ṭabaqāt al-Sūfiya*
 Ṭabarānī, Ṣaghīr : al-Ṭabarānī, *al-Mu'jam al-Ṣaghīr*
Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb : Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb*
Tā'jil : Ibn Ḥajar, *Tā'jil al-manṣū'a* ...
Tārikh Baghdād : al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Tārikh Baghdād*

Abbreviations

- Ṭayālīsī : al-Ṭayālīsī, *al-Musnad*
 ʿUqaylī : al-ʿUqaylī, *al-Du'afā' al-Kabīr*
 Wakīʿ : Ibn al-Jarrāḥ, *K. al-Zuhd*
 Zabīdī : al-Zabīdī, *Ithāf al-sādat al-muttaqīn* ...

PREFACE

‘DEATH and the sun are not to be looked at steadily.’ The maxim of La Rochefoucauld centrally represents modern man’s attitude to this alarming yet most fascinating of subjects. And indeed, to the reader whose roots lie in the soil of secular Europe the prospect of reading a text (and not an overly brief one at that) the declared object of which is to remind him just how quick and fragile his life must be, might seem unpromising, or even distasteful. One must not, however, lose sight of the fact that an interest in the Grand Leveller, far from reflecting bad taste or morbidity, has historically provided man with many of his finest literary and religious achievements. From the time of the *Egyptian Book of the Dead* more than two millennia before Christ, through the age of Dante to Donne and Milton, the steady contemplation of human mortality and the possibility of survival has bequeathed to us a recurrent literary theme, which, by shedding light on how earlier generations died provides us with profound insights into the way they chose to live.

The text here presented in translation lays a particular claim to our attention, for it is the principal work on the matter of death to have issued from the pen of the most celebrated theologian of Islam. The *Imām al-Ghazālī* designed it to be the final flourish to his forty-‘book’ *Revival of the Religious Sciences* (in Arabic, *Ihyā’ ‘ulūm al-dīn*), his magisterial exposition of the Islamic faith which is generally acclaimed as the definitive *summa theologica* of Islam. In view of the wide circulation of the work, the *Remembrance of Death and the Afterlife* (*Kitāb Dhikr al-mawt wa-mā ba’dahu*) may well be considered the most influential treatment of orthodox Muslim belief in this signally important field. Further, while its academic interest is substantial, the appeal of al-Ghazālī’s tract today extends far beyond the confines of University libraries, for the world which its author addressed, despite almost a thousand years of change and (as some would have it) corrosion, still lives, worships and dies. It is this abiding relevance of al-Ghazālī’s message which I have endeavoured to bear in mind during the

labour of translation, hoping that some glimmer of the literary quality of the original may shine through, and that perhaps, with the help of Providence, our author's text may still serve the purpose for which it was intended.

I would like to record my indebtedness to a number of scholars who have assisted me with this work. In particular, Dr. Ibrāhīm al-Baṭṭāwī of al-Azhar University and Shaikh Aḥmad Mashhūr al-Ḥaddād elucidated a number of difficult passages and helped me with the identification of certain of the sayings of the Prophet in which this text abounds. Professor Malcolm Lyons of Cambridge University and Seemi Ghazi kindly read the Introduction and parts of the translation, and made several useful suggestions. To these and a number of others I extend my thanks.

In the absence of a critical edition of the *Revival* I have made use of the following editions: (1) the Amīriya edition of 1289 AH as reprinted at the margin of al-Murtaḍā al-Zabīdī's commentary *Ithāf al-sādat al-muttaqin bi-sharḥ asrār Ihyā' 'ulūm al-dīn*, second edition (Cairo: al-Maymaniya, 1311 AH) (referred to as A); (2) the text reproduced in the *Ithāf* itself, irregularities in which are sometimes pointed out by the commentator (Z); (3) the al-Maktaba al-Azharīya edition of 1317 AH (MA). Attention is drawn to significant discrepancies only; obvious typographic errors are omitted.

Square brackets have been employed for explanatory material added to the text, and also for the Arabic original of certain locutions for which no satisfactory equivalent exists in English. Qur'anic material, for which I have drawn heavily on Pickthall's *Meaning of the Glorious Koran*, is in italics and numerated in accordance with the King Fu'ād Edition, while references to the *ḥadīth* literature follow the system used in Wensinck's *Concordance*, with the more recondite Traditions being identified according to the volume and page numbers of the printed editions of those works listed in the Bibliography. Where such material has not been identified in printed works the reader has been referred to the *takhrīj* of Zabīdī and the *zawā'id* literature. Roughly following the system of al-'Irāqī, all Traditions have been divided into three groups: those included by al-Bukhārī and

Muslim, for which no reference to other sources has been made, those covered by the other collections used by Wensinck, for which other sources are mentioned but rarely, and thirdly, the less important texts; this for the sake of economy. The pagination in references to the *Ihyā'* is that of the Cairo edition of Muṣṭafā al-Ḥalabī (1347 AH) as being perhaps more widely available than the three texts listed above.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Abdelkader, A.H. *The Life, Personality and Writings of al-Junayd*. London, 1962.
- Ahsan, M.M. *Social Life under the Abbasids*. London, 1979.
- Ājurrī, Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn, al-. *K. al-Sharī'a*. Partial ed. by M. Ḥ. al-Fiqī. Cairo, 1369/1950.
- Allard, M. *Le problème des attributs divins dans la doctrine de al-Aṣḥarī et de ses premiers grands disciples*. Beirut, 1965.
- Anawati, G.C. 'Introduction historique à une nouvelle traduction de la Métaphysique d'Avicenne'. *MIDEO* 13 (1977), pp.171-252.
- *Etudes de philosophie musulmane*. Paris, 1974.
- Arberry, A.J. *Revelation and Reason in Islam*. London, 1957.
- 'Ibn Abī'l-Dunyā on penitence'. *JRAS* (1951) pp.48-58.
- *Muslim Saints and Mystics. Episodes from the Tadhkirat al-Auliya'* ("Memorial of the Saints") by Farid al-Din Attar. London, 1979.
- Ashḥarī, Abu'l-Ḥasan, al-. *Maqālāt al-Islāmīyīn wa'khtilāf al-muṣallīn*. Ed. H. Ritter. Istanbul, 1929-1930.
- *al-Ibāna 'an uṣūl al-diyāna*. Cairo, 1348 AH.
- Asín Palacios, M. *La Escatología Musulmana en la Divina Comedia*. 2nd. (extended) ed. Granada, 1943.
- *La Espiritualidad de Algazel y su sentido Cristiano*. Madrid & Granada, 1934-1941.
- *Algazel, Dogmática, Moral y Ascética*. Saragossa, 1901.
- Azami, M.M. *Studies in Early Hadith Literature*. Indianapolis, 1978.
- Badawī, 'Abd al-Raḥmān. *Mu'allafāt al-Ghazālī*. Cairo, 1380/1961.
- Baghdādī, 'Abd al-Qāhir b. Ṭāhir, al-. *al-Farq bayn al-firaq*. Ed. M. 'Abd al-Ḥamīd. Cairo, n.d.
- *Uṣūl al-dīn*. Istanbul, 1346/1928.
- Bāqillānī, Muḥammad b. al-Ṭayyib, al-. *K. al-Tamhīd*. Ed. R.J. McCarthy. Beirut, 1957.

- Bayḍāwī, ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUmar, al-. *Anwār al-tanzīl wa-asrār al-taʿwīl*. Istanbul, 1329 AH.
- Bayhaqī, Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusayn, al-. *al-Asmāʾ waʾl-ṣifāt*. Beirut, 1405/1985.
- *Ithbāt ʿadhāb al-qabr*. Ed. S. M. al-Qudāt. Amman, 1403/1983.
- *al-ʿItiqād waʾl-hidāya ilā sabīl al-rashād*. Ed. K. al-Ḥūt. Beirut, 1403/1983.
- *K. al-Baʿth waʾl-nushūr*. Ed. A. A. Ḥaydar. Beirut 1406/1986.
- Bouyges, M. *Essai de chronologie des oeuvres de al-Ghazālī (Algazel)*. Ed. and revised by M. Allard. Beirut, 1959.
- Brockelmann, C. *Geschichte der arabischen Litteratur*. 2nd. ed. Leiden, 1943–1949; *Supplement*. Leiden, 1937–1942.
- Bukhārī, Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl, al-. *al-Jāmiʿ al-Ṣaḥīḥ*. Cairo, 1309 AH.
- Calverley, E.E. 'Doctrines of the Soul (*nafs* and *rūḥ*) in Islam'. *MW* 33 (1943) pp.254–264.
- Dahlawī, Shāh Walī Allāh, al-. *Ḥujjat Allāh al-Bāligha*. Cairo, 1952–3.
- Dāraquṭnī, ʿAlī b. ʿUmar, al-. *K. al-Sunan*. Cairo, n.d.
- *Dhikr asmāʾ al-Tābiʿīn*. Ed. B. al-Dannāwī and K. al-Ḥūt. Beirut, 1406/1985.
- Dārimī, Abū Muḥammad, al-. *K. al-Sunan*. Cawnpore, 1293 AH.
- Daylamī, Abū Shujāʿ Shīrawayhi, al-. *al-Firdaws bi-maʿthūr al-khiṭāb*. Ed. al-Saʿīd Zaghālūl. Beirut, 1406/1986.
- Dermenghem, E. *Vies des saints musulmans*. (Edition définitive). Paris, 1983.
- Dhahabī, Muḥammad b. Aḥmad, al-. *Siyar aʿlām al-nubalāʾ*. Ed. S. al-Arnāʿūṭ et al. Beirut, 1401– AH.
- *al-Kāshif fī maʿrifat man lahu riwāya fīʾl-kutub al-sitta*. Beirut, 1403/1983.
- Eklund, R. *Life between Death and Resurrection according to Islam*. Uppsala, 1941.
- Encyclopaedia of Islam, The*. Ed. by M. Houtsma et al. Leiden, 1927. New edition, ed. by J.H. Kramers, H.A.R. Gibb et al. Leiden, 1954–. *Supplement*, 1980–.
- Ernst, C. *Words of ecstasy in Sufism*. Albany (USA), 1985.

