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Shah Wali Allah's Arrangement of the Subtle Spiritual Centers

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An Aspect of his thought explained using material from the collection of religious and philosophical letters being edited for publication under the auspices of the Indian Institute of Islamic Studies, Tughlaqabad, New Delhi (India).\(^1\)

This paper will present an explanation of some previously unexamined aspects of Shāh Wali Allāh’s (d. 1762) conception of the subtle spiritual centres (laṭāʿif). For Shāh Wali Allāh these spiritual components of a person were of great importance in explaining the theory and practice of individual spiritual progress on the Ṣūfī path. His arrangement of these centres, together with his explanation of their interaction with one another directly reflects his more comprehensive understanding of cosmology and ontology, and therefore this aspect of his thought is less esoteric than it might initially seem.

The term laṭifa is derived from the Arabic word laṭif meaning gentle, sensitive, or subtle. In Ṣūfī terminology the term laṭifa first emerged in reference to the idea of a subtle body (jism-e laṭif) associated with the spiritual dimension of the person. It was believed by the Ṣūfīs that this non-material part of the person was the most susceptible to spiritual discipline and exercises. Eventually the theoretically oriented Ṣūfīs developed systematic models and a terminology of these centres related to the various spiritual aspects of individuals in which each one of these particular aspects was considered a laṭifa, (pl. laṭāʿif). The word laṭifa, in this context, has on occasions been translated “subtlety,” “subtle point,” or “subtle essence.” Since some of these laṭāʿif have been diagrammed in the works of Shāh Wali Allāh with circular shapes\(^2\) I prefer to translate laṭāʿif as “subtle spiritual centres” following the usage by Annemarie Schimmel,\(^3\) although the concept of “centre” is not necessarily to be understood from the term itself.

Among the Ṣūfī writers, Shāh Wali Allāh provides one of the most detailed explanations of the laṭāʿif, to which he devoted an entire book,
Alṭāf al-Quds⁴ as well as many references in his mystical works such as al-Tafhimāt al-Ilāhiyya.

Shāh Wali Allāh in his description of the latā'īf further developed a model existing among the Naqshbandī Sūfīs, in particular the Naqshbandiya-Mujaddidiyya branch, so called because they followed the tradition of Shaikh Aḥmad Sirhindī (d. 1625) who was known as the Mujaddid or Renewer of the Second Millenium. This system was based on the idea that the human being had ten basic parts—five material and five immaterial. The lower level of the material parts consisted of the Lower Soul (nafs) and the four elements (fire, earth, air, and water), while the higher level consisted of the five latā'īf, sometimes referred to as the five jewels (al-jawāhir al-khamsa); the Heart (qalb), Spirit (rūḥ), Mystery (sīr), Arcane (khāfi) and the Most or Super-Arcane (akhfā).5 (Refer to the diagram on the next page for a depiction of this model.) The two levels of this Naqshbandī system were said to correspond to the distinction between the World of God’s Command (‘ālam al-amr) and the World of God’s Creation (‘ālam al-khalq), a distinction based on Qur’ānic terminology and having a long history in Sūfī thought. An example is the interpretation of the Qur’ānic verse, “the Spirit is from the Command (‘amr) of my Lord” (17:85), which is understood by the Sūfīs to mean that the human spirit (rūḥ) originates in the immaterial, timeless world of God’s Command (‘ālam al-amr) at a level preceding any temporal, physical manifestation.

It is also interesting to note that the five-fold structure of the latā'īf according to the Naqshbandiya-Mujaddidiyya model seems to parallel the concept in Hellenized Islamic medical theory (tibb) in which a person has five inner (mental) and five outer (physical) senses.

