

## CRITICAL ANALYSIS ON TASAWWUF SCHOOLS

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**Article History:** Received: 23 June 2020, Accepted: 29 October 2020, Published: 2 November 2020

### Abstract:

*As one of disciplines, Sufism has undergone the stages of scientific development. It is difficult to reach an agreement related to the classification of Sufism schools from the first time it appeared until today. However, by taking the characteristics of each thought into account, Sufism can be classified into several schools, namely Rajā' wa khauf Sufism, Maḥabbah Sufism, Happy Sufism, Al-Hallāj Sufism, Al-Gazzālī Sufism, Philosophical Sufism, and Ibn Taimiyyah Sufism. Sufism that grew in the early days, in the first and second centuries of Hegira, such as Maḥabbah and Rajā' wa khauf Sufism, was in general undisputed because it was still far from the influence of foreign elements and had strong attachments to Al-Qur'an and Sunah. Sufism in the third and fourth centuries of Hijra, although from the scientific side is more established, systematic, and structured, the symptoms of conflict with Fiqh began to grow which reached its peak in the time of Al-Hallāj. Sufism in the fifth century, at the time of Al-Gazzālī, was the most beautiful period in the history of Sufism because Sufism and Fiqh could be integrated. Sufism in the next period began to had another conflict because of the influence of philosophy until the time of Ibn Taimiyyah who wanted to return Sufism to its origin. This paper conducted a literature review on the history of Sufism to capture the schools that have emerged since its inception. In the final section, a critical analysis of the Sufism schools was carried out and it was closed with a few ideas on how to eclectically adapt the results of this critical analysis for the Islamic Education learning.*

**Keywords:** *Sufism, schools, critical analysis, Sufi, philosophy*

### A. Introduction

**T***aṣawwuf* (التَّصَوُّف) in English is often translated as sufism or mysticism<sup>1</sup>. In terms of the origin of the term, there has always been no agreement. Al-Syibli admitted that the origin of the term Sufism was indeed disputed for a long time<sup>2</sup>. Therefore, there is no definite information to choose which one is believed to be the most correct. There are those who argue that the word Sufism comes from *ṣafā'*

<sup>1</sup> Muhammad Rawas Qalaji and Hamid Sadiq Quncibi, *Mu'jamu Lughoti Al-Fuqoha'*, 2nd ed. (Beirut: Dar al-Nafae, 1988), 133.

<sup>2</sup> Abdul Ḥalīm Maḥmūd, *Qaḍīyyatu Al-Taṣawwuf Al-Munqiz Min Al-Ḍalāl* (Beirut: Dār al-Ma'ārif, n.d.), 29.

(الصَّفَاءُ) to refer to the cleanness of the hearts of the Sufis and the cleanness of their muamalah to Allah. Some argue that it is from *ṣaff* (الصَّف) because the Sufi is always at the forefront to Allah. Some argue that it comes from the word *ṣuffah* (الصُّفَّة) because they imitated the condition of *ahluṣ ṣuffah* at the time of the Prophet ﷺ. There are also those who argue that it originated from the word *ṣūf* (الصُّوف) because the Sufis liked to wear fur as a symbol of modesty<sup>3</sup>. Samīḥ ‘Aṭif al-Zain even cites the possibility that it comes from the word sophism, because the Sufis are fond of words of sophistication and wisdom<sup>4</sup>.

That's just debating the origin of the words Sufism. In terms of meaning, the debate is even greater. There are many differences of opinion regarding the meaning of Sufism in terms. Some scholars said there are 20 *ikhtilaf*. Al-Qusyairī in *al-Risālah al-Qusyairiyyah* mentioned more than 50 different definitions. Nickolson mentioned 78 definitions. Al-Sarrāj mentioned 100 definitions in the book *al-Luma'*. Al-Suhrawardī in *'Awārifu al-Ma'ārif* quoted from some scholars that the definition is more than 1000. Al-Ḥamidī in the book *al-Insān wa al-Islam* even mentioned nearly 2000 definitions<sup>5</sup>.

Regardless the debate of various kinds of opinions about the definition of Sufism and by taking a simple interpretation based on what it appears, Sufism can be defined as the science of cleansing the soul, or the science of morals, or the science of self-cleansing in the way to Allah. Maybe we also understand Sufism as ascetic life as Hamka's opinion<sup>6</sup>. In the book *Mu'jam Lugati al-Fuqahā'*, *taṣawwuf* is defined as follows<sup>7</sup>.

الصِّدْقُ مَعَ اللَّهِ ، وَالتَّحَرُّرُ مِنْ سَطْوَةِ الدُّنْيَا ، وَحُسْنُ التَّعَامُلِ مَعَ النَّاسِ

## B. A Brief History of the Sufism Development

If Sufism is defined as the science of cleansing the soul and moral education to walk towards Allah which emphasizes spiritual life, then the history of its development in the Islamic world can be classified into several stages, namely Sufism during the time of the Prophet ﷺ and his companions, Sufism in the 1<sup>st</sup> & 2<sup>nd</sup> century of the Hegira, Sufism in the 3<sup>rd</sup> & 4<sup>th</sup> century, Sufism in 5<sup>th</sup> century, Sufism in 6<sup>th</sup> & 7<sup>th</sup> century, and Sufism in 8<sup>th</sup> century of the Hegira until our day.

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<sup>3</sup> Iḥsān Ilāhī Ḥāhīr Al-Bākistānī, *Al-Taṣawwuf Al-Mansya' Wa Al-Maṣādir* (Lahore: Idāratu Turjumān al-Sunnah, 1986), 20–21.

<sup>4</sup> Samīḥ ‘Aṭif Al-Zain, *Al-Ṣūfiyyah Fī Naẓari Al-Islām Dirāsah Wa Taḥlīl* (Beirut: Dār Al-Kitāb Al-Lubnānī, 1985), 17.

<sup>5</sup> Al-Bākistānī, *Al-Taṣawwuf Al-Mansya' Wa Al-Maṣādir*, 36–37.

<sup>6</sup> Hamka, *Perkembangan & Pemurnian Tasawwuf Dari Masa Nabi Muhammad Hingga Sufi-Sufi Besar*, 2nd ed. (Jakarta: Putra Abdi Bangsa, 2017), 85.

<sup>7</sup> Qalaji and Quneibi, *Mu'jamu Lughoti Al-Fuqoha'*, 133.

As for the time of Rasulullah ﷺ, his own life style did show a way of human life that really emphasized spiritual life and was far from material life. Prophet ﷺ's life was very simple. Her room was simple. There were only a mat, a skin bag of water and a few tools. Umar ibn Al-Khaṭṭāb who had visited him in his room shed tears seeing his modesty. How could he did not cry seeing the messenger of Allah who was given the keys to eastern and western powers, who was able to thrill Rome and Persia, turned out to choose a life that was far from being luxurious. In fact, when Umar proposed to Rasulullah ﷺ to make his followers rich, he gently rebuked Umar that the luxury of life is only a temporary pleasure for unbelievers. As for those who are loved by Allah, the true pleasure that should be pursued, namely the pleasure after death. Rasulullah ﷺ was also offered whether he wanted to be a rich prophet like Prophet Solomon or a poor prophet like the prophet Ayyub. It turned out that his answer was to want to be hungry for a day and full for a day. Therefore, when he is full, he can be grateful and when he is hungry, he can be patient<sup>8</sup>. This kind of life is also continued by his Companions (*Ṣahābah*). It is a well-known story that Umar bin al-Khaṭṭāb made a speech while in his clothes, there were 12 patches. There is also the story of Abu Bakr who died by handing over all the assets he got from his salary to Baitul Mal. There is also the story of Ali who had to work to collect water from a well of a Jew to get a date for every bucket. There is also a story of Abū Zarr who consistently called for a simple life and rebuked some people who started to become complacent and excessive in luxury. All of this shows how the legacy of the spiritual life or Sufism in the Companions that they got from the Prophet ﷺ.

### C. The First and Second Century

When the 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> century of Hegira came, spiritual life continued. The emergence of spiritual life at that time was not due to external influences, but grew naturally itself as the influence of the Al-Qur'an, Hadith, imitating the Sahabat's actions and the response to the environmental luxury. However, the spiritual life at that time had not become a systematic science. It had just grown as a science that was practiced, discussed and studied sporadically, not to form an orderly and systematic structure of knowledge yet<sup>9</sup>.

Spiritual life, at this time, never collided with Islamic jurisprudence (*fiqh*), because the source was still pure from the Qur'an, the hadith of the Prophet and the examples of the Companions. In fact, the jurisprudence experts and mujtahid at that time were also experts in spiritual science. Thus, their *zuhud* life was always accompanied by a strong attachment to the sharia and fiqh. Malik was known to

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<sup>8</sup> Hamka, *Perkembangan & Pemurnian Tasawwuf Dari Masa Nabi Muhammad Hingga Sufi-Sufi Besar*, 75–76.