- Farazdaq, Abū Firās Hammām, al-. *Dīwān*. Beirut, 1400/1980.
- Gardet, L. *La Pensée Religieuse d'Avicenne (Ibn Sīnā)*. Paris, 1951.
- Gardet, L. and Anawati, M.-M. *Introduction à la théologie musulmane. Essai de théologie comparée*. Paris, 1970.
- Ghazālī, Abū Ḥāmid Muḥammad b. Muḥammad, al-. *Tahāfut al-falāsifa*. Ed. M. Bouyges. Beirut, 1927.
- *al-Iqtisād fīʾl-ʿitiqād*. Ed. M. Abuʾl-ʿAlā. Cairo, 1972.
- *Iḥyāʾ ʿulūm al-dīn*. Cairo, 1347 AH.
- *Faḍāʾih al-Bāṭiniyya*. Ed. A. Badawī, Cairo, 1964.
- *Fayṣal al-tafriqa bayn al-Islām waʾl-zandaqa*. Ed. S. Dunyā. Cairo, 1961.
- *al-Munqīdh min al-ḍalāl waʾl-mūṣil ilā dhiʾl-ʿizza waʾl-jalāl*. Ar. ed. and French trans. by Farid Jabre. Beirut, 1959.
- *Iḥyāʾ al-ʿawāmm ʿan ʿilm al-kalām*. Ed. M. Abuʾl-ʿAlā, in *al-Quṣūr al-ʿawālī min rasāʾil al-Imām al-Ghazālī*. Cairo, 1390/1970.
- (pseudo?) *Mīzān al-ʿamal*. Ed. M. Abuʾl-ʿAlā. Cairo, 1973.
- (pseudo?) *al-Durra al-Fākhira fī kashf ʿulūm al-Ākhira*. Partial ed. and French translation by L. Gautier, as *al-Dourra al-Fakhira: La Perle Précieuse de Ghazali. Traité d'Eschatologie Musulmane*. Leipzig, 1877.
- Gramlich, R. *Muḥammad al-Gazzālīs Lehre von den Stufen zur Gottesliebe*. Wiesbaden, 1984. (German transl. and introd. of Books 31–36 of the *Iḥyāʾ*.)
- Guillaume, A. *The Life of Muḥammad. A Translation of Ibn Ishāq's Sirat Rasūl Allāh*. London, 1955.
- Ḥākim al-Nīsābūrī, al-. *al-Mustadrak ʿalā al-Ṣaḥīḥayn*. Hyderabad, 1334–42 AH.
- Ḥakīm al-Tirmidhī, al-. *Nawādir al-uṣūl fī maʿrifat aḥādīth al-Rasūl*. Istanbul, 1293 AH.
- Ḥalīmī, al-Ḥusayn b. al-Ḥasan, al-. *al-Minhāj fī shuʿab al-īmān*. Ed. Ḥ.M. Fawda. Beirut, 1399/1979.
- Haythamī, ʿAlī b. Abī Bakr, al-. *Majmaʿ al-zawāʾid wa-manbaʿ al-fawāʾid*. Cairo, 1352 AH.
- *Mawārid al-zamʿān ilā zawāʾid Ibn Ḥibbān*. Cairo, n.d.
- *Kashf al-astār ʿan zawāʾid al-Bazzār*. Ed. Ḥ. al-Aʿzamī. Beirut, 1404/1984.

- Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, Yūsuf. *al-Inbāh 'alā qabā'il al-ruwā*. Ed. I. al-Ibyārī. Beirut, 1405/1985.
- *al-Istī'āb fī ma'rifat al-Aṣḥāb*. With *al-Iṣāba* of Ibn Ḥajar. Cairo, 1358–9 AH.
- Ibn Abī 'Āṣim, Abū Bakr 'Amr. *K. al-Sunna*. Ed. M.N. al-Albānī. Beirut, 1400/1980.
- *K. al-Zuhd*. Ed. A.A. al-A'zamī. Beirut, 1405/1985.
- Ibn Abī'l-Dunyā, 'Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. 'Ubayd. *K. Dhamm al-dunyā*. Ed. and introd. by E. Appelrot-Almagor as *The 'K. Dhamm al-dunyā' by Ibn Abī'l-Dunyā*. Ann Arbor, Michigan: University Microfilms, 1979.
- *K. al-Shukr*. Ed. and introd. by Y. al-Sawwās and A. al-Arnā'ūf. Beirut, 1405/1985.
- *K. Makārim al-akhlāq*. Ed. and introd. by J.A. Bellamy. Wiesbaden, 1973.
- *K. al-Ṣamt wa-ḥifẓ al-lisān*. Ed. and introd. M. A. 'Āshūr. Cairo, 1406/1986.
- Ibn Abī Shayba. *al-Muṣannaḥ*. Bombay, 1386–1390 AH.
- Ibn al-'Arabī, Abū Bakr (al-Qāḍī). *'Āriḍat al-aḥwadhī fī sharḥ Ṣaḥīḥ al-Tirmidhī*. Cairo, 1352/1934.
- Ibn A'tham, Aḥmad, al-Kūfī. *al-Futūḥ*. Ed. A. Khan. Hyderabad, 1388/1968—1395/1975.
- Ibn al-Athīr, Mubārak b. Muḥammad. *al-Nihāya fī gharīb al-ḥadīth wa'l-athar*. Cairo, 1344 AH.
- Ibn al-Dayba', 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Alī. *Tamyīz al-tayyib min al-khabīth fimā yadūru 'alā alsinat al-nās min al-ḥadīth*. Cairo, 1382/1962.
- Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī, *Fath al-Bārī sharḥ Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*. Cairo, 1344 AH.
- *al-Maṭālib al-'Āliya bi-zawā'id al-Masānīd al-Thamāniya*. Ed. H. al-A'zamī. Kuwait, 1393/1973.
- *al-Iṣāba fī tamyīz al-Ṣaḥāba*. Cairo, 1358–9 AH.
- *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb*. Hyderabad, 1326 AH.
- *Ta'jīl al-manṣā'a bi-zawā'id rijāl al-a'immat al-arba'a*. Hyderabad, 1324 AH.
- Ibn Ḥanbal, Aḥmad b. Muḥammad. *al-Musnad*. Cairo, 1313 AH.
- *K. al-Zuhd*. Beirut, 1403/1983.

- *K. al-Warā'*. Cairo, 1340 AH.
- Ibn Ḥazm, 'Alī b. Aḥmad. *al-Fiṣal fi'l-milal wa'l-ahwā' wa'l-nihal*. Cairo, 1321 AH.
- Ibn Ḥibbān, Muḥammad, al-Bustī. *Mashāhīr 'ulamā' al-amṣār*. Ed. M. Fleischhammer. Cairo, 1959.
- Ibn al-Jarrāḥ, Wakī'. *K. al-Zuhd*. Ed. A.A. al-Faryawā'ī. Medina, 1404/1984.
- Ibn al-Jawzī. *al-'Ilal al-Mutanāhiya fi'l-aḥādīth al-wāhiya*. Beirut, 1399/1979.
- *Talbīs Iblīs*. Cairo, 1352 AH.
- *Manāqib Ma'rūf al-Karkhī wa-akhbārūhu*. Ed. A. al-Jabbūrī. Beirut, 1406/1985.
- Ibn al-Jazārī, Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad. *Ghāyat al-nihāya fī ṭabaqāt al-Qurrā'*. Ed. G. Bergsträsser and O. Pretzl. Cairo, 1352/1933.
- Ibn Kathīr, Ismā'īl b. 'Umar. *al-Bidāya wa'l-nihāya*. Cairo, 1351 AH.
- Ibn Khallikān, Aḥmad b. Muḥammad. *Wafayāt al-a'yān wa-anbā' abnā' al-zamān*. Ed. F. Wüstenfeld. Göttingen, 1835.
- Ibn Māja al-Qazwīnī. *K. al-Sunan*. Delhi, 1333 AH.
- Ibn Marthad, 'Alqama. *Zuhd al-thamāniya min al-Tābi'in*. Ed. A.A. al-Faryawā'ī. Medina, 1404 AH.
- Ibn al-Mubārak, 'Abd Allāh. *al-Zuhd wa'l-raqā'iq*, including the *riwāya* of Nu'aym b. Ḥammād (with separate pagination). Ed. H. al-A'zamī. Malegaon (India), 1385/1966.
- Ibn al-Nadīm, Muḥammad. *al-Fihrist*. Ed. G. Flügel. Leipzig, 1871–2.
- Ibn Qutayba, 'Abd Allāh b. Muslim. *'Uyūn al-akhbār*. Ed. A. al-'Adawī. Cairo, 1343–8/1925–30.
- *al-Ma'ārif*. Ed. F. Wüstenfeld. Göttingen, 1850.
- Ibn Rajab, 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Aḥmad. *Ahwāl al-qubūr wa-aḥwāl ahlihā ila'l-nushūr*. Beirut, 1405/1985.
- Ibn Shaddād, Muḥammad b. 'Alī. *al-A'lāq al-Khaṭīra fī dhikr umarā' al-Shām wa'l-Jazīra*. Vol. II. Ed. S. al-Dahhān. Damascus, 1382/1963.

