

THE "FRIENDS OF GOD" IN THE *RASĀ'IL IHWĀN AS-SAFĀ'*

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In Ep. 7 *On the theoretical arts* of the encyclopaedia of the Pure Brethren (I, 267, 4-11), the *Ihwān* list six kinds of "legal sciences for the cure of the souls and the search for the hereafter": 1) the science of revelation; 2) the science of interpretation; 3) the science of traditions; 4) the science of the Law, traditions and norms; 5) the science of memory and spiritual admonitions, of asceticism and of Sufism; 6) the science of the interpretation of dreams. These sciences belong, respectively, to: a) the readers of the Qu'rān and those who know it by heart; b) the *imāms* and the vicars of the Prophets; c) the authors of *ḥadīths*; d) jurists; e) worshippers, ascetics, monks and the like; f) interpreters.

Again, in Ep. 9 *On habits* (I, 322, 3-323, 20) the *Ihwān* speak of the eight basic principles of the Law, represented by eight groups of followers and companions of the Lawgiver, who all have the task of perpetuating the memory of the Law, and hence allowing its implementation: 1) reciters of the Holy Book and those who know it by heart; 2) *abbār*-tellers, *ḥadīths*-transmitters and those who keep by heart the *sīra* of the Prophet; 3) students of the Law and those who are learned in the Law and in its *sunna*; 4) commentators of the literal meaning of their expressions; 5) the fighter *ansār*; 6) vicars of the Law-giver and those who supervise the *ṣarī'a* by ordering that which is good and interdicting that which is forbidden; 7) ascetics and worshippers, monks and those who stand up in the temples; preachers in the pulpits; 8) those who are learned in the *ta'wīl*, and those who are experienced in the theological sciences and knowledge, that is to say, the rightly guided (*al-mahdiyyūn*) *imāms* and the orthodox (*ar-rāšidūn*) caliphs.

As we see, these lists are very similar, and the encyclopaedia of the "Pure Brethren" often deals with each of these categories². But I should like to address here the fifth category of the first passage, that of "*al-ʿubbād wa z-zuhhād wa r-ruhbān wa-man šakalahum*", which corresponds to the seventh of the second passage, that of "*az-zuhhād wa l-ʿubbād fī l-masāʿid, wa-r-ruhbān wa-l-quwwām fī l-hayākil, wa-l-ḥutabā' alā l-manābir*".

¹ Here the *Ihwān* use the typical *mu'tazilī* expression: *al-amr bi-l-ma'rūf wa-n-nahy 'an al-munkar*.

² For instance, Ep. 22 *On animals*, II, 299, 18-20 looks especially significant. This passage is related to the well-known assertion, which the *Ihwān* also repeat, that "religion and kingship are twins". See also, in the same Epistle, 301, 17-20 and 367, 20-369, 14 *passim*; Ep. 8 *On the practical arts*, I, 292, 9-18 and, more specifically on kingship: Ep. 31 *On the languages*, III, 173, 17-175, 14 and 176, 2-177, 2.

The *Iḥwān* consider this category very positively – that is obvious, given the contexts in which it is treated. On the other hand, in spite of the wide critical position of Islam versus asceticism³, and in spite of the fact that the *Iḥwān* generally appear very far from any mystical or ascetical approach to religion⁴, in the *Epistles* we find positive but varied⁵ evaluations of asceticism⁶; and we even find a favourable mention of Christian monachism⁷.

But a reading of the encyclopaedia shows above all that asceticism is the main feature of the so-called “Friends of God”, the *Awliyā’ Allāh*. As is well known, etymologically this name emphasizes the “closeness” of some kinds of “special” believers to their Lord. Then, within Islam it designates “the saints” and/or the mystics. The same thing happens in the encyclopaedia of the Pure Brethren, where, for instance, we find a long passage in which the *Awliyā’ Allāh* are identified with “the saints” according to the usual Muslim hierarchy (Ep. 9, I, 376, 14-378, 16)⁸. And

³ Cf. e.g. the comparison between “the way of God” of the Muslim and that of the monk in his cell, in the apologue, entirely against the latter, in Ep. 9, I, 338, 22-342, 15. Also in Ep. 22, II, 286, 1 the Qurayṣite praises God because He gave to his people “the best of religions”. More generally, we read in Ep. 46 *On the essence of faith*, IV, 84, 3-4 that “revelation is the noblest gift man finds in the world”.