<sup>9</sup> Hamka, 85.

always keep ablution. Before teaching hadith, he always performed ablution and kneeled respectfully beside the Prophet's grave ﷺ. When al-Shāfi'ī was staying at Ahmad's house, in the middle of the night, Ahmad got up carefully not to wake his teacher; al-Shāfi'ī. However, it turned out that al-Shāfi'ī had already woken up to pray midnight and dhikr all night long until dawn. Ahmad's daughter was awakened to see it by herself how his teacher's worship was. When Ahmad was asked the meaning of *zuhud*, he answered with a very beautiful answer from Sufis's point of view. He said that there were three kinds of *zuhud*. First, leaving the haram. That is the *zuhud* of common people. Second; leaving unnecessary. That is the *zuhud* of a special person/khawāṣ. Third: leaving everything that hinders the remembrance of Allah. That is the *zuhud* of *ʿarifīn*<sup>10</sup>.

However, at this time, the term Sufi is still unknown. The terms for people who study spiritual life at this time are *nussāk*, *zuhhād*, *'ubbād*, *fuqarā'* and *bakkā'īn*<sup>11</sup>. However, according to al-Qusyairi, after the terms *zuhhād* and *'ubbād* appeared, then *bid'ah* appeared, then the term *taṣawwuf* appeared and it happened before the 2nd century.<sup>12</sup> Al-Gumārī in the book *al-Intiṣār li Ṭānīqi al-Ṣūfiyyah al-Akhyār* quotes Ḥājī Khalīfah in *Kasyfu al-Zunūn* to more specifically mention the initial year of appearance. It was said that the person who was first dubbed a Sufi was Abū Hāsyim al-Ṣufī who died in 150 H.<sup>13</sup>

During this period, a number of figures who were prominent in a spiritual life appeared. Among them were Ḥasan al-Baṣrī, Fuḍail bin 'Iyāḍ, Sufyān al-Ṣaurī, Ibn al-Sammāk, Rabī'ah al-'Adawiyyah, Malik bin Anas, Ma'rūf al-Karkhī, Ḥārīs al-Muḥāsibī, Sufyān al-Ṣaurī (97-161 AH), al-Rabī 'bin Khaiṣam (d. Before 65 AH), Jābir bin Ḥayyān, Kulaib, Maṣūn bin' Ammār, 'Abduk, Malik bin Dīnār (d. 181 H), al-Faḍl al-Raqqāsyī (d. 128 H), Rabāḥ bin 'Amr, Ṣāliḥ bin Bisyr Al-Murrī (d. 172 H), Abdul Wahid bin Zaid (d. 177 H), Ibrāhīm bin Adham (d. 161 H), and Syaḳīq al-Balkhī (d. 194). There were also a number of female figures such as Mu'āzāh al-'Adawiyyah, Mājidah Al-Qurasyiyyah, 'Ā'isyah bint Ja' far Al-Ṣādiq, Fāṭimah al-Naisābūriyyah, Rabī'ah bint Ismā'īl, Umm Harām, 'Amrah the Ḥabīb's wife, Amatul Jalīlī, 'Abidah bint Abū Kilāb, 'Ufairah al-'Abidah, Sya'rānah, Amīnah al-Ramliyyah, Manfūsah bint Zaid, Nafīsah bint Hasan bin Zaid bin Ali bin Abū Ṭālib. Khawarij and Shi'a groups were also known with the *zuhud* life. However, they still wanted power. They were different from those who purely want an even spiritual life.

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<sup>10</sup> Hamka, 111–12.

<sup>11</sup> Hamka, 84–85, 87.

<sup>12</sup> Abdul Karim bin Hawāzin bin Abdul Malik Al-Qusyairi, *Al-Risālah Al-Qusyairiyyah (Tahqīq Abdul Ḥalīm Maḥmūd Dan Maḥmūd Al-Syarīf)*, vol. 11 (Cairo: Dār Al-Ma'ārif, 1989), 34.

<sup>13</sup> Al-Zamzami bin muhammad bin Al-Shidiq Al-Gumārī, *Al-Intiṣār Li Ṭānīqi Al-Ṣūfiyyah Al-Akhyār*, D (Cairo: Dar al-Marjan al-Thaba'ah, 1979), 18.

#### D. The Third and Fourth Century

Once the 3<sup>rd</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup> centuries came, Sufism began to form a structured and ordered science. At that time, the topic of the discussion of Sufism can be divided into three, namely: psychology, morals and magic. The subtlety of taste highlighted in the 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> centuries sharpened the quality of the discussion of those three disciplines. The existence of discussion in those three fields was a form of development because previously the discussion of Sufism was prominent in the field of morals only, so that Sufism is also sometimes called the science of morals. However, Sufism is deeper than the science of morals/ethics because the responsibility of ethics tends to be for humans with the meaning of having good characters for not getting a bad stereotype from the society, while Sufism's responsibility is directly to Allah<sup>14</sup>.

The human soul at that time was deeply studied. All the ascensions of the soul called *maqāmāt* are discussed in detail. The terms *fanā'*, *baqā'*, *ittiḥād*, and *ittiṣāl* were also discussed. At that time, the book *al-Ta'arruf li Maḥabī Ahli al-Taṣawwuf* by al-Kalābāzī was born (d. 380 H). The book *Qūtu al-Qulūb* by Abū Ṭālib Al-Makkī (d. 386 AH) was also born. In the 3<sup>rd</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup> century H, the love relationship with the God was deepened. That topic was then elaborated and detailed by the following generations (the 5<sup>th</sup> century onwards), so that the books such as *al-Maḥjūb* by al-Hujwirī (d. 456 H), *al-Risālah* by al-Qusyairī (d. 465 H), and *Iḥyā' 'Ulūmiddin* by al-Gazzālī (d. 505 H) were born. In terms of spread range, if in the 2<sup>nd</sup> century AH, Sufism was only famous in Kufa and Baṣrah, then at the beginning of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century H it began to spread and be famous to various cities; to Baghdad, Persia, Egypt, Syria, and the Arabian Peninsula.

In Baghdād, the name *al-Saī al-Saqātī* (d. 253 AH) was well known. From him, the terms *haqīqah*, *maqāmāt*, and *aḥwāl* were emerged. There is also Abu Ḥamzah Muhammad bin Ibrāhīm al-Ṣūfī (d. 269 H). From him came the terms *'isyq*, *ḏikr*, *jam'ul himmah*, and *qurb*. There is also Ma'rūf al-Karkhī (d. 200/201 H). He taught drunkenness because of longing and love for Allah. There is also Abū Sulaimān Al-Dārānī (d. 215 AH). He taught that love must be reciprocated, not one-sided. There is also Ḥārīs al-Muḥāsibī (d. 243 AH). Al-Qusyairī said, he was one of the 5 leading figures of Sufism, namely Ḥārīs al-Muḥāsibī, Junaid, Ruaim, Ibn Aṭā' and Umar bin Usmān al-Makkī. He taught; Whoever cleanses himself from murāqabah and is sincere, he will be decorated with *mujāhadah* and *ittibā'* sunnah. Another figure who appeared was named al-Junaid al-Bagdādī (d. 297/298 H). He was known to be very strict in carrying out the Sharia. His prayers were up to 400 cycles (*raka'ah*).

In Egypt did arise Ḍū al-Nūn al-Miṣrī (d. 245 AH). He was considered the pinnacle of Sufi in the 3<sup>rd</sup> century H. The essence of his teachings was to close all doors to the splendor of the world, follow the Qur'an and the Sunnah, and always

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<sup>14</sup> Hamka, *Perkembangan & Pemurnian Tasawwuf Dari Masa Nabi Muhammad Hingga Sufi-Sufi Besar*, 115–16.

worry about being turned away from the way because of indulging lust. There are two kinds of repentance, he said; repentance from sins and repentance from negligence. Repentance from sins is the repentance of the common people. Repentance from negligence is the repentance of a special person (khawāṣ). There are three kinds of ma'rifat according to him. Ma'rifat of ordinary believers (by *ikhbar*/information), ma'rifa of mutakallimin and philosophers (by logic), and ma'rifa of *waliyullah* who knows Allah by feeling and experience. The last one is the highest ma'rifa because ma'rifa of mutakallimin and ordinary believers only knows, while *waliyullah* ma'rifa directly feels the pleasure. Therefore, it can be stated that this *Ẓū al-Nūn* Sufism describes the relationship of love with *ma'rifa*. This teaching had a very strong influence on later generations such as al-Tusturī (d. 273/283 H), Annakhsyabī (d. 245 H), Ibn Jalak, and al-Khazzār who died in 277 H<sup>15</sup>.