- Ibn Sīnā. *al-Shifā'*. Partial ed. by F. Rahman as *Avicenna's De Anima (Arabic text). Being the psychological part of Kitāb al-Shifā'*. Oxford, 1960.
- *al-Risāla al-Adḥawīya fī (amr) al-ma'ād*. Ed. and Italian trans. by F. Lucchetta, as *Avicenna, Epistola sulla vita futura*. Padua, 1969.
- Ibn al-Sunnī, Abū Bakr. *ʿAmal al-yawm wa'l-layla*. Ed. A. Ḥajjāj. Cairo, 1982.
- Ījī, ʿAbd al-Rahmān b. Aḥmad, al-. *K. al-Mawāqif fī ʿilm al-kalām*. Ed. Soerensen. Leipzig, 1848.
- Iṣfahānī, Abū Nuʿaym, al-. *Ḥilyat al-awliyā' wa-ṭabaqāt al-ʿasfiyā'*. Cairo, 1351-7/1932-8.
- Iṣṭakhṛī, Abū Ishāq, al-. *Masālik al-mamālik*. Ed. M.J. de Goeje. Leiden, 1870.
- Jabre, F. 'La biographie et l'oeuvre de Ghazālī réconsidérées à la lumière des Ṭabaqāt de Sobkī'. *MIDEO* 1 (1954), pp.73-102.
- Jarīr, Ibn ʿAṭīya al-Khaṭafī. *Dīwān*. Beirut, 1403/1983.
- Jayūshī, M. I. al-. *al-Ḥakīm al-Tirmidhī. Dirāsa li-āthārihi wa-ʿafkārīhi*. Cairo, 1401/1980 (?).
- Khālīd, Ḥasan. *al-Islām wa-ru'yatuhu fīmā ba'd al-mawt*. Beirut, 1406/1986.
- Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, al-. *Tārīkh Baghdād*. Cairo, 1349.
- Le Strange, G. *Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*. Cambridge, 1905.
- Lane, E. *An Arabic-English Lexicon*. London, 1863-1893.
- Laqqānī, ʿAbd al-Salām, al-. *Irshād al-murīd ilā maqām al-tawḥīd*. Printed at margin of *al-Ḥāshīya* of Muḥammad al-Amīr. Cairo, 1373/1953.
- Lazarus-Yafēh, H. *Studies in Al-Ghazzālī*. Jerusalem, 1975.
- Macdonald, D.B. 'The Life of al-Ghazzālī'. *JAOS* 20 (1899) pp.70-133.
- Massignon, L. *Essai sur les origines du lexique technique de la mystique musulmane*. 2nd. ed. Paris, 1954.
- *La Passion d'al-Hallāj*. Paris, 1922.
- Mātūrīdī, Muḥammad b. Maḥmūd, al-. *K. al-Tawḥīd*. Ed. F. Kholeif. Beirut, 1970.

- McCarthy, R.J. *Freedom and Fulfillment. An Annotated Translation of al-Ghazālī's al-Munqidh min al-Ḍalāl and other Relevant Works of Al-Ghazālī*. Boston, 1980.
- Makkī, Abū Ṭālib, al-. *Qūt al-qulūb fī mu'āmalat al-Maḥbūb wa-waṣf ṭarīq al-murīd ilā maqām al-tawḥīd*. Cairo, 1310 AH.
- Montgomery Watt, W. *Muslim Intellectual: A Study of al-Ghazālī*. Edinburgh, 1963.
- 'The Authenticity of the Works Ascribed to Al-Ghazālī'. *JRAS*, 1952, pp.24-45.
- Morelon, R. *Le livre du licite et de l'illicite. Kitāb al-ḥalāl wa'l-ḥarām*. Paris, 1981. (French tr. and introd. of book 14 of the *Iḥyā'*.)
- Muḥāsibī, al-Ḥārith, al-. *K. al-Ri'āya li-ḥuqūq Allāh*. Ed. M. Smith. London, 1940.
- *K. al-Tawahhum*. Ed. and introd. by A.J. Arberry. Cairo, 1937.
- Murābiṭ, J. al-. *Al-Sarī al-Saqafī*. Beirut, 1398 AH.
- Nakamura, K. *Ghazālī on prayer*. Tokyo, 1973. (English tr. with introd. of the *Kitāb al-adhkār wa'l-da'awāt* from the *Iḥyā'*.)
- Nasā'ī, Aḥmad ibn Shu'ayb, al-. *al-Du'afā' wa'l-matrūkīn*. Ed. B. al-Ḍannāwī and K. al-Ḥūt. Beirut, 1405/1985.
- Nawawī, Muḥyi'l-Dīn Yahyā, al-. *al-Minhāj fī Sharḥ Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim ibn al-Ḥajjāj*. Cairo, 1347 AH.
- *al-Tibyān fī ādāb ḥamalāt al-Qur'ān*. Cairo, 1365 AH.
- *Tahdhīb al-asmā' wa'l-lughāt*. Ed. F. Wüstenfeld. Göttingen, 1842-7.
- Nicholson, R.A. *The Kashf al-maḥjūb, the oldest Persian treatise on Sufism*. Leiden and London, 1911. (Tr. with introd. of the *Kashf al-Maḥjūb* of al-Hujwīrī.)
- Pellat, C. *Le Milieu basrien et la formation de Ḡāḥiḥ*. Paris, 1953.
- Pickthall, M.M. *The Meaning of the Glorious Koran*. London, 1934.
- Plotinus. *Enneads*. Vol. iv. Ed. and trans. by A.H. Armstrong. (Loeb Classical Library no.443.) Harvard and London, 1984.
- Pouzet, L. *Une Herméneutique de la tradition islamique. Le Commentaire des Arba'ūn al-Nawawīya de Muḥyi' al-Dīn Yahyā al-Nawawī*. Beirut, 1982.

- Quḍā'ī, Muḥammad b. Salāma, al-. *Musnad al-Shihāb*. Beirut, 1405/1985.
- Qurtubī, Muḥammad b. Aḥmad, al-. *al-Tadhkira fi aḥwāl al-mawtā wa-umūr al-ākhirā*. Cairo, 1352 AH.
- Qushayrī, Abu'l-Qāsim, al-. *al-Risāla fi 'ilm al-taṣawwuf*. Ed. A. Mahmūd and M. al-Sharīf. Cairo, 1385/1966.
- Rahman, F. *Prophecy in Islam*. London, 1958.
- Rawdānī, Muḥammad b. Muḥammad, al-. *Jam' al-fawā'id min Jāmi' al-uṣūl wa-Majma' al-zawā'id*. Mecca, 1404/1983.
- Rāzī, Fakhr al-Dīn, al-. *Ma'ālim uṣūl al-dīn*. Ed. T. A. Sa'd. Beirut, 1404/1984.
- Rosenthal, F. "Sweeter than hope": *Complaint and Hope in Medieval Islam*. Leiden, 1983.
- Ṣafadī, Ṣalāh al-Dīn Khalīl b. Aybak, al-. *al-Wāfi bi'l-wafayāt*. Ed. H. Ritter et al. Wiesbaden, 1962.
- Sakhāwī, Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān, al-. *al-Maqāsid al-Ḥasana fi bayān kathīr min al-aḥādīth al-mushtahira 'ala'l-alsina*. Ed. and introd. by M.U. al-Khusht. Beirut, 1405/1985.
- Schimmel, A. *And Muhammad is His Messenger. The veneration of the Prophet in Islamic piety*. Chapel Hill (USA), 1985.
- Sezgin, F. *Geschichte des arabischen Schrifttums*. Leiden, 1967.
- Sharnūbī, 'Abd al-Majīd, al-. *Taqrib al-mā'ānī ilā matn Risālat Ibn Abī Zayd al-Qayrawānī*. Cairo, 1323 AH.
- Shawkānī, Muḥammad b. 'Alī, al-. *al-Fawā'id al-Majmū'a fi'l-aḥādīth al-mawḍū'a*. Ed. A. al-Mu'allimī. Cairo, 1380/1960.
- Sherif, M.A. *Ghazali's Theory of Virtue*. Albany (USA), 1975.
- Shorter Encyclopaedia of Islam*. Ed. H.A.R. Gibb and J.H. Kramers. Leiden, 1974.
- Sijistānī, Abū Dāūd, al-. *K. al-Sunan*. Cairo, 1369-70/1950-51.
- Smith, J. *The Precious Pearl*. Missoula (USA), 1979. (Trans. of *Durra al-Fākhira* attributed to al-Ghazālī.)
- and Haddad, Y. *The Islamic Understanding of Death and Resurrection*. Albany (USA), 1981.
- Smith, M. *Al-Ghazālī the Mystic*. London, 1944.
- *Rābi'a the Mystic and Her Fellow-Saints in Islam*. Cambridge, 1928.