While the model of the latā’īf according to Shāh Wali Allāh is described most fully in his mystical works such as al-Tafhimāt al-Ilāhiyya and Alṭāf al-Quds, he appears to have continually refined these concepts throughout his life since works which are apparently earlier, such as his Hamzāt and Ḥujjat Allāh al-Bāligha, allude to aspects of it in an incomplete or preliminary way. In his most complete version of the structure of the spiritual components of the person, Shāh Wali Allāh expanded the Naqshbandī model to include a higher, third level comprised of five centres which he termed the Concealed Subtle Spiritual Centres (al-Laṭā'īf al-Kāmiна). The diagram at p. 141 presented in this paper is based on one accompanying his description of these centres in
A NAQSINHANNA-MUJADDIDIYYA MODEL OF THE LATA'IIF AND THE SPIRITUAL PATH*

- Level of Indifferentiation (La Ta'ayyun)
- Perfections of Prophecy (Kamalat Al-Nubuwwat)
- Greater Saintship (Al-Wilayat Al-Kubra)
- Lesser Saintship (Al-Wilayat Al-Sughra)
- Super-Arcane (Akha)
- Arcane (Khaf)
- Mystery (Sirr)
- Spirit (Ruh)
- Heart (Qalb)
- Fire
- Earth
- Air
- Water
- Lower Soul (Nafs)

Adapted from chart in MUHAMMAD DHAUQI, SIRR-I-DILBARAN and Ahmad Sirhindi's MAKTUBAT-I- IMAM RABBANI.

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the work *al-Tafhlmiit a/-lhiyya*. The names which he gave to some of these centres initially appear to be new to the tradition but have some precedent in certain works of Ibn al-*Arabi* (d. 1240), whose thought was a great influence on Shāh Wali Allāh. A major purpose of Wali Allāh in elaborating this highest level is to explain in more detail the paths of Prophetic Inheritance (*wirātha al-nubuwwa*) and that of saintship (wilāyāt) which could be followed by individual spiritual aspirants. Since I have discussed his descriptions of these higher centres and the level of the Concealed *Laṭā'if* at length in another paper, I will rather focus on aspects of the development of Shāh Wali Allāh’s model related to its structure, and to his understanding of the relationship between the intermediate level of centres associated with individual “psychological” aspects of the person and the physical or material level of being, at the level below this.

Comparing the additions of Shāh Wali Allāh with the Naqshbandiyya-Mujaddidiyya model (see diagrams 1 and 2), one observes that Shāh Wali Allāh has expanded the two levels of *laṭā'if* to three by adding to the second level the *laṭifa* Intelligence (*āqīl*) as well as by adding the new centres in the topmost circle. The new arrangement of centres in the middle circle is certainly not random. This middle circle represents for Shāh Wali Allāh the arena of voluntary self-transformation, the place where the divine and the earthly components of the person are mediated through the development and ultimate transcendence of individuality. Another way of expressing this is that the middle circle for Shāh Wali Allāh is understood as the dimension of the human person which is in tension between the higher angelic forces inherent in his nature pulling from above and the material or animalistic component of his being attracting him from below. This tension between the angelic and animalistic forces figures prominently in Shāh Wali Allāh’s theory of virtue and the attainment of happiness as expounded in his master work, *Hujjat Allāh al-Bāligha* (diag. at p. 142).

Examining the diagram of this middle circle, we find that at the top Shāh Wali Allāh has placed the Rational Soul (*al-nafs al-nāṭiga*) which according to his thought is the source of the individuality of the person while it transmits the characteristics of the form of the human species (*šūra nau’iyya*). At the bottom of the circle is the Lower Soul (*nafs*) or Mould (*qālab*). Each of these two centres thus marks a transition point—the Rational Soul between the human and the higher or
THE SUBTLE SPIRITUAL CENTERS (LATĀ'İF)  
SHĀH WALĪ ALLĀH’S MODEL

THE GREATER I-NESS  
ABSOLUTE SELFHOOD  
(ANĀNIYYA KUBRĀ)

THE ARCANÉ  
(KHAFĪ)

THE DIVINE ESSENCE  
(AL-DHĀT)

THI

THE SUPER ARCANÉ  
(AKHFĀ)

MYSTERY  
(SIRR)

THE SPIRIT  
(RŪH)

INTELLIGENCE  
(CAQL)

HEART  
(QALB)

LOWER SOUL

AIR

WATER

FIRE

EARTH

*1. Based on diagram in al-Tafhimat al-Ilāhiyya, 1.p. 244
THE INTERMEDIATE LEVEL OF THE MANIFEST (BĀRIZA) LATĀ'ĪF

angelic realm, and the Lower Soul between the psychological (nafsānī) and the physical or natural (tabāt) functions of personhood.