⁴ Cf. e.g. the harsh description of ascetical practices in Ep. 22, II, 359, 13-360, 6.

⁵ For instance, in Ep. 25 *On conception*, II, 444, 13 asceticism from world is said to be ordered by Prophets. In Ep. 27 *On the development of the particular souls within the natural human bodies*, III, 15, 9 “adoration, asceticism, mysticism, adherence to the school of the Divines” (*at-ta’allah wa-z-zuhd wa-t-tasawwuf wa-luzum madāhib ar-rabbāniyyin*) are quoted among the praiseworthy qualities.

⁶ Cf. e.g., with reference to the abstention from food, Ep. 9, I, 358, 3-14.

⁷ Cf. Ep. 27, III, 8, 16-17, where “mysticism, asceticism and monachism according to the Christian tradition, attachment to the *hanafi* religion” (*at-tasawwuf wa-t-tazahhud wa-t-tarahhub ‘alā l-minḥağ al-masīhi, wa-t-ta’allah bi-d-dīn al-ḥanafi*) are quoted among the means for perfecting souls. On the Christian monks as believers in the immortality of the soul cf., instead, Ep. 44 *On the beliefs of the Iḥwān as-Safā’*, IV, 32, 2-6.

⁸ The *Iḥwān* report *Qur’an* and *ahbār* for their description. Finally, they quote a *ḥadīṭ* (missing in Wensinck /1936-/ as far as I could see), which reads as follows: “This *umma* always needs forty just men from the sect of Abraham, the friend of God”. After a presentation of Abraham, which recalls the haggadic story of his being thrown into fire, Qur., XXI, 69 is quoted (which closes his story in the Holy Book). Then (377, 3-13) we read that “among those forty men four of them are *abdāl*, and they are called *abdāl* because they substitute one creature with another, and make one purification after another. In fact, these forty men are selected from a total of four hundred ascetics (*zāhidin*), gnostics (*‘arifin*) and sure (*muḥaqqiqin*), and these four hundred are selected from four thousand penitent (*tā’ibin*) and sincere (*muḥlisin*) believers, and every time that one of the four passes away, one of the forty takes his rank (*rutba*); and when one of the forty passes away, one of the four hundred takes his rank; and when one of the four hundred passes away, one of the four thousand rises to his status (*manzila*), reaches his grade (*marṭaba*) and takes his place; and every time that one of the four thousand passes away, one of the penitent and sincere believers raises to his position (*makān*), reaches his degree (*darağa*) and takes his place”. After the quotation of a series of *ḥadīṭs* and of Qur., XXXV, 32, the *Iḥwān* conclude that these people are the heirs of the Prophets and the vicars of God; their heritage is science (*‘ilm*), faith (*imān*),

there are many passages in which the *Awliyā' Allāh* share the qualities and behaviour of people whom we could consider "mystics", or even "Sūfis". I have already addressed the question whether the "Friends of God" can be identified with the "mystics" of the Muslim tradition, e.g. the *sūfī*, or not⁹. In this paper I address the problem mainly from the linguistic point of view, taking into consideration the rich and various features related in the Epistles to the "Friends of God", and evaluating their terminology.

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The majority of the passages related to our topic are in Ep. 9, but the features of the "Friends of God" are also dealt with in other Epistles, e.g. in Ep. 22, II, 179, 7-8, which refers just to Ep. 9, stating that there it is explained "how everybody should behave, in order to be worthily counted among the Friends of God"¹⁰.

The features, or "distinguishing marks" of the "Friends of God" are widely and multifariously considered. The complete lexicon will be published soon¹¹; here, I consider only the most important items.

From the complete reading of the whole encyclopaedia we find first of all personal features related to the "Friends of God". An examination of the terms recorded shows that the most frequent roots are AMN, RĤW, ZHD, SLM and ṢDQ.

