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FROM POEM TO NARRATIVE IN SUFISM

Seyyed Hossein Nasr

There is an inward link between meaning and the form which conveys and transmits that meaning, between what classical Sufi terminology, especially as used by Jalal al-Din Rumi, calls *ma'nā* (meaning) and *surah* (form).¹ This truth is especially true of Sufism itself which is concerned by nature with ultimate meaning, with that is most inward and hidden from the outward seeking eye. That is why from the beginning, the masters of Sufism selected carefully the forms which would be used to express the truths of Sufism and to become the vehicle for realities which these forms could reveal, while these vehicles were by definition confined to the world of outward forms that cannot but be a veil in itself. The Sufis also selected those forms which could be transformed and become transparent so as to be appropriate means for the expression of that meaning, which is none other than the message of inwardness. They chose forms which could become wed to that message in such a way as to lead to the abode of the inward. To this end some chose plastic forms, others musical melodies and yet some remained silent and alluded to the inner truths which they wished to convey through their very presence. Many, however, chose the medium of the spoken and written word and it is to this form of expression that we wish to turn while not forgetting that Sufism has had no verbal forms of expression of the greatest significance varying from calligraphy to sacred music and dance (*samā'*), not to speak of that silent music heard only by the wise.

Being the inner dimension of the Islamic revelation, Sufism is related in both form and content to the Noble Quran, and the language of the Sacred Text, its rhythms and rhymes, its metaphors and symbols, have continued to echo in Sufi literature throughout the centuries. The Quran is not poetry in the ordinary sense of the word; yet it is supreme poetry with its definite metres and prosody. It is not a systematic exposition of metaphysics; yet it contains all metaphysics and wisdom in condensed formulas and aphorisms such as the first shahādah itself, *Lā ilāha illa'Allāh* (there is no divinity but Allah). Although brief outwardly, the Quranic formulations possess an, unfathomable depth in their inner dimension leading to the Infinite Reality

¹ See S.H. Nasr, *Islamic Art and Spirituality*, Albany (NY) and London, 1986, pp. 128ff.

from which the Quran has originated.

The first commentary upon the Quran which is the *Hadith*, although very distinct in style from the Word of God, remains faithful in its poetic qualities, the use of aphorisms and symbolic imagery to the Divine Word. This is particularly true of the sacred *hadiths* (*al-abādith al-qud-siyyah*) which are so essential to the genesis and later development of Sufi literature². How often have Sufis spoken of the hidden treasure (*al-kanz al-makhfiy*) following the sacred *hadith* in which this symbol is cited;³ or how often have the Sufis repeated the prophetic utterance, "I am Ahmad without *mim* (*m*); I am Arab without 'ayn (*'*). He who has seen me has seen the Lord,"⁴ expounding its inner significance!

Sufi literature is deeply rooted in the Noble Quran and *Hadith* for its content as well as form⁵. It is therefore not surprising that the earliest literary

² On these *hadiths* see W. Graham, *Divine Word and Prophetic Word in Early Islam*, The Hague, 1975.

³ The well-known Hadith which explain the reason for the creation of the world from the Islamic point of view is as follows: "I was a hidden treasure (*kanzun makhfiyyun*); I wanted to be known. Therefore, I created the world so that I would be known." It is, therefore, referred to in the Sufi tradition as the *hadith* of the hidden treasure" (*or Kanz-i-i-makhfiy* in Persian).

⁴ This *hadith* refers to the inner reality of the Prophet symbolized by his name Ahmad which without "m" becomes *abad* or the One as 'arab without 'ayn becomes *rabb* or the Lord. It also refers to the fact that no one can reach God without the aid of His Prophet. On the significance of the Prophet in Sufism see T. Burckhardt, *Introduction to Sufi Doctrine*, trans. D.M. Matheson, Wellingborough, 1976, chapter twelve; F. Schuon, *Understanding Islam*, trans. D.M. Matheson, London 1979, chapter 3; al-Jili, *University Man*, trans. T. Burckhardt, Sherborne, 1983; and A.M. Schimmel, *And Muhammad is His Messenger*, Chapel Hill and London, 1985. This last work is devoted to the image of the Prophet as reflected in Sufi literature. See also J. Nurbakhsh, *Traditions of the Prophet -- Abadith*, London, 1981, which contains those *hadiths* that have been especially important in the development of Sufism.

⁵ This does not mean, however, that Sufism derives from the *Shari'ah*. Rather both the *Shari'ah* and Sufism or the Tariqah derive from the Truth or Haqiqah which is the origin of Islam in both its exoteric and esoteric aspects. Moreover, Sufism, being Islamic esoterism, assumes the acceptance and practice of the *Shareah* on behalf of its followers. See F. Schuon, *Understanding Islam*, pp. 41-42; S.H. Nasr, *Ideals and Realities of Islam* London, 1988 chapter V; and Mir Valiuddin, *The Quranic Sufism*, Delhi, 1977. In a series of work dealing with the relation of the language of Sufism to that of the Quran, Massignon and following him P. Nwyia have clarified that intimate link between Sufism and the Quran not only in meaning

expressions of Sufism are in the form of aphorisms and short mystic utterances soon to be followed by poetry. The first example of these utterances are to be found in the *Nahj al-balāgh* of 'Alī ibn Abī Tālib. This pivotal work which is devoted to divine knowledge as well as piety, ethics and even political instructions, was assembled in the 4th/10th century by Sayyid Sharif Radī, but contains the sayings of the man who was the representative *par excellence*, after the Prophet, (peace be upon him) of that reality which came to be known later as Sufism. The *Nahj al-balāgh* does also contain longer discourses on metaphysical questions similar to some of the longer *hadiths* of the Prophet (peace be upon him). The famous discourse of 'Alī on the Oneness of God during the Battle of the Camel comes to mind as a famous example,⁶ but much of the *Nahj al-balāgh* is in the form of short aphorisms which became the norm in so much of the early Sufi literature from Hasan al-Basrī to Bāyazīd, from Dhu'l-Nūn al-Misrī to Junayd.⁷

Early Sufi writings associated with such patriarchs of Islamic spirituality as 'Alī or his grandson Zayn al-'Abidin al-Sajjād, the author of *al-Sahffat al-Sajjādiyyah* are also replete with supplications and prayers which have become part and parcel of Muslim devotional literature in general but are also of special significance as early Sufi literature. Such prayers as *du'ā'al-sabāh* (the Supplication for the Morning) and *du'ā'al-Kumayl* (the Supplication of Kumayl ibn Ziyād) attributed to 'Alī are among the most moving of these early works composed usually in rhymed prose (*sap*) and reflecting the profound influence of the Quranic revelation in both its content and form. The opening verses of the Supplication of the Morning,⁸

"Oh God,

Oh He Who extended the morning's tongue in the speech of its dawning,
dispatched the fragments of the dark night into the gloom of its
stammering made firm the structure of the turning spheres in the

but also in formal expression. See L. Massignon, *Essai sur les origines du lexique technique de la mystique musulmane*, Paris, 1954; and P. Nwyia, *Exegese Coranique et langage mystique*, Beirut 1970.

⁶ For the translation of this discourse which begins with 'Alī's answer to the bediun who had asked "O Commander of the Faithful! Sayest thou that God is one?" See W.Chittick, *A Shi'ite Anthology*, Albany (NY), 1981, pp. 37-38.

⁷ It must not be forgotten that the sayings and writings of 'Alī and other early Shi'ite Imams are also part of Sufi literature. The Imams up to the eighth, 'Alī al-Rīgā, were also poles of Sufism and appear in the silsilah or chain of various Sufi orders.

⁸ See Amir al-mu'minin, *Supplications (Du'ā)*, trans. W.Chittick, London, n.d., p.6.

measures of its display and beamed forth the brightness of the sun through the light of its blazing!"

creates an atmosphere of poetic beauty which was to characterize Sufi literature over the centuries. This trait is to be seen in its most sublime form in the *Sahifah* which for this reason came to be known as the "Psalm of the Family of the Prophet (peace be upon him)" and its supplications came to be read and chanted by Sufis and non Sufis alike over the centuries.⁹

The early hagiographies and compilations dealing with Sufism are replete with the aphorisms, prayers and poetry of the early Sufi sages. Some of these aphorisms contain hidden meanings whose outward form appears as outrageous. They are considered as ecstatic utterances or theophanic locutions (*Math*) such as Bāyazīd "Glory be unto me" (*subhānī*) rather than the usual Muslim formula, *subhān Allah* "Glory be unto God" or "I am the Truth" (*ana'l-Haqq*) of Hallaj which was to cost him his life¹⁰. Others point to profound metaphysical or practical truths without possessing a paradoxical form or being uttered in order to shock the adept from his slumber of forgetfulness such as the famous saying of Junayd, "The cup takes the color of the wine" or that of early 1st/7th century patriarch of Sufism Hasan al-Basri, "Be with this world as if you had never been there, and with the other world as if you would never leave it."¹¹

This type of Sufi literature was to continue through the centuries and lead to some of the most influential and popular works of Sufism especially in Arabic. One need only recall the *Mawāqif* of the 4th/10th century Sufi al-

⁹ See the *Psalm of Islam*, trans. W. Chittick, London, 1988.

¹⁰ On these utterances see C. Ernst, *Words of Ecstasy*, Albany (NY), 1285; also H. Ritter, "Die Aussprüche des Bayezid Bistami," *Westöstliche Abhandlungen, Festschrift für Rudolf Tschudi*, ed. F. Meier, Wiesbaden, 1954, pp.231-243.

As for Hallaj, the Sufi tradition has seen this assertion not as a heretical utterance but as the sign of perfect *tawhid* or unity for it was not the individual soul of Hallaj but the Divine within him who uttered *ana'l-Haqq*. On Hallaj and the considerable influence he was to exercise on later Sufi literature, see L. Massignon, *The Passion of al-Hallaj* trans. H. Mason, 4 vols., Princeton, 1982.

Ecstatic sayings such as those of Hallaj were assembled by many later Sufis, the most famous compilation and commentary being that of the great saint of Shiraz, Ruzbihan Baqli who wrote the *Sharh-i shathiyat* edited by H. Corbin as *Commentaire sur les paradoxes des soufis*, Tehran, Paris, 1966. On this remarkable expositor of Divine Love and Beauty see H. Corbin, *En Islam Iranian*, vol. 3, Paris, 1972, pp.20ff.

¹¹ See A.M. Schimmel, *Mystical Dimensions of Islam*, Chapel Hill (N.C.), 1975, p.30.

Niffarī, that unique work in which God commands al-Niffarī and addresses him in short aphorisms of great poignancy and power, for example, "The knower seeks proofs of Me, and every proof merely points to himself, not to Me: the gnostic seeks proofs through Me"¹². Or "Write down who thou art, that thou mayest know who thou art: for if thou knowest not who thou art, thou art not of the people of My gnosis"¹³.

This type of literature in a sense reached its peak, at least in the Arabic language, with the 7th/13th century Sufi Ibn 'Atā-'allah al-Iskandari whose *Hikam* or *Aphorisms* continue to be read and chanted throughout the Arabic speaking world to this day while the Malay translation of this work is among the most important in the annals of Malay literature. Such sayings as,

"That which shows you the existence of His Omnipotence is that He veiled you from Himself by what has no existence along-side of Him"¹⁴

have become proverbial even among the general public beyond the world of the disciples of various Sufi orders.

As for supplications and prayers written usually in a highly poetic form, they too become the progenitor of a long tradition and over the centuries numerous masterpieces of Sufi literature have appeared in this form. One need only recall the Munājāt or *Supplications* of the 5th/11th century patron saint of Herat, Khawājah 'Abd-Allāh Ansārī which is among the supreme masterpieces of poetic prose in the Persian language. When the Pir of Herat, as he is known in the Persian speaking world, says, "O God, Thou madest Creation gratis, Thou provided sustenance gratis, Have mercy on us gratis, Thou art God not a merchant"¹⁵ he gives expression to both certain aspects of the attitudes inculcated in the Sufi path and at the same time the deepest yearning of the human soul for God. That is why this work and those of a similar nature such as the prayer of Ibn Mashīsh¹⁶ are also re-cited by ordinary pious Muslims, while their most inward meaning is preserved for those who march upon the path of inwardness.

The wedding of the truth of the meaning (ma'nā) of Sufism and poetic

¹² al-Niffari, the *Mawaqif and Mukhatabat*, trans. A.J. Arberry, London, 1978, p. 47.

¹³ *ibid.*, p. 48.

¹⁴ See Ibn 'Ata'illah, *The Book of Wisdom*, trans. V.Danner, New York, 1978, p. 49.

¹⁵ See Khwaja Abdullah Ansari, *Intimate conversation*, New York, 1978, p. 208.

¹⁶ See T. Burckhardt, *Mirror of the Intellect*, trans. and ed. W. Stoddart, Albany (NY), 1987, pp.183-192.

form which again derives from the inspiration provided by the Quran, begins in the Arab world with the 2nd/8th century woman Sufi saint who lived in Basra as disciple of Hasan al-Basri and was buried in Jerusalem, Rābi'at al-'Adawiyyah. Rābi'ah lived the life of an ascetic much like her mentor but the love of God (*al-mahabbah*) which follows upon the wake of the fear of God (*al-nzakhāfah*), gushed forth in her being, creating a poetry whose form suited perfectly the yearning and love for the Divine Beloved. Rābi'ah distinguished carefully selfish love from Divine Love so she sang,

"I have loved Thee with two loves, a selfish love and a love that is worthy of Thee.

As for the love which is selfish, therein I occupy myself with Thee, to the exclusion of all others. But in the love which is worthy of Thee, Thou dost raise the veil that I may see Thee.

Yet is the praise not mine in this or that, But the praise is to Thee in both that or this."¹⁷

This poetry which acts as the vehicle for the expression of human love for the Divine became part and parcel of Sufi literature. The verses of Rābi'ah are chanted to this day and were followed by poems of great quality emanating from the Baghdad School in the 3rd/9th century, especially the moving poems of Abu'l-Hussyn al-Nūrī who also wrote symbolic prose works of which the most striking is on the seven interior castles of the soul¹⁸.

The greatest early master of Arabic Sufi poetry is, however, the Persian Mansur al-Hallāj whose *Kitāb al-tawā-sīn* and *Dīwān*¹⁹ represent the first peak of early Sufi poetry in Arabic. One sees in Hallaj the manifestation of the dimension of illuminative knowledge or gnosis (*al-ma'rifah*) in addition to love in poems of incredible power and directness as for example when he says,

"I saw my Lord with my heart's eye

¹⁷ M. Smith, *The Way of the Mystics*, New York, 1978, p 223.

¹⁸ Recent scholarship has related this symbolic imagery of Nuri along with that of other Sufis to the well known work of St. Theresa of Avila. See L. Lopez-Baralt, "Santa Teresa de Jesus Y el Islam," *Teresianum*, vol. XXXIII, 1982-I/II, pp.629-678.

¹⁹ Both edited and studied by L. Massignon. See *Kitāb al-tawā-sīn*, ed. L. Massignon, Paris, 1913; and *Le Divan d'Al-Hallaj*, Paris, 1955.

And I said to Him" Who art Thou" and He said Thou"²⁰

Henceforth poetry became the most intimate vessel for the expression of the truths of Sufism, of states and stations too subtle to be expressed in ordinary prose or the language of everyday life. It was not, however, until the 7th/ 13th century that Arabic Sufi poetry reached its supreme perfection with 'Umar ibn al - Fārid and Muhyī-al-Dīn ibn'Arabī while during the centuries separating Hallāj from these great masters, it was not Arabic but Persian poetry which flowered to reach unprecedented realms of perfection of expression and subtlety of meaning.

With Ibn'Arabī and Ibnal - Fārid the form of Arabic poetry becomes a perfect vehicle for the expression of the most subtle teachings of Sufism. Ibn'Arabī, who was the great expositor of Sufi gnosis, also composed a vast amount of poetry interspersed within his prose works, particularly in *al-Futūhāt-al-makkiyyah*, not to speak of his *Dīwān* and the *Tarjūmān-al-ashwāq*. In this last work especially, a highly elaborate language of symbolism expresses for those who possess the correct perception the mysteries of divine union veiled in the imagery of human love.

"Greeting to Salma and to those who dwell in the presence, for it behoves one who loves tenderly like me to give greeting.