Following Shāh Wali Allāh’s descriptions of the centres around the circumference of the middle circle, we understand that we are to perceive it as composed of two sides or paths, the left and the right. On our left is placed the centre Intelligence (aql) and above it the Mystery (sirr). On the right side is found the Heart (qalb) and above it the Spirit (rūḥ). The centres Spirit, Heart, and Mystery were commonly held by the Šūfīs to represent important spiritual aspects of a person. The Intelligence (aql) and the Heart were naturally known to the medical tradition as well as to Šūfī religious psychology, but the Šufīs did not totally identify their latā'īf with corresponding physical organs, although there was believed to be some relationship, at least at the lower levels.

Shāh Wali Allāh specifies that the Mystery (sirr) represents a higher aspect or refinement of the Intelligence, just as the Spirit (rūḥ) represents a further refinement of the qualities of the Heart (qalb) latīfā. Therefore his arrangement of the latā'īf around the circle
symbolizes both this affinity and hierarchy among the centres while at the same time it indicates the paths which an aspirant might follow in order to progress upward towards the Divine Essence.

A further indication of the interrelationships among the laṭā'īf may be derived from Wali Allāh’s explanation of the way in which spiritual progress occurs. At the initial stages of the path what is required of a person is the harmonization of the physical components controlled through the lower centres so that the person’s temperament becomes balanced according to his individual constitution. This state is effected through developing cooperation among the three major centres; the Heart, Intelligence, and Lower Soul (nafs), corresponding in medical theory or ʿilm al-ṭībb to the organs heart, brain, and liver, and in Hellenized Ṣūfī psychology to emotions, rationality, and physical desires. Therefore it can be seen that his theory assumes that psychological states affect physical aspects of the person. According to Shāh Wali Allāh, the process of harmonization is required for every human individual in order to ensure physical health, happiness, the cultivation of virtue, and ultimate salvation. His theory of religion affirms that the ideal formula to effect this balancing of the human temperament has been provided in the form of the Divine laws sent by God through the prophets and culminating in the revelation of the Divine Law (sharīʿa) of Islam.¹⁰

Beyond the basic harmonizing of the functions of the lower centres according to the requirements of the human species, the cultivation of the higher laṭā'īf is not expected of every person and therefore, according to Wali Allāh, the laṭā'īf Spirit, Mystery, and those at higher levels were not mentioned in the sharīʿa(although many Ṣūfīs find allusions to them in the language of the Qurʾān).