From Persia did appear Abū Yazīd al-Bisṭāmī (W. 261 H). He emphasized his attachment to the Qur'an and the Sunnah. His famous teaching reads, *don't be fooled by a person who can fly in the air until you see if he is following orders and maintaining the limits of the Shari'a*. Some of his words suggest the idea of *ḥulūl*. He also introduced the terms *sukr* and *'isyq*. Still from Persia, did also appear Yahyā bin Mu'āz al-Rāzī (d. 258 H). He talked a lot about *wajd*, *sukr*, and *fanā'*. He said there was no crime. Everything is good because it comes from The Most Good.<sup>16</sup>

After that, the 4<sup>th</sup> century H entered. Among the figures of this period were Mūsa Al-Anṣārī (d. 320 H), Ahmad al-Ruzbarī (d. 322 H), Abū Zaid al-'Adamī (d. 341 H), Abū 'Alī al-Ṣāqafī (d. 328 H), Abū Bakr al-Syiblī (d. 334 H), Abdullah al-Murta'isy (d. 328 H), and al-Khuldī (d. 348 H). At the beginning of the fourth century, the orders (*ṭariqa*) began to emerge. Hamka called the order as a learning system for Sufism<sup>17</sup>. The location of the order is usually chosen in a remote place. The teacher is called al-Shaykh or al-Murshid. Murshid has tried by himself the method of pursuing the goal of Sufism and succeeded in improving the quality of the soul. Because he is successful, it also deserves to be taught. This method includes the practice of *dhikr* and *wirid* with a certain amount<sup>18</sup>. The orders that emerged during this period included:

- Ṭaifūriyyah which is attributed to Ṭaifūr, namely Abū Yazīd al-Bisṭāmī
- Al-Saqāṭiyyah which is attributed to al-Sarī al-Saqāṭī
- Al-Khazzāriyyah who was attributed to Abū Sa'īd al-Khazzār
- Al-Nūriyyah which is attributed to Abū Ḥusain al-Nūrī
- Al-Malāmatiyyah which is attributed to Ḥamdūn al-Waṣṣār

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<sup>15</sup> Hamka, 122–24.

<sup>16</sup> Carl W. Ernst, *Sufism: An Introduction to the Mystical Tradition of Islam* (Berkeley: Shambhala, 2011), 21.

<sup>17</sup> Ernst, 133.

<sup>18</sup> Order is a kind of *ijtihād* in terms of the obedience to Allah.

In the 4<sup>th</sup> century, the description of physical and mental knowledge began to sharpen in 4 terms, namely *sharia*, *ṭariqa*, *haqiqa* and *ma'rifa*. *Sharia* is the discussion of law. All laws governing someone's actions are included in the Sharia. There are two kinds of Islamic deeds; ta'abbudī and ta'aqqulī. Shari'a ta'abbudi covers all acts of worship such as the number of rakaat prayers, the hajj procedure, the month of Ramadan as the month of fasting and others. Ta'abbudī is an aspect of dogma in Islam. Shari'a ta'aqqulī can be rationalized and continue to evolve according to the times and places. *Ṭariqa* means path. Because the aim of the implementation of the Shari'a is God's, there is a journey between servant and Allah. There is a way to go. The path taken is called *ṭariqa*. From here, inner knowledge began to enter. There are conditions for taking this path such as sincere, murāqabah, muḥāsabah, tajarrud, 'isyq, and ḥubb.

*Haqiqa* means absolute real truth. The meaning is a person who succeeds in taking *ṭariqa* has the end of the path to gain *haqiqa*. The sign of reaching *haqiqa* is that first the *kasyafis* achieved, that is, the secret between the servant and Allah. The veil, the wall of lust that stands between the servant and Allah, is gone. It began to have *ikhtilaf* at this point among the Sufis. There are those who have the thought of *ḥulūl*. Some have rejected it and have suggested the term *ittiṣāl*. *Ma'rifa* means the peak of knowledge. If science and knowledge only find out the state of something, then *ma'rifa* finds out its cause and value. If science teaches  $2 + 2 = 4$ , then *ma'rifa* asks "Why four?" "Who made it 4?" The set of knowledge about *sharia*, *ṭariqa*, and *haqiqa* is *ma'rifa*. In other words, *ma'rifa* is a set of knowledge, feelings, experiences, deed and worship.

This journey will eventually form our perfect human beings. People are getting closer to Allah and finally Allah will be their sight, hearing and hand. They become *auliya'* (friends of Allah) and cando magical things. These *auliya'* get *karamah* like the prophets get miracles<sup>19</sup>. *Waliyullah*, according to Sufis, can get in touch to the supernatural realm<sup>20</sup>. At this time, a strong clash between Sufism and Fiqh started to emerge. The examples of the conflicting understanding between Sufism and Jurisprudence in that era is that Fiqh taught sunnah prayers (*salah*) at certain times, Sufism performed sunnah prayers up to *hundreds* of rakats. Fiqh taught prayers based on the *ma'sūr* tradition, while Sufism made up additional prayers.

During this period, there was also an incident that shocked the world of Sufism, namely the Al-Ḥallāj incident (244-309 H). Al-Ḥallāj is a symbol of the clash between Sufism and fiqh that is very sharp. Hundreds of jurists opposed him and hundreds of jurists defended him. Those who fought against him were among others: Ibn

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<sup>19</sup> Hamka, *Perkembangan & Pemurnian Tasawwuf Dari Masa Nabi Muhammad Hingga Sufi-Sufi Besar*, 139.

<sup>20</sup> Hamka, 140.

Taymiyah, Ibn Qayyim and Ibn al-Nadīm.<sup>21</sup> Examples of scholars who did not dare to criticize him were Ibn Syuraiḥ, al-Gazzālī, Jalāluddīn al-Rūmī, Farīduddīn al-'Aṭṭār, Abdu al-Qādir al-Jīlānī, and al-Damīrī. The fiqh scholars who opposed Al-Ḥallāj called this figure misguided. Sufis who oppose them address the jurists as *ahlu al-ḥawāhir* or *ahlu al-rusūm*. Al-Ḥallāj's works, according to Ibn al-Nadīm, are 47 pieces in total. Orientalists took great care of him. Among those most notable ones was Louis Massignon in the work entitled *La Passion D'al-Hosayn-Ibn-Mansour Al-Hallaj: Martyr Mystique De l'Islam, Exécuté A Bagdad Le 26 Mars 922; Étude D'histoire Religieuse*. The teachings of Al-Ḥallāj influenced the next Sufis such as Ibn 'Arabī, Ibn al-Fāriḍ, Jalāluddīn al-Rūmī, al-Suhrāwardī, and Ibn Sab'īn.

On 18th of Ḥulqā'dah 309 H, al-Ḥallāj was executed during the Abbasid Caliphate, namely the Caliph of al-Muqtadir Billah because it was considered that his teachings damaged the principal of Islamic teachings. First, he was flogged, then crucified, then his hands and feet were cut off, then he was beheaded, then the pieces of his body were hung at the city gate of Bagdād, then burned and his ashes thrown into the Tigris river. Therefore, it can be concluded that the 3<sup>rd</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup> centuries H was the peak of the dispute between Sufism and Fiqh.

#### E. The Fifth Century

In the 5<sup>th</sup> century, an intellectual gigantic figure was born who reunited between Sufism and Fiqh, even with Philosophy. This person was al-Gazzālī<sup>22</sup>. Al-Ḥallāj's death on the cross made a very bad impression on Sufism. Moreover, there was a kind of similarity between Sufism and *Ismā'īliyyah/Bāṭiniyyah* that has the belief of an invisible priest. This belief was similar to the Sufis notion who believe that whole world is regulated by a *walī* (friend of Allah). In the midst of chaos like this, al-Gazzālī arose uniting all the divisions of the various approaches. Zwemer said that after the Prophet's death ﷺ there were two great people who contributed to muslims world. First, al-Bukhārī who collected the traditions of the Prophet ﷺ. Second; al-Gazzālī who elaborated detaily the teachings of Prophet Muhammad ﷺ.

Al-Gazzālī studied various kinds of knowledge until he became an expert. He studied fiqh and uṣūl fiqh until he could wrote al-Muṣṭaṣfā. He studied the knowledge of kalam until he became a true expert and knew the dangerous points so that the book of *Iljāmu al-'Awāmm 'an 'Ilmi al-Kalām* was born. He reviewed Philosophy to know its weaknesses so that the book *Tahāfut al-Falāsifah* was born. He studied *Bāṭiniyyah* until

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<sup>21</sup> Arjan Post, "A Glimpse of Sufism from the Circle of Ibn Taymiyya," *Journal of Sufi Studies* 5, no. 2 (2016), <https://doi.org/10.1163/22105956-12341289>.

<sup>22</sup> Post, 161.



he understood the falsity of this teaching and wrote specific book about it.<sup>23</sup> All of that knowledge did not satisfy the thirst of his soul until he finally encountered Sufism.