And what harm to her if she gave me a greeting in return?But fair women are subject no authority."²¹

With Ibn al - Fārid Arabic poetic expression reaches its peaks as far as mystical themes are concerned. Such a work as the *Khamriyyah* exemplifies the perfect wedding between meaning and form in which the very sounds and images of the poem in the original Arabic seem flow and lead back to the world of the Spirit, the experience of which is symbolized by wine, an experience which is none other than realized knowledge of the divine realities (haqā'iq). The poem begins with these celebrated verses.

"Remembering the beloved, wine we drink

²⁰ This is translated somewhat differently by H. Mason in his rendition of Massignon's' *The Passion of al-Hallaj - Mystic and Martyr of Islam*, vol.3, _p. 301. See pp. 278ff. of this work for a discussion of Hallāj's poetic works.

²¹ *The Tarjuman al-ashwāq*, trans. R.A Nicholson, Wheaton (ILL.), 1978, pp. 56-57.

Here Salm, according to Ibn 'Arabī's own commentary, symbolises a state of ecstasy which descended upon him from the station Solomon. As for the second verse, it refers to the fact that God is infinite freedom and does nothing by coercion and constraint.

Which drunk had made us ere the vine's creation.

A sun it is; the full moon is its cup;

A crescent hands it round; how many stars shine forth from it the
moment it be fixed "²²

Ibn al-Fārid considered his poetry to be inspired by Heaven and even received the title of one of this most famous poems, the *Naẓm al-sūlak* from the Prophet in a vision. In this poem also known as the *Ta'iyyah* are to be found the poetic formulations of the "transcendent unity of being" (*wahdat al-wajūd*) which was being formulated by Ibn 'Arabī in his doctrinal works about the same time. Ibn al-Fārid sees behind the veil of multiplicity the One who is the essential reality of the manifold like the light illuminating the screen of a shadow play. It is only the Sufi, however, who is able to finally discern the reality of the One beyond the many:

"All thou beholdest is the act of One.

In solitude, but closely veiled is He.

Let him but lift the screen, no doubt remains: The forms are vanished, He
alone is all;

And thou, illumined, knowest by His lights

Thou finds it His actions in the senses night."²³

After these incomparable masters of Arabic Sufi poetry, the vehicle of poetry continued to serve Sufi masters in Arab lands and even in Persia over the centuries which followed and the tradition has continued to this day. Some of the *divāns* of Arabic poetry of 14th/20th century masters such as Shaykh al-Alawī²⁴ and Shaykh Habib have remained popular among members

²² M. Lings, "The Wine-Song (al-Khamriyyah) of 'Umar Ibn al-Farid," *Studies in Comparative Religion*, Summer-Autumn, 1980,p.131.

On the *Khamriyyah* and other mystical poems of Ibn al-

Farid see also A.J. Arberry (ed. and trans.), *The Mystical Poems of Ibn al-Farid*, London, 1954 and Dublin, 1956; E. Dermenghem, *L'eloge du vin (al-Khamriya)*, Paris, 1931; and the rather approximate translation of J.von Hammer - - Purgstall of the work into German poetry as *Das arabische Hobe Leid der Liebe*, Vienna, 1854.

²³ A.M.Schimmel, *Mystical Dimensions of Islam*, p. 277.

²⁴ Some of the poems of this great master have been translated into beautiful English poetry by M. Lings in his *A Sufi Saint of the Twentieth Century*, London, 1971, pp.214-228.

of the Shadhiliyyah Order even since their composition and bear witness to the living nature of not only Sufism but also its expression in the form of Arabic poetry.

The development of Persian Sufi poetry was even more diversified than Arabic and led to a vast literature which many have called the richest mystical poetry in the world. Since the canons of Persian poetry as well as the language itself were still being formed during the early Islamic centuries and were in fact part of the process of the Islamization of Persia, in contrast to Arabic prosody which was already well established at the time of the rise of Islam, Persian Sufi poetry was in a sense even more influenced by the form and content of the Quran than its Arabic counterpart.²⁵ The poetic nature of the Persians, as fecundated by the *barakah*, content and form of the Quranic revelation, gave rise to the vast ocean of Persian Sufi poetry whose pearls have been appreciated from Albania to Malaysia. Persian Sufi poetry in fact played a direct role in the Islamization of much of Asia and had a profound influence far beyond the confines of the Persian speaking world, influencing directly Sufi poetry in Turkish, Sindhi, Bengali, Urdu and many other languages of the Islamic peoples. In fact when one speaks of the rapport between Sufism and poetry in the Persian context, one is also dealing *mutatis mutandis* with Turkish, Sindhi, Urdu, Kashmiri, Bengali, Gujrati and many other forms of poetry of the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent.²⁶

Persian Sufi poetry developed several symbolic means for the expression of the truths of Sufism, the most important source of the language of the Sufi poet being the Noble Quran, it inspired commentaries, the *Hadith* and the oral tradition is-suing from the inner teachings of the Prophet. But there developed also a vast poetry based upon the language associated with the transformation of earthly love into Divine Love, as mentioned already in the case of Arabic Sufi poetry, and also the language of wine and music which are concomitants of the experience of that love which Rumi, the supreme troubadour of the Sufi path of love, calls "our Plato and Galen".²⁷ Then there

²⁵ Altogether one can say that Arabic literature is richer in Sufi prose works and Persian in Sufi poetry.

²⁶ See A.M. Schimmel, *As Thourgh a Veil*, chapter 4.

²⁷ On Rumi see A.M. Schimmel, *The Triumphal Sun: A Study of the Works of Jalaluddin Rumi*, London, 1978; *ibid*, *As Through a Veil*, chapter 3; W. Chittick, *The Sufi Path of Love -- The Spiritual Teachings of Rumi*, Albany, 1983; and S.H. Nasr, *Islamic Art and Spirituality*, pp. 114-147.

is the poetic language base upon the symbolism of the fire-temple and the Magi referring outwardly to the pre-Islamic religions of Persia but inwardly to the universality of esoterism and the in-dependence of Sufism, as the esoteric dimension of the Islamic revelation, from the exoteric formulations of the religion. There is also a whole *genre* of poetry of a gnostic and metaphysical character based upon a language which mostly grew out of the works of Ibn'Arabi and also in some cases Suhrawardī. Some of these various symbolic languages were, however, occasionally combined in the works of a single poet especially the great late masters such as Rumi, Hafiz and Shabistari.²⁸

This boundless ocean of Persian Sufi poetry actually began humbly enough with the simple, mystical quatrains attributed to Abu Said Abi'l-Khayr who lived in the 5th/11th century, although most likely these poems or at least most of them were by his teacher Bishr ibn Yasin.²⁹ These quatrains as well as those of another early figure of the same period, Baba Tahir, are marked by an intense love for God and possess a devotional tone as can be seen in these verses,

"Happy are they indeed whose Friend is God, Who giving thank, say ever, 'He is God', Happy are they who always are at prayer, Eternal Heaven is their just reward."³⁰

Or in the following quatrain which alludes to the doctrine of the transcendent unity of religious mentioned so often by later Sufis:

"Drunkards and drunk though we be, Thou art our Faith, Unstable, meak though we be Thou art our faith, though we be Muslims, Gubres,

²⁸ For the history of Persian poetry and the style of various schools, the most extensive work to date is Z. Safa, *Tarikh-i-adabiyat-i-Iran*, Tehran, 1338 (A.H.Solar) on. As for works in European languages, see the standard histories of E.G. Browne, *A Literary History of Persia*, 4 vols. Cambridge, 1957; A.J. Arberry, *Classical Persian Literature*, London, 1958; J. Rypka, *History of Iranian Literature*, Dordrecht, 1968; and G. Morrison, *History of Persian Literature from the Beginning of the Islamic Period to the Present Day*, Leiden -- Kolm, 1981. These works contain many valuable pages on Persian Sufi poetry, but there is as yet no single work which treats the whole of Persian Sufi poetry both historically and morphologically.

²⁹ There is a great deal of legend surrounding the life and work of Abu Said. See F. Meier, *Abu Sa'id-i-Abu l-Hair, Wirklichkeit and Legende*, Leiden, 1976. As for the quatrains themselves, see R.A. Nicholson. *Studies in Islamic Mysticism*, Cambridge, 1967, chapter 1.

³⁰ See E. Heron-Allen, *A Fool of God: The Mystical Verse of Baba Tahir*, London, 1979, p. 54.

Nazarenes, Whate'er the outward Form, Thou art our Faith."³¹

From these simple beginnings Sufi poetry was to grow rapidly in the hands of the great masters of the 6th/12th and 7th/13th centuries such as Sana'i, 'Attar and Rumi with whom Sufi poetry reaches its peak as far as the conveying of the teachings of Sufism in all its aspects from ethics to metaphysics and cosmology are concerned. All three figures were poets of great genius, men of vast learning in the Islamic sciences and Sufis of great spiritual attainment, especially Rumi who is one of the foremost spiritual figures in the history of Islam. With Sana'i Persian Sufi poetry begins to develop a didactic language of which the author's masterpiece, the *Hadiqat al-haqaiq* composed in mathnawi or rhyming couplet form, is the first major example³². It also begins to concern itself especially with the journey of the soul to God as seen in Sana'i's short master-piece, *Sayr al-ad ila'l-ma'ad* which some scholars have considered as the forerunner to Dante's *Divine Comedy* that deals with the same subject in a Christian setting. In a famous poem in his *Diwan*, Sana'i emphasised the difficulty of this journey and the fortitude and patience required for man to reach the state of perfection. He says,

"It takes days for the wool of a sheep To become cloak for an escetic or
bridle for a donkey; It requires a lifetime naturally, for a child To become
a good scholar or a sweet-worded poet; It requires centuries until out of
the semen of Adam A (Sufi like) Abu'l-Wafa Kurd or an Uways-i Qarani
comes into being."³³

The theme of the journey of the soul to God, which is none other than the Sufi path, the trials of this journey which is made possible by the love of man for God and of course of God for man and the mysteries of gnosis which are the fruit of this journey are expounded further by 'Attar some of whose poems have never been superceded in the annals of mystical poetry. He is the poet to whom Rumi paid the supreme complement by saying,

"Attar has already traversed the seven cities of love, We are still stuck at
the corner of the first street."³⁴

'Attar composed numerous Mathnawis as well as a *Diwan* and some

³¹ *ibid.*, p.55.

³² See Sana'i, *The enclosed Garden of the Truth*, ed. and trans. by J. Stephenson, New York, 1975.

³³ A.M. Schimmel, *As Through a Veil*, p. 64-65 (translation somewhat modified).

³⁴ Rumi also acknowledges his debt to Sana'i and 'Attar when he says.

prose works, but his masterpiece is the *Mantiq al-tayyar* already well-known in the West as *The Conference of the Birds*.³⁵ This poem develops to new heights the theme of birds flying to return to their original abode, a theme already dealt within a more philosophical vein by Ibn Sīnā and both Ghazzali's, Abu Hamid and Ahmad.³⁶ The thirty birds (*si murgh*) flying through the dales and valleys of cosmic existence to reach finally the peak of the cosmic mountain Qāf wherein resides the Simurgh, symbol of the Divine, and their realization that in the union of that Divine reality the *si murgh* are the Simurgh, that the self is none other than the Self, constitute the theme of one of the greatest masterpieces of Sufi literature. When 'Attar speaks of this union,

"To be consumed by the light of the presence of the Simurgh is to realize that, I know not whether I am Thee or Thou art I; I have disappeared in Thee and duality hath perished,"³⁷

He is expressing that perfect wedding between the truths of Sufism and poetic form which constitute the greatest achievements of Sufi literary art.

It is with such figures as 'Attar and Sana'i in mind, not to speak of the whole earlier tradition of Sufism and in fact of Islam in general that one must turn to the supreme Sufi poet, Jalāl al-Dīn Rumi, who was a poet in spite of himself.³⁸ Rumi was a theologian before he became a poet and was a jurist before becoming the founder of the sacred dance of the Sufi order which he founded. Yet, the appearance of Shams al-Din Tabrizi caused such a tidal wave in the soul of Rumi that the outward confinements of language and thought were broken and the ecstatic joy of his soul poured out in poetic form. He composed poetry in spite of his earlier scholarly position either in the forms of *ghazals* composed spontaneously and full of music or didactic verses which comprise his incomparable Mathnawi.³⁹ The ghazals named

³⁵ Sana'i was the spirit, and 'Attar his two eyes -- We have come after Sana'i and 'Attar." A.M. Schimmel, *Mystical Dimensions of Islam*, p. 303.

³⁶ See. H. Corbin, *Avicenna and the Visionary Recital*, trans.-W. Trask, Irving (Texas), 1980, pp. 193ff; and Ahmad Ghazzali, *Spiritual Flight (The Risalat al-Tayyar)*, ed. by N. Pourjavady, Tehran, 1976.

³⁷ Trans. by S.H. Nasr in his *Islamic Art and Spirituality*, p. 110.

³⁸ Rumi writes in his *Diwan* "What is poetry that I should boast of it I possess an art other than the art of the poets." See Nasr, *Islamic Art and Spirituality*, p. 140.

³⁹ He also composed a large number of quatrains which express different mystical states (*ahwal*) or themes for meditation. See A.J. Arberry, *The Ruba'iyyat of Jalaluddin Rumi*, London, 1949.

after his mysterious spiritual friend and companion, Shams al-Din Tabrizi, and named *Divani-Shams*⁴⁰ carry the Persian language to its extreme possibilities of expressing the ecstasy of divine Union and the joy of hearing that celestial music which turns body and soul to rapture and transforms the heart with a burning flame fueled by the fire of love for the Beloved. In these *ghazals* the music of the poems act as the perfect vehicle for the content which turns the soul from concern for the world to the remembrance of God.

"The school is Love, the teacher the Almighty -- and we are like students, these words our recitations. Choose Love, Love! Without the sweet life of Love, living is a burden -- as you have seen.

In the two or three days you live in this world -- what a shame to live only by spirit!

Never be without Love, lest you be dead -- die in Love and remain alive."⁴¹

In the *Mathnawi* poetry serves not as an instrument and means of bringing about spiritual drunkenness but of sobriety which can comprehend the truth that is being expressed. This extensive poem, which is in reality an esoteric commentary upon the Quran, is an ocean of gnosis in which the whole teaching of the Sufi tradition is to be found ranging from doctrine to practical advice. In this monumental work the use of poetry to teach the verities of Sufism in verses which vary from symbolic expression to allegorical narratives to direct metaphysical assertions reaches a peak never to be surpassed but often to be emulated in numerous vernacular languages varying from Sindhi to Turkish not to speak of Persian itself. The opening stanzas of the *Mathnawi*, which follow, have echoed over the centuries in the annals of the Sufi poetry of many languages and climes.

"Hearken to this Reed forlorn, Breathing ever since'twas torn From its rushy bed, a strain Of impassioned love and pain.

⁴⁰ The monumental *Divan-i-Shams* was edited for the first time by B. Furuzanfar as *Kulliyat-i-Shams*, Tehran, 1346. It has never been translated completely but there is a selection rendered into English by R.A Nicholson as *Selected Poems from the Divani Shamsi Tabrizi*, Cambridge, 1898; and by A.J. Arberry, *Mystical Poems of Rumi*, vol. I Chicago 1968 and vol. II, Boulder, 1979.

⁴¹ W. Chittick, *The Sufi Path of Love*, pp.213-214. This work contains mainly new translations from the (*Divan*) not to be found in Nicholson, Arberry and other earlier sources.

'The Secret of my song, though near, None can see and none can hear.
Oh, for a friend to know the sign And mingle all his soul with mine.

'Tis the flame of Love that fired me,'Tis the wine of Love inspired me.
Wouldst thou learn how lovers bleed,

Hearken, hearken to the Reed."⁴²

Persian Sufi poetry could go no further in the expression of Divine Mysteries than where Rumi had taken it, but its alchemical effect as poetry could reach the ultimate perfection possible, a perfection that was to be achieved in the *ghazals* of Hafiz. This supreme poet, who is called the "Tongue of the Invisible" (*Lisan al-ghayb*), produced poems of magic beauty, poems whose imagery and music transmute the lead of the forgetful soul to the gold of the soul which lives in the longing for its Beloved and in the remembrance of that union which pre-dates man's terrestrial journey. Hafiz was himself aware that his was not simply a human voice. Rather, his poetry was a celestial song which brought the heavens themselves into a state of ecstasy. That is why he was to sing,

"What wonder if in the heavens through the works of Hafiz, The music of Venus causes Christ to dance."