- 'The Forerunner of al-Ghazālī (al-Muḥāsibī)'. *JRAS* (Jan. 1936) pp.65-78.
- Subkī, Tāj al-Dīn, al-. *Ṭabaqāt al-Shāfi'iya al-Kubrā*. Cairo, 1324 AH.
- Sulamī, Abū 'Abd al-Raḥmān, al-. *Jawāmi' ādāb al-Ṣūfiya* printed together with his *'Uyūb al-nafs wa-mudāwātuhā*. Ed. & introduced by E. Kohlberg. Jerusalem, 1976.
- *Ṭabaqāt al-Ṣūfiya*. Ed. J. Pedersen. Leiden, 1960.
- Suyūṭī, Jalāl al-Dīn, al-. *al-Durar al-muntathira fi'l-aḥādīth al-mushtahira*. Ed. K. M. al-Mīs. Beirut, 1404/1984.
- *al-Jāmi' al-Ṣaghīr fi aḥādīth al-Baḥīr al-Nadhīr*. Beirut, 1401/1981.
- *Sharḥ al-ṣudūr bi-sharḥ ḥāl al-mawtā wa'l-qubūr*. Beirut, 1404/1984.
- *Al-Hāwī li'l-fatāwī*. Cairo, 1352 AH.
- *al-Mujtabā min Sunan al-Nasā'ī*. Cairo, 1383-4/1964-5.
- Ṭabarānī, Sulaymān b. Aḥmad, al-. *al-Mu'jam al-Ṣaghīr*. Cairo, 1388 AH.
- Ṭabarī, Ibn Jarīr, al-. *Jāmi' al-bayān fi ta'wīl āi al-Qur'ān*. Cairo, 1323-9 AH.
- Tāshkōprüzāde. *Miftāḥ al-sā'ada wa-miṣbāḥ al-siyāda*. Hyderabad, 1328-1336 AH.
- Ṭayālīsī, Muḥammad b. Ja'far, al-. *al-Musnad*. Hyderabad, 1321 AH.
- Tritton, A. 'Man, nafs, rūḥ, 'aql'. *BSOAS* 34 (1971) pp.491-495.
- 'Uqaylī, Muḥammad b. 'Amr, al-. *K. al-Du'afā' al-Kabīr*. Ed. A. Qal'ajī. Beirut, 1404/1984.
- Wensinck, A.J. et al. *Concordance et indices de la tradition musulmane*. Leiden, 1936-1969.
- *The Muslim Creed*. Cambridge, 1932.
- 'On the Relation between Ghazālī's Cosmology and his Mysticism'. *Verhandelingen der Koninklijke Akademie van Wetenschappen te Amsterdam*, 75 (1933), A6, 183-209.
- Wiener, A. 'Die Farāğ ba'd aš-šidda Literatur'. 1/II. *Der Islam* 4 (1913) pp.270-298, 387-420.
- Wolfson, H.A. *The Philosophy of the Kalam*. Harvard and London, 1976.

THE REMEMBRANCE OF DEATH

Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī. *Muʿjam al-buldān*. Ed. F. Wüstenfeld. Leipzig, 1866.

Zabīdī, al-Murtaḍā, al-. *Ithāf al-sādat al-muttaqīn bi-sharḥ asrār Ihyāʾ ʿulūm al-dīn*. Cairo, 1311 AH.

GENERAL INDEX

- al-ʿAbbās, 61, 63, 69, 78, 157
 ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿAbbās, 16, 31, 44,
 72, 77, 81, 156, 158, 178, 212,
 216, 225, 241, 256, 258
 ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿAmr, 128, 131, 243,
 256
 ʿAbd Allāh ibn Masʿūd, 14, 17, 33,
 35, 46, 59, 63, 194, 201, 208,
 224n, 243
 ʿAbd Allāh ibn al-Mubārak, xiv,
 xxiv, 89, 90, 164, 166
 ʿAbd Allāh ibn Rawāḥa, 131
 ʿAbd Allāh ibn Salām, 81
 ʿAbd Allāh ibn Sumayṭ, 21
 ʿAbd Allāh ibn Thaʿlaba, 23
 ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿUbayd ibn ʿUmayr,
 135
 ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿUmar, 10, 15, 29,
 32, 70, 79, 113, 114, 117, 130,
 180, 182, 192, 218, 245
 ʿAbd Allāh ibn Zamʿa, 64, 65
 ʿAbd Allāh al-Zarrād, 159
 ʿAbd Allāh ibn Zayd (Abū Qilāba),
 118
 ʿAbd al-Malik ibn Marwān, 86-7
 ʿAbd al-Qays, 118
 ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn al-ʿAlāʾ ibn al-
 Lajlāj, 117
 ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Abī Bakr, 61,
 112
 ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn ʿAwf, 77, 80
 ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Thābit (Abū
 Qays), 127
 ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Yūsuf, 22
 ʿAbd al-Wāḥid ibn Zayd, 157
 Abū l-ʿAbbās ibn ʿAṭāʾ, 93
 Abū l-ʿAbbās al-Dīnawarī, 91
 Abū ʿAlī al-Rūdhbārī, 91
 Abū ʿAmr ibn al-ʿAlāʾ, 98
 Abū Ashʿath, 11
 Abū Ayyūb al-Anṣārī, 132
 Abū Bakr ibn ʿAbd Allāh al-
 Muzanī, 114
 Abū Bakr ibn Abī Maryam, 167
 Abū Bakr al-Rashīdī, 166
 Abū Bakr al-Ṣiddīq, xiv, 24, 60, 61,
 63, 64, 73, 81, 82, 114, 158, 159,
 163, 185, 237, 243; speech at
 Prophet's death 69-72; death of,
 74-7
 Abū Burda, 260
 Abū l-Dardāʾ, 14, 102, 128, 131, 225,
 243, 260
 Abū Dharr, xiv, 102, 112, 200, 218,
 259
 Abū Hāshim al-Rummānī, 19
 Abū Ḥātim al-Rāzī, 164
 Abū Hāzim, 86
 Abū Hurayra, 32, 43, 46, 48, 97, 114,
 120, 127, 131, 137, 138, 144, 146,
 179, 180, 191, 199, 200, 212, 222,
 224, 226, 234, 240, 249
 Abū Jābir, 129, 150
 Abū Jaʿfar (Muḥammad ibn ʿAlī),
 73, 84, 137
 Abū Jaʿfar al-Ṣaydalānī, 160
 Abū Lahab, 157
 Abū Luʿluʾa, 77,
 Abū Muḥammad ibn ʿAlī, 23
 Abū Mūsā al-Ashʿarī, 34, 260
 Abū Mūsā al-Tamīmī, 105
 Abū Nuʿaym al-Iṣfahānī, xix, xxviii
 Abū Qays, 127
 Abū Qilāba, 118
 Abū Saʿīd al-Kharrāz, 90, 91, 143,
 163
 Abū Saʿīd al-Khudrī, 15, 48, 132,
 207, 224, 237, 242, 244, 247, 257
 Abū Saʿīd al-Ṣaffār, 166
 Abū Saʿīd al-Shahḥām, 166
 Abū Sinān, 110
 Abū Sulaymān al-Dārānī, xiv, 12,
 92, 162
 Abū Ṭālib al-Makkī, xiv, xix
 Abū ʿUbayda al-Nājī, 35
 Abū Umāma (ibn Sahl), 114
 Abū Umāma al-Bāhilī, 116, 226,
 239, 246