In order to cultivate and refine these higher laṭā'īf additional spiritual practices are required. For example, according to Wali Allāh the way to purify the Spirit (rūḥ) is the observance of purity at all times, the recitation of the Qurʾān, mystical exercises, and cultivating an intuitive relationship with the souls of the saints. The Mystery (sirr), on the other hand, is awakened by contemplating the Divine attributes, meditating on God’s Divine Names, and the silent and wordless forms of the remembrance of God (dhikr).¹² It is thus possible to see how Wali Allāh associates practices of a more “mental” or “intellectual” nature with the Mystery, a fact consistent with his depicting it as the higher level of the Intelligence (ʿaql) laṭīfa.
Once having understood how Şahāh Walī Allāh arranged his spiritual centres at the middle level, I was curious to determine whether his conceptualizing of the position of the centres at the physical or lowest level would correspond in some way to this order. The diagram in the most recent edition of *al-Tafhīmāt al-Ilāhiyya* did not provide any assistance here, for the lowest centres were not included there, although other texts made it clear that the lowest circle contained the Lower Soul (*nafs*) or Mould (*qālab*) and the four elements. The four elements in traditional Islamic medical science and cosmology are of course fire, air, earth and water, and anyone versed in "ilm al-tibb or the Islamic version of Astrology as Şahāh Walī Allāh certainly was, would likely have the traditional associations concerning the interrelationships and symbolic correspondences of these elements. With this as a starting assumption, I felt fairly confident in assuming that the centre representing the element “air” in the lowest circle would correspond to the position of the *latīfa* “Intelligence” above, since this element is traditionally associated with mental activity, the planet Mercury, and so on. In fact, the need to incorporate a centre which would both correspond to the element air and make his model symmetrical may have influenced Şahāh Walī Allāh to insert this new *latīfa*, in the model. In identifying the centres associated with the other three elements I was less certain at first, but I speculated that the element “fire” would be positioned in some correspondence with the element “air” as it is generally considered to be compatible in its nature to “air”. That “fire” should be associated by Walī Allāh with the Mystery, indicating that it was perceived as higher or more subtle than “air”, also seemed likely following the traditional arrangement of the elements. This correspondence left the elements “earth” and “water” to the side of the diagram associated with the Heart and Spirit *laṭā’if* and here I guessed that “earth,” since it is lower in the ranking of the elements, would correspond to the Heart and “water” to the Spirit.

I was interested to find this supposed arrangement of the elements confirmed in some of the unpublished letters of Şahāh Walī Allāh, *Maktūbāt-i-Dīnī va ‘Ilmi*, in the collection being prepared for publication by the Indian Institute of Islamic Studies, Tughlaqabad, New Delhi (India). For example, in the letter no. 51 addressed to his disciple Muḥammad Āshiq, Şahāh Walī Allāh mentions that he associates the Heart *laṭīfa* with the element “earth”. A further indication is that in letter no. 88, written to Bābā Uthmān, Şahāh Walī Allāh describes qualities
which Sufis develop through the cultivation of the \textit{lat\'ifa} “Spirit” (\textit{r\u{u}h}) and says that they can be symbolized by the “water of life” (\textit{\=a\={b}-i-\=h\=ay\={a}t}). He then explains that the cultivation of the Mystery (\textit{sirr}) leads to a state best compared to the “Fire of Sinai” (\textit{\=ati\={s}h-i \={T}"ur), referring to the fire of Sinai which appeared to Moses (Qur\textsuperscript{28}:29). These allusions confirm that the arrangement of the four elements in the lowest circle was carefully worked out to be in correspondence to the attributes of the centres of the middle circle which were associated with aspects of individual psychology.

It was also interesting to observe that Shah Wali Allah had deliberately departed here from the traditional Naqshbandiyya-Mujaddidiyya arrangement of the elements as he noted in the same letter to his chief disciple Mu\={h}ammad \={A}shiq:

The secret of the Sha\={i}kh\={s} of Sirhind (i.e., the Naqshbandiyya-Mujaddidiyya shaikh\={s}) saying that after traversing the \textit{lat\'i\={a}f} the matter falls in with the origins of the subtle spiritual centres, is that they interpreted [this] by associating the Spirit (\textit{r\u{u}h}) with “air”, the Mystery (\textit{sirr}) with “water”, the Arcane (\={k}\={h}af\={i}) with “fire”, and the Super-Arcane (\={a}khf\={a}) with “earth”.

Wali Allah then explains in this letter that there is a parallelism of all things in the universe, which is reflected in the arrangement of the inner and outer \textit{lat\'i\={a}f} as well as the order of the bodily humours and the elements. He refers to the fact that in his system the Heart (\textit{qalb}) is to be associated with the element “earth”. This could be an allusion to the fact that in Sirhind’s system there is no element left for the Heart to be associated with, a problem resolved in Wali Allah’s arrangement which maintains the parallel structure at all of the levels.\textsuperscript{16}

Although this discovery concerns a relatively minor detail of Shah Wali Allah’s thought, it confirms the consistent efforts of our author to maintain a pattern of symbolic interrelationships among the components of both the spiritual and the physical worlds.