Even after Hafiz, Persian Sufi poetry continued to produce great masterpiece and to act as a vehicle for the expression of the truths of Sufism. With the spread of the gnostic teachings of Ibn'Arabi, based on the doctrine of the transcendent unity of being (*wahdat al-wujud*), a whole genre of poetry developed in which this truth was expressed through a myriad of symbolic expressions. This poetry ranged from the quatrains of Awhad al-Din Kirmani to the *ghazals* of Shams al-Din Maghribi, from that great masterpiece of Sufi poetry which is a summary of the essential teachings of Sufism, namely the *Gulshan-i-raz* of Shabistari to the numerous works of 'Abd al-Rahman Jāmī, such as the *Lawa'ih*. In such works one sees the remarkably extensive possibilities of Persian poetry to serve as a vehicle for Sufi teachings varying so widely from the description of the love for God to the metaphysical elucidation of the relation of the One to its theophanies.

Nor did this tradition cease with the "seal of poets" (*khatam al - Shu'ar'*),

⁴² A somewhat free translation by R.A Nicholson, *Rumi-Poet and Mystic*, London, 1978, p.31.

Jāmī. It was to continue in Persia and India through the Safavid and Mogul periods and is alive even in our own day as seen in the *Diwan* of the present day master of the *Ni'matallahi* Order, Javad Nurbakhsh, which simply continues the tradition of this order stretching back to the Qajar period and before that to the foundation of this Order with Shah Ni'matallah Wall in the 9th/15th century.⁴³ Likewise, poetry has continued to serve as a vehicle for Sufism in other Islamic languages whether it be Urdu or Bengali to this day and the tradition of Sufi poetry remains a living one throughout the Islamic world despite the ravages of time and various forms of encroachment upon traditional modes of art and thought in the Islamic world in modern times.

Sufism has of course also made use of prose for the expression of some of its teachings, the prose ranging from the most didactic to the most poetic prose usually dealing with the theme of Divine Love but sometimes also gnosis. There are several types of Sufi literature which usually make use of the prose form. There are first of all the didactic works of usually practical and ethical import such as the *Qut al-qulub* of Abu Turab al-Makki, the *Kitab al-Cum'a* of Abu Nasr al - Sarrāj and the *Ihya'ulum al - din of ^,u* Hamid Muhammad al - Ghazzali all in Arabic,⁴⁴ or the *Kashf al - mahjūb* of 'Ali Hujwiri in Persian. There are also very important prose didactic works which deal with the inner meaning of the Noble Quran starting with the famous commentary of Imam Ja'far al - Sadiq and continuing with the commentaries of Sahl al-Tustari, Abu 'Abd al-Rahman al-Sulami, Imam Qurayshi and 'Abd al-Razzaq Kashani⁴⁵ all written in Arabic and the commentary of Khwajah'Abd-Allah Ansari completed and expanded by Rashid al-Din

⁴³ See J. Nurbakhsh, *Divani Nurbakhsh*, New York, 1980. On this order see R. Gramlich, *Die Schütischen Dervischorden Persiens, Teil I, Die Affiliationen*, Wiesbaden, 1965.

⁴⁴ Al-Ghazzali wrote a summary of the *Ihya'*, which is one of the monumental works of Sufism, in Persian under the title of *Kimiya-yi sa'adat*, a work which is appreciated greatly to this day not only because of its content but also due to its literary beauty. See H. Ritter, *Das Elixir der Glückseligkeit*, Jena, 1923. There is a vast literature on al-Ghazzali in European languages including the translation of many books of the *Ihya'*. On al-Ghazzali's works see M. Bouyges, *Essai de chronologie des oeuvres d'al-Ghazzali*, Beirut, 1959.

⁴⁵ The two volume *Tafsir al-Shaykh al-Akbar* or *Tafsir al-Qur'an al-Karim* printed several times under the name of Ibn 'Arabi is actually by Kashani while the vast commentary by Ibn 'Arabi himself has not as yet been printed. See O. Yahya, *Histoire et classifications de l'oeuvre d'Ibn 'Arabi vol. I* Damascus, 1964, p . 109.

Mibudi⁴⁶ written in Persian. This Sufi tradition of Quranic commentaries produced a most important technical Sufi vocabulary drawn from the Quran⁴⁷, and in some cases such as the commentary of Mibudi one is confronted with one of the great masterpieces of literature.

Sufi didactic works included also hagiographies and personal accounts of the lives of Sufi saints including autobiographies ranging from the vast *Hilyat al-awliya'* of Abu Nu'aym al-Isfahani to the *Rub al-quds* of Ibn'Arabi and the *Tadhkirat al-awliya'* of 'Attar. Moreover, nearly all Islamic languages are rich in this type of literature which must ultimately include the Sufi biographies of the Prophet. This type of work ranges, moreover, from in depth descriptions of a particular Sufi saint based upon his or her life to legends and stories which convey, through their hyperbolic language in conformity with a tendency among Muslim writers which has been called "oriental hyperbole",⁴⁸ a profound lesson without meaning to be taken literally from the point of view of a modern historicism and literalism which is alien to traditional Islamic thought.

Another type of Sufi writings, which has a didactic nature and is closely related to the *genre* of biography, is informal discourses, table talks, letters of spiritual advice and the like which deal with specific problems issues and persons and yet convey the deepest teachings of universal import. Usually these works, which are more informal than other type of Sufi literature, remain popular among members of the particular Sufi order to whose members the instructions are addressed, but sometimes this kind of literature flows beyond the border of that order to become the common spiritual heritage of all Sufis and in fact of all human beings drawn to the spiritual life. In this category one can include the *Fibi ma fibi of Rumi*, the *Letters* of Sharaf

⁴⁶ See A. Habil, "Traditional Esoteric Commentaries", in S.H. Nasr (ed.), *Islamic Spirituality, Foundations*, New York, 1987, pp. 28ff. It would be of great interest if a thorough study were to be made of Sufi Quranic commentaries and also the role of the Sufis in the translation of the Quran in various Islamic languages. A few of the commentaries have been studied in the West such as G. Bowering. *The Mystical Vision of Existence in Classical Islam. The Qur'anic Hermeneutic of the Sufi Shal al-Tustari*, Berlin, 1979 but many Sufi commentaries have not as yet been seriously studied.

⁴⁷ See the works of L. Massignon and P. Nwyia cited in footnote 5.

⁴⁸ See F. Schuon, "The use of hyperbole in Arab rhetoric," in his *Dimensions of Islam*, trans. P. Townsend, London, 1970, pp. 13-29.

al-Din Maneri and the *Letters* of Shaykh Mulay al-'Arabi al-Darqawi⁴⁹. All these and similar works reveal an intimacy and directness of their own which marks them as a special category of Sufi literature.

In contrast to this genre there is another category of Sufi writings with a didactic and propaedeutic purpose in mind which is quite formal and scholarly. This category consists of compendia and anthologies of Sufi terms, expressions and ideas which are a kind of dictionary often organized alphabetically and sometimes according to ideas. Such works became popular during the later period of Islamic history and were often composed by Turkish and Indian scholars seeking to elucidate the earlier classical works of Sufism, but there were also many works of this category written by eminent Persian and Arab Sufis. Some of these works became important sources for the history of Sufism composed by later Sufis and Muslim scholars in general. Among this category may be mentioned the *Kitab al ta'rifat* of Sayyid Sharif Jurjāni and the *Kitab mi'raj al-tasawwuf ila haqa'iq al - tasawwuf* of Ahmad ibn 'Ajibah.⁵⁰ Nor did this *genre* of literature cease in modern times when dictionaries of Sufi terminology as well as anthologies of sayings of the Sufis clarify sufi technical vocabulary have continued to be produced by Sufis or those connected at least intellectually with the Sufi tradition⁵¹ not to speak of ordinary scholars.

Sufis have also produced encyclopaedic works over the ages to complement the types of literature mentioned above. These works range from the *Ihya 'ulum al-din of al-Ghazzali* which is essentially ethical to al-Futuhāt-al-makkiyyah of Ibn 'Arabi which is a vast compendium of Islamic esoteric doctrines. One need mention also in this category the later encyclopaedic writes such as 'Abd al-Wahhab al Sha'rani or Shaykh Baha'al-Din 'Alī in whose works many aspects of Sufism are present drawn from

⁴⁹ Fortunately all of these works are now available in English . See A.J.Arberry (trans.), *The Discourses of Rumi*, London, 1961; P. Jackson, trans., *Sharafuddin Maneri --The Hundred Letters*, New York, 1980; and T. Burckhardt, *Letters of a Sufi Master*, London, 1973, which contains the translation of a selection from the letters.

⁵⁰ See J.L. Michon, *Le Soufi marçais Ahmad ibn Ajiba et son m'raj -- Glossaire de la mystique Musulmane*, Paris, 1973. In the introduction the author deals in depth with this genre of Sufi literature.

⁵¹ See also Sheikh Muzaffer Ozak al-Jerrahi, Irshad, *Wisdom of a Sufi Master*, trans. M. Holland, Amity (NY), 1988, which represents a contemporary example of this genre of Sufi literature written by a Turkish master who died just a few year ago.

earlier sources of very diverse character.⁵²

There are finally works . dealing with Sufi doctrine and metaphysics most of which were written in Arabic but also some in Persian and also the vernacular languages. This *genre* of writing begins in a sense with the *Mishkat al-anwār* of al-Ghaz_zali⁵³ and the *Tamuhidat* and *Zubdat al-bags' iq* of 'Ayn al-Qudat al-Hamadāni⁵⁴ but reaches its peak with Ibn'Arabi especially his *Fuses al - hikam* which because of its universal influence occupies a unique position in the history of doctrinal Sufism.⁵⁵ Written according to the author under divine inspiration, the work is a literary masterpiece, especially the first chapter on Adam. One finds in this work once again that perfect wedding between content and form which is characteristic of the great masterpieces of Sufi literature. A large number of works not only in Arabic and Persian but also in many other languages ranging from Turkish to Malay were inspired by this book and some of them like *Sharh-i-qulshan-i-raz* of Shams al-Din Lahiji in Persian and the commentary upon the *Fuses al-hikam* of Ibn'Arabi by Ismail Hakki Bersevi in Turkish have great literary significance of their own. Moreover, works inspired by this type of writing, especially the *Fusus*, have inspired the blossoming of a whole literary and spiritual culture as one finds in the case of Hamzah Fansuri and Malay literature.⁵⁶

The doctrinal works of Sufism have not, however, been expressed only in the language of Ibn'Arabi and his school at the head of which stands Sadr al-Din al-Qunyawi, but also in the language of Divine Love mixed with the light of gnosis. This type of literature began in Persian with the *Sawanib* of

⁵² We have in mind the *Kashkul* of Shaykh Baha'a-Din 'Amili. Otherwise he was not an encyclopaedic-writer like al-Sha'rani and his most important contribution to Sufism is his Persian poems in mathnawi form.

⁵³ See W.H.T. Gairdner (trans.) *The Niche for Lights in Four Sufi Classics*, pp. 57-159 and R. Daladriere (trans.), *Le Tabernacle des Limieres -- Michkāt Al-Anwar*, Paris, 1981.

⁵⁴ See the edition of 'A. Usayran and his introduction to these works of which the second is of a more philosophical tenure than the first, Tehran, 1962; see also T. Izutsu, *Unicité de l'existence et création perpétuelle en mystique Islamique*, trans. M-C. Grandry, Paris, 1980.

⁵⁵ See the masterly summary translation of T. Burckhardt, *La Sagesse des prophètes*, Paris, 1955; and also many selections translated in T. Izutsu, *Sufism and Taoism -- A Comparative Study of Key Philosophical Concepts*, London, 1983. For a complete translation of the text see Ibn al-'Arabi, *Bezels of Wisdom*, trans. R.W.J. Austin, New York, 1980.

⁵⁶ See S.M.N. al-Attas, *The Mysticism of Hamzah Fansuri*, Kuala Lumpur, 1970.

Ahmad Ghazzali, the younger brother of Abu Hamid,⁵⁷ and was followed by the Abhar al ashiqin of Ruzbihan Baqli Shirazi,⁵⁸ the *Lama 'at* of 'Fakhr al-Din 'Iraqi⁵⁹ and the Ashi 'at al-lama 'at of Jami. These fideli d, amore of Islam, as H. Corbin has called them, have created a distinct genre of Sufi literature in both Arabic and Persian, one in which prose of great beauty expresses the mysteries of love from the human to the Divine in a language which itself moves the soul with the nostalgia for the Beloved.

Sufi doctrine has also expressed itself in narratives which range from stories to the visionary recitals of Suhrawardi. When at the very beginning of the *Mathnawi*, Rumi beckons us to listen to the song of the reed, which "hearkens ever since 'twas torn", he used the Persian term *bikayat* (*bishnu az nay chun bikayat mikunad*. This most telling term means not only to give an account of or to tell a tale but also to provide a recital in which the reader is placed "existentially" in a world or a situation wherein he experiences the doctrinal truths which he is meant to learn. He becomes absorbed in the "event" of the story or recital not at an observer but a participant. Through the recital he is himself transformed while interiorizing the tale within his own being. Sufi literature is replete with stories many of which express the profoundest truths in the symbolic language of tales. This type of literature is crowned by the visionary recitals, in both Arabic and Persian, of Ibn Sina and Suhrawardi which are both of a philosophical and Gnostic nature.⁶⁰

⁵⁷ See Ahmad Ghazzali, Sawanih -- *Inspirations from the World of Pure Spirits*, trans. N. Pourjavady, London, 1986.

⁵⁸ Edited with introduction by H. Corbin and M. Mo'in as *Le Jasmin des Fideles D'amour*, Tehran-Paris, 1958.

⁵⁹ On 'Iraqi see our preface to his *Divine Flashes*, trans. W.Chittick and P.L. Wilson, New, York, 1982, pp. ix-xiv.

⁶⁰ See H. Corbin, *Avicenna and the Visionary Recital*. Corbin shows how, despite the philosophical nature of these works, they exercised an influence upon later Sufi writings such as the works of al-Ghazzali and Suhrawardi. As for the recitals of Suhrawardi which are both Sufi works and important as an integral aspect of his Theosophy of the Orient of Light (*bikmat al-isbraq*), see Suhrawardi, *Opera Metaphysica et Mystica*, vol. III, ed. S.H. Nasr, Tehran, 1977. These recitals have been rendered into a poetic French worthy of their original by Corbin in his *L'Archange empourpre*, Paris, 1976. There is a much more prosaic English translation by W. Thackston which does not even make use of the critical edition of some of the recitals. See his *The Mystical and Visionary Treatises of Subrawardi*, London, 1982. For a general analysis of this kind of literature see T. Purnamdarian, *Symbolism and Symbolic Stories in Persian Literature*, Tehran, 1984. The latter work in Persian is the most extensive carried out so far in

Suhrawardi's treatises are among the greatest masterpieces of Persian prose and represent once again a perfect wedding between content and form, this time the form being the visionary recital.

In a sense all Sufi literature whether it be poetry, aphorisms, stories or recitals are a narration (*bikayat*) of the yearning of the soul for God, the journey towards Him and the fruit of that encounter with the One which is the ultimate goal of human existence, for it is through *bikayat* that these mysteries of the path are expounded and the pain of separation from our Origin described. During its long history, Sufism has had recourse to many forms of expression from poems to narratives all of which it has elevated to the highest level of literary art. But through all this diversity of experiences, there has been but one meaning and one message. The one meaning is "To God we belong and to Him is our return" (*inna Li'Labi wa inna ilayhi raji'un*) (Quran II, 156) and the one message is to teach us how to make the journey of return while being alive and in the human state with our own free will, for it is only such a condition, that is worthy of a true lover of that Beloved who is at once Truth, Goodness and Beauty as well as the source of all beatitude.

the analysis of the symbolic language of these recitals in relation to the language of symbolism and Sufi literature in general. It also devotes a major section to the symbolism of flight as contained in the several treatises on birds or the *Rasa'il al-tayar* by various Sufi authors following the model of *the Risalat al-tayar* of Ibn Sina

ALLAMA IQBAL'S INTEREST IN THE SCIENCES

Prof. M. Saeed Sheikh

For some time in the recent past I had been busy collecting some information about different categories of books that be-longed to Allama's personal library and are now luckily pre-served in the Islamia College, Civil Lines, Lahore as well as in the Allama Iqbal Museum. In Allama's personal library, there were in all, it seems, 520 books in English of which the larger share of 426 books is now with the Islamia College -- this is known as "Iqbal Collection" and has been carefully and quite scientifically catalogued by Professor M. Siddiq of that college.