- Abū 'Umar Ṣāhib al-Suqyā, 130
 Abū Yahyā al-Māzinī, 95
 Abū Ya'qūb al-Qārī' al-Daqīqī, 167
 Abū Zakariyya al-Taymī, 21
 ablutions, 52, 91, 92, 151
 Abraham, 42, 44, 50-1, 72, 167, 211, 213, 214, 216
 Adam, 21, 95, 167, 197, 212, 213, 235n, 247, 248, 254
 Adam's Peak, 235n
 Aden, 218
 'adhāb al-qabr, xiii, xxi, 2, 100-9, 121-47
 'Adī ibn Ka'b, 79
 adultery, 259-60
 ahl al-bayt (the 'Household'), 63, 64, 70
 ahl al-sunna wa'l-jamā'a, xxvi
 Aḥmad ibn Abī'l-Ḥawārī, 162
 Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, xiv, xxiv, 117, 215n
 Aḥmad ibn Ḥarb, 104, 230
 Aḥmad ibn Khidrawayhi, 95
 Aḥmad al-Rādakānī, xv
 'Ā'isha bint Abī Bakr, 9, 11, 40, 59, 60, 61, 64, 65, 66, 67, 73, 74, 79, 112, 119, 129, 146, 196
 al-Ājurri, 215n
 al-'Alā' ibn Ziyād, 160
 Alexandria, xvi, xxv
 'Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib, 15, 41, 61, 68, 73, 80, 81, 101, 112, 127, 157, 158, 222; death of, 83-4, 124n
 'Alī ibn 'Āṣim, 168
 'Alī ibn Mūsā al-Ḥaddād, 117
 'Alī al-Ṭāhī, 161
 Allard, M., xxv
 'Alqama, 127
 al-A'mash, 55, 98, 226
 ambergris, 135n
 Āmina bint Wahb, 101, 157
 'Amir ibn 'Abd Allāh, 33
 'Amir ibn 'Abd al-Qays, 89
 'Amir ibn Ṣa'ṣa'a, 164n
 Amman, 217, 218
 'Amr ibn al-'Āṣ, 88, 102, 211
 'Amr ibn Dīnār, 130
 'Amr ibn Ḥazm al-Anṣārī, 259
 'Amr ibn Maymūn, 77
 amṣār, 80
 anā Aḥmad bilā mim, xxvii
 Anas ibn Mālik, 10, 17, 114, 119, 127, 146, 192, 196, 202, 209, 215, 224, 228, 244, 246
 'Anbasa ibn Sa'īd, 12
 angels (general), 57, 113, 120, 134, 135, 150n, 160, 164, 166, 175, 178, 180, 184, 188-9, 194, 196, 205, 208, 213, 220, 257, 259n; recording angels, 45, 256
 Angel of Death, 13, 21, 30, 33, 37, 40, 43-5, 46, 48, 50-5, 58, 64, 65, 66, 67, 94, 98
 animals, 176, 180, 184, 200-1, 253
 al-Anṣār, see 'Helpers'
 Antichrist (al-Dajjāl), 31
 Appelrot-Almagor, Ella, xxviii
 al-'Aqaba, 218
 al-'Aqīq, 82n
 al-A'rāb (the 'nomads'), 239-40, 256, 259
 al-A'rāf, xxii, xxx
 Arberry, A.J., xxviii, xxix
 'arīfūn (the 'gnostics'), xxiii, 7, 8, 250n, 251n
 Aristotle, xiv
 'arsh, see 'Throne'
 al-Aṣbagh al-Ḥanzālī
 asceticism, xiv, 17, 89, 99, 100-1, 168
 aṣḥāb al-yamīn, xxiii, 243
 al-Ash'arī, Abū'l-Ḥasan, xv
 al-Ash'arī, Abū Mūsā, 34, 260
 Ash'arite theology, xxiv, xxv, 48n, 231n, 250n, 254n
 Ash'ath ibn Aslam, 51-1
 'Āṣim al-Aḥwal, 36
 'Āṣim ibn Ḍamra, 235
 'Āṣim al-Jahdarī, 114
 Asin Palacios, M., xxiv, xxvi, xxviii, xxx, 115n
 astral body, 122n
 al-Aswad, 30
 'Aṭā' al-Khūrāsānī, 10
 'Aṭā' al-Salīmī, 103, 160
 'Aṭā' ibn Yaṣār, 54, 90, 145
 atheists, 121

- 'Aṭṭār, xxvii
 Audition (*samā'*), 246n
 Avicenna, 122n
 'awāmm, xxi
 al-Awzā'ī, 41, 161, 245
 Ayla, see 'al-'Aqaba'
 al-'Aynā', 249
 Ayyūb al-Sikhtiyānī, 165
 'Azrā'ū, see 'Angel of Death'
 Badawī, 'Abd al-Rahmān, xxv
 Badr, 126
 Baghdad, xv, xvi, xvii, xxv, 165n
 al-Baghḍādī, 'Abd al-Qāhir, 201n
 al-bakkā'ūn (the 'Weepers'), xiv
 Bakr ibn 'Abd Allāh al-Muzanī, 52, 114
 Bakr al-'Ābid, 103
 Bakrān al-Dīnawarī, 92
 Balance, see 'Mīzān'
 al-Balqā', 218
 'banner of praise', 212, 215
 Banu'l-Ḥārith ibn al-Khazraj, 69
 al-Baqī', 104
 al-Bāqillānī, xv
 al-Barā' ibn 'Azib, 135
 Barhūt, 131
 barzah, 176; see also 'adhāb al-qabr'
 Bashshār ibn Ghālib al-Najrānī, 116
 Basra, 11, 99, 105, 111, 118, 167
 al-Bāṣīnīya, xvi
 al-Bayhaqī, xx, xxiv
 Beatific vision, see 'Ru'ya'
 bid'a, 117, 250
 al-Bīdukh, 245
 Bidāyat al-hidāya (of Ghazālī), xxvii
 Bilāl, 64, 89
 Bi'r 'Uṭhmān, 82n
 Bishr ibn al-Ḥārith al-Ḥāfi, 92, 162
 Bishr ibn Manṣūr, 115
 Bishr al-Marīsī, 121n
 al-Biṭāqa, 257n
 Bouyges, M., xxv, xxvii
 Bostra, 62, 214
 brief hopes, see 'qīṣar al-amal'
 bridge over Hell, see 'Sīrāf'
 al-Bukhārī, x, xiv, 181, 241, 258
 Bull of Heaven, 242
 camels, 247, 248
 Catholic, 254
 cauterisation, 259
 celestial body, 122n
 certainty (*yaqīn*), xviii, 129, 155
 Ceylon, 235n
 Chaldea, 235n
 Chambers (*ghuraf*) of Heaven, 236-8
 charity (*sadaqa*), 134, 146, 235
 charms, magical, 259
 children, xxii, 109-10, 187, 247
 Christians, 114, 122n, 174, 238, 254, 260
 creation, 174
 Ḍabba, 83
 ḍaghṣat al-qabr ('Straitening of the Grave'), 146-7
 al-Ḍahḥāk, 100, 115
 al-Dahlawī, Shāh Walī Allāh, 259n
 al-Dahrīya, 121n
 al-Dajjāl (the Antichrist), 31
 Damascus, xvi, 86, 163, 248n
 Dante, ix
 al-daraja wa'l-wasīla, 72n
 al-Dārānī, Abū Sulaymān, xiv, 12, 92, 162
 Dāūd al-Ṭāṭī, 19, 23, 34, 105, 166
 David (the Prophet), 12, 43, 110, 230
 al-Dawraqī, Mutammim, 159
 Day of Judgement, xiii, 22, 105, 113, 173-219 and passim
 death agonies, 37-56, 82
 death rattle, 39
 devil, the, 9, 20, 35, 46, 90, 95, 156, 160, 163, 165, 177, 200, 201, 209, 219, 246
 devils, 46, 180
 al-Dhahabī, xxix
 dhawq, xviii, xx
 Dhu'l-Nūn al-Miṣrī, 91
 Dhū Ṭuwā, 86
 al-Dīnawarī, Abū'l-'Abbās, 91
 al-Dīnawarī, Bakrān, 92
 al-Dīnawarī, Mumshād, 91, 94
 Dīrār ibn Murra (Abū Sinān), 110
 Disciples (of Jesus), 40
 divorce, 165n

Donne, ix
 dragon (*tinnin*), 138
 dreams, 19, 20, 44, 116, 124, 140,
 149-69; interpretation of, xxii,
 153; Prophet seen in, 81, 156-8,
 163
al-Durra al-Fākhira ... (attributed to
 Ghazālī), xxvi-xxvii, 131n,
 138n, 242n

earthquakes, 184
 Eden, 235, 238
 Egypt, xvi, 214n
Egyptian Book of the Dead, ix
 Eklund, R., xxiv
 Elias (al-Yasa'), 61
 Elisabeth (mother of St. John the
 Baptist), 167n
 Emigrants (*al-Muhājirūn*), 61, 62, 80,
 218, 242
 Eve, 117
 'evil end' (*sū' al-khātima*), 47, 49

Faḍā'il al-Bāṭiniya (of Ghazālī), xxvi
 al-Faḍl ibn al-'Abbās, 61
 Fakhr al-Mulk, xxv
 al-Fārābī, 122n
 al-Farazdaq, 105
farḍ 'ayn, xxvii
 fasting, 134, 146, 153, 156, 181, 200,
 235, 238
 Fāṭima (daughter of the Prophet),
 42, 66, 84, 113
 Fāṭima (sister of al-Rūdhbārī), 91
 Fāṭima bint 'Abd al-Malik, 87, 218
 Fāṭima bint al-Ḥasan, 104
fatra, 101
Fayṣal al-tafriqa (of Ghazālī), xxvi
 filial piety, 110, 113
fiqh (jurisprudence), xviii, 99
 Firdaws, 235n
 fish which supports the seven earths,
 242n
fiṭra, 151
 Followers (*al-Ṭābi'ūn*), xiv
 forty, xxvii
 Friday, 115, 166
 [al-]Fuḍayl ibn 'Iyāḍ, 89