The interesting thing about Sufism for al-Gazzālī is because Sufism is not only based on reason. What really appealed to him was the training of the soul, that is, the practice of imparting a praiseworthy character and resisting the impulses of despicable appetite. Even though he knew the mistakes of previous Sufis, he was optimistic that all these mistakes could be corrected as long as two things were always handled, namely knowledge and good deed. He studied the spiritual aspects of Rasulullah ﷺ, the companions, even the life of Prophet Isa. He studied Sufism legacies such as *Qūtu al-Qulūb* by Abū Ṭālib al-Makkī, works of al-Ḥārīs al-Muḥāsibī, al-Junaid, al-Syiblī, Abū Yazīd al-Bisṭāmī, even al-Ḥallāj. Finally, he concluded that Sufism was beautiful and incredible. Finally, he decided to compose the book *Ḥiyā 'Ulūmiddīn* which married Sufism with Fiqh and even kalam knowledge<sup>24</sup>.

#### F. The Sixth and Seventh Century

In the 6<sup>th</sup> century, after the time of al-Gazzālī, a new school of Sufism was born called philosophical Sufism. This type of Sufism wants to open the veil between servant and God, not using cleansing the soul and longing for God, but opening the hijab with philosophy<sup>25</sup>. It is known that the purpose of Sufism is to draw closer to Allah. The purpose of getting close to Allah is that, for some people, until they feel that they are connected and for some others, until they feel that they are united. The path taken is inner cleansing, love, longing, contemplating one's weaknesses and contemplating the majesty of Allah. Therefore, the main path of Sufism is feeling, while reason is number two. In contrast to philosophy, it prioritizes reason.<sup>26</sup> Thus, the flow of Sufism that emerged at this time could be said to be a completely new flow that had never been known to Sufism before because it tried to marry reason with feelings to achieve the goal of Sufism. However, although Sufism and philosophy are in principle different, there are several branches of science that are equally devoted to Sufism and philosophy, namely ethics, aesthetics, psychology and metaphysics. The existence of philosophers who support Sufism, such as al-Gazzālī and Ibn 'Arabī made Sufism's dignity rise<sup>27</sup>.

At this time, the terms *kasyaf*, *tajalli*, *waḥdah muṭlaqah*, *ḥulūl*, *mujāhadah*, *karāmah*, and *shaṭaḥāt* began to appear more frequently. The meaning of *shaṭaḥāt* is

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<sup>23</sup> José Bellver, “‘Al-Ghazālī of Al-Andalus’: Ibn Barrajān, Mahdism, and the Emergence of Learned Sufism on the Iberian Peninsula,” *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 133, no. 4 (2013): 659–81, <https://doi.org/10.7817/jameroriesoci.133.4.0659>.

<sup>24</sup> Bellver.

<sup>25</sup> Bellver.

<sup>26</sup> Arthur John Arberry, *Sufism: An Account of the Mystics of Islam* (England: Routledge, 1950), 120.

<sup>27</sup> Arberry, 213–15.

Sufi words which cannot be taken literally because their literal meaning indicates *kufi*. *Syaṭahāt* arose out of such a passionate drunkenness that it seemed like he was not aware of what was being said. The examples of *syāṭahāt* are the utterance of *subḥānī, mā a'zama sya'nī* (which was spoken by Abū Yazīd al-Bisṭāmī), *anā al-ḥaqq* (which was spoken by Al-Ḥallāj). The works of Suhrāwardī, Ibn al-Fāriḍ, Jalāluddīn al-Rūmī, Ibn 'Arabī, al-Syīrāzī contain a lot of the *syāṭahāt* words.

At this time, the term *walī* with various levels also began to appear such as *walī quṭb/ra'sul 'ārifīn, abdāl* and others<sup>28</sup>. Ibn Khaldūn in his *muqaddimah* said that the belief of *walī* with various authorities is influenced by *Bāṭiniyyah/Ismā'iliyyah/Rāfiḍah/Shia* thoughts. Some of the most important figures at this time were al-Suhrawardī (d. 586/587 H), Muḥyiddīn Ibn 'Arabī (d. 638 H), Ibn al-Fāriḍ (d. 632 H), and Ibn Sab'īn (d. 669 H). In modern times, Iqbal the poet can be classified as followers of philosophical Sufism, to be precise followers of al-Rūmī. However, his Sufism is an eclectic Sufism which emphasizes a return to the Al-Qur'an. It can be said that Iqbal tried to combine Sufism of al-Gazzālī, Ibn Taimiyyah, Ibn 'Arabī, and Jalāluddīn al-Rūmī.<sup>29</sup> Natsir praised Iqbāl as a bridge between Western philosophy and Eastern sense. During this period (6<sup>th</sup> and 7<sup>th</sup> centuries), various *suluk* orders (*ṭariqa*) also flourished. An order is like a boarding school in our country where students are trained under the guidance of teachers. Apart from studying religion, the most important thing in the order is that students learn *wirid* to reach God. The names of the orders are usually assigned to the name of the Shaykh.

Among the well-known order is the *Qādiriyyah* order which is attributed to Abdul Qādir Al-Jilānī (d. 561 H). There is also the *Rifā'iyyah* order which was attributed to Ahmad al-Rifā'ī (d. 570 H). Part of strange teachings of this order is to train its students to be fire resistant, resistant to being injured, to be resistant to being pecked by snakes and to walk on glass. If all is not felt, then they are considered to have reached *fanā'*. Another order is *Suhrawardiyyah* who was attributed to Abū Ḥaḥṣ

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<sup>28</sup> There are various opinions among the Sufis. Some say that the highest level of *walī* is called *Gauṣ*. There is only one in every era. Lower than *Gauṣ* is *watad/autād*. Four in total. Each character is in the four cardinal directions to protect them. Lower than *watad* is *quṭb/aqtāb*. They are 7 in total. Each guards 7 continents. Underneath is *badal/abdāl*. The total is 40. Every time one dies, one will immediately be replaced with a new one so that the number remains 40. Under *abdāl* is *naḥb/nujabā'* which number is to 300. Sometimes they are called *nuqabā'/naqīb*.

Ordered from the top, the levels are as follows:

1. *Gauṣ* (الْعَوْثُ)
2. *Watad/autād* (الأوتاد)
3. *Quṭb/Aqtāb* (الأقطاب)
4. *Badal/Abdāl* (الأبدال)
5. *Naḥb/Nujabā'/Naqīb/Nuqabā'* (النحبات)

See: *Jāmi 'al-Uṣūl fī al-Auliya' wa Anwā'ihim wa Auṣāfihim* by Ahmad al-Naqsyabandī al-Khālīdī.

<sup>29</sup> Eric Geoffroy, *Introduction to Sufism: The Inner Path of Islam (Perennial Philosophy)* (Indiana: World Wisdom, 2010), 104.

'Umar al-Suhrawardī (w. 638 H), author of the book *'Awārifu al-Ma'ārif*. Another order is called *Syāziliyyah* which is attributed to 'Alī al-Syāzili (d. 655 H). One of his well-known followers is Ibn 'Aṭā'illāh al-Iskandarī, author of the book *al-Ḥikam*.<sup>30</sup> Another order was named *Maulāwiyyah* who was attributed to Jalāluddīn al-Rūmī (d. 672 H). The term pupil in this ṭariqa is called *Darwīsy* (this is Persian, because al-Rūmī is indeed a Persian). The prominent characteristics are song and dance. The followers of this order are mostly highly educated. Another order called *Badawiyyah* which was attributed to Ahmad al-Badawī (d. 675 AH) and appeared in Egypt.

### G. The Eighth Century

After entering the 8<sup>th</sup> century until today, it can be said that there has been no significant development of Sufism even though there are Sufi authors who wrote down their thoughts such as al-Kasysyani (d.739 H)<sup>31</sup>. During this period, a book that shocked the scholars of fiqh entitled *Insān Kāmil* by Abdu al-Karim al-Jilī (d. 826 AH) appeared. However, we still cannot say this work is a new thought, because it just details, expands and beautifies the thoughts of Ibn 'Arabī and Jalāluddīn al-Rūmī only.<sup>32</sup>

During this period, the growth of the order was getting faster. Each shaykh establishes his own order. North Africa is the country that produces the most orders. The entry of Islam to Indonesia was also in the atmosphere of the order. Hamka's father noted that in Indonesia there were 41 orders which he recorded in 1908. In the 10<sup>th</sup> century, the great Egyptian Sufi named Abdul Wahhāb al-Sya'rānī appeared. He wrote many books. However, according to Hamka, if we read it, there are many things that are difficult to be accepted by reason, even by the sense<sup>33</sup>. In the 12<sup>th</sup> century, Abdul Ganī al-Nābulusī (d. 1143 H) appeared. His thoughts also was nothing new. Just follow Ibn 'Arabī only.