I propose to consider here only such books of Allama's Library as have a bearing on physical sciences. It is significant to note that under this category there are as many as seventeen books on Einstein's Theory of Relativity alone. On no other subject, or thinker or school of thought are there in Allama's Library as many books as these. On Hegelianism, for instance, there are only nine books; on Bergson and Bergsonianism we have twelve books; in the case of Rumi this number is only seven including six volumes of his own Mathnawi and finally eleven books on Nietzsche, including five scattered volumes of his own works.

Of the seventeen books on the theory of relativity nine can be easily classed as popular works. The titles of some of these speak for themselves: Einstein the Searcher; Easy Lessons in Einstein; Ideas of Einstein's Theory; From Kant to Einstein (39 pages); Life of Space and so on. It may be added that the Allama nowhere in his writings has referred to these popular works or their authors.

Of the other works on the theory of relativity, the more no-table in terms of Allama's philosophical thought and his interest in relativity and sciences may be listed as under:

1. Einstein, A, Relativity: The Special and General Theory: A Popular Exposition, 1920.
2. Eddington A.S., The Nature of the Physical World, 1929.
3. Carr, H.W., The General Principle of Relativity in its Philosophical and Historical Aspect, 1920.

4. Haldane, R.B., Reign of Relativity, 1921.
5. Rougier, L. Philosophy and New Physics, 1921.

The first book is by Einstein himself and this too is admittedly a popular Exposition. A popular exposition of the theory of relativity from Einstein, the author of the theory, however, is most welcome for in its original highly mathematical form, the theory is altogether beyond the comprehension of the lay readers a fact very candidly admitted by the Allama in *The Reconstruction*.

Einstein is now universally recognised as the most creative intellect in the human history. He earned his doctorate from the Zurich University of Switzerland in 1905; and the same year he had also four of his research papers published in a highly prestigious German Periodical in Physics. Each one of these papers contained a great discovery in physics; and among them was a paper: "On the Electrodynamics of Moving Bodies" embodying Einstein's special theory of relativity. It is generally believed that this momentous paper of Einstein had its beginning in an Essay that he wrote at the age of sixteen. Einstein had his first paper on the general theory of relativity published in 1913. His work on this new theory seems to have been completed by 1916 when he published his paper entitled: "The Foundation of the General Theory Relativity" in the aforementioned German Periodical in Physics. The worth of Einstein's work, however, was not much appreciated in the world of science. The tremendous importance of Einstein's general theory of relativity came to be realised only by the end of 1919. The palpable cause of it was the total solar eclipse of May 1919. A selected team of the scientists made careful studies of all the different phenomena relating to this eclipse. These studies among other things showed that Einstein's predictions of cosmic significance, particularly the one relating to the bending of the ray of light when it passes near a massive star turned out to be true. The confirmation of the new findings of the scientists was formally announced by the Royal Society of London in November 1919.

It is to be noted that Allama Iqbal's own copy of Einstein's work on Relativity was received by him somewhere in July 1921. It is also to be noted that of the other sixteen books on the subject as many as nine had been published by 1922 and the better lot in 1920 when the theory of relativity was universally ac-claimed. From the very quick and uniquely perceptive reading habits of the Allama it is easy to surmise that he must have gone through

almost all these books before his ardent Payam-i-Mashriq (A Message of East) was published in 1923. In the Preface to this work the Allama makes the following lauding observation about Einstein tying him with Bergson.

"Europe's Great War was a catastrophe which destroyed the old world order in almost in every respect; and now out of the ashes of civilization and culture. Nature is building up in the depths of life a new Adam and a new world for him to live in, of which we get a faint sketch in the writings of Einstein and Bergson." Then in the Payam-i-Mashriq there is also a poem on Einstein (as there is one on Bergson) This poem ends up with the following lines:

کرد و زردشته ز نسل موسی و هارون ظهور
من چه گویم از مقام آل حکیم نکه سخ

What can I (say about this subtle-minded sage Except that from

The race of Moses and of Aaron there has come A Zarathustra in our age.

In Lecture II of his celebrated The Reconstruction the Allama is, however, rather critical of Einstein; this to my mind is very largely on account of this greater spell on him of Bergson's notion of duration or non-serial time. He puts his own philosophical construction on Einstein's space-time continuum and concludes that "time as a free creative movement has no meaning for the theory of relativity". It is, however, interesting to note that a little earlier in the same Lecture, the Allama pays a, glowing tribute to Einstein by saying that "his discoveries have laid the foundation of a far-reaching revolution in the entire domain of human thought. "This in fact is an echo of a passage to be found in Lecture I: "the theory of Einstein has brought a new vision of the universe and suggests new ways of looking at the problems common to both religion and philosophy.

A really significant passage in The Reconstruction is the one which combines the highly empirical and particularistic outlook of the Quran with the teachings of the theory of relativity: "The Quran has no liking for abstract universals. It always fixes its gaze on the concrete which the theory of Relativity has only recently taught modern philosophy to see".

Of the other writers on the theory of relativity, the most important, of course, is Sir. A. Stanley Eddington, the renowned astronomer, mathematician and physicist. In 1919 he in fact was the leader of the team of

the Scientists who through their investigation relating to the solar eclipse provided the requisite data for the confirmation of Einstein's theory. He was the earliest expositor of relativity in the English language. His first book on this subject entitled Report on the Relativity Theory of Gravitation, written on the request of the Physical Society, London, appeared as early as 1918. In 1923 he wrote his remarkable book: Mathematical Theory of Relativity; commenting on this work, later Einstein said: "It is the finest presentation of the subject in any language."

It may be noted here that Eddington held strong Quaker beliefs, came as he did from the family of the Quakers, and further that he expressed his religious views even in his works on philosophy of science such as the one in Allama's library. The last chapter in The Nature of the Physical World is captioned as "Science and Mysticism" (28 pages). In The Reconstruction, the Allama quotes from this chapter of the book and not from its chapter on Relativity and Quantum Theory. Eddington's this book (Gifford Lectures of 1927) was in fact published in November 1928 and Allama's copy of it was of its 3rd impression of February 1929; i.e. the time by which the Allama had completed his writing of all parts of his work dealing with the subject of Relativity. He did, however, give a fairly long quotation from Eddington's earlier work Space, Time and Gravitation published in 1920.

The next writer on relativity in our list is H. Wildon Carr who for a long time was the Secretary of Aristotelian Society, London and also its President from 1916 to 1918. It may be re-called that it is this very society which invited the Allama to de-liver a Lecture, (now "Is Religion Possible?") at its session in December 1932. It is interesting to note that there are many more books by Carr in Allama's library than by any other con-temporary philosopher. One palpable reason is that Carr was the first to introduce Bergson and Bergsonianism to the English readers and also was one of the earliest writers on the theory of relativity.

It is interesting to note that the Allama gives a sizeable quotation from Carr's present work: The General Principle of Relativity in its Philosophical and Historical Aspect in The Reconstruction without naming the author or the book. This quotation, in fact, looks more as Russell's; own argument against the Greek philosopher Zeno rather than Carr's exposition of it given in his General Principle of Relativity. The Allama though quotes also from Carr's second book on relativity, he does not seem to think very highly of

Carr and outright rejects his view that the theory of relativity inevitably leads to monadistic idealism of Leibniz, a German Philosopher of whom Carr was as fond as of Bergson.

Lord Haldane's *Reign of Relativity* despite its giving us short mathematical treatments of some aspects of relativity is on the whole a compendium of idealistic metaphysics. It has been rightly described as "a wedding of Hegelianism with the theory of relativity." A highly metaphysical theory of relativity typical of this work was expounded by Haldane in his Gifford Lectures of 1903-1904 i.e. even when nobody had heard of Einstein or his theory. It is said that when Einstein came to lecture at Kings's College, London in 1921 he told Lord Haldane that he did not believe that his theory had any metaphysical implications. In the Preface to the third edition of the *Reign of Relativity* published in August 1921 Haldane refers to this meeting with Einstein and adds that he had, therefore, revised a few of the unphilosophical paragraphs in the book.

Allama Iqbal, be it noted, refers to Haldane's work only in connection with the philosophical idea of the degrees of reality. It may be added that Whitehead and Haldane were quite close to each other and would often exchange notes on many philosophical problems. This explains largely the fact that Haldane in his work has quite sympathetically elaborated Whitehead's views on relativity. This makes Haldane's *Reign of Relativity* vitally important to us for the Allama at critical junctures of his discussion often refers to Whitehead's presentation of relativity and also makes a very significant though difficult statement that "Whitehead's view of Relativity is likely to appeal to Muslim students more than that of Einstein.

The last work on relativity in our list is Louis Rougier's *Philosophy and New Physics* (1921). On my scanning of Allama's personal copy of this work I have strongly felt that the Allama had skipped over most of the earlier technical and rather abstruse parts of the book till he came to the section twenty on the "Physics of the Discontinuous". It is from this section that the Allama has quoted a passage in lecture III of *The Reconstruction* obviously in support of the Asharites view of time and matter. There is also an invisible reference to this book in the Lecture I where Allama says that "With the advance of scientific thought even our concept of intelligibility is undergoing change". This is very close to what is given in a passage on page 146 of Rougier's book and the Allama has even drawn a marginal line against the

passage. It may be added that Rougier both in the footnotes and the Bibliography of his work has referred to very many French writers on physics and mathematics; not even half of these writers have been listed or even named in the Index in the sixteen volume Dictionary of Scientific Biography. Rougier thrice refers also to the French social psychologist Gustave Le Bon and his work Evolution of Matter, a copy of which incidentally is also to be found in Allama's library.

I may be allowed here to refer also to Spengler's Decline of the West. It is perhaps the only major work which aroused Allama's interest in quite a few areas of science and mathematics. Spengler, be it remembered, was as well-versed in mathematics and natural sciences as in history and philosophy. His Decline of the West is in two volumes: the first was published in April 1926 and the second in November 1928. The Allama does not seem to have had received his copy of the first volume of the Decline of the West even by April 1927. No trace of Spengler's work is to be found in Allama's first reportedly long lecture in English on "the Spirit of Muslim Culture" delivered at the forty-second session of the Anjuman-i-Himayat-i-Islam, Lahore on 16th April 1927. The second volume of Decline of the West must have been received by him soon after its publication. From a few good words he had said about the first volume, one would gather that he was keenly looking forward to having a copy of the second.

On reading of the Decline of the West the Allama was fascinated by many of its parts but he was also vexed and perturbed by some of Spengler's statements. One such statement is that "the mathematical idea of function was the symbol of the West of which no other culture gave even a hint." The Allama immediately felt that it could not be true and went into a bit of real hard work to find out the position of the mathematical idea of function in other cultures, and especially in Muslim culture. This resulted into a remarkable research paper which the Allama named: "A plea for Deeper Study of the Muslim Scientists" and presented it as his Presidential Address at the Fifth Oriental Conference held in Lahore from 20th to 22nd November 1928. I may be allowed to call this Presidential Address Allama's Second Lecture on the Spirit of Muslim Culture".

The first clue in search for the function idea in Muslim Culture came from the Allama himself. He tells us that he "had a vague recollection of the idea of function in Al-Biruni". It is to be remembered that the Allama had

studied Biruni's two major works during his doctoral research on the Development of Meta-physics in Persia. These works however were on history and not on Biruni's mathematics so the Allama in his search for function idea in Biruni sought the help of Dr. Zia-ud-Din of Aligarh, a renowned Muslim scholar of mathematics of his days. Dr. Zia-ud-Din had the privilege of having studied at the University of Gottingen (Germany) during the great days of Professor Karl Schwarzschild, one of the world's foremost astronomers and relativity-physicist. Interestingly enough Dr. Zia-ud-Din during his stay at Gottingen had called the attention of Professor Schwarzschild to the passages in Biruni's Qanun-i-Masudi such as embody his application of function in Trigonometry. The Professor was much surprised but finally convinced. Biruni's position was firmly established.

Function in mathematics refers in fact to a relationship of correspondence between two variables called independent variable and dependent variable. It is expressed by saying that "y is a function of "x" which means "y" changes with "x", so that for a certain value of "x", "y" has a certain value or values. In history of mathematics in Europe the term "function" in the full mathematical sense was first used by the German Philosopher and mathematician Leibniz in 1694. The theory of function, however, had already emerged with the analytic geometry of Fermat in 1629 and that of Descartes published along with his better known Discourse on Method in 1639. With the introduction of the function idea in mathematics in Europe, the entire course of its history was changed. Soon such rapid advance started taking place in mathematics that within fifty years or so it almost evolved into its modern form. The idea of function also had its great impact on the development of the sciences, particularly the experimental sciences. "Not until the theory of functions was fully evolved", says Spengler, "could this mathematics be unreservedly brought to bear in the parallel sphere of our dynamic Western physics."

Allama Iqbal's work on Spengler's Decline of the West, how-ever, did not stop with the discovery of the function idea in Biruni. He continued his search for new ideas in the Muslim scientists and mathematicians this time also to explode Spengler's central but patently fallacious thesis that cultures as organic wholes are completely alienated from each other so that in the period of growth or development a culture as an organic whole is not influenced by other cultures. The Allama was keenly and even poignantly

aware of the very powerful impact of the Muslim culture on the European culture from the twelfth century onward --certainly because of the presence of Islam in Spain.

Happily there was a book in Allama's library: *The Mystery of Space (A Study of the Hyperspace Movement in the light of the Evolution of New Psychic Faculties)* by Robert T. Browne. The merit of this work is that the information supplied in it has very largely been derived from the then current learned articles on science and mathematics published in the well-reputed British and American periodicals. There is, however, also some psychic or spiritualistic stuff in this work which it is rather hard to gulp. From the point of view of Allama's search for new material there is a commendable chapter in this book on the historical development of non-Euclidean geometry. The Allama seems to have gone through this chapter carefully with his usual marginal lines.

Allama's statement in' the above-mentioned Presidential Address that Tusi's work was printed in 1594, and that John Wallis introduced it to the University of Oxford about the middle of the 17th century has been more or less taken from Browne's *Mystery of Space*. Browne has also referred to Tusi's effort to improve the parallel postulate of Euclid. The rest of the passage referring to the derivation of non-Euclidean geometry by Gauss and Riemann from the earlier work on parallel postulate is Allama's own.

It is to be noted that John Wallis was a mathematician of a very high stature. He was the contemporary of Newton; and Newton has admitted in his writings that his work on binomial theorem and on the calculus arose from his profound study of the works of Wallis. Wallis knew Greek, Latin and Hebrew. He in fact translated Tusi's short treatise on parallel postulate in Latin and explained it to professors of mathematics at Oxford. It may be added that the problem of parallel postulate has been the very pivotal problem in the discovery of non-Euclidean geometries and that the non-Euclidean geometry of the form developed by Riemann (whom the Allama has particularly named in his passage on Tusi) is the most indispensable instrument for the theory of relativity.

Should we now have a quick glance at Allama's Presidential Address: "A plea for Deeper Study of Muslim Scientists" and compare it with all his previous writings in English and Urdu we would find that the following titles, names and topics have been used for the first time.

A) Titles:

- 1) Bacon, Francis, *Novum Organum* (Bacon's celebrated work on scientific method)
- 2) Biruni, *Qanun-i-Masudi* (An encyclopaedic work on astronomy)
- 3) Briffault, R., *The Making of Humanity* (A book which, the Allama recommended to every student of the history of culture)
- 4) Browne, R.T, *The Mystery of Space* (A rare book according to the Library of Congress Catalog)
- 5) Iraqi (*Ain al-Qudat Hamadani*), *Ghayat al-Imkan fi Dirayat al-Makan* (a rare manuscript received by the Allama from Maulana Sayyid Anwar Shah Kashmiri)
- 6) Kant, I, *Prolegomena to any Future Metaphysics* (embodies Kant's views on mathematics; not available in Allama's Personal Library)
- 7) Spengler, O, *The Decline of the West*, Vol-1.