Fuḍayl al-Ruqāshī, 36
 funerals, 23, 27, 97-100, 113, 117,
 127, 135, 146, 165

Gabriel, 60, 64, 66, 67, 80, 139, 154n,
 176, 190, 217, 245, 259
 Garden of the Refuge, 59, 63
 Gardet, L., xxv, 122n
 Gardet and Anawati, xxv
 Gehenna, see 'Hell'
ghassāq, 224
 al-Ghazālī, xv-xxiii; life of, xv-xvii
ghuraf, 236-8
 gnostic(s), xxiii, 7, 8, 250n, 251n
 Gog and Magog, 197
 Gospel, 59
 Greek philosophy, xiv
 guardians of Hell, 196, 205, 206, 225

ḥadīths, x, xiii, xiv, xx, xxiv, xxix,
 73, 122, 129, 176n, 211, 217, 223,
 234, 240, 244, 245n, 254n; *ḥadīth*
qudsī, xxvii

Ḥaḍramawt, 131n
 Ḥaṭṭa, 79
 Hajar, 214
 al-Ḥajjāj, 88
 al-Ḥajj ('the Pilgrimage'), xvi, 134,
 157, 181
 al-Ḥakam ibn al-Muṭṭalib, 94
 al-Ḥākīm al-Nisābūrī, xxv
 al-Ḥakīm al-Tirmidhī, xix, 33n,
 59n, 237n

ḥāl, 50n
 Ḥamza, 84, 113
hanūf, 135n
 al-Ḥārith ibn al-Khazraj, 69
 al-Ḥarra, 259
 'Harrowing of Hell', 254n; see also
 'Shafā'a'
 Ḥārūn al-Rashīd, 88
 al-Ḥaṣā, 214n
 al-Ḥasan ibn 'Alī, 84, 157
 al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī, xiv, 11, 12, 18, 19,
 21, 34, 35, 41, 46, 54, 90, 105,
 164, 167, 182, 196, 227, 229, 248
 al-Ḥasan ibn al-Ḥusayn, 104
 al-Ḥasan ibn Šāliḥ, 103

ḥātif, 163
 Ḥātim al-Aṣamm, 103
 al-Ḥawḍ (the 'Pool'), xii, xxiv, xxvii,
 58, 62, 217-9
 al-Ḥāwiya (the 'Abyss'), 132, 198,
 220, 221, 222
 heart, 11, 13, 27, 30, 31, 33, 38n, 48,
 118, 122-6, 129, 139, 150-3, 163,
 251n
 Heaven, already created, 76n, 229,
 231; descriptions of, xiii, 129,
 203, 217, 232-49; degrees in, 41,
 63, 72, 137n, 236-7; is eternal,
 229; gates of, 135-6, 209, 214,
 235, 236; gnostics indifferent to,
 94, 251, 251n; other references,
 xxx, 23, 32, 45, 48n, 60, 114,
 127, 135, 159, 163, 166, 168, 184,
 201n, 215, 216, 225, 230, 251,
 257, 258
 Hell, angels of, 196, 205, 206, 220,
 225; already created, 76n, 229,
 231; descriptions of, xiii, 129,
 219-31; is eternal, 229; gates of,
 137; temporary residence in, 58-
 9, 210-16, 219-20, 222n, 229,
 253, 254, 255n, 257 (see also
 'Shafā'a'); other references 22,
 26, 34, 45, 48n, 55, 127, 141, 173,
 182, 184, 187, 190, 194, 195, 197,
 201n, 206-9, 215
 Helpers (*al-Anṣār*), 10, 60, 61, 62, 80,
 135
ḥusn al-ẓann (harbouring a good
 opinion), of God, 49-50; of
 others, 99-100, 119n
 Holy Spirit (*al-Rūḥ al-Qudus*), 154
 honey, xxiii, 218, 232, 242, 248
 horses, 247, 248
 Houris (*al-Ḥūr*), xiii, xxiii, 161, 165,
 232, 236, 238, 241, 244-6, 247,
 248, 249
 Household (*ahl al-bayt*), 63, 64, 70
 Ḥudhayfa ibn al-Yamān, 8, 33, 46,
 48, 146, 243
 al-Ḥūr, see 'Houris'
 al-Ḥusayn ibn 'Alī, 84, 159, 229
 al-Ḥuṭama, 222

Ibn 'Abbās, 16, 31, 44, 72, 77, 81,
 156, 158, 178, 212, 216, 225, 241,
 256, 258
 Ibn Abī Awfā, 19, 161
 Ibn Abī'l-Dunyā, xiv, xix, xx,
 xxviii, 165n
 Ibn Abī'l-Ḥawārī, 162
 Ibn Abī Mulaika, 112, 113
 Ibn Abī Shayba, xxv
 Ibn al-'Alī, 'Abd al-Raḥmān, 117
 Ibn al-'Arabī, Abū Bakr, 195n
 Ibn al-'Arabī, Muḥyi'l-Dīn, xxvii,
 235n
 Ibn 'Aṭā, 93
 Ibn al-Bannāj, see 'Ibn al-Tayyāḥ'
 Ibn Hajar al-'Asqalānī, xxiv, xxvii,
 xxix, 15n, 61n
 Ibn Ḥanbal, xiv, xxiv, 117, 215n
 Ibn Ishāq, xx
 Ibn al-Jawzī, xx
 Ibn Kathīr, xxix, 71n
 Ibn Khidrawayhi, 95
 Ibn Mas'ūd, 14, 17, 33, 35, 46, 59, 63,
 194, 201, 208, 224n, 243
 Ibn al-Mubārak, xiv, xxiv 89, 90,
 164, 166
 Ibn Muḥjam, 83, 157
 Ibn al-Munkadir, 89
 Ibn Musarhad, xxx
 Ibn Muṭī, 14
 Ibn Rajab al-Ḥanbalī, xxiv
 Ibn Rāshid, 166
 Ibn Rawāḥa, 131
 Ibn al-Šalāḥ, xxix
 Ibn Salām, 81
 Ibn al-Sammāk, Muḥammad ibn
 Šabīḥ, 107, 133
 Ibn Sīnā, 122n
 Ibn Sīrīn, 11, 113, 153
 Ibn Sumayṭ, 21
 Ibn Tāshfīn, xvi
 Ibn al-Tayyāḥ, 83
 Ibn Tha'laba, 23
 Ibn 'Umar, 10, 15, 29, 32, 70, 79,
 113, 114, 117, 130, 180, 182, 192,
 218, 245
 Ibn 'Uyayna, 157, 161, 163,
 Ibn Zam'a, 64, 65