- 1) AMN, 4 items: *amān*, security (Ep. 38, III, 312, 5); *amāna*, trustworthiness (Ep. 9, I, 359, 16: as a consequence of abstinence and chaste life); *imān*, faith (Ep. 9, I, 378, 2: inherited from the Prophets); *āmin in*, peaceful (Ep. 9, I, 376, 11: they lived in this world —)

devoutness (*ta'abbud*), reception of divine confirmation (*ta'yīd*) and inspiration (*ilhām*), renunciation (*zahāda*) of the world and neglect of his quest, and craving (*raġba*) and longing (*istiyyāq*) for the hereafter (378, 1-4). That of *abdāl* is "one of the degrees of the *sūfī* hierarchical order of saints" according to *EP*, s.v. *abdāl* (they are also forty for some *hadīth*-transmitters, like Ibn Ḥanbal). For the same position cf. Marquet 1973:139. We can also recall that the *Ihwān* speak, e.g., also of *al-bukamā' an-nuġabā'* (so combining two other *sūfī* hierarchical degrees) in Ep. 38 *On resurrection*, III, 303, 9, in a passage interesting for the topics dealt with in the present article.

⁹ Cf. Baffioni 2000, where I hinted at the possibility that the *Ihwān* Friends of God are just the *Šī'ite imāms* (in spite of the fact that, in the passages of Eps. 7 and 9 quoted above – like in a sort of *ta-qiyā* – the *imāms* are placed in another category). In many places, moreover, the *Ihwān* urge the imitation of the "Friends of God" (cf. Ep. 9, I, 334, 10-15 and 360, 8-13) and, finally, just as the *Ihwān* regret that caliphs kill the *imāms*, they also regret the murder of the "Friends of God" (cf. Ep. 22, II, 361, 4-22: an allusion to the condition of the *Ihwān*, themselves persecuted as *ismā'īlīs*?). Finally, it could be meaningful to recall that the listing of "distinguishing marks" is a constant practice of the *Ismā'īlī* propagandists in reference to the Prophets.

¹⁰ In this Epistle, the "Sincere Friends" are again spoken of, cf. 376, 22, and 377, 19. On the "Friends of God" cf. also Ep. 38, III, 298, 16, 21, 24; 299, 4 and 9; on their qualities cf. Ep. 22, II, 376, 24-377, 6.

¹¹ Cf. Baffioni in print.

- 2) RHW, 1 item recurring 4 times: *raḥa*, rest (Ep. 38, III, 312, 5; Ep. 9, I, 360, 3: from pains; Ep. 38, III, 312, 3: their hearts [are] in —; Ep. 38, III, 312, 5: in — with themselves)
- 3) ZHD, 3 items: *zuhd*, asceticism, recurring 2 times (Ep. 9, I, 333, 16; Ep. 9, I, 369, 12); *zahāda*, renunciation (Ep. 9, I, 378, 3: of this world, inherited from the Prophets); *tazhīd*, incitement to abstention (Ep. 9, I, 375, 15: from this world, their work)
- 4) SLM, 3 items: *salāma*, safety, recurring 2 times (Ep. 9, I, 359, 17: as a consequence of abstinence and chaste life; Ep. 9, I, 376, 11: from trouble and pains); *taslīm*, submission (Ep. 9, I, 360, 3); *sālimīn*, safe (Ep. 9, I, 376, 11-12: they left this world —)
- 5) SDQ, 3 items: *ṣidq*, sincerity, recurring 2 times (Ep. 9, I, 333, 14: of speech; Ep. 9, I, 360, 5: in speech); *ṣadaqa*, charity (Ep. 9, I, 359, 21); *taṣdīq*, confirmation (Ep. 9, I, 360, 6: of faith in conscience).

But in the encyclopaedia we find more features and attributes, which I have subdivided as follows: a) further definitions of the *Awliyā' Allāh*; b) features introduced by negations or privative terms; c) relationship of the *Awliyā' Allāh* with God; d) their behaviour towards other people; e) behaviour of other people towards them; f) their religious knowledge; g) attributes of the *Awliyā' Allāh* linked to religion; h) attributes of the *Awliyā' Allāh* linked to gnosiology.

Among the features introduced by negative terms or negations are: 1) absence of doubt and uncertainty, twice (Ep. 9, I, 375, 17; Ep. 39, III, 343, 2-3); 2) abstention from eating and drinking (Ep. 9, I, 333, 9; Ep. 9, I, 358, 10¹²), from carnal passions (Ep. 9, I, 358, 3¹³; Ep. 9, I, 378, 5) and from evil thoughts and behaviour, each twice;