B) Names:

- 1) E. Bevan: 2) Euclid: 3) Gauss: 4) Haji Khalifah; 5) Riemann; 6) Shaikh Mahmud and 7) Wallis.

C) Topics:

- 1) Aristotelian idea of fixed Universe
- 2) Function
- 3) Geometrical proof of the interpolation formula
- 4) God as the Omnipysche of the Universe
- 5) Hyperspace movement
- 6) Infinite continuum
- 7) Newton's formula of interpolation
- 8) Non-Euclidean geometry
- 9) Parallel postulate

These are in all twenty-three entries of which thirteen pertain to science, especially to mathematics; the size of Allama's Address now in printed form is eleven pages (Sherwani, *Speeches, Statements and Writings of Iqbal*, pages 133-143). From this one would reasonably gather that Allama's Address is a real research paper; he must have had read a lot (must more than the above listed books) and he must have had also given his mind to many subjects. Further, this research paper also clearly leans towards science subjects.

Allama's research in the sciences was, however, destined to continue for

another full year for he was to deliver his third lecture on the "Spirit of Muslim Culture" at Aligarh in the last week of September 1929. This new Lecture, now Lecture V of The Re-construction, is considered by some Western scholars to be one of the rarest Muslim presentations on the subject so far.

If once again we compare the scientific contents of this Lecture with those of the Presidential Address at the Oriental Conference we would find that the Allama within the span of much less than a year had come across many new titles, new names and topics in connection with Muslim science and culture. The more important of these are as follows:

A) Titles:

- 1) Bacon, Roger, Opus Majus 2 Vols; 1268 (the first ever English translation of the work by R.B. Burke, Philadelphia -- the original is in Latin)
- 2) Ibn Haitham, Kitab al-Manazir (In Allama's time avail-able only in manuscript or in Latin -- Arabic text and its English translation is being currently prepared at Harvard University)
- 3) Ibn Khaldun, Prolegomena (The Muqaddima) (Among other things, a mine of Muslim Sciences; this work was very dear to the Allama)
- 4) Ibn Maskawaih, (Al-Fauz al-Asghar (a work that the Allama had used for his doctoral research on the Development of Metaphysics in Persia)
- 5) Khwaja Parsa, Risalah dar Zaman-o-Makan (a unique and rare manuscript)
- 6) Spengler, The Decline of the West, Vol II, 9th November 1928.

B) Names:

- 1) Dhuring, Karl E; 2) Ibn Haitham; 3) Jahiz; 4) Khwarizmi; 5) Kindi and 6) Ptolemy.

C) Topics:

- 1) Algebra (originated with Khwarizmi)
- 2) 2, Biruni's reaction-time (actually Ibn Haitham's as given in Allama's Development of Metaphysics in Persia, page 64)
- 3) Evolution (Allama's first clearest exposition of Ibn Maskawaih views)
- 4) Optics (Allama's comparison of Roger Bacon's work on Op-tics with that Ibn Haitham remarkable close to Sar-ton's: Introduction to the History of Science, Vol. II, page 957 1937, i.e. seven years later)

- 5) Sensation is proportionate to stimulus (Kindi's foreshadowing of a law in the modern science of psychophysics)
- 6) Spengler's charge of Magianism against Islam and Allama's forceful refutation of it -- Magianism and inductive and empirical spirit of Islam stand opposed to each other.

Allama's above keen interest in the sciences is clearly evinced in some of his very profound observations in *The Reconstruction*. In one of these he equates the scientist's absorption in his study of Nature with someone's "virtually seeking a kind of intimacy with the Absolute Ego" and he adds: "The scientific observer of Nature is a kind of mystic-seeker in the act of prayer". According to him of all the other scholars it is the scientist who would get a "visions of the total infinite which philosophy seeks but cannot find." Two of his more noteworthy philosophical observations on the subject are as under:

- 1) The Scientific observation of Nature keeps us in close con-tact with the behaviours of Reality, and thus sharpens our inner perception for a deep vision of it (*Italics mine*).
- 2) The Quran, recognising that the empirical attitude is an indispensable stage in the spiritual life of humanity, attached equal importance to all the regions of human experience as yielding knowledge of the ultimate Reality which reveals its symbols both within and without. One indirect way of establishing connections with the reality that confronts us is reflective observation and control of its symbols as they re-veal themselves to sense perception (*Italics mine*).

I firmly believe that should we employ the profound meanings embodied in the above two passages to the study of very many sign -- verses of the Quran, verses referring to the symbolised manifestation of God in all the phenomena of nature, we would soon evolve a very viable Islamic scientific theory of knowledge, most urgently needed in the contemporary world of Islam.

Dr. Fazl-ur-Rahman

(1918-1988)

Professor of Islamic Studies at the University of Chicago, Dr. Fazl ur-Rahman died in Chicago on July 26, 1988.

He was a modernist in his Islamic interpretations, committed to making Islamic values relevant to modern times. In this sense, he drew inspiration from poet-philosopher Dr. Muhammad Iqbal and Sir Sayyid Ahmed Khan.

Born in Abbottabad in the Northwest Frontier Province' he received his early education from his father, who was a graduate of the traditionalist Islamic Academy of Deoband in India. Steeped in dars-i-Nizamiya' the orthodox syllabus of Islamic education in the subcontinent' Dr. Fazl-ur-Rahman acquired profound knowledge of Arabic and Persian. His graduate studies in the West, however, made him an exponent of modernist Islam. He authored several books and numerous articles, which have become landmarks of modern Islamic scholarship

During the 1960s' President Ayub Khan of Pakistan appointed hi Director of the Institute of Islamic Research. The Institute w established by President Ayub Khan to deal with certain Islamic subjects which the orthodox ulama (religious scholars) were determined to have incorporated in Pakistan's constitution. Dr. Fazl-ur-Rahman modernist thrust touched off violent political demonstrations, which were ignited by the ulama. Consequently, Dr. Fazl-ur-Rahman sought refuge as a faculty member at the University of Chicago' where! remained until his death. In a real sense' the creative soul of the East found repose in the West!

Possessing a sense of honor and warmth of generosity towards students and friends' he was the acme of a modest' but confident scholar. To me Personally' he was always—brother Fazl—an object of affection and high regard.

He will be affectionately missed. May his soul rest in God's grace

Hafeez Malik

IQBAL'S DOCTORAL THESIS

Prof. Dr. M. Siddiq Shibli

Allama Iqbal got himself registered as an advance student in the Cambridge University. He wrote a dissertation for this degree. He submitted the same dissertation with a few modifications in the Munich University of Germany. He was awarded Ph.D. on this research. The purpose of this article is to bring to light some new aspects of Iqbal's doctoral thesis.

Iqbal's Cambridge dissertation, his Munich thesis and its published editions all bear the title: "The Development of Metaphysics in Persia". But it is interesting to note that Iqbal in his application for registration in the Cambridge University, worded the topic in a slightly different way. This application was addressed to the Senior Tutor of Trinity College and was written in September, 1905. About his research topic Iqbal writes.⁶¹

...My knowledge of Arabic and Persian and my acquaintance with European philosophy (the study of which I began 12 years ago) suggest to me that I might make a contribution to the knowledge in the West, of some branch of Muhammadan Philosophy I would propose as subject of Research -- "The genesis and development of Metaphysical concepts in Persia" or some contribution to the knowledge of Arabic Philosophy which the University might approve."

So Iqbal originally conceived his topic as "The genesis and development of Metaphysical concepts in Persia," which on the advice of his teachers he might have simplified as "The Development of Metaphysics in Persia."

A few documents which are available in the Munich University archives contain valuable information about Iqbal's thesis. Credit goes to Dr. Saeed Akhtar Durrani who in 1988 wrote an article about these papers for the first time. So far this archival material has not fully utilized because it consist of hand written pages in old German style which is not also very legible. The writer of these lines got these documents transcribed and translated with the help of some German Colleagues during his stay at Heidelberg University in 1983.

Iqbal's thesis was first published by Luzac Co. London in 1908. The

⁶¹ Iqbal's application addressed to the Senior Tutor, Trinity College, Cambridge, 1905.

copies of these edition which are found in some university libraries of Germany bear the following description on the title pages:⁶²

"Inaugural-Dissertation

Philosophischen Der Facultat Sekt I (Resp II) Ludwig Maximilians-
Universitat, Munchen

But the other copies do not have this description. This variation in the title pages of the thesis has led some scholars to conclude that two editions came out in 1908.⁶³ But the correct position is that only one edition with two different titles was published in 1908. The copies with above description were submitted in the University because it was so required under the rules. The relevant rules were as under:⁶⁴

After passing the examination, the candidate will get his thesis printed and make possible changes desired by the Faculty and also add the previously submitted curriculum vitae. On the title of the thesis the following will be explicitly written:

"Inaugural Dissertation der Philosophischen

Fakultat Sket I der Ludwig - Maximilians

Universitat Munchen."

(Inaugural Dissertation of the Philosophical Faculty Section of the
Ludwing Maximilians University Munich)

After delivering 150 copies of the printed dissertation, the author receives the doctor Diploma in the Latin Language signed personally by the rector and the dean and with seal of the Faculty and the University. It will also carry the date of examination."

(Translation)

So this extract clearly shows why some printed copies of the thesis carry a special description with the full names of the Faculty and the University.

Iqbal's examination record preserved in the Munich University reveals some interesting but useful details. The Faculty of Philosophy Section I,

⁶² Iqbal, S.M. The Development of Metaphysics in Persia preserved in Munich University.

⁶³ Hashmi, Rafiuddin, Dr. Tasanif Iqbal..., Iqbal Academy, Lahore, 1982.

⁶⁴ Standing orders for Ph.D., Munich University, No. 6 & 7.

issued a letter on 21st July, 1907 to the distinguished professors of the faculty for the doctoral examination of Iqbal.⁶⁵ They included Prof. F. Hommel, Von Hertling and Lipp. This letter also indicates that Iqbal took philosophy as his major subject and oriental and English Philosophy as his minor subjects. This letter also helps in determining the approximate date of Iqbal's arrival in Germany. Atiya Begum's account certifies Iqbal's presence in England till 16th July, 1907.⁶⁶ He might have reached Germany between 17th-20th July. Iqbal deposited a sum of 260 Marks as examination fee on 22nd of July and the receipt is available in the record.

It is said that Iqbal was introduced to Munich University by his teachers in England. Prof. Arnold's name in the panel of examiners suggests that he might have also helped Iqbal in registering himself for Ph.D. Arnold was the first to give his report. Prof. Hommel, the German guide of Iqbal, has given an extract from Arnold's report which is as under:⁶⁷

I have read Prof. Muhammad Iqbal's dissertation "The Development of Metaphysics in Persia" with great interest. So far as I am aware, it is the first attempt that has been made to trace the continuous development of ancient Iranian speculation as they have survived in Muhammadan Philosophy and to bring out the distinctly Persian Character of many phases of Muslim thought. The writer has made use of much material hitherto unpublished and little known in Europe, and his dissertation is a valuable contribution to the history of Muhammadan Philosophy.⁶⁸

Prof. Hommel has also admired the standard of the thesis. He expressed that an orientalist of Goldziher or Maxe Mullers stature could have done justice with the thesis.⁶⁹ Hommel out of modesty did not consider himself equal to the task. In the end of his report he also gave a proposal for oral examination.

Prof. Hertling has also spoken very high of the research standard. In his opinion it appears to be a paper written by a man of extensive education. But he thinks that oral examination cannot be arranged before the prior permission of the Faculty. Prof. Lipp and Prof. Kuhn both have fully

⁶⁵ Iqbal - Examination record, page 1.

⁶⁶ Atiya Begum, Iqbal, Lahore 1969, p.21.

⁶⁷ Arnold, Thomas, E.R.P-2.

⁶⁸ Hommel, F. Ibid.

⁶⁹ Hertling, E.R.P-3.

endorsed the views of their colleagues about the thesis. Prof. Kuhn has also stated that Iqbal wants to return to England by 10th of November, 1907. In this way he was stressing that oral examination should be held before 10th November. The Faculty gave the permission for this examination.

(The oral examination of Iqbal was held in the Senate Chamber at 5'O clock in the afternoon of Monday on 4th November, 1907.⁷⁰ The panel of examiners consisted of the following:

Professors of the faculty:

1. Prof. F. Hommel
2. Prof. Lipp.
3. Prof. Schick
4. Prof. Kuhn

Professor Dr. H. Breymann, Dean of the Faculty was also present. Iqbal was declared successful in the examination. The Dean of Faculty forwarded Iqbal's case for the award of Ph.D. to the Royal Rectorate of the University on the same day after the completion of the oral examination.⁷¹

Iqbal's date of birth has remained a controversial issue for a long time and the controversy also arose from the date of birth given by Iqbal himself in his thesis. Iqbal recorded 3rd Zilqa'd' 1294 A.H. (1876 A.D.) as his date of birth. But he could not correctly convert the Hijra year into Christian year. Actually 3rd 'Zilqa'd of 1294 fell on 9th November, 1877. In 1958 Jan Marek pointed out this mistake.⁷² He has also mentioned some scholars who recorded 1877 as the year of Iqbal's birth. The Government of Pakistan had to appoint a Committee to decide Iqbal's correct date of birth. The Committee agreed on November 9, 1877. But in Germany the mistake was corrected very soon. In the year book of 1907-08 about the research thesis written in Germany, Iqbal's date of birth i.e. 9th November, 1877 has been correctly recorded.⁷³ However, it escaped the attention of the scholars like Dr.A.M. Schimmel, Jan Marek and others.

⁷⁰ Ibid,-4

⁷¹ Ibid, P-5

⁷² Jan Marek, The Date Muhammad Iqbal's Birth, Archive Orientalmi Nakladatelstvi Ceskoslovenske Akademic.

⁷³ Jahres verzeichnis der an den Deutschen Universitaten erschienenen Schriften, Berlin 1909, p.544.

Iqbal first submitted typed copies of his thesis and then printed copies as required under the rules which provide:⁷⁴

"submitting a thesis which is ready for print and written legibly so that it can be checked by the respective section.... (Translation).... The printed paper has to be submitted within one year in 150 copies."⁷⁵

The original typed copy of Iqbal thesis was handed over to Indian government as a gift for Iqbal's Centenary Celebrations. Now that copy is traceable neither in India nor in Germany. It has been replaced by a printed copy in Munich University Library. The card of this thesis reads as under:⁷⁶

"The original of this work was handed in December 1969 to the Bavarian Staatskanzlei through the intermediary of Director General' of Bavarian Staatl Bibliotheken Dr. Hans Striedle. They handed the book to the Indian Government as a present on the occasion of birth anniversary of the author, since the book was allegedly not available in India.

(Translation)

This was a very disturbing news for Pakistanis but some scholars tried to console the Iqbal lovers by saying that only printed copies were submitted in the University and the removal of original thesis of Iqbal from the Library seems out of question of them. But their assumption stands refuted by the forgoing extract.

Atiya, in her monograph on Iqbal published in 1947, has written that Iqbal's thesis was translated in German and published.⁷⁷ But it was not published even long after the publication of this monograph. Dr. Durrani says the German translation of the thesis was completed in 1977 as a commemorative work on the occasion of Iqbal's Centenary celebrations. Dr. Durrani's information is also incorrect. However, the first German translation of Iqbal's thesis was done by an Iranian scholar Ali Raza Rahbar with the collaboration of Dr. A.M. Schimmel. It was published in 1982 by Hafiz Verlag, Bonn, West Germany.

⁷⁴ Standing Orders 2-b.

⁷⁵ Ibid, No.7

⁷⁶ Munich University Library Card No. 3150.

⁷⁷ Atiya, p-22.

IQBAL'S CONTRIBUTION TO THE REAWAKENING OF THE MUSLIM WORLD

Muhammad Aman Hob ohm

Some time before his death the poet and philosopher Mohammad Iqbal, in whose memory this meeting is held, wrote the following quatrain:

"When I depart from this world
everyone will say: "He was known to me
But in truth, none knows this traveller,
Or what he said, and to whom nor whence he came."