### H. Summary of the Schools of Sufism

The classification of Sufism schools is a matter that cannot be agreed as a consensus because each person can categorize it with various points of view. Besides, the sources of Sufism and its various thoughts also give rise to different potential categories. Therefore, historical studies related to the schools of Sufism can present data on the various classification of Sufism according to the scholars who categorize

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<sup>30</sup> Alexander Knysh, *Sufism: A New History of Islamic Mysticism* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2017), 236.

<sup>31</sup> Hamka, *Perkembangan & Pemurnian Tasawwuf Dari Masa Nabi Muhammad Hingga Sufi-Sufi Besar*, 261.

<sup>32</sup> Leonard Lewisohn, *Classical Persian Sufism from Its Origins to Rumi (700-1300)* (London: Oneworld Publications, 1999), 527.

<sup>33</sup> Lewisohn, *Classical Persian Sufism from Its Origins to Rumi (700-1300)*; Hamka, *Perkembangan & Pemurnian Tasawwuf Dari Masa Nabi Muhammad Hingga Sufi-Sufi Besar*, 261.

them. There are those who classify the schools of Sufism into 2, 3, 6 and so on. Ibn Taymiyah, for example, classified Sufis into only 3 types, namely *Ṣūfīyyatu al-Ḥaqā'iq* (صُوفِيَّةُ الْحَقَائِقِ), *Ṣūfīyyatu al-Arzāq* (صُوفِيَّةُ الْأَرْزَاقِ), and *Ṣūfīyyatu al-Rasm* (صُوفِيَّةُ الرَّسْمِ). It is also possible to classify the schools of Sufism according to their thought tendencies such as *al-Isyrāqī*, *Ḥulūl* schools, *Waḥdatul Wujūd* schools, and so on. Moreover, if the criteria of the schools uses the order standards, the number can be hundreds or thousands.

As for the classification of the schools of Sufism into *akhlāqī/sunnī* sufism, philosophical sufism, *irfānī* sufism, *ruhbānī* sufism, or *syī'ī* sufism, it seems that that is the classification that had emerged in modern times. Some journals mention the term *akhlaqi* and philosophy Sufism. However, when I tried to trace the origins of this category, I had not found the first authoritative thinkers to suggest it. Therefore, I decided to "create my own category" based on Hamka's book on the development of Sufism. Hamka himself never classified the schools of Sufism. He only described the development of Sufism from time to time with an analysis of their respective styles.<sup>34</sup> On this basis, some of the schools of Sufism that will be presented below are categorizations based on a description of the historical approach by taking the characteristics of each style of Sufism into account.

Sufism schools from the early days of their growth to their decline can be classified into several types, namely:

- *Rajā' wa Khauf* Sufism
- *Maḥabbah* Sufism
- Happy Sufism
- Al-Ḥallāj Sufism
- Al-Gazzālī Sufism
- Philosophical Sufism
- Ibn Taimiyyah's Sufism

Sufism of *Rajā' wa Khauf* is Sufism of Ḥasan Al-Baṣrī (d. 21-110 AH). Al-Sya'rānī said that due to the fear of Ḥasan al-Baṣrī to Allah, he felt that hell was created only for him<sup>35</sup>. *Maḥabbah* Sufism is Sufism of Rabī'ah al-'Adawīyyah (d. 185 H). *Maḥabbah* Sufism is considered higher than *Rajā' wa Khauf* Sufism. It is said that Rabī'ah al-'Adawīyyah had heard someone mention the torments of hell so that she took istighfar until she passed out. After she became conscious, she said, "I have to ask forgiveness in a way beyond my first way."<sup>36</sup> Sufism poetry on the theme of God's love that was raised by Farīduddīn al-'Aṭṭār, Ibn al-Fāriḍ, al-Ḥallāj and Jalāluddīn al-Rūmī

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<sup>34</sup> Herman L. Beck, "The Contested State of Sufism in Islamic Modernism: The Case of the Muhammadiyah Movement in Twentieth-Century Indonesia," *Journal of Sufi Studies* 3, no. 2 (2014): 183–219, <https://doi.org/10.1163/22105956-12341269>.

<sup>35</sup> Beck.

<sup>36</sup> Beck, 192.

were all preceded by this Rabī'ah al-'Adawiyyah<sup>37</sup>. Heaven or hell is not at the upmost consideration or not being considered at all because the main thing is love/*maḥabbah*. The goal of this love is *musyāhadah*<sup>38</sup>. His famous words read,

اللَّهُمَّ، إِنْ كُنْتُ أَعْبُدُكَ طَمَعًا فِي جَنَّتِكَ فَاحْرِمْنِي مِنْهَا، وَإِنْ كُنْتُ أَعْبُدُكَ خَوْفًا مِنْ نَارِكَ فَيَانُ

That is:

"O Allah, if I worship You because I want your heaven then prevent me from entering it and if I worship you out of fear of Your hell then burn me in it"

Ma'rūf al-Karkhī differs slightly from Rabī'ah al-'Adawiyyah. Although he agreed to Maḥabbah Sufism, for him, the goal was ṭuma'nīnah (peace of mind). In other words, it is the wealth of the heart that is being pursued<sup>39</sup>. Ḥārīš al-Muḥāsibī as one of *Maḥābbah* Sufism sufis argues that his goal is the union between the loving and the beloved<sup>40</sup>. Happy Sufism is Sufism of Abū Bakr al-Syiblī. He taught never to complain about life. Human wickedness and deception should be addressed with the teaching of "Live like a tree with fruit on the side of the road. It is thrown a stone, but in return it gives a fruit." Sufism of al-Ḥallāj is Sufism that collides with Fiqh. The main teachings of al-Ḥallāj which cause strong opposition are:

- *Al-Ḥulūl*, namely divinity/*lāhūt* incarnating to insan/*nāsūt*
- Al-Ḥaqīqatu al-Muḥammadiyyah, namely *Nūr* muhammad as the origin of deeds and knowledge and the reason for the creation of the universe
- Unity of all religions

Here is the detail of the *ḥulūl*. If people want to purify themselves, they will always level up; from muslim to mukmin to salihin then *muqarrabīn*. The *muqarrabīn* level is the closest to Allah. After that, servant and God unite. If they are united, they can no longer be distinguished and what happens is the will of God, not the servant. The Spirit of Allah covered him as when the spirit covered Jesus, the son of Maryam, so that what was desired was what happened. The nature of unity is like *khamr* with water or iron with fire. This is the meaning of his popular statement, "*Anā al-ḥaqq*", "*Wa mā fī jubbati illā Allāh*". On the other hand, Al-Ḥallāj stigmatized anyone who says that divinity can be mixed with humanity as unbeliever.

From this point of view, the teachings of al-Hallāj meet the Christian teachings to believe in God's spirit in Prophet Isa. However, Al-Ḥallāj does not limit the union between the servant and God to Prophet Isa alone, but such a thing can happen to anyone who is able to fuse himself on Allah so that he gets the *baqā'* of Allah. *Nūr* Muhammad is believed to be the origin of all events. Similar to the reflection of the philosopher who concludes that the origin of all things is the First Cause. According to

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<sup>37</sup> Beck, 192–93.

<sup>38</sup> Beck, 195.

<sup>39</sup> Beck, 216–17.

<sup>40</sup> Beck, 217.

him, the Prophet Muhammad ﷺ had two forms, namely the form of qadim and azali and the form of a human. The form of *qadim* is *Nūr* Muhammad, from which all the prophets and *walī* were taken. He preceded *al-qalam*. All knowledge is only a drop from the ocean of his knowledge.

Regarding religions unity, he argued that all religions, even though they have different names, are in essence only one. All goes towards Allah. This thought is very close to the *Ismā'iliyyah/Bāṭiniyyah* thoughts. Al-Gazzālī Sufism is the concept which marries and seeks to reconcile between Sufism and Fiqh which had a violent clash in the 3<sup>rd</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup> centuries. Some of al-Gazzālī's thoughts on Sufism can be briefly described as follows. Ma'rifa on al-Gazzālī's point of view is the knowledge of knowing Allah. This is true knowledge and it cannot be obtained solely with reason. Everything that exists is an expression of God's deeds. Allah and his deeds are two not one. Thus, from this point of view, al-Gazzālī is different from al-Ḥallāj. Al-Gazzālī refused the *waḥdatul wujūd* idea. If the nature of ma'rifa is clear, then it will lead to happiness. For philosophers, this is called heaven. For *ahlul haqq*, this is the reason that makes people deserve to go to heaven.

For al-Gazzālī, humans will always be different in terms of capacities and abilities. There will always be laymen and higher ranks. The layman just needs to hold the clear ones. Do not try to jump into complicated things, because a layman's decision to dive into complicated matters is like a person who cannot swim but recklessly jump into the ocean. Such a decision only ends up perishing. There are also people who have immature knowledge. Their basic knowledge have not yet reached the level of maturity. As the result, their religion is full of doubts.