- Ibrāhīm ibn Ishāq al-Ḥarbī, 161
Ibrāhīm al-Nakhaṭī, 89
Ibrāhīm al-Taymī, 11
Ibrāhīm al-Zayyāt, 98
ichor, 224n
idolatry, 201
Ihya' 'ulūm al-dīn (of Ghazālī), ix, xi, xvii, xxiv, xxvi, xxvii, 250n
'Ikrima, 44
Ijām ... (of Ghazālī), xxix, 250n
'Ilfiyīn, 137, 237n
imaginative faculty (*al-khayāl*), 153
immortality, 28, 58, 62
al-Imlā'... (of Ghazālī), xxix
'Imrān, 167
India, 55, 93n
Intellect, 252n
Intercession, see '*Shafā'a*'
al-Iqtisād fi'l-ʿItiqād (of Ghazālī), xvii
Iraq, xv, 161n
al-'Irāqī, x, xxix
ishārāt ('allusions'), 162
Isrāfīl, see 'Seraphiel'
al-Isrā', 244
Ithāf al-sāda ..., see 'al-Zabīdī'
- Jābir al-Anṣārī, 32, 129, 150, 157, 237
Jābir ibn Wadā'a, 50
Jābir ibn Zayd, 46
al-Jābiya, 131n, 248
Jabre, F., xxv
Ja'far ibn Abī Ṭālib, 84
Ja'far ibn Muḥammad, 'al-Ṣādiq', 102, 113
Ja'far [ibn Muḥammad] ibn Nuṣayr (al-Khuldī), 92
Jahannam (the 'Inferno'), see 'Hell'
al-Jāhiẓ, 165
al-Jahmiya, 121n
Jannat al-ma'wā ('Garden of the Refuge'), 59, 63
Jarīr ibn 'Abd Allāh al-Bajalī, 240, 250, 255
Jarīr al-Khaṭaṭī, 98
al-Jayūshī, xxviii
Jerusalem, xvi, 175n, 244
Jesus, xix, xxvii, 18, 29, 40, 44, 189, 211, 214, 230
- Jews, xix, xx, xxvii, 40, 52, 54, 238, 242, 243, 254, 260
Jihād ('the Holy War'), 134, 181, 235, 244, 247; see also 'Martyrs'
jinn, 180, 254
John the Baptist, 167n
Joseph, 64, 151n, 212n
Jūj and Mājūj ('Gog and Magog'), 197
al-Junayd, xiv, 90, 91, 160, 162, 165; death of 92, 93-4
al-Jurayrī, 90, 91n
jurisprudence (*fiqh*), xviii, 99
justification by faith, 48n
al-Juwaynī (Imām al-Ḥaramayn), xv, xxv, xxvi
- Ka'b al-Aḥbār, 11, 42, 113, 129, 134, 182, 248
kalām theology, xiv-xv, xviii, xxv
kashf see '*mukāshafa*'
al-Kattānī, 162, 94, 162
al-Kawthar, 62, 217
Khadija bint Khuwaylid, 84
Khālid, Ḥasan, xxiv, 59n, 131n
al-Khandaq, 118
Khārijites / Khawārij, 83n, 121n, 255n
al-Kharrāz, 90, 91, 143, 163
al-Khaṭṭābiya, 121n
khāwāṣṣ, xxi
Khaythama ibn 'Abd al-Rahmān, 55
al-Khidr / al-Khaḍir, 71
al-Khuldī, Ja'far, 92
Khurāsāq, xxv
Korah, 255
al-Kūfa, 23, 68, 80n
- al-Laqqānī, 'Abd al-Salām, xxiv
Last Trump, xiii, 22, 32, 131n, 169, 173-7
al-lawḥ ('the Tablet'), 58, 150n, 151-3
Lazā'a, 222
Lazarus-Yafeh, Hava, xxvii, xxviii
length of the Day of Judgement, 182-3
- Lent, xxvii
limbo, xxii
lisān al-ḥāl, 50n, 133ff
Luqmān, 37
- Macdonald, D.B., xxv, 245n
al-Maghāzili, 94
Majnūn, 164
Makḥūl, 42, 97
al-Makkī, Abū Ṭālib, xiv, xix
malakūt (the 'Kingdom'), xxi, xxvi, 47n, 139, 149-52
Mālik ibn Anas, xxiv, 131, 164, 229
Mālik ibn Dīnār, 34, 98, 106
Mālik (guardian of Hell), 212, 220, 226
al-Ma'mūn, 88
Maṣṣūr ibn Ismā'īl, 159
mannah, 242
al-Manṣūriya, 121n
al-Maqaṁ al-Mahmūd (the 'Praise-worthy Station'), 58, 72; see also '*Shafā'a*'
al-Marṣī, 121n
Marrakesh, xvi
marriage, 235
martyr(s), 9, 22, 78, 84n, 126, 128
Ma'rūf al-Karkhī, 24
Marwān (ibn al-Ḥakam), 46
Mary (the Virgin), 167n
Massignon, L., xxvii
Māturīdite theology, 250n
Masrūq, 127
al-Masūhī, 163
Maymūn ibn Mihrān, 104
Mecca, 21n, 60n, 82, 86n, 94, 131n, 151, 158, 161, 165, 214, 244
medicine, 87, 108
Medina, 60n, 69n, 78, 82, 104, 113, 161n, 217, 259n
Michael (Mikā'īl) (angel), 64, 67, 176
Milton, ix
Mī'rāj, 245n
Mishkāt al-anwār (of Ghazālī), xxvii
Mizān (the 'Scales'), xiii, xxi, xxiv, 20, 22, 75, 173, 187, 195-7, 198
- Mizān al-'amal* (attributed to Ghazālī), xxx
Montgomery Watt, W., xxv, xxvi, xxix
Morelon, R., 168n
mortal sins (*mūbiqāt*), 201
Moses, 42, 68, 213, 250n, 255, 258
mosque, of Basra, 11; of Kūfa, 23; of Mecca, 21; of Medina, 60, 70, 77, 82, 224
Mu'adh ibn Jabal, xxvii 29, 88
mu'āmala, xxi, 151
al-Mu'ammariya, 121n
Mu'āwiya, 85, 86, 158
Mubashshir ibn Ismā'īl, 117
mubashshirāt, 156; see also 'Dreams'
mūbiqāt ('the mortal sins'), 201
Muḍar, 215
muezzin, 153
al-Mufaḍḍal ibn Faḍāla, 19
al-Mughūra ibn Shu'ba, 78
Muhājirūn (the 'Emigrants'), 60, 62, 80, 218, 242
Muḥammad, see 'Prophet'
Muḥammad ibn Abī Tawba, 24
Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad al-Marwazī, 117
Muḥammad ibn 'Alī (Abū Ja'far), 84, 137
Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥusayn, 84
Muḥammad ibn Ka'b al-Quraẓī, 138, 228
Muḥammad ibn Qudāma al-Jawharī, 117
Muḥammad ibn Ṣabīh, (Ibn al-Sammāk), 107, 133
Muḥammad ibn Sulaymān, 110
Muḥammad ibn Aslam al-Ṭūsī, 166
Muḥammad ibn 'Uqba, 86
Muḥammad ibn Wāsi' al-Azdī, 47
Muḥammad ibn Yūsuf, 22
al-Muḥāsibī, xiv, xix, xx, xxv, xxviii, xxix
Mujāhid ibn Jabr, 15n, 40, 102, 132, 138n, 194, 245, 249
Mujammī' al-Taymī, 160
mukāshafa / *kashf* ('unveiling'), xxi, xxvii, 125-6, 149-69, 250n

mulk (the terrestrial realm), xxi, xxvi, 149, 150n, 152
 Mumshād al-Dīnawarī, 91, 94
 al-Mundhir, 34
 Munkar and Nakīr, xxx, 2, 22, 28, 117, 135-7, 144-5
 al-Muntaṣir, 88
al-Munqidh min al-ḍalāl (of Ghazālī), xxvi
muqarrabūn (the 'ones brought nigh'), xxiii, 243
 Muqātil ibn Sulaymān, 175
 Mūsā ibn Ḥammād, 168
 Musaddad ibn Musarhad, xxx
 Muslim (ibn al-Ḥajjāj), x, xiv, 181, 251, 258, 260
 al-Mu'tamir ibn Sulaymān, 50, 94
 Mutammim al-Dawraqī, 159
 Muṭarrif ibn 'Abd Allāh, 12, 18
 Muṭarrif al-Hudhalī, 118
 Muṭarrif (ibn Ma'qil), 11
 al-Mu'taṣim, 88
 Mu'tazila, 121n, 122n, 139n, 201n, 250n, 255n

nabīdh, 78
 Nāfi', 113, 114
 al-Nahrawān, 83n
 al-Nāji, Abū 'Ubayda, 35
 al-Nakhaṭī, Ibrāhīm, 89
 names of the Day of Judgement, 186-7
 Naṣr (ibn Ṭarīf), 90
 al-Naṣrābādhi, 165
 al-Nawawī, xxix, 48n, 120, 192n, 242n, 260n
 Nayrūz, 90
 al-Nazzām, 201n
 neoplatonism, 122n
 Noah, 167, 189, 212n, 213
 Nisābūr, xv, xvi
 Niẓām al-Mulk, xv, xxv
 al-Niẓāmiya, xv, xvi
 nomads (*a'rāb*), 239-40, 256, 259
 al-Nu'mān ibn Bashīr, 131
 al-Nūrī, 95

Oman, 217n
 old age, 17, 23, 25, 29, 31
 optimism, 252ff
 O'Shaughnessy, T., 222n

 pages (*ghilmān*), 232, 233, 236
 palaces, xxiii, 203, 247
 Pentateuch, 59n, 248
 Persia, 235n
 perspiration, 180-2
 philosophers/philosophy, xiv, xvi, xxv, 122n
 Pickthall, M., x
 Pilgrimage (*Ḥajj*), 134, 157, 181
 Pool, see 'hawq'
 Pouzet, L., xxvii
 plague, 51, 115, 167
 Plato, 150
 Plotinus, 122n
 Prayer (*ṣalāt*), 24, 29, 52, 64-5, 74, 77, 83, 92, 100, 102, 109, 118, 134, 146, 162, 167, 181, 195, 200, 211, 235, 238, 259
 prayer (*du'ā'*) for the dead, 112-120
 procrastination, 25-6, 31, 35
 Prophet Muḥammad, death of, 40, 57-74; grave of, 113-4; seen in dreams, 81, 156-8, 163; at *hawq*, xiii, 58, 62, 217-9; other references, xx, 16, 36, 93, 101, 112, 139, 155, 185, 203, 207, 236, 257-8; see also '*Shafā'a*', and *ḥadīth* references on pp.262-275
 prophets, 22, 40, 150, 188-9, 191, 210, 211, 212, 219, 237, 257, 258
 Psalms, 59

 Qabiṣa ibn 'Uqba, 164
 al-Qāḍī 'Iyāḍ, xxiv, 48n, 178n
 Qārūn (Korah), 255
 al-Qa'qā' ibn 'Amr, 71
 al-Qa'qā' ibn Ḥakīm, 23
 Qatāda ibn Di'āma, 182
 qibla, 113
qiṣar al-amal ('brief hopes'), 15-36, 101

Qur'an, x, xiii, xv, xix, xxiii, 33n, 59, 72, 73, 81n, 90, 117, 122, 126, 131n, 146, 149, 185, 188, 211, 222, 234, 239, 242, 244, 250, and *passim*
 quails, 242
 Quraysh, 63, 79, 85, 86, 126
 al-Qurṭubī, xxiv, xxvii, 237n
 al-Qushayrī, xix, xx, 91n