I have neither the good fortune of knowing Iqbal personally nor am I an Iqbal scholar. When I was asked by the Honorary General Secretary, Pakistan Cultural Group, to participate in this meeting and to share with you some of my thoughts on the contribution made by Mohammad Iqbal to the renaissance of the Muslim World in general and to the re-awakening of Muslims of pre-partitioned India in particular, I accepted, mainly for the following two reasons:

Firstly I feel that as a Muslim whose own understanding of Islam has been deeply influenced by Iqbal it was my duty to join you in paying homage to this great and noble soul repaying some of the debt of gratitude I owe him for enlightening me through his writings on so many aspects of Islamic teachings and for increasing my love and respect for the Messenger (peace be upon him) -- and his message through Iqbal's inspired exposition of the religion of Islam, -- the religion of my choice.

Secondly acceptance of your kind invitation to address tonight lies in the fact that I hail from a country for which Iqbal has always had the highest esteem and what is more, a deep and abiding love and admiration i.e. Germany.

Iqbal himself tells us in the preface to *Payam-e-Mushriq* the book in which his art has probably reached the height of power and perfection, that of the two great sages who have influenced him more than anyone else in his career as a thinker and poet, one was Maulana Jalal-ud-Din Rumi -- who hailed

from the East, the other was Goethe, who came from West.

Iqbal went to Germany in 1906 when he studied philosophy at the Universities of Heidelberg and Munich. He presented his doctoral thesis entitled "The Development of Metaphysics in Persia" to the Munich University which, in November 1907, conferred on him the degree of Doctor of Philosophy. His thesis was an original contribution to the subject and it still retains its importance.

During his stay in Heidelberg and Munich he developed deep admiration for Germany, German thought, and poetry. As every scholar of Iqbal knows there are innumerable instances in his writings, his letters and in recorded conversation with him which clearly indicate that the works of German philosopher and poets have been a source of great inspiration to him.

I have in my possession a number of letters which Iqbal wrote to his German tutor in Heidelberg. These letters, some of them written in fluent German, express his love and admiration for Germany in a most touching and convincing way.

"It is impossible for me", writes Iqbal to his tutor "to forget your beautiful country where I have learned so much". "My stay in Heidelberg is nothing now but a beautiful dream. How I'd wish I could repeat it". "I am very fond of Germany. It has had great influence on my ideals, and I shall never forget my stay in that country". Never shall I forget the days I spent at Heidelberg, where you taught me Goethe's Faust, those were very happy days, indeed". -- And a final quotation, "Germany was a kind of second home to my spirit. I learned much and I thought much in that country. The home of Goethe has found a permanent place in my soul".

Iqbal's stay in Europe from 1905 till 1908 has had, I think one can call it, "revolutionizing" effect on his attitude to life, and nowhere does this find a more forceful expression than in his poetry.

Iqbal's career as a poet began during his school days. His earlier poems show him as a lover of nature and as a patriot to his country, undivided India. Iqbal was, indeed, an ardent Indian nationalist, until he went abroad. However, during his stay in Europe he had an opportunity of studying modern nationalism at close quarters in its various manifestations, with the result that he came to realize the fundamental, antithesis between the narrow creed of racial and geographical loyalty and the broad humanistic outlook of Islam. Now he was no longer the poet of a particular nations. Despite he

became the poet of Islam, and as such I dare say the poet of humanity.

Likewise, his penetrating study of Western philosophy and social thought at their source, so to say, his stay in Europe enabled him probably as the first Muslim in Modern times, -- to study Islam in the light of modern philosophical concepts. In this process and this is significant as it shows the mettle of which Iqbal was made, his faith in his religion -- Islam and significance and lasting character of the fundamental values of Islam which far from weakening, gained so much in strength and conviction and assumed such dimensions that from now on he devoted himself wholly and solely to *The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam* -- to use the title, of his well known collection of lectures on the subject -- he became the foremost Muslim thinker of our age. But we cannot say him the philosopher of Islam, for he was far more than a mere lover of wisdom. His feet were too firmly planted in the earth. The very essence of his teachings was movement, dynamism, creative activity and not passive contemplation.

Art thou alive? Be enthusiastic,

be a creator,

Be a conqueror of the Universe like me

Smash the World into pieces if it does not

suit thee

And bring forth another world from

the depth of thy being

It is irritating for a free man

to live in a World made by others

He who is devoid of creative power

Is naught for me but an infidel and a heretic.

This is the spirit which made him take upon himself the gigantic task of rousing millions of fellow countrymen, millions of human beings and making them cast off the moral inertia which had paralysed their mind and spirit in the course of centuries.

And this is also the spirit which prompted him, perhaps even compelled him to associate himself actively with politics from the later 1920s till the day of his death.

"It is because the political ideas such as are taking shape in India today, may affect the structure of Islam", Iqbal is reported to have said, "that I am interested in politics".

And he said elsewhere: "Politics has its roots in the spiritual life of man - Religion is a force of great importance in the life of the individual as well as of nations".

"And religion which in its highest manifestations is neither dogma nor priesthood nor mere ritual, can alone ethically pre-prepare modern man for the burden of the great responsibility which the advancement of modern science necessarily involves.... It is only by rising to a fresh vision of his origin and future, his whence and whither, that man will eventually triumph over a society motivated by an inhuman competition and a civilization which has lost its spiritual unity by its inner conflict of religious and political values".

So far Iqbal, the political thinker and visionary, who in this capacity too has found a place in history, through his famous presidential address at the Annual Session of the All India Muslim League at Allahabad in December 1930, in which he gave the world the concept of a consolidated, independent Muslim State in the Indo-Pakistan Sub-Continent. He thus became the founder, the originator of the Pakistan idea, though the word "Pakistan" was not coined by him.

Iqbal's unique contribution to Muslim thought is his concept of the Ego and of the perfect man, as other speakers tonight are likely to dwell upon at length.

This is a point, should like to make according to Iqbal --man can achieve his highest possibilities only within and through society. This society must, however, fulfil certain conditions which Iqbal has formulated very clearly and which I may be permitted to enumerate, because of the importance which I personally attach to them.

The ideal society must have a spiritual basis which is provided by the principle of *Tawhid*. "The state according to Islam, is only an effort to realize the spiritualism in a human organization".

"Islam, as a policy, is only a practical means of making this principle, the principle, of *Tawhid*, a living factor in the intellectual and traditional life of mankind. It demands loyalty to God, and, this in my opinion is a pointed reference to British raj in India, not to thrones. And since God is the ultimate

spiritual basis of all life, loyalty to God virtually amounts to man's loyalty to his ideal nature." Iqbal further insists that it must centre around the Prophet (peace be upon him), that it must have a code -- the Holy Quran and a focus -- Mecca, and it ought to apply itself to conquering the forces of nature. Iqbal was convinced that the decadence of the East as it obtained in his days and before, its economic and political disintegration were caused to a large extent by its neglect of science.

But let us not forget that he also demanded that his ideal society must maintain traditions, for traditions are a factor of stability.

His ideal society is the *Ummah* as envisaged by Islam. His ideal man the Prophet (peace be upon him). At a time when the East was in an extremely distressing and difficult situation, defeated and humiliated by an adversity who seemed to be all powerful while the West stood at the apex of its glory, when no one would have given a frame for the Muslims and their future - he brought out in verse/and rhyme/and prose -- thus laying the foundation for the resurgence of Islam of which we are witnesses -- he brought out restated fundamentals, nay essentials of Islam in a clarity which cannot be surpassed.

And by doing so he restored confidence in the hearts of millions of our brethren, fortified their belief and gave them new hope for the future.

A future -- and that was Iqbal's most cherished vision -- in which all Muslims would form an indivisible community, united in the belief that their religion, the religion of Islam -- and here I may be permitted to quote Iqbal once again -- that their religion, i.e. Islam is not a departmental affair. That is neither mere thought nor mere feeling, nor mere action; that it is the expression of the whole man.

May God bless his soul.

WAS IQBAL AN EPISTEMOLOGIST?

Dr. Asif Iqbal Khan

Iqbal does not claim to be an Epistemologist. Whatever re-marks he offers about the origin, structure, methods and validity of knowledge are sketchy. No systematic account of his inquiry into the nature and ground of experience, belief and knowledge can possibly be worked out in the absence of a detailed treatment of the issue in his writings. In spite of that, his philosophical stand point is founded upon certain epistemological assumptions which are significant not only for his metaphysical views but also for his religious thought.

The conventional view of philosophy generally conceives Epistemology and Metaphysics as logically interdependent. An epistemologically presuppositionless metaphysics is, thus, as unattainable as a metaphysically presuppositionless epistemology. With most philosophers, the relative priority assigned to other Metaphysics or Epistemology has largely been a matter of philosophical preference. Epistemology has priority for Descartes, Locke and Kant while Spinoza, Hegel and Whitehead have first attached the metaphysical problems and adopted the view of knowledge consonant with their metaphysics. These differences notwithstanding, all of them have generally dealt, fairly and squarely, with the issue concerning possibility, limits and origin of knowledge, the methodological problem, the problem of the structure of the knowledge-situation and that of truth.

Iqbal's treatment of epistemological problems betrays a clear inclination to fall back upon a Kantian view of knowledge. Kant's was the most notable attempt to reconcile rationalism (Descartes, Spinoza, Leibniz) and empiricism (Locke, Berkeley, Hume) by assigning to reason and experience their respective roles in the constitution of knowledge. However, his critical epistemology, his transcendental method, his distinction between the phenomenal and the noumenal, etc, puts across a well articulated picture of his view of knowledge. But can we say the same about Iqbal's thought?

Iqbal on 'Knowledge'

Iqbal begins in a decidedly Kantian fashion. He says that knowledge is

"sense perception elaborated by understanding"⁷⁸ and that "the character of man's knowledge is conceptual".⁷⁹ These two basic assumptions necessarily involve the contention that human knowledge has two distinct ingredients, viz, (a) the data or the 'given' and (b) thought or understanding, which organises the data into knowledge properly. Iqbal emphasises that this is true of all knowledge, including religious knowledge. In this context, he designated thought both as an organising principle and as a potency. Also, in Kantian style, he classifies thought in its (i) discursive potency, (ii) practical potency and (iii) deeper movement. In the last stage, it is supposed to move beyond its own finitude and is capable of reaching the infinite.⁸⁰

This inflated concept of thought is, thus, identified with life. "It is as much organic as life.... In conscious experience life and thought permeate each other. They form a unity. Thought, therefore, in its true nature, is identical with life. "and", while it appears to break up reality into static fragments, its real function is to synthesize the elements of experience by employing categories suitable to the various values levels which experience presents."⁸¹ Strangely, however, no attempt is made to make it clear how discursive thought transforms itself into a deeper movement and by what route it moves beyond its own finitude. Further, we are not supplied with the precise list of categories suitable for different levels of experience. Nor are we told about the mode of their application to perception, conception and inner-experience respectively.

Clearly, Iqbal refuses to accept either perception or conception as the basis of knowledge. As a result, he, like Kant, tries to utilize the insights of both the empiricists and the rationalists. But, unlike Kant, he does not approach the problem of knowledge systematically. Nor does he rely on the

⁷⁸ Muhammad Iqbal, *The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam*, S.M. Ashraf, Lahore, 1968, p. 12.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 13.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 6-7. Iqbal agree with Kant that human reason has its utility in the sphere of the natural world. The agreement, however, goes no further. Iqbal refuses to see thought as the organising principle in moving from the *given* to its 'understanding'. He, on the other hand, takes "thought not as a principle which organises and integrates its material from the outside, but as a potency which is formative of the very being of its material" (*Ibid.* p. 31). Moreover, he refuses to restrict thought to its discursive and practical aspects, as is done by Kant (See I. Kant, *Critique of Pure Reason*, London, 1963, pp. 65, 90).

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, p. 52.

conceptual tools which rationalists have devised. He tries, on the contrary, to manage somehow to come out on the other side of the empiricist-rationalist controversy. He tries, at random, to overcome the classic dualism inherent in both the empiricist and the rationalist traditions. Apparently, such a position is pregnant with numerous contradictions.

Iqbal tends to take percepts and concepts as constituted of the same stuff. While he accepts conceptual character of knowledge he also asserts that "in the domain of knowledge scientific or religious -- complete independence of thought from experience is not possible."⁸² He, in fact, goes still further and tries to bring together perception, thought and intuition and binds them together in an organic relationship. "Psychologically speaking, all states... are organically determined."⁸³ But, then, where is the need to speak so persistently of the different levels of consciousness? Further, psychological considerations cannot be logically relied upon in this regard. Psychological and epistemological treatment of the same cognitive processes of mind are radically different. The supposition that the psychological origin of an item of knowledge prejudice either for or against its cognitive validity involves a type of genetic fallacy which is psychologism at its worst. Iqbal's analysis of the levels of matters, life, mind and consciousness leads him to the view that space and time are relative to various grades of being. He, finally, comes to the conclusion that there are different levels of knowledge yielding experience.

An interesting controversy about percepts and concepts operates in the domain of epistemology. Apparently, percepts can never be deemed as empty; but they are, also, not already knowledge. Knowledge, in the strict sense, requires concepts. Knowledge is reflection of what is immediately apprehended and, therefore, cannot take place in the immediacy of the concrete present. Thus, knowledge by acquaintance may not be knowledge for the simple reason that it does not acquaint us with definitely constituted objects and relations. However, it has its own peculiar role in pointing to an indispensable moment in the cognitive process that leads to conceptual knowledge. In this context the following remark by Iqbal acquires great significance. He says:

"Knowledge must begin with the concrete. It is the intellectual capture of

⁸² *Ibid.*, p. 5.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, p. 23.

and power over the concrete that makes it possible for the intellect of man to pass beyond the concrete."⁸⁴

Now, the adverbial use of term concrete implies a stress on the 'sensuous', the 'factual' and the 'experiential'. It is commonly applied to a particular object, usually of sense, or to a particular event, or to some characteristic circumstance, inherent in such particular object or event, in opposition to *the abstract*. It is also used for the type of intelligence manifested in dealing with things or particular affairs. Thus, Iqbal's use of *the concrete* virtually means that for every type of knowledge the starting point or the basis is sense experience or perception. In view of this, his introduction of the concept 'intuition' appears to be an extension of the sphere of perception, meant only to emphasise the perceptual basis of all knowledge. Thus, he says: "in the interest of securing a complete vision of Reality, sense-perception must be supplemented by the perception of what the Quran describes as '*Fuad*' or '*Qalb*', i.e. heart."⁸⁵

Obviously, the term intuition, or 'heart' has been used by Iqbal in the more recent sense of 'insight' or inner perception rather than in line with the faculty psychology of the scholastics. He asserts. "We must not regard it as a mysterious special faculty, it is rather a mode of dealing with Reality in which sensation, in the physiological sense of the word, does not play any part. Yet the vista of experience thus opened to us is as real and concrete as any other experience"⁸⁶ Thus understood, however, there is little difference between intuition and religious experience with the attending difficulties of its meaning verification and communication to others.

Taking into account all aspects of Iqbal's philosophy, it can be asserted that he did not mean to exclude sensory experience from any of the 'sources of knowledge'. For him, on the contrary, sense -- perception, intellect and intuition are different levels of the developing power of human insight. In this context, intellect acts as a common instrument of the other two sources of knowledge, which themselves are complementary to each other, are organically related, spring from the same root and are two facts of the same light.⁸⁷ In this perspective, Iqbal's concept of intuition can be interpreted in

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 131.

⁸⁵ p. 15.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 16.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 3,15,16.

the following way; it is a way of arriving at knowledge which is based on the senses as far as its origin is concerned. We reach this stage via the intellect, which in turn affects the senses as well. Yet in the act of knowledge it-self, neither the senses (in the physiological sense) nor the intellect (directly) play any part. But, then, other interpretations can also be given of not very clear picture of this issue drawn by Iqbal.

Religious Experience

Iqbal's epistemological assumptions form the background against which he considers the problem of religious experience and in the process further dilates upon his view of knowledge. Though he begins by treating various types/characteristics of religious experience, it becomes apparent at the very outset that his main interest lies in the content, value and meaning of these experience.