This consistent patterning is seen in other dimensions of Shah Wali Allah’s works; for example, his theory of religious revelation,\textsuperscript{17} and his idea that societies develop through progressive stages of refinement and complexity (\textit{iriti\={f}ag\={a}t}). Ultimately he sees the entire universe unfolding and even evolving according to this pattern, that at the lowest level the parts of systems need to resolve their internal conflicts so that
the system may fulfill its original potential as bestowed by the individual and specific forms. Once this harmony and fulfillment have been achieved, the system is able to expand to a higher and more complex order of being as determined by a new form. This expansion is, of course, not evolutionary in a materialistic sense, since it depends on Divine mercy and generosity as a source of the new form as well as on individual effort.

Shāh Wali Allāh, in his system of the subtle spiritual centres as in many other facets of his thought, maintains the understanding that conflict at the lowest levels of being must be overcome in order for progress to occur. Progress, whether spiritual or material, is inspired and guided by the one great purpose of the entire universe which he calls al-maṣlaḥa al-kulliyya. This understanding, which is in effect a reconciliation of a theory based on inherent conflict with a monistic one in which movement is directed by one great force, reflects Wali Allāh’s intellectual mediation between Shāikh Sirhindi’s doctrine of the Unity of Experience (waḥdat al-shuhūd), a doctrine positing an ongoing struggle among conflicting forces, and the monistic ontology of the Unity of Existence (waḥdat al-wujūd) held by Ibn al-ʿArabi and his followers.¹⁸

It may be observed that Shāh Wali Allāh’s depiction of the laṭāʿif also offers a resolution of the dispute among certain advocates of Sirhindi’s doctrine, which ranked the station of prophecy highest, and certain followers of the “wujiḍi” school, who contended that saintship (wilāyat) was the highest station. His portrayal of the structure of the person and the mystical path toward the Divine Essence as having both a left and a right side is graphic evidence of this mediating position. According to the design of this model, no longer does prophecy have to be positioned at a rank above saintship, or vice versa. Instead, both the right and the left paths, respectively the path of prophetic inheritance (wrāṭḥa al-nubuwwa) and the path of the greater saintship (al-wilāyat al-kubrā), need to be traversed by the Şūfi who wishes to attain the ultimate goal in the most comprehensive way.¹⁹
SHĀH WALĪ ALLĀH'S DEPICTION OF SPIRITUAL PATHS IN RELATIONSHIP TO THE HIGHEST LEVEL OF THE HIDDEN LĀṬĀ'ĪF

DIVINE ESSENCE (AL-DHĀT)

PATH OF THE GREATER SAINTSHIP (AL-WILĀYAT AL-KUBRĀ)

THE GREATER SELFHOOD (ANĀNIYYA KUBRĀ)

THE ARCANE (KHAFĪ)

THE PHILosopher's STONE (ḤAJAR-I BAHT)

THE LIGHT OF THE HOLY (NUR AL-QUDṢ)

THE SUPER-ARCANE (AKHFA)

PATH OF THE PROPHETIC INHERITANCE (WIRĀTHA AL-NUBUWWAT)
NOTES

1 I would like to express my appreciation to the Indian Institute of Islamic Studies, New Delhi (India) for allowing a microfilm of these letters to be made for the Persian collection of the Regenstein Library, University of Chicago, and to Dr. Paul Sprachman for acquiring it for the library.