Based on obvious differences like that, al-Gazzālī divided human faith into 3 levels. The first level is the laymans' faith. The laymans' way of faith is just by news and information. The second is the intellectuals' faith. The way they have faith is by receiving news that is corroborated by proof. He compared, researched, and examined the signs of that truth. The third level is the *ūriḥn* faith. This is the highest level of faith because they believe in something after witnessing it by themselves. The path to the highest level of faith is to throw away all the splendor of the world, raise *himmah*, enlarge love and walk the path to Allah<sup>41</sup>. If this path is taken seriously, it will reveal the veil little by little so that *musyāhadah* arises. This vision is with the heart, not the eyes. In this phase, you can see all those which are invisible such as *lauh maḥfūz*, *qalam*, *'arasy*, and all the realms of kingdom in the heavens and on the earth.

Here, al-Gazzālī admitted that the way to the *ma'rifa* cannot be achieved by the knowledge of kalam, philosophy, moreover *Bāṭiniyyah*. Yet, the proven path is Sufism. Those who reach that level are *walī*. The *walī* level is below the prophet. If the prophet gets revelation, then the *walī* gets inspiration/*ilhām*. *Ilhām* can come from

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<sup>41</sup> Perhaps Al-Gazzālī meant taking the path to Allah is taking the path to get to know Him.

dreams, meditation, and can even come from abstract voices. This immaterial sound is called *hātif*. *Ma'rifā* is also related to happiness which is one of the important themes in philosophy. For al-Gazzālī, the sources of happiness can be many things. One of the sources is coming to know after being stupid. There are two levels of happiness, namely *laẓẓāh* (delicacy) and *sa'ūdah* (happiness). The peak of satisfaction and happiness is if you get knowledge of knowing Allah (*ma'rifatullah*).<sup>42</sup>

This explanation is rational. The argument is also rational. Here's the description. The delicacy of the eye is to see, the delicacy of the ear is to hear, the delicacy of the skin is to touch. They can only function if the soul is still there. The center of all physical delicacy is in the heart. Therefore, knowing Allah becomes the peak of happiness because it is the source of all satisfaction. Like a person who is happy to know the prime minister, his happiness will be even higher if he knows the king. Therefore, knowing the King of the kings is the peak of happiness. Thus, al-Gazzālī invites Sufism with the aim of knowing Allah with the effect of mental happiness and that must be achieved in a strict way using the guidance of the Prophet ﷺ which means that must be bound by the *Shari'a* taught by the Prophet ﷺ.<sup>43</sup>

Philosophical Sufism is Sufism which seeks to marry between Sufism and Philosophy to achieve the goals of Sufism. Each philosophical Sufism character has a distinction that distinguishes it from other figures. Each of the characteristics of the Philosophical Sufism can be briefly described as follows. Al-Suhrawardī (d. 586/587 H) is known as the initiator of *Hikmatu al-Isyrāq*. His title is *al-mu'ayyad bi al-malakūt*. His nickname after he died is *al-Shaykh al-Maqtūl*. He studied Greek, Persian and Indian philosophy. The results of his studies were expressed in a number of works such as *Hikmatu al-Isyrāq* and *Hayākilu al-Nūr*. In the book *Hikmatu al-Isyrāq* he introduced his philosophical Sufism conception. There are five topics that he brought up. The first is about *Nūr* and the nature of *nūr*. Second, about *nūru al-anwār* (light from all lights). Third, about the actions of *nūru al-anwār* and *nūr qāhir*. The fourth is about the realm of the *barzakh*, its shape, structure, and strength. The fifth is about the day of the promise, prophecies and dreams.

He argued that the spiritual side is always in conflict with the physical body. He called the spiritual side as *nūr*, while the physical realm as *ẓulumāt*. He called reason as *anwār*. The reason that governs *falak* is called *nūr qāhir* while Allah is called *nūru al-anwār*. As for *jisim* he called it the dark *jauhar* or *gasaq* while the realm of *ajsam* is named as *barzakh*. Al-Suhrawardī argued that all philosophers, wisdom experts or recluses are all one with one goal, namely to seek the light of truth from Allah, from the light of all lights. All paths may vary, but the goal is one. Those who seek solely by

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<sup>42</sup> Seyyed Hossein Nasr, *The Garden of Truth: The Vision and Promise of Sufism, Islam's Mystical Tradition* (New York: HarperCollins, 2008), 180.

<sup>43</sup> Leonard Lewisohn, *The Heritage of Sufism: The Legacy of Medieval Persian Sufism (1150-1500)*, vol. II (London: Oneworld Publications, 1999).

reason without any belief are philosophers. Those who seek reason but are limited by religious teachings are mutakallimin. Those who just use feelings and impersonate all texts are Sufis. That who uses feelings but also use reason is *isyraq* philosophy.

Al-Suhrawardī's idea is similar to Plato's philosophy. Plato's philosophy prioritizes the Great Creator as the end of human ideals. Al-Suhrawardī greatly admired Plato and dubbed him "Who has hands and light". The seeker of wisdom to him is classified into three. First: Those who seek wisdom using their minds i.e. philosophers. Second; who seek wisdom to reach God, i.e. Sufis. Third; Those who use reason and give priority to feel i.e. philosophers of divinity (*al-ḥakīm al-ilāhī*)<sup>44</sup>. However, his attitude towards *ḥulūl* is not clear. It seems that he is hesitant or at least does not want to explain it straightforwardly. Therefore, it can be understood that Al-Suhrawardī wanted to combine deep Sufism as well as deep philosophy. Thus, his *isyraq* philosophy is neither true philosophy nor true Sufism. He used expressions that could be interpreted for a hundred meanings so that many fiqh scholars opposed him. He was accused of being *zindīq* and *mulḥid* so that he was killed on the orders of Ṣalaḥuddin al-Ayyūbī by being starved to death.

As for Muḥyiddīn Ibn 'Arabī (d. 638 H), this figure is very well known as the raiser of the flag of Philosophical Sufism. In his hand, philosophical Sufism reached the "peak of glory". His *laqab* was al-Ḥātimī. He was named al-Shaykh al-Akbar and al-Kibrīt al-Aḥmar. He was originally Spanish, but lived in Damascus until his death. His grave was visited by many people. His many works show how extensive his knowledge was. Brockelmann recorded 150 pieces of his work. The largest was *al-Futūḥat al-Makkiyyah* followed by *Fuṣūṣū al-Ḥikam* and *Ẓakhā'iru al-A'lāq Syarḥu Turjumāni al-Asywāq*. He was very good at choosing words. He could combine philosophy with Sufism. He was seen to be able to reconcile the abyss of Sufism with philosophy.

The peak of *waḥdatu al-wujūd* idea was on the hands of Ibn 'Arabī. That idea was established from philosophical reflections and *ḥauq* Sufism. For him, everything was essentially one. Pharaoh and the prophet are only the expressions of that one. That idea is similar to the mind of Pythagoras which says "The soul of all numbers is one". Ibn 'Arabī also approved of the idea of *ḥaqīqah muḥammadiyyah*. This noor, that is *ḥaqīqah muḥammadiyyah*, is seen as the *Nūr* of Allah. All realms are originated from this noor whether it is the *jabarūt*, *malakūt*, *miṣāl*, *ajsām*, or *arwāḥ* realms. This noor is in the prophet, *walī* and all human beings.

Ibn 'Arabī also approved the unity of religions. Indeed, the consequence of *waḥdatu al-wujūd* idea and *ḥaqīqah muḥammadiyyah* is this *waḥdatu al-adyān* thought. A true *ʿarif* sees that everything to worship is only a symbol of God. Thus, idols, *Ka'bah*, fire, statue or nothingness are not a matter of being worshiped as long as

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<sup>44</sup> Hamka, *Perkembangan & Pemurnian Tasawwuf Dari Masa Nabi Muhammad Hingga Sufi-Sufi Besar*, 187–91.



they realize the nature of being worshiped. The difference between Ibn 'Arabī and al-Ḥallāj: If al-Ḥallāj believed in that thought as the emanation of feelings, then Ibn 'Arabi believed it was the result of philosophy and ideology. Therefore, if in the time of Al-Ḥallāj people were still timid about expressing *waḥdatu al-wujūd* idea, then in the time of Ibn 'Arabī, this idea was re-established frankly and challenging without hesitation<sup>45</sup>.