¹² Eating little is also defined: *mazra'at al-fikr* (field where cogitation is cultivated, Ep. 9, I, 358, 11); *yunbū' al-hikma* (source of wisdom, 358, 11); *ḥayāt al-ḥikma* (life of sagacity, 358, 11); *mishāb al-qalb* (lamp of the heart, 358, 12); *ṭabīb al-badan* (physician of the body, 358, 12); *qātil aṣ-ṣāhawāt* (killer of carnal appetites, 358, 12); *hādīm al-waswās* (what demolishes temptation, 358, 12); *munzul al-ilhām* (what sends down inspiration, 358, 13); *'isma min šarr an-nafs* (hindrance from spiritual vice, 358, 13); *amāna min ṣiddat al-ḥisāb* (safety from the severity of reckoning, 358, 13). Consequences of eating little, moreover, are *ṣukr* (thankfulness, 358, 13) and vanishing of *kufr an-nīma* (ingratitude, 358, 14).

¹³ As a consequence of asceticism expressed in Ep. 9, I, 358, 3 as *qillat al-akl* (little eating) and *tarik aṣ-ṣāhawāt* (neglect of carnal appetites), one is *aṣaḥḥ ḡisman* (healthier in body, Ep. 9, I, 358, 6); *aḡwad ḥifẓan* (better in memory, 358, 6); *azkā ṣahman* (purer in mind, 358, 6-7); *aḡlā qalban* (higher in heart, 358, 7); cf. my text *aqall nawman* (less needful of sleep, 358, 7); *aṣdaq ru'yan* (more sincere in viewing, 358, 7); *ahaff nafsān* (lighter in soul, 358, 7); *ahadd basāran* (sharper in insight, 358, 7-8); *altaf fikran* (finer in mind, 358, 8); *asgā sam'an* (more disposed to pay attention, 358, 8); *aṣaḥḥ ḥissan* (healthier in sensation, 358, 8); *aṭbat ra'yan* (firmer in opinion, 358, 8); *aqbal li-l'ilm* (more receptive of science, 358, 8-9); *asra' ḥarakatan* (faster in motion, 358, 9); *aslam ṭabī'atan* (safer in nature, 358, 9); *aqall mu'natan* (lesser in trouble, 358, 9); *awsa' muwasātan* (wider in charity, 358, 9); *akram ḥuluqān* (nobler in natural dispositions, 358, 10); *aṭbat suḥbatan* (firmer in friendship, 358, 10); *ahla fi l-qulūb* (sweeter in hearts, 358, 10).

3) absence of ill-will or evil intention towards the others (Ep. 38, III, 312, 5-6; Ep. 38, III, 312, 6), each twice.

As to the relationship of the *Awliyā' Allāh* with God, among the other statements, we can here recall that the "Friends of God" are said to be "those who love God and whom God loves" (Ep. 9, I, 360, 9), and consequently their invocations are always answered (Ep. 38, III, 312, 2). Moreover, the "Friends of God" constantly behave as if they have seen God (Ep. 9, I, 338, 13-14; Ep. 39, III, 343, 2-3); they experience Him in every situation (Ep. 9, I, 376, 6); they crave for the encounter with God (Ep. 9, I, 360, 10).

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Let us now come to the personal qualities ascribed to the "Friends of God", which could belong to the *sūfi* tradition. I am, of course, aware that our discussion cannot enter into any details of the various *sūfi* personalities and schools:

- 1) *taqwā*, godliness (Ep. 9, I, 369, 13; Ep. 9, I, 359, 17: as a consequence of abstinence and chaste life); *mahabba*, love (Ep. 9, I, 360, 1; Ep. 9, I, 359, 18: of the hearts, as a consequence of abstinence and chaste life); *ridā*, satisfaction (Ep. 9, I, 327, 5-6: with little of the delights and pleasures of the world; Ep. 9, I, 333, 13; Ep. 9, I, 360, 2); *zuhd*, asceticism (Ep. 9, I, 333, 16; Ep. 9, I, 369, 12); *tawakkul*, trust (Ep. 9, I, 369, 13); all of these belonging to the *sūfi* experience since its beginnings;
- 2) other attributes such as some of the so-called *maqāmāt* in *sūfi* authors: *amāna*, trustworthiness (Ep. 9, I, 359, 16: as a consequence of abstinence and chaste life); *rifq*, kindness (Ep. 9, I, 359, 22; Ep. 9, I, 363, 4);
- 3) qualities like *taslim*, submission (Ep. 9, I, 360, 3); *sabr*, patience (Ep. 9, I, 333, 13; Ep. 9, I, 360, 3-4: in misfortunes and trial); *kasāf*, sufficiency (Ep. 9, I, 360, 3); we could also recall the expression *tafarrud fī l-halawāt* (Ep. 9, I, 327, 9) very akin to the *sūfi halwa*; other qualities concerning the relationship with God, such as *mahabba*, love (Ep. 39, III, 342, 19); *husn az-zann*, good belief (Ep. 9, I, 369, 15); *tahaqquq*, certitude (Ep. 9, I, 376, 3); *ihlās*, sincere devotion (Ep. 9, I, 360, 5); *hawf*, fear (Ep. 9, I, 369, 14; cf. also Ep. 9, I, 376, 2); *ragā'*, hope (Ep. 9, I, 369, 14; cf. also Ep. 9, I, 376, 1); *tuma'nīna*, repose (Ep. 9, I, 360, 5); *ma'rifa*, knowledge (Ep. 9, I, 376, 5: soundness of their — of their Lord; Ep. 39, III, 342, 5-6; cf. Ep. 9, I, 375, 22-376, 1); *tiqa* (Ep. 9, I, 360, 5); *tawakkul*, trust (Ep. 9, I, 360, 4); *yaqīn* (Ep. 9, I, 338, 13; Ep. 9, I, 376, 10) and *tayaqqun*, certainty (Ep. 9, I, 376, 5). We can also recall other passages, like Ep. 9, I, 375, 20-21, which recalls *dikr*; Ep. 9, I, 338, 13-14, which recalls *muhāsaba*; Ep. 9, I, 376, 6, which recalls *muṣāhada*; and the expressions *yarawnahu ru'yat al-haqq*, they see God truly (Ep. 9, I, 376, 5-6: in every circumstance) and *inmahaqat al-agyār 'inda ru'yatihim haqīqatibi*, every other thing is effaced, when they see (God's) true nature (Ep. 9, I, 376, 9-10).

I would like, finally, to recall the beautiful passage in which the *Iḥwān* say that the “Friends of God” “are people for whom every place and time are the same”¹⁴... Every day is to them like one and the same feast, and one and the same Friday; every place is like one and the same mosque, every direction like a *qibla* and a *mihrāb*: withersoever you turn, there is the Face of God¹⁵; all their movements are like an act of worship to God” (Ep. 38, III, 311, 9-12)¹⁶. As is well known, this state is typical of the mystic and *sūfi* experiences.

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At the same time, our analysis reveals a quite complex picture, because in spite of the Sufism-flavoured terminology just examined, the “ascetics” – with whom the “Friends of God” share, as we have seen, most of their attributes – are placed by the *Iḥwān* within a strictly “legal” vision in the passages of Eps. 7 and 9 recalled at the beginning of this article; and we read, also in Ep. 9, that the *Awliyā’ Allāh* are those who warn people against neglect of the practice of the disposition of the Law (I, 323, 11-12).

Moreover, the passages dealing with their “religious knowledge” recall notions strictly speaking proper to the *ṣarīʿa*, such as: 1) the straight way towards God (Ep. 9, I, 369, 16); 2) the method (*minḥag*) of the *sunna* (Ep. 9, I, 369, 16); 3) hereafter and things related to it: resurrection, announcement, congregation, reckoning, balance, guidance and requital (Ep. 9, I, 363, 12-13; Ep. 9, I, 375, 11); 4) the angels and the way of their inspiration, the devils and the way of their temptation and possession (Ep. 9, I, 363, 6-9); nn. 3 and 4 being introduced by the term *maʿrifā* or the verbal form *yaʿrifūna*, just as the *Iḥwān* relate also the term *tayaqqun*, certainty, to the hereafter when speaking of the Friends of God (Ep. 9, I, 327, 14), who are also called *al-mutahaqqiqūna*, those who are convinced (Ep. 9, I, 357, 6) and *al-muqirrūna*, those who confess (Ep. 9, I, 323, 14) the hereafter.

And there is still a very important reason which could hinder us from identifying the *Iḥwān*ian “Friends of God” with the Sufis: namely, that the Epistles emphasize the gnosiological attributes in directions other than the *sūfi*, as is confirmed from the use of “gnosiological” roots like ʿRF, YQN, BŠR, RʿY and NZR, which are the most frequently recorded in the encyclopaedia. I would like to recall here that, even if – as we have seen – the *Iḥwān* speak for the “Friends of God” of *maʿrifā*, knowledge of their Lord, at least three times, the root ʿRF is used also to introduce the “legal” knowledge recalled above. Moreover, the Epistles say that the “Friends of God” are *al-ʿarifūna*, those who know the shortcomings of this world (Ep. 9, I, 357, 6). But what is more relevant, the *Iḥwān* twice relate them to the term *maʿrifā* together with

¹⁴ Cf., on the same line, Ep. 9, I, 376, 9.