A lot can be found in Iqbal's writings where he advocates the possibility of levels of experience other than the normal and essentially different from experience by perception or thought.⁸⁸ He also relates these *potential types* of consciousness to a definite type of temperament and mood. He finds a parallel in the drug-induced states of consciousness or those which result from neurosis and remarks that only a disorganised brain is susceptible to intuition. Moreover, for particular forms of consciousness and experience certain kinds of temperament are necessary. To say that these experiences are abnormal or neurotic does not prove the point that they are worthless⁸⁹ He also considers the ordinary, the mystic and prophetic levels of consciousness and find them to be organically related.

Iqbal distinguished between mystic's and prophet's religious experience on the ground that the latter necessarily leads to social and moral consequences and it is on the basis of the quality and scope of these consequences that we have to make such a distinction. He, however, fails to point out clearly that there are important differences between the neurotic and the religious. The religious man may have fixed and persistent ideas which tend to transform themselves into belief and action, and in this respect he may be akin to the neurotic. But he does not all the time live in his own

⁸⁸ But, how can they differ from normal consciousness since "psychologically speaking, all states whether their contents is religious or non-religious, are organically determined"! (*Ibid.* p. 23).

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 16-17.

fancies and fantasies, away from the facts and realities of the actual life-situation. The belief and action of the neurotic hardly ever fit into the existing spatial-temporal requirements of this matter-of-fact world. On the contrary, the religious man, as he is exemplified for Iqbal in the ideal personality of Prophet Muhammed (peace be upon him), never loses contact 'with the objective world and, therefore, his mission for ever remains targeted at re-shaping and re-moulding it in accordance with the new standards furnished to him during religious experience.

One is at a loss to understand how the fact of their being organically determined makes religious consciousness the same as ordinary consciousness. Of course, for particular kinds of experience particular kinds of temperament and mood are necessary. But it is also fact of equal importance that difference of mood and temperament can also lead to a basic difference in the kind of experience we encounter. We cannot on that count, count all organically determined experience the same in all respects. Moreover, a neurotic temperament even when coupled with superior intellect is seldom a sufficient condition for the revelation of religious truth.

By harmonizing sense-perception, intellect and intuition, and on the basis of his peculiar conception of 'thought' Iqbal argues that "the facts of religious experience are facts among other facts"⁹⁰ of experience. He further contends that since all experience is immediate, religious experience is not without a parallel. "It has some sort of resemblance to our normal experience and probably belongs to the same category".⁹¹ The conflict between sensory and religious experience is due not to the fact that one is and the other is not based on concrete experience. Both seek concrete experience as a point of departure. Their conflict is due to the misapprehension that both interpret the same data of experience. Making God the real object of such knowledge, Iqbal says: "As regions of normal experience are subject to interpretation of sense-data of our knowledge of the external world, so the region of mystic experience is subject to interpretation of our knowledge of God."⁹²

So, the main issue involved here is that of verification, that of an agree test to evaluate the claims of the recipient of religious experience. In short, it is the question of the verification of religious statements. The question

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 16.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 20.

⁹² *Ibid.*, p. 18.

whether religious experience is meaningful experience and whether it has a cognitive content have become highly important for the contemporary philosophy of religion. The verificationist thesis runs like this: the statements like 'I have had a direct vision of God' is not an 'objective' statement capable of verification in the same way in which empirical statements are. Suppose, someone asserts 'I am a changed man since I had experience of God. Now, compare it with the empirical statement 'I am a changed man since I lost my job'. It is obvious we cannot check the truth or untruth of the former assertion in the same way as we can do about the latter. No matter how much his behaviours subsequent to the alleged religious experience is transmuted, it could not prove or disprove his statement to the strict verificationists.

Alongwith a stress on empiricism, Iqbal appears to concede that religious experience required a kind of 'sixth sense'. Apparently, he was conscious of the inadequacies of the empiricist argument to prove the validity of religious experience. His theory of the unknown levels of consciousness, with the possibility of there being higher consciousness further re-inforces the need for him to go beyond the normal five senses. He has argued that in order to secure a complete vision of Reality, sense-perception must be supplemented by 'the perception of heart'. By this, he seems to imply an intuitive approach. But such a theory of inner intuition or 'insight' in which sensation, in the physiological sense of the word, is not supposed to play any part but is nevertheless based on our normal experience, may not necessarily take it out of purview of positivistic criticism.

An intuitive knowledge which rely on normal experience as its foundation cannot logically own an agreed vocabulary of its own but must depend on metaphors drawn from other senses. There are no terms which exclusively apply to it. The closest we come to normal experience is when we are said to see logical connections in a direct experience. We mark this by employing such phrases as 'a sudden flash of light', 'a direct apprehension of Reality', and so on. Such events are usually described in terms of complete assurance that one's interpretation is correct and a confidence that one will tend to be able to reproduce and recognise the argument of problem in various contexts in the future. Here, the vitally important requirement is that a checking and testing procedure for evaluating the intuitive experience must be devised. For Iqbal, this issue has not merited expatiation.

There is, indeed, much merit in Iqbal's assertion that, unless we allow an agreed set of checking procedures to test the validity of religious experience, it would seem to make no claims beyond the psychological claims about one's colour-sensation, for example.⁹³ It might even lose any claims to an existential import and become a mere mental state. The worth of Iqbal's position lies in the fact that in his own peculiar ideational predicament he was able to recognise the dangers and tried, in his own way, to provide solutions.

While discussing the content of religious experience Iqbal says:the quality of mystic experience is to be directly experienced, it is obvious that it cannot be communicated. Mystic states are more like feeling than thought. The interpretation which the mystic or the Prophet puts on the content of his religious consciousness can be conveyed to others in the form of propositions, but the content itself cannot be so transmitted... the incommunicability of mystic experience is due to the fact that it is essentially a matter of inarticulate feeling, untouched by discursive intellect."⁹⁴ He further says that "religious experience is essentially a state of feeling with its cognitive aspect."⁹⁵ Because of this cognitive element, it lends itself to the *form of idea*. He emphasises that it is in the nature of feeling to seek expression in thought. It would seem that the two-feeling and idea -- are the non-temporal and temporal aspects of the same unit of inner experience. He further links feeling and idea into an organic relationship where *feeling moves towards its object with a sense of direction* -- no feeling is so blind as to have no *idea* of its own *object*. Iqbal concludes his argument by asserting: "It is no mere metaphor to say that idea and word both simultaneously emerge out of the womb of feeling, though logical understanding cannot but take them in a temporal order and create its own difficulty by regarding them as mutually isolated. There is a sense in which the word is also revealed".⁹⁶

Feeling as Vehicle of Knowledge

The terms feeling, object, idea and word are crucial in our present discussion. The main issue involved, then, is how to translate feeling into word-language which can be communicated to others. Normally, it is by an

⁹³ *Ibid.*, pp. 26-27. A purely psychological method cannot explain religious passion as a form of knowledge.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 20-21.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 26.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 22.

act of association that we give a name to a feeling. This association constitutes the essence of language and also accounts for the difference between human and animal speech. But what does it actually mean to speak of associating a word with a feeling?

The idea with which feeling is associated has been conceived by Iqbal as something which is directly known. It is a sort of private mental content with which I am immediately acquainted. Communication by means of language take place, when, by employing certain words, I try to bring it about that a mental content like mine gets produced in you. In this way you learn of the contents of my mind, you understand what I am saying. W. James gave this conception of language one of its most general formulations when he said that what a word stands for is a 'specific affection of mind'. There is such a specific affection of the mind associated with every word we use. "We ought to say a feeling of *and* a feeling of *if*, a feeling of *but*, quite as readily as we say a feeling of *blue* or a feeling of *cold*".⁹⁷ Very few philosophers however, are attracted to this view when it is stated as a thesis about the meaning of every word. But it has seemed to many, including Iqbal, to be the correct analysis of how some words get their meaning. One sub-class of these words which acquire meaning by being associated with an object of immediate acquaintance is that of the sensation-words such as 'pain' and 'itching'. Concerning these words, it is held, only because I have been immediately acquainted with such objects, or states, or processes, was it possible for me to learn their meaning.

It is said, for example, that it is the act of association which turns of feeling of pain into a linguistic act of calling it 'headache'. But what does it actually mean to speak of associating a sign with a feeling? How is it to be conceived of as being done? Suppose a child is thought of as having invented in this way a word for a type of sensation, for example, headache. But how, it needs to be asked, did the child determine that the word was to be applied to headache and to nothing else -- not to pain in the hand, for example? How

⁹⁷ William James, *The Principles of Psychology (Vol 1)*, Macmillan, London, 1890, pp. 245-246. For P.T. Geach also, explaining the logical concepts (like 'not', 'some', 'or,' 'every', etc.) as being derived from characteristic *feelings* evoked by logical words, is doomed to failure. For him, in ordinary usage of such words, no feeling at all may be present. Further, the absence of such feeling may not deprive these words of meaning (See his *Mental Acts: Their Contents and Their Objects*, London 1957, pp. 22-25).

does he determine the 'range of application' of the word 'headache'? Let us suppose that the child resolves to use the word 'headache' as a name for some object of direct acquaintance, which in this case is the feeling of pain in the head. But then the question arises: How does the child know? I think there is a mistake involved concerning naming. The assumption that the child invents a word by naming his feeling is a result of not seeing how little can be accomplished in this way. Obviously, it cannot work in a case where two different states of feeling are required to be named, particularly when they occur in succession. Moreover, is it possible, in this way, to assign names to the innumerable states of feeling one is capable of experiencing? Such a course of action would be analogous to that of a savage who finds a metal number in the jungle and sticks it on his mud hut. In his community there is no practice of numbering houses and he does not know which number to assign to the hut next to his own. His case is quite dissimilar to the one where a block of 'L.D.A. Flats' has been built, and as a final step, a man goes along nailing the 'flat numbers' in a certain order.

What is the role of the idea in this context? It seems that the classical empiricists, in somewhat different ways, all treat the idea as something which, by being labelled (associated with a word) fixes the meaning of the label. How to use the word correctly is determined once it is made the sign of an idea. In Locke's scheme of things, though the nature of idea is left very unclear its role is made quite clear. It is something with which 'things existing' are to be compared. And it is fundamental to Locke's conception of it that there cannot be different ways of comparing it with things. So that, if two persons associate X with the same idea, assuming that their senses are not deceiving them, they could not disagree about whether X applies to a given object. If they do not agree about the application of X it is not because they compare the idea with the object in different ways. It is because the ideas with which they individually associate X are different.

If it were possible to compare the idea in different ways it could not play the role in communication which both Locke and Iqbal seem to attribute to it. What that possibility would mean is that, though my word produced in you the same idea with which I associate it, you might still not be able to understand me. Your having the idea would bring you no closer to my meaning than the word alone. But as Locke thinks of it, your understanding me consists in you having in your mind the ideas with which I associate my

words. For Locke we all might be speaking a private language in the Wittgensteinian sense. We each give meaning to the words we hear others speak by using those words 'to Label' (to signify) mental entities with which we are directly acquainted. We learn our native language to the extent that we as-sign labels as others do. The fundamental operation, the word-creating move, is the association, the assignment of the label.

Now, Iqbal, while trying to establish an 'organic relation' of feeling and idea, claims that "inarticulate feeling seeks to fulfil its destiny in idea which in its turn, tends to develop out of itself its own visible garment",⁹⁸ i.e., label or name. Moreover, "man is endowed with the faculty of naming things, that is to say, forming concepts of them, and forming concepts of them is capturing them,"⁹⁹ and "that our fellows are known to be real because they respond to our signals and thus constantly supply the necessary supplement to our own fragmentary meanings."¹⁰⁰ It is fairly obvious that though, for Iqbal, idea and feeling create the conditions for a move to understanding the object, it is only by associating a name with the object that the communicative process be-gins. As we have seen above, the case of 'associating' itself is quite hopeless. What is wrong with the present conception is that the situation which is thought of as establishing the meaning of the word is not rich enough. There are not enough elements in it to encompass the whole situation. There is the creator, the object in his mind, and the association of this object with a sign. These elements taken together do not constitute a 'rule of use' for the sign and no further application of the sign is either sanctioned or forbidden. The mistake involved here has been incisively pointed out by Wittgenstein: "We are looking for the use of a sign, but we look for it as though it were an object co-existing with the sign."¹⁰¹

The problem for Iqbal lies in the fact that he is trying to find something objective in feeling (which is by definition 'inarticulate') while the very structure of language is incapable of becoming completely objective. How can Iqbal hope to communicate objectively the content of private feeling in language? The 'rule of use' for the word, of course, is always the same: the word applied to those things which match ('agree with') the object with

⁹⁸ The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam, op. cit.p.22.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.* p. 13.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.* p., 19.

¹⁰¹ L. Wittgenstein, *The Blue Book*, Oxford, 1958, p. 5.

which it is associated. What is not noticed is that in order to play this role the object must itself be something which cannot be used (compared with reality) in various way. When this feature of it is explicitly brought to one's attention, one recognises that there could not be such an object, either mental or physical. The illusion resides in the fact that this feature of the object is simply not considered. And so, because the different ways in which the standard can be employed are lost sight of, the language user is thought to have a rule of use when he merely associates the word with the standard. Similarly, without noticing that one is doing so, one treats 'feeling' as a standard whose method of application is fixed. It is just not noticed that, what-ever the object is, anything can be said to be the same as it.

Indeed, object appears to play a crucial role in fixing the meaning of word. But, then, initially, any object would have been labelled differently. And this is relevant to the idea that we learn the meaning of such a word as 'pain' by associating it with a feeling. What we actually do in making the association, on this view, is to 'give' the word meaning. We have learned its meaning if the right association has been made, i.e. if we have associated it with the same thing to which it has been related by others. What is appealing about this view is that it seems to offer an ex-planation of how we know whether to use the word 'pain' or some other word. The explanation is in terms of a comparison we make between what we are presently feeling and (via memory) what we originally associated with the word. The picture is one in which we select a standard which guides us in our future use of the word.

This expresses, in connection with the language of sensation, the view which Locke adopts concerning language generally. Thus, the 'idea' associated with the word 'chair' is a key element in the explanation of how the language user knows whether that is the right word for the subject he is looking at. The procedure parallels the one involving 'pain'. The object of present experience is compared (via memory) with what was previously associated with the word.

In fact, the explanation of 'transmitting' feeling through word by association does not solve the problem, but only pushes it one step further back. In connection with 'pain', the problem is: How does the language user now whether it is this word or some other that applies to what he is feeling? But even if the idea of association were an intelligible one, the association of the word with some previous object does not solve this problem. For the

question which immediately arises is: How does he know how to compare that previous object with what is now experiencing? What lies behind this view is the idea that if two people associate the word 'pain' with the 'same' feeling they will use the word in the same way. The feeling associated with it, 'standard', is thought of as being inserted in the rule: Apply the word 'pain' to whatever is the same (i) as this (ii). But the fact is that both (i) and (ii) can 'follow' this rule and come out with different results. That is why it is not the rule but only an illusion of the rule.

How, then, does he know which word to use? This problem itself arises from a mistaken way of looking at the language of sensation. It appears to be a problem when the linguistic expression of feeling is seen as being fundamentally different from the more primitive ways in which feelings are expressed. A groan is thought of as being forced from us, so to speak, while the use of language seems to require an identification in order that the proper word is selected. Seen in this context, saying e.g. that I am in pain, is the last step in a process, the linguistically important part of which has already taken place. With the identification, which results from matching the present feeling with the standard, the linguistic decision is made. The final stage arrives when we utter the word we have decided to apply in such a situation.

Seen in a different perspective, the problem of identification undergoes an important transformation. In the context of a gradual growth of the language so sensation, e.g., in the case of a growing child, instead of seeing a radical break between language and the expression of feeling, it is possible to see the change as a smooth one. It can be conceived as a gradual process of learning. The child's developing social relations show the emergence of the linguistic expression of feeling as a continuation of the process from the meaningless sound of crying to a distinctly verbal expression of discomfort. The fact is that human beings gradually come to give linguistic expression to their feelings. But the gradual acquisition of linguistic expression does not eliminate the need for the basis on which identification is made. Standard and criteria can be seen as implied in the very expression of feeling.

The problem underlying the whole controversy is that any 'standard' or 'criterion' to be meaningfully applied to a linguistic expression of feeling has to be based on certain objective conditions. Feeling on the other hand cannot be entirely objectified. We normally seem to know states of feeling through introspection and observation of the physical expression of these

states. But states of consciousness and data of introspection have generally been suspected as liable to mislead. Many analytical philosophers, under the influence of Wittgenstein, have maintained that no term can have an intersubjectively shared meaning if it simply functions as a name for object which are necessarily private. Hence, linguistic expression of feeling, in the form of words and as terms in a 'public' language, cannot function in this way.