This ideology influenced Akbar Khan in Delhi in the 17<sup>th</sup> century that he created a religious association called Dīn Ilāhī. In his palace, Christian priests, Hindu pandits and Islamic scholars gathered. However, this idea died along with the death of its founder. Among those that were influenced by Ibn 'Arabī was the theosophical movement founded by Balavatsky and Annie Bessant. In Indonesia, this idea influenced a number of figures in the 16<sup>th</sup> century such as Hamzah Fansuri in Aceh, Syamsudiin from Sumatra and Siti Jenar from Java.<sup>46</sup>

The reaction of the scholars was very strong against Ibn 'Arabī. They still tried to forgive Al-Ḥallāj because he was considered lovesick, but they cannot ignore Ibn 'Arabī because he was considered practicing philosophy. In Egypt, he was nearly killed. The opponents were not just any scholars. Among them were Ibn Taimiyyah, Ibn Qayyim, Ibn Khaldūn,<sup>47</sup> and Ibrahīm al-Biqā'ī. Al-Biqā'ī composed two books to criticize Ibn 'Arabī with the title *Tanbīhu al-Gabī 'alā Takfīri Ibni 'Arabī* and *Taḥzīru al-'Ubbād min Ahli al-'Inād bi Bid'ati al-Ittiḥād*. There are also many people who defend him and they are not minor figures either. Among them were Majduddīn al-Fairuza Ābādī, Quṭbuddīn al-Ḥamawī, Ṣalaḥuddīn al-Ṣafadī, Syihābuddin 'Umar al-Suhrawardī, Fakhruddīn al-Rāzī, Abdurrazzāq al-Qasyanī, Abdul Ganī al-Nābulusī, and Jalāluddīn al-Suyūṭī. To refute al-Biqā'ī, al-Suyūṭī wrote a book entitled *Tanbīhu al-Gabī fī Tabri'ati Ibni 'Arabī*.<sup>48</sup>

Interestingly, all critics and defenders of Ibn 'Arabī were also Sufism lovers. In Persia, Ibn 'Arabī's idea was promoted by Jalāuddin al-Rūmī. This idea also influenced Ibn al-Fāriḍ and Ibn Sab'īn. He also influenced Abdul Karim al-Jīlī in his book; *al-Insān al-Kāmil*. Therefore, Al-Gazzālī's effort to combine sufism and fiqh was "torn apart" by the sufism of Ibn 'Arabī with his *waḥdatu al-wujūd* concept. Another figure of philosophical Sufism is Ibn al-Fāriḍ (d. 632 H). He came from Egypt. He was famous with the poem of God's Love. *Qaṣīdah Burdah* was influenced by his poems. After Ibn al-Fāriḍ, came Ibn Sabīn (d. 669 H). He is famous with his *waḥdatu al-wujūd*

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<sup>45</sup> It seems that because of the weakness of the state at that time, they could not take action against Ibn 'Arabī.

<sup>46</sup> Hamka, *Perkembangan & Pemurnian Tasawwuf Dari Masa Nabi Muhammad Hingga Sufi-Sufi Besar*, 192–200.

<sup>47</sup> Semih Ceyhan, "Ibn Khaldun's Perception of Sufis and Sufism: The Discipline of Tasawwuf in Umrān," *Asian Journal of Social Science* 34, no. 3–4 (2008): 483–515, <https://doi.org/10.1163/156853108X327056>.

<sup>48</sup> Nile Green, *Sufism: A Global History* (United States: Wiley-Blackwell, 2012), 230.

concept. At first, he studied Fiqh, then switched to Sufism until his death. His Sufism attracted Westerners because his letters to the Persian king; Frederik II, were found. There were four topics that Frederik II asked Ibn Sabīn, namely the realm of qadim, ten talks, metaphysics and the soul. Ibn Sabīn's letters answered those questions. Unfortunately, there were a number of sentences that are considered blasphemous from him. When he saw a tawaf person, he once said in a disdainful tone that "a tawaf person is like a donkey wandering around a millstone". He even once said insulting words to the Messenger of Allah ﷺ "Why Muhammad, the son of Aminah, narrowed the universe by saying there was no prophet after me?" Ibn Daqīqi al-'īd said, "I was with him one day. I understood each of his sentence. Once they were put into utterances, I didn't understand anymore". People say that his death was due to a suicide because of the harsh mockery of the people. Some say that he was starving because people hated him like the Dutch Jewish philosopher, Spinoza.<sup>49</sup>

As for Ibn Taimiyyah's Sufism, this Sufism tries to clean Sufism from foreign influence and tries to restore it to the basis of Islam, namely Tauhid. For Ibn Taimiyyah, the servant's relationship with Allah must be direct, not using murshid, shaykhs or *walī* intermediaries. The way to have direct contact with Allah is to follow the instructions of Rasulullah ﷺ. If he is consistent, his rank in front of Allah will get higher and he can reach the rank of *walī* Allah. Ibn Taimiyyah acknowledged the existence of a *walī* Allah, but strongly rejected the idea of relying on the *walī* Allah. Therefore, he harshly criticized the *rābiṭah* teachings on praying or worshipping. In order to criticize the practice of tawassul which is commonly practiced by Sufis, Ibn Taimiyyah wrote a special book entitled *al-Tawassul wa al-Wasīlah*.<sup>50</sup>

Those are all efforts to cleanse Sufism from the ideas emerged within the Muslim community. Apart from criticizing the ideas that emerged from Muslims, he also criticized the concept of Sufism which was influenced by the external ideas, namely foreign philosophy or mysticism. Ibn Taimiyyah strongly opposed the idea of *waḥdatu al-wujūd*. Uniquely, Ibn Qayyim- who was actually a student of Ibn Taimiyyah- in the *Madāriju al-Sālikīn* book, sometimes still defends those who believe in *waḥdatu al-wujūd* if they are just drunk in love. However, he still firmly called it a mistake, a derailment and a sign that humans other than the prophet were not infallible. He said the Sufi path was like a big ocean which was very dangerous. Ordinary people should not be dragged there. Only those who boarded Noah's boat would be saved and the boat is to follow Rasulullah ﷺ. According to Muhammad al-Bahī, a professor of Islamic philosophy at al-Azhar University, in his book entitled *al-Jānib al-Ilāhī min al-Tafkīr al-Islāmī* as well as the book *al-Fikru al-Islāmī al-Ḥadīṣ*, he stated that Ibn

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<sup>49</sup> Mark Sedgwick, *Western Sufism: From the Abbasids to the New Age* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), 321.

<sup>50</sup> William Stoddart and R.W.J. Austin, *Outline of Sufism: The Essentials of Islamic Spirituality (Perennial Philosophy)* (Indiana: World Wisdom, 2012), 115.

Taimiyyah was the first pioneer who tried to return Sufism to its roots, namely tawheed.

However, although there is a similar spirit between Ibn Taimiyyah's Sufism and al-Gazzāli's Sufism in terms of the efforts to purify Sufism to its original source, both Sufism have different characteristics. Al-Gazzāli Sufism seems to be aloof from life and have seclusion. As for Ibn Taimiyyah, his Sufism invited him to take part in daily life. When there was a call for jihad, Ibn Taimiyyah gave a direct example by taking up arms and fighting. According to Ibn Taimiyyah, true Sufis are those who work hard. Night is to worship, morning is to work hard and play a role in solving life problems at the individual, community and state level, not running away from life's problems. However, Ibn Taimiyyah's thoughts were opposed by a number of scholars. Among them was Ibn Ḥajar al-Haitamī (d. 977 H).<sup>51</sup>

### I. Critical Analysis

In the 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> centuries, Sufism was still clean. It had not been mixed with foreign elements and had not caused problems in the midst of Islamic society. At that time, Sufism with its various tendencies still relied on the Al-Qur'an and Sunnah and was strongly tied to the base of Sufism, namely tauhid. Therefore, a very harsh critic of Sufism like Ibn Taimiyyah still praised the Sufi of this early generation. The examples of early generation Sufis praised by Ibn Taimiyyah were al-Junaid, Abū Sulaimān al-Dārānī, Ma'rūf al-Karkhī, and al-Fuḍail bin 'Iyād. Those true Sufis, if they performed *ijtihād* then did mistakes, Ibn Taimiyyah still praised them by calling *them mujtahidūna fi ṭā'atillāh*. Ibn Taimiyyah said<sup>52</sup>:

وَالصَّوَابُ أَنَّهُمْ مُجْتَهِدُونَ فِي طَاعَةِ اللَّهِ كَمَا اجْتَهَدَ غَيْرُهُمْ مِنْ أَهْلِ طَاعَةِ

In the 3<sup>rd</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup> centuries, a clash began to occur between Fiqh and Sufism. This collision is not necessary, and not supposed to happen. In fact, the hadith about Islam, faith and ihsan gives an impression that Fiqh and Sufism are always side by side. In order to make servants' Islam to be good, fiqh must be studied. In order to have a good faith, Uṣuluddin must be learned. In order to have a good *ihsān*, it is necessary to learn Sufism.