 Rabī'a, 215
 Rābi'a al-'Adawīya, 116, 252n
 al-Rabī' ibn Khuthaym, 11, 12, 103
 al-Rabī' ibn Sulaymān, 166
 al-Rādakānī, xv
rak'a, 77, 102, 109
 Ramaḍān, 153, 238
raqā'iq, xiv
 al-Rāzī, Abū Ḥātim, 164
 revelation, 139
Revival of the Religious Sciences, see '*Ihya'*' *ulūm al-dīn*'
riḍā, 161n
 River of Life, 257
 Rosenthal, F., xxiv, 17n
 al-Rūdhbārī, Abū 'Alī, 91
 Rūh (the 'spirit'), 38, 51, 114, 122-8, 130-2, 135-6
 al-Rūh al-Qudus, 154n
rukhaṣ, 50
 Rūma, 82
 al-Ruqāshī, Fuḍayl, 36
 al-Ruqāshī, Yazīd, 54, 103, 134
 Ruwaym ibn Aḥmad, 90, 94
ru'ya ('Beatific Vision'), xxiii, xxv, xxx, 191, 234, 249, 250-1, 251n
ru'yā see 'Dreams'

 Sa'd ibn Abī Waqqāṣ, 80
 Sa'd ibn Bilāl, 255
 Sa'd ibn Mu'adh, 146, 150
sa'dān bush, 207
 al-Safādī, xv
 al-Saffāh, 240
 Ṣafiya (bint Huyayy), 11
 Sahl al-Ṣu'lūkī, 166

Sa'd ibn 'Abd Allāh (ibn Jurayj), 61
 Sa'd ibn 'Abd Allāh al-Awdī, 116
 Sa'd ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān, 18
 Sa'd ibn al-Musayyib, 75, 249
 Sa'ir, 222
salaf, xix, xx
 Salama ibn Dīnār (Abū Ḥāzim), 86
 Ṣāliḥ ibn Bashīr al-Murrī, 132, 160
 Ṣāliḥ ibn Mismār, 92
 Salmān al-Fārisī, xiv, 19, 74, 89, 240
samā', 246
 Samura (al-Fazārī), 219
Salsabil, 233, 242
 Ṣan'a', 62, 217, 248
 Saqar, 222
 [al-]Sarī al-Saqāfī, 93, 165n
 Sawda bint Zam'a, 178
 al-Sawwās, Y., xxviii
 al-Ṣaydalānī, Abū Ja'far, 160
 Scales, see '*Mizān*'
 Schimmel, xxvii
 scorpions, 105, 138, 139, 142-3, 222, 22607
 scrolls (*suḥuf*), 90, 187, 196, 201, 204
 Seraphiel (Isrāfīl), 64, 175-6
 Sha'bān, 54
 Shaddād ibn Aws, 41
Shafā'a (the 'Intercession'), xiii, xxiv, xxx, 58, 113, 182-3, 210-16, 254, 255, 257; of non-prophets, 215-6
 al-Shāfi'i, 95, 166, 168, 260n
 Shāfi'ite, xv, xxv
 Shāh Walī Allāh al-Dahlawī, 259n
shahādātayn, 47, 48
 al-Shahḥām, Abū Sa'd, 166
 Shaqīq al-Balkhī, 19
 Sherif, M., xxx
 al-Shiblī, 92, 93, 164
 'short hopes' see '*qiṣar al-amal*'
 shrouds, 23, 64, 73, 74, 86, 102, 118, 131, 145
 al-Shūniziya, 165
 sickness, 41-2
Sidrat al-Muntahā (the 'Lote-tree of the Boundary'), 59, 63
 Sijjīn, 138, 227
 Šila ibn Ashyam, 100

Širāf (the 'Traverse'), xiii, xxi, xxiv, xxvii, 162, 173, 196, 205-10, 242
 Smith, J. and Haddad, Y., xxiv
 Smith, M., xxv, xxviii
 snakes, 105, 138, 139-43, 179, 222, 226-7
 Solomon, 51, 55
 soul (*nafs*), 123, 127, 128; see also '*rūh*'
 spirit, see '*rūh*'
 stars, 59, 178, 184
sū' al-khātima ('evil end'), 47, 49
subhān Allāh, 77n
 al-Subkī, xv xxix
 al-Suddī, 33
 Sufis, Sufism, xiv, xvi, xvii, xxv, xxvii, xxviii, 59n, 88-96, 106n, 129, 163, 246, 251n
 Sufyān al-Thawrī, 18, 19, 23, 26, 103, 146, 162, 163, 164, 166, 168
 Sufyān ibn 'Uyayna, 157, 161, 163
 Šuhayb (al-Rūmī), 251
 Suhaym, 33
 al-Sulamī, xix
 Sulaymān ibn 'Abd al-Malik, 21
 Sulaymān ibn Suhaym, 114
 al-Šu'lūkī, 166
 al-Šunābihī, 256
sunna ('Precedent'), 66, 72, 87, 99, 112, 126, 149, 210, 250
 al-Suyūfī, xxiv, xxvii, xxix, 33n, 61n, 101n
 symbolism, xx-xxii, xxx
 Syria, xvi, 62, 48, 131, 235

Ṭabarān, xvi
Ṭābi'ūn (the 'Followers'), xiv
 Tabūk, 82n
Tahāfut al-falāsifa (of Ghazālī), xxv
tamannī al-mawt, 8n
 Ṭalḥa (ibn 'Ubayd Allāh), 80
talqīn, 48-9, 116
 Tamīm, 33
 al-Tamīmī, 105
taqlīd, xxvi, xxx, 144
 Tarhūt, 131n
Tasnim, 243

Ṭaṣawwuf, see 'Sufism'
tawājud, 91
tawakkuṭ (reliance on God), 19, 259
tayammum, 16
 tents, 241
 Thabīr, 82-3
 Thābit al-Bunāmī, 49, 98, 104
 Thawbān, 218, 242
 al-Thawrī, 18, 19, 23, 26, 103, 146, 162, 163, 164, 166, 168
Theology of Aristotle, 122n
 Thumāma ibn Ḥazn al-Qushayrī, 82
 Throne (of God), 131, 175, 180, 184, 190, 193, 214, 216, 234, 237n, 253
tinmīn, 138
 tithe (*zakāt*), 200, 226
 Traverse, see '*Širāf*'
 Ṭūs, xv, xvi

'Ubāda ibn al-Šāmit, 256
 'Ubayd ibn 'Umayr al-Laythī, 132, 133
al-ufuq al-mubīn (the 'Clear Horizon'), 76
 Uḥud, 60, 129, 227
 'Ukāsha, 259
 'Ukāz, 178
 'Umar ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz, 11, 12, 14, 102, 104, 118, 158, 218, 260; sermons of, 20, 22-1, 24; death of, 87-8
 'Umar ibn Dharr, 99, 110
 'Umar (ibn al-Khaṭṭāb), 34, 42, 48, 64, 68, 72, 84n 101, 145, 156, 163, 218, 237; death of, 77-81
 Umm Hārūn, 12
 Umm Kulthūm bint 'Alī, 68, 83
 Umm al-Mundhir, 15
 'Uqba ibn 'Amir, 181
 Usāma ibn Zayd, 16, 246
 Usayd ibn Ḥuḍayr, 97
uṣūl al-hadīth, xxix
 'Utba al-Ghulām, 165, 167
 'Uthmān ibn 'Affān, 48, 68, 69, 80, 101, 164, 215n; death of, 81-3
 Uways al-Qaranī, 167, 215n
 'uzla, 163

Venus, 245n
 virgins, 245
 visiting graves, 111-20

Wahb ibn Munabbih, 21, 51
 Wāḥila ibn al-Asqa', 49
wajd, 91n
wara', 168
 Waraqā' ibn Bishr al-Ḥaḍramī, 167
 washing the dead, 63, 64, 73, 86, 112, 131, 132
 al-Wāsiṭī, 92
 Wensinck, A., xxiv
 Wiener, A., xxviii
 wine, 10, 232, 233, 239, 248, 260
 Wuhayb ibn al-Ward, 45

Yaḥyā ibn [Abī] Kathīr, 246
 Yaḥyā ibn Mu'adh al-Rāzī, 103, 249
 Ya'lā ibn al-Walīd, 128
yaqīn, xviii, 129, 155
 al-Yasa' (Elias), 71
 Yazīd ibn Madhūr, 161
 Yazīd ibn Mu'āwiya, 86
 Yazīd ibn Na'ama, 167

Yazīd al-Ruqāshī, 54, 103, 134
 Yemen, 62, 63
 Yūsuf ibn Asbāṭ, 94
 Yūsuf ibn al-Ḥuṣayn, 159
 Yūsuf ibn Tāshfīn, xvi

zabāniya (guardians of Hell), 196, 205, 206, 220, 225
zakāt (the 'Tithe'), 200, 226
 al-Zabīdī, x, xx, xxiv, xxviii, xxix, 121n, 237n
zamharīr, 224
 Zamzam, 131n
Zaqqūm, 225
zawā'id literature, x
 Zayd ibn Arqam, 243
 Zayd ibn Aslam, 41
 Zayd ibn Ḥāritha, 248
 Zayd ibn Thābit, 16
 Zaynab, 146
 Zoroastrians, 238
 Zubayda, 161
 al-Zubayr ibn al-'Awwām, 80, 202
zuhd (asceticism), xiv, xix, xxiv, 17, 89, 99, 100-1, 168n, and passim
 Zurāra ibn Abī Awfā, 19, 161