Serious doubts have also been raised as to the nature of relation of feeling with its 'object'. If one is happy, one is happy over some achievement or some 'conquest'. It is alleged, how-ever, that feeling is only contingently connected with such an object. It is logically possible that the feeling involved typically in 'happiness' would be aroused by drugs or even by thinking. But in that case it would not be happiness. Therefore, happiness cannot be identified with a kind of feeling. In fact, it is often difficult to distinguish one state of feeling from the other, or even from other mental states if one identified them with feelings. Moreover, the relation of feeling to other mental states can also be construed as contingent, including the cognitions which give rise to it and its voluntary and involuntary expressions. It is conceivable that human nature might have been such that the emotion called 'pain' would have been associated with cognitions of objects as 'pleasant' rather than as 'repulsive' and with tendencies to 'like' rather than 'dislike' and avoid.

The above discussion critically implicates Iqbal's idea of knowledge who loads his view of feeling with all kinds of epistemological and ontological overtones. As feeling, to be shared, must have some meaning, so Iqbal declared that feelings, including the mystic variety, have a cognitive element, and "it is ... because of this cognitive element that it lends itself to the form of idea".¹⁰² Moreover, as he believes that feeling without direction is impossible and that direction implies some object, this view falls within the ambit of this brand of criticism.

The Test of Religious Experience

We have already seen the weaknesses involved in the argument purporting to find objective meaning in the linguistic expression of feeling. So, we are forced to fall back upon Iqbal's claim that there are tests available

¹⁰² The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam, op, cit. p. 21.

which could reveal the validity of religious experience We are in possession of tests which do not differ from those applicable to other forms of knowledge. These I call the intellectual test and the pragmatic test. By the intellectual test I mean critical interpretation, without any pre-supposition of human experience, generally with a view to discover whether our interpretation leads us ultimately to a reality of the same character as is revealed by religious experience. The pragmatic test judges it by its fruits."¹⁰³

Iqbal claims to have applied the 'intellectual test' in the Second Lecture on "*The Revelation of Religious Experience*"¹⁰⁴ It differs little from the famous coherence theory of truth advocated by Bradley (*The principles of Logic*) and in a modified form by Carnap in *The Logical Syntax of Language*. It broadly says that a proposition is false if inconsistent with some chosen corpus of propositions, true if it can be consistently included in that corpus. Now, the limitations of this theory are obvious to the discerning philosopher. As an instrument to decipher the truth of a statement, its mode of application is largely arbitrary. It is possible that the whole system of propositions hitherto revealed by experience, which constitutes the corpus, may itself be false. Thus mere consistency with the already existing opinions is no warrant for the truth of any new belief. Neither will its inconsistency make it worthless. So, in the case Iqbal, the intellectual test may at best ensure consistency -- it cannot possibly determine the truth and meaning of a proposition.

Accordingly, Iqbal, finally, turns to 'pragmatic test' to judge the truth and validity of religious experience, Pragmatism, generally, is said to operate on two levels (i) in metaphysics, it is taken as a procedure of arguing back from the consequences of something to its causes and motives; (ii) in epistemology, it means that if no practical consequences accrue from an idea, that concept is meaningless. Now, a consequence may be the result of a number of causes. If we take the apparition of a lost friend as the object of my 'para-psyche experience' as the paradigm example, the resulting change in my behaviours can at best be only one of the causes of the said transformation. It is, therefore, not possible to determine the genuineness of such an experience through appeal to its consequential utility. In other words, consequences can, at best determine the utility of an experience or of a proposition based on that experience. They cannot warrant its truth and

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*, p. 27.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 28-61.

validity.

The type of argument presented by the pragmatists appears to involve what is called the fallacy of affirming the consequent. It may be argued that any evidence from 'Para-psychic experience' used to prove the existence of the apparition will be ambiguous. Since the evidence can always be accounted for on some hypothesis which does not involve the existence of the apparition, we may never be able to decide from that evidence alone whether my friend's apparition exists or not. Such experiences may also be explained along the lines suggested by Freud.

The pragmatist argument can be given the following general formulation for the sake of clarity: We can suppose that 'q' stands for the proposition which expresses the evidence we want to use as the proof for the 'existence' of the apparition. Now, supposing 'p' stands for the proposition that the apparition exists; if 'p' is true, it is possible to show that, by definition, q will be true. But, the problem is this: Since we do not know whether p is true, any argument for its truth -- using q as the evidence -- seems translatable into the classical fallacy of affirming the consequent:

$$p \supset q, q / p$$

All we know to be true is q, and one may very well say that the truth of q remains merely ambiguous evidence for the truth of p as long as we do not show that q entails p. In other words, the truth of p can be inferred from q if and only if it can be shown that $q \supset p$.

However, arguments exemplified in the formulae

$$p \supset q, q / p$$

may be considered reasonable, in at least *some* important circumstances. For example, while affirming the consequent is a formal fallacy in certain systems of deductive logic, in the case of science generally and in everyday life, we are often willing to turn arguments of this sort from fallacies into some sort of acceptable 'proof'. In those cases, therefore, one need not have shown that q entails p, thus making $p \supset q, q / p$ formally acceptable. We frequently accept the argument in two types of situations: (i) when we are not in a position to propose any other interesting antecedents which would entail q; and (ii) when the other possible antecedents are in some reasoned way less likely to be true. Of course, the antecedents of the arguments as a reasoned

proof in either of these cases means acceptance of an inductive argument. But this is hardly unusual in science and philosophy and Iqbal seems right in asserting that test applicable to religious experience need not necessarily differ from those applicable to other forms of knowledge.

CREATIVE WRITING AND ISLAMIC SOCIOLOGICAL CONSIDERATIONS:

(With Special Reference to Iqbal)

Dr. Ahmad Sajjad

It goes without saying that life is the whole and language and literature a part of it. But sometimes in some respects this becomes a dominant part of the whole. Man's superiority over other creatures is on account of its intellect and the entire action and reaction of this intellect takes place through the help of language. According to the Holy Quran one of the most important reasons of man's greatness is Illmul Asma (علم الاسما) (And he taught Adam all the names). The entire chain of thinking, and expression and action and reaction comes into being with the help of language. God created the world with the word 'kun' (Be done) and then when he gave new meanings to this universe through his messengers, a series of divine books were also sent to this world. When the first divine words to be sent to Prophet Mohammad (peace be upon him), they began with, words like

'Iqra اقرا (Read) and Allamma Bil علم بالقلم (Teaching with pen). This led even the materialists to regard man as the speaking animal. Since language has played a pivotal role in the origin and development and in the nurture and preservation of all forms of knowledge and arts it will not be inappropriate to maintain that to a large extent language is at the root of all human culture and civilisation. Language is also the most effective instrument of all movements, and revolutions, revival and re-forms. So when Moses appeared in the court of Pharaoh, he prayed in the following words:

رب شرح لي صدرى و يسر لي، يفقهوا قولى واحلل عقدة من لساني

When this language assumes the status of literature with the help of art and aesthetics, it becomes still more effective and can perform constructive and destructive, positive and negative roles. The Holy Quran has warned in Surah Luqman:

ومن الناس من يشتري لهو الحديث ليضل عن سبيل الله

'And of mankind is he who payeth for more pastime of discourse, that he may mislead from Allah's way without knowledge, and maketh it the butt of mockery'. (31:6)

Once when Hazrat Ali was amazed at the linguistic competence of Prophet Mohammad (peace be upon him), he said that God Himself had done his linguistic training.

ادبى فاحسن ئادىبى

The magnificent revolution caused by the Quran and Hadith to the Arabic and Persian languages and literatures is itself a vast topic for study. Again, the way which gradually influenced world languages and literatures will form a separate subject of study not touched hitherto sympathetically. The discerning know it well how Arabic or Islamic literature had begun to cast this all round influence on the social environment within less than half-a-century. Then as its influences began to expand they were also felt far and wide. Dante's Divine Comedy considered a masterpiece -- world literature drew upon 'Alghufrān, a journal brought out by Abul-ala Moarra. In the same way Goethe, Fitzgerald, Arnold Nicholson, Jan Marik did not only like the literary forms of Ghazal and Rubai but also composed in these forms and added new dimensions to their respective language and literature. Robert Brefolt admits that the renaissance in Europe took place not in the 15th century but under the influence of cultural revival of the Arabs and Murs. The cradle of this new birth of Europe was Spain and not Italy.¹⁰⁵ There came a time in German literature when Saadi Shirazi became its real ideal. The Persian language itself, which was originally Pehlavi became Persian under the influence of Arabic. Arabic became so popular in Persian within a period of two centuries that similar examples are hard to find in world literature. Arabic became the literary language of Persian and for centuries no intellectual of any consequence cared to write in Persian. A very important effect of this all round influence of Arabic on the inhabitants of Persia was that they embraced Islam which was soon followed by a series of works written in Arabic and such eminent personalities as Imam Abu Hanifa in jurisprudence, Imam Bukhari in Hadith and Abu Obaida Muammar bin Ulmani in literature enriched the language.

¹⁰⁵ *Making of Humanity* - Robert Brefolt, p. 292.

Islamic literature and civilisation also influenced the Tatars of Turkey, the Negroes of Egypt and even the Buddhists, Jains and Hindus of Indonesia, China, Burma, Afghanistan and India and brought about a total change in the economic and social systems in these countries.

But when on account of a lack of Islamic dynamism the same people fell a victim to spiritual downfall, moral decadence and mental inertness, they were humiliated all over the world despite their numerical majority, political leadership, they suffered from prejudice, nationalism, western materialism and luxury.

There are four cases of this exemplary humiliation and downfall:

1. The doubts raised by the orientalist and so called progressive Muslims regarding the basic tenets of Islam.
2. Astingent imitation, diseased mentality and misleading mysticism of the common Muslim people.
3. Treating religion as a private matter and keeping it confined to oneself.
4. Following the distorted religion under the influences of Pseudo Islamic scholars by a majority of illiterate Muslims.

This mental stagnation and material prosperity did not only make the rich ease loving but also the poets and writers of the time and soon their literature began to reflect this stagnation and luxury in which they indulged. This gradually led to the freezing of the Muslim mind. The writer is not a monk. He is brought up in a particular social set up. His creative faculty is also influenced by this. So the fall of the Muslim world also made the artists mentally and morally sick and the entire Muslim world was faced with a trial.

On the contrary under the influence of Islam the West wake up from its deep slumber and marched ahead from the point of view of knowledge, thought and action. The reformist movement of Martin Luther and even new scientific inventions began to take it forward in a specified way. On account of Crusades and materialism the new forces of west regarded Islam as its greatest foe and waged an all out war against the followers of Islam. Soon the great forces of heresy made the Islamic world disintegrate and then captured it. Since the western thought had advanced as a reaction to Christian Popism so it had lost the concept of the totality of life. It tried to fill the void created by the rejection of God, religion and religious values by humanism. But soon the increasing materialistic outlook confined it to analytic wisdom, sentimentalism and their sensuality. Not content with this they indulged in

the image of 'unconscious'. Then mankind arrived at a nameless matter via animalism and as a result of this unbridled flight of intellect and materialism Nietzsche announced (God forbid) the death of God toward the end of nineteenth century and around 1925 D.H. Lawrence proclaimed the end of human relations and in 1945 -- Marlowe declared that man, himself was dead. Finally when this worst kind of heresy and decadence reduced the world to hell a conscientious western philosopher could not restrain himself and cried out that the elements of our culture are imprisoned in their own circles. Its theology is neglecting philosophy, science and literature. Its fruitless philosophy is quite ignorant from science. Its science is void of philosophy and hates literature.

This disorder disintegrated the individual and collective life of the west. Communism, dictatorship, nationalism, democracy, irreligiousness and facism began to sting their communal life. On the literary level romanticism, sexuality, existentialism, unconscious, progressiveness, modernity and a host of 'isms' made it a confused lot. And these began a blind imitation of all these in the Muslim world.

As is well known when darkness thickens the signs of the morning become clear. As Iqbal has said:

مسلمانوں کو مسلمان کر دیا طوفان مغرب نے
تلاطم ہائے دریا ہی سے ہے گوہر کی تابانی!

The onslaught from the west make Muslim a true Muslim, the shine of the pearl increases with the strong currents of the sea.

So the revivalists and reformers of the Muslim world began the work of revival and reform on a large scale and an attempt to take out the Muslims from the citadel of darkness was initiated. These movements were of two types, that which was based on the clear cut principles of Islam. Its aim was to restore its original form to Islam. The other movement was influenced by the western thought. A great many countries also took refuge in nationalism in order to save themselves from the tyrannies of others.

The religious movement started by Mohammad Abdul Wahab (the blessed one) in the eighteenth century caused great awakening in the Island

of Arabia. Syed Ahmad Bareilvi (the blessed one) and Ismail Shaheed (the blessed one) benefited a lot from the revivalist movement of Shah Waliullah (the blessed one). In the same way the Sannosi Movement in Africa, the Nuri Movement in Turkey, the Muslim brotherhood in Egypt and Jamat-e-Islami in India and Pakistan influenced the Muslim world on a universal scale. These revivalists gave a new and effective expression to Islamic thought and in the wake of the movement a whole team of poets and writers came into existence. These poets and writers adopted various styles and forms in order to accelerate the speed of this movement.

In spite of this all comprising awakening our progress in different sciences and arts is still in a very initial stage. On the one hand the west has presented its entire educational, cultural, economic and social systems in all its aspects but on the other Muslim world is yet to decide whether to base its thinking on the equality of relations between individual and society and politics and culture and economy. This had led to the division of the entire Muslim world into leftist and rightist camps. Socialism, democracy, monarchy and dictatorship as political systems have their respective champions all over the Muslim world. Also, there are absence of freedom of thought and expression. Consequently, the academic and practical aspects of the Muslim sociology are yet to be crystallized. It is not yet clear that this community is created by the mingling of individual with one another but its perfection is possible only through a divine progress. These are two chief components of the thought. First, a belief in Oneness of God which curse one of despair and fear and the second belief is the generation of feelings like emancipation, equality and unity. A social system is not possible without a constitution and the constitution of the Muslim Ummah is only one and that is the Holy Quran. Only a following of this constitution will lend maturity to its social character. Its perfection lies in emulating the character of the Holy Prophet (peace be upon him). The felt centre of this community is Baitul Haram. The attainment of the conception of Ummah depends upon the adoption of the ideal of the community. The aim of the followers of Mohammad (peace be upon him) is to protect and propagate the belief in Oneness of God. The expansion of the community depends on the conquest of the world order. The continuity of the life of a community depends on following the specific traditions of that community.¹⁰⁶

¹⁰⁶ Iqbal's *Ramoz-e-Bekhudi* and *Asrar-e-Kliudi*.

A section of the intellectuals do not believe in this universal concept of Islam and almost the entire ruling class is scared of this divine order. Therefore, a vast majority of Muslims is still in the grip of conceptual mist. Since creative skill is acquired by selected individuals of all sections of the society in a natural way, so this most sensitive group of the society could not also accept the Islamic order whole heartedly. Consequently, this formal contact with Islam has led to surfeit of creative writings of a formal nature. This is not helping in the formation of a Muslim

social order.

On the level of Islam thought also most intellectuals are still unaware of the role played by obedience, self control and caliphate in the formation of a social order because in this connection the positive and negative values of the Islamic way of life are yet to be presented in a learned way in contemporary terms. If this had been done with reference to the different sciences and arts, everyone would have felt attraction for this last divine book and the final religion and the Islamic world would have presented an altogether different picture. It would also have influenced the Muslim world in a very positive way.

It is well known that faith is of fundamental importance in the Islamic way of life and the demands of this faith are in the words of Iqbal, akin to the demands of love. This means a desire to unify oneself with the beloved. It can best be done by the creation of value and cures and turning them into a reality. The love of a truly religious person is not a formal love. The love of God is synonymous with a craving for creation, a taste for enquiry, restlessness of the soul and the power to absorb.

It does not only new objectives and create higher values and give them reality but helps mankind in attaining them.