¹⁵ Cf. Qur., II, 115.

¹⁶ The same ideas and Qurʿanic verse are repeated in II, 15-16, 20, 23.

baṣīra, *istibṣār* and *yaqīn* (Ep. 9, I, 374, 7; Ep. 9, I, 375, 17), and say, again twice, that the "Friends of God" are *al-ʿārifīn*. The contexts show that, in the first case, we could translate this term by "the gnostics" (Ep. 9, I, 338, 13); the second time, the allusion is to "those who know the true natures of things" (Ep. 38, III, 311, 8).

As to the root BSR, the "Friends of God" are twice called *ulu l-absār*, persons of view (Ep. 9, I, 357, 8; Ep. 9, I, 378, 24)¹⁷; *baṣīra* (Ep. 9, I, 374, 7) and *istibṣār*, inner vision (Ep. 9, I, 375, 17; Ep. 9, I, 376, 3) are related to them; and they are finally called *al-mustabsirūna*, those who are endowed with inner vision (Ep. 9, I, 338, 13; Ep. 9, I, 375, 11; Ep. 38, III, 311, 7-8: through the eye of certainty and the light of guidance). As to the root R'Y, I think that the context of the expression *lā yarawna gayrahu ʿalā l-ḥaqīqa*, do not see anything else in its truth (Ep. 9, I, 376, 7) could also shift the question of the *ru'yat Allāh* to the gnosiological issue, in spite of the passages quoted above. On the same line could be read the words *yarawna ḡazā' sayyi'atihim*, they see the requital of their sins (Ep. 9, I, 338, 16). In fact, they belong to the text which opens by hinting at the elect (*ḥawās*), the gnostic (*ʿārifīn*) believers and those endowed with inner vision (*mustabsirīn*), and runs as follows: "[they] appeal to God with sincerity and certainty, and night and day they are careful about what they do, as if they experienced and saw God, and find the reward of their deeds hour by hour, without any delay, even of a sole moment, and it is the good announcement (*buṣrā*) in the worldly life, before they reach the hereafter; and they also see the requital of their sins, through which their acts are sanctioned, and only a small part of it is hidden to them". Here, also Qur., VII, 201 is quoted (where the form *mubṣirūna* appears). In my opinion, deeds are in this passage a clear consequence of knowledge, and any reward and requital can thus be known or fore-known by the *mustabsirīn*. In the same Epistle, finally, the *Ihwān* relate right opinions, *ārā'* to the "Friends of God" (Ep. 9, I, 376, 3).

And even if we are told that the "Friends of God" regard God alone (*lā yanzurūna illā ilayhi*, Ep. 9, I, 376, 6-7) and the varieties of His beneficence, the greatness of His favour and the courtesy of His blessings (Ep. 9, I, 375, 21-22), on the other hand, the texts state that they are engaged in the *nazar*, study of the vestiges of the past (Ep. 9, I, 327, 10); of the writings of wise men and of the reports of the campaigns of past kings (Ep. 9, I, 327, 11-12) and of teachers suggestions (Ep. 9, I, 369, 15).

A careful study of such and other attributes calls for further analysis, but I will only recall here the fact that the "Friends of God" are considered as "having a firm grasp in science", *rāsibūna fī l-ʿilm*, by the same words of Qur., III, 7 which, according to the *Ismāʿīlī* perspective, can be referred only to the *imāms*¹⁸.

¹⁷ And, in the same passages, *ulu l-albāb*, persons of understanding, and *ulu n-nubā*, persons of mind (Ep. 9, I, 357, 8-9; Ep. 9, I, 378, 24).

¹⁸ Cf. e.g. Ep. 9, I, 323, 18-20; 357, 6 and 375, 16; Ep. 46, IV, 82, 19-21.

In conclusion, it should be clear, even from this very partial analysis, that the *Iḥwān as-Safā'* mainly stress the qualities and activities of the *Awliyā' Allāh* related to gnosiology, as I hope to demonstrate more fully on another occasion.

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