Indeed, Sufism is a school of sense (*ẓauq*). It uses more inner experiences and it is not the science based on logic and rationality. Scientists discuss about *what and how* while Sufis discuss *from where and to where*. Their famous saying reads: man lam yaẓuq lam ya'rif. They prefer to use the term ma'rifa rather than science. For the Sufis, 'alim people are still under the *ārif* ones.<sup>53</sup> They practice the hadiths which sometimes

<sup>51</sup> Stoddart and Austin, 308–13.

<sup>52</sup> Ahmad bin Abdul Halim Ibnu Taimiyyah, *Majmu' Al-Fatawa*, vol. 11 (al-Madinah al-Nabawiyyah: Majma' al-Malik Fahd li Thiba'ati al-Mushaf Asy-Syarif, 1995), 18.

<sup>53</sup> Hamka, *Perkembangan & Pemurnian Tasawwuf Dari Masa Nabi Muhammad Hingga Sufi-Sufi Besar*, 106–7, 111.

according to Fiqh experts are invalid and hold them because they feel they have proven their usefulness. They also practice the Qur'an or hadith which have no specific argument, but they feel the real benefits. This type of knowledge is passed down from generation to generation and does not go through the path of knowledge such as Fiqh. An example of books that collects those experiences is *al-Mawāqif* by Abdul Qādir al-Jāzirī. Those actions are extracted from the tradition of the companions who healed with *Al-Fātihah* even though the Prophet did not teach them to do so. It also strengthens the experience of Ibn Qayyim who did tawaf, felt fatigued, then recited *al-Fatihāh* and immediately his fatigue was gone.<sup>54</sup> Thus, if this is the nature of Sufi's thinking, then Sufism and Fiqh should indeed be able to be brought closer and even married. As al-Gazzālī analysis; Sufi mistakes before the 5<sup>th</sup> century can be corrected as long as holding two things: knowledge and good deed.

Once the time of al-Gazzālī arrived, the conflict between Sufism and fiqh could be reconciled. Al-Gazzālī's influence in the Islamic world was enormous. Mājid al-Kailāni in his book entitled *Hākazā Zahara Jīlu Ṣalāḥuddin* even emphasized that the victory of the Islamic army against the crusaders was due to Al-Gazzālī's merit with his book; *Iḥyā' 'Ulūmiddīn*. This book is a book that is considered incredible because it is able to marry Sufism and Fiqh. Until this day, we still witness the influence of al-Gazzālī's Sufism which is so great that his books on Sufism such as *Minhāju al-Ābidīn* and *Iḥyā' 'Ulūmiddīn* are studied in Islamic boarding schools.

However, al-Gazzālī's Sufism has got a little criticism from Yusuf al-Qaraḍāwī. What was highlighted from al-Gazzālī was his thoughts on *kasyaf*. According to al-Qaraḍāwī, *kasyaf* does exist, yet it cannot be a goal, aspiration, aim, target, something to be pursued, something to desire, something to ask, something to seek or something to wait for. It is also not supposed to be the reason for leaving ṭalabul ilmi which is the path of the Prophet's heirs because the *kasyaf* can come or not. In short, it must not be a method of seeking knowledge. Seeking knowledge by means of Sufism also cannot be said to be the way of the prophets. Rasulullah ﷺ, while worshiping in the Cave *Hirā'*, did not seek *kasyaf* or inspiration. Neither did he wait for a revelation from heaven nor expect to be a prophet. In fact, when he got the revelation, he was very surprised, shocked, his heart violently trembled and even worried about his psyche that he asked his wife to cover him with blanket.

Shari'a orders are not looking for *kasyaf*, but seeking knowledge. Who is struggling to study, then Allah makes it easy for him to walk the path to heaven. Angels are happy with those who seek knowledge and lay their wings on them. There is no evidence that angels lay wings on the seeker of the *kasyaf*. *Kasyaf* is nothing more than busyrā 'ājilah to strengthen the heart so that people are steady and have no doubt of being on the right path and continue to istiqamah obeying Allah in that way

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<sup>54</sup> Hamka, 108–10.

until the end of life. This is no different from other promises of Allah which are more worldly, such as abundance of wealth, healthy body, many children, a peaceful life, and so on. True worship is pure solely because of Allah and seeking His pleasure. A person who worships because he is looking for *kasyaf*, means that he is worshipping for his own sake (yaṭlubu ḥaḥḥa nafsihī). People who pray, fast and worship for 40 days because they hope that wisdom will radiate from their heart, meaning that their worship is not sincere because of Allah, but sincere because of wisdom! Thus, a person who worships because he pursues *kasyaf* means that he is worshipping for *kasyaf*.

Moreover, the Sufi path of gaining knowledge by means of the *kasyaf* offered and praised by Al-Gazzālī is a very steep, very dangerous path, many curves, and is a big chasm. People can get hallucinations, schizophrenic, fantasize 20 years and feel it is *kasyaf*. Sense hurts, the body hurts. Age up while goals have not been reached. People who take it rarely get directions because the path taught by the Prophet ﷺ was abandoned. Al-Gazzālī himself admitted that a number of scholars criticized the *kasyaf* seekers and he did not deny this at all. This shows that the criticism is indeed valuable.<sup>55</sup>

Moreover, the *kasyaf* sometimes contradicts the Islamic law. Supposedly, if that is the case, the *kasyaf* must be discarded and the argument of the shari'a must win even though it is *ẓanni*. Some Sufis do not want to do this because they think that *kasyaf* is qaṭ'i and knowledge that is classified as ainul yaqīn. This is what will destroy religion. Moreover, this path of pursuing the *kasyaf* is not the path of the Sahaba, *Tābi'īn*, and *Tābi'ut Tābi'īn*. If this path was taken, there would be no conquest, no spread of Islam, no spread of the Qur'an, no spread of hadith, and no spread of Fiqh. Islam is a universal da'wah, gathering the world and the hereafter, collecting material and spirituality, knowledge and faith, mind and heart, the rights of Allah and the rights of servants. Guidelines for achieving this are the Qur'an, hadith, and the examples of salaf salih. If people just wait for *kasyaf* and faid, then that also exists in Hinduism and Christianity. Many of their magical stories related to such things. However, muslims have agreed that they went the wrong way.

After all, how can we guarantee that *kasyaf* is from Allah, not from Satan? People may feel that they have got the truth even though it is from Satan, if they do not return to al-Rahman's guidance. Therefore, the sālikīn, those who travel the *kasyaf* path, have two opportunities between experiencing *aḥwāl raḥmāniyyah* and *aḥwāl syaitāniyyah*. Moreover, by assuming that this path is worth taking, it only applies to people who have not been visited by the apostles. If the apostle has been sent, then whoever takes another path will get lost. Moreover, it is still possible to understand that the inspiration and *kasyaf* are given by Allah solely as a grace, not because of

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<sup>55</sup> Abu Hamid Muhammad bin Muhammad Al-Ghazzali, *Ihya' Ulumiddin*, vol. 3 (Beirut: Daar al-Ma'rifah, 2005), 20.

taking a certain order. With the evidence, many people get inspiration even though he is not a *sālik*.<sup>56</sup>

## J. Conclusion

This study reveals that Sufism has developed significantly and even changed since its inception. By considering the characteristics of each order, Sufism can be classified into several schools such as *Rajā 'wa khauf Sufism*, *Maḥabbah Sufism*, *Happy Sufism*, *Al-Ḥallāj Sufism*, *Al-Gazzālī Sufism*, *Philosophical Sufism*, and *Ibn Taimiyyah Sufism*. Sufism at the beginning, in the first and second centuries of Hijra, such as *Maḥabbah Sufism* and *Rajā 'wa khauf*, did not lead to a debate as it is still pure and far from the influence of foreign elements and has a strong foundation from the Quran and Sunnah.

But, in its further development, i.e. in the third and fourth centuries, there was a clash between fiqh and Sufism. This is supposed not to happen because they could coexist. Muslims need fiqh as guidance of worship to God. Meanwhile, Sufism also has an important role in guiding Muslims to get perfection (iḥsān). Sufism and fiqh have to be brought closer and even united. Al-Gazzālī said that the wrongdoings practices of Sufism before the 5<sup>th</sup> century can be fixed by holding on two principles that are knowledge and good deeds. During his time, the conflict between Sufism and fiqh could be reconciled because the influence of Al-Gazzālī in the Islamic world was very vital.

Whereas Sufism in the fifth century, at the time of Al-Gazzālī, was the most beautiful period in the history of Sufism because both of them could be integrated. But, Sufism in the next period began to experience another conflict due to the influence of philosophy in Sufism until the time of Ibn Taimiyyah who wanted to return Sufism to its origin.

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<sup>56</sup> Yusuf Al-Qaraḍāwī, *Mauqifū Al-Islām Min Al-Ilham Wa Al-Kasyf Wa Al-Ru'ū Wa Min Al-Tamā'im Wa Al-Kahānah Wa Al-Ruqā* (Kairo: Maktabah Wahbah, 1994), 103–11.

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