2 In Shāh Wali Allāh, al-Taḥfīmat al-Ilāhiyya 1 (Hyderabad, Pakistan: Shāh Wali Allāh Academy, 1973), p. 244.


5 See, for example, Aḥmad Sirhindī, Maktūbāt-i Imām Rabbānī 1, Pt. 1 (Lahore: Nūr Company, 1964), pp. 96-97.


8 It cannot be argued here that a concept of three levels is wholly innovative in Shāh Wali Allāh’s thought, for, as Henri Corbin has detailed in several works, a tradition existed in Iranian mystical thought and in certain Neo-Platonists such as Proclus, of the human level as the intermediate of three. See for example his En Islam Iranien, vol. 3, pp. 313, and Spiritual Body and Celestial Earth, Princeton, 1978. In the latter work Corbin explains that Shaikh Simnānī (d. 1336) spoke of three bodies of the person:

(1) the perishable earthly body (jīṣm dūnıyāwī)
(2) the acquired or developed body (jīṣm muktasīb)
(3) the body of resurrection (jīṣm māḥshīrī)

Mullā Ṣadr Shīrāzī’s (d. 1640) thought also contains some interesting parallels. For this, see Fazlur Rahman, The Philosophy of Mullā Ṣadr (State University of New York, 1975), pp. 180-185.

Wali Allāh incorporates ideas similar to Simnānī’s in his theory that the Spirit (rūḥ) has three levels: the Pneuma (nasama), the Rational Soul (al-nafs al-nātiqa), and the heavenly Spirit (al-rūḥ al-samawi), and that these are associated with respectively higher dimensions of personhood. These three levels of the Spirit may be understood to correspond to the three levels of the laṭā‘if.


10 See M.K. Hermansen, ‘Shāh Wali Allāh of Delhi’s Ḥujjat Allāh al-Bālīgha: Tension Between the Universal and the Particular in an 18th Century Islamic Theory of Religion,’ forthcoming in Studia Islamica, for further discussion of
this. The idea that the practices enjoined by the *shari'a* balance the physical elements of the person is also found in Sirhindi, *Maktūbāt*, vol.2, pt.6, pp. 160-163.


13 *Al-Tafqīmāt al-Ilāhiyya* 1, p. 244.

14 In *Altāf al-Quds* and *Al-Tafhīmat al-Ilāhiyya* this arrangement is mentioned.

15 In his autobiography "*Al-Juz' al-Łatif*," medicine or *ṭibb* is mentioned as one of the subjects which he studied; in particular he cites the work *Mūjaz al-Qănūn*, an abridgement by Ibn al-Nafis (d. 1288) of Ibn Sīnā's *Qănūn*. There are many indications in *al-Tafhīmat* that Wali Allāh was familiar with astrology or *ʿilm al-nuṣūm*.

16 In letter no. 51 of the Indian Institute of Islamic Studies collection "*Maktūbāt-Dīnī va-ʿIlmi".*

17 See M.K. Hermansen, "*Shāh Wali Allāh of Delhi's Ḥujjat Allāh al-Baligha*" for a discussion of this theory.

18 He wrote his famous letter, "*Maktūb-i-Madani*," reprinted in *Al-Tafhīmat al-Ilāhiyya* 2, pp. 261-284, in an effort to demonstrate that there was no essential difference between *waḥdat al-ṣuwarīd* and *waḥdat al-ṣuḥūd*.

19 The assumption that the spiritual aspirant must traverse both paths to reach the Divine Essence explains *Shāh Wali Allāh*’s positioning of the Arcane Centre (*kḥāfī*) above the Super Arcane (*akhhāf*), as he observes in his *Al-Tafhīmat al-Ilāhiyya* 1, p. 245:

If you say: "If the Super Arcane is lower than the rest of the Concealed *Laṭā'if* then why is it called the *Super-Arcane*?"

I reply that it is called the Super-Arcane because the comprehensive general knowledge which is obtained from [completing] the two courses [the left and the right paths towards the Divine Essence] together, is only achieved after the two courses. The traveller on the mystic path arrives only after having completed both of them. and therefore it [the *akhhāf*—since it is at the foot of each path] is called the *Super-Arcane.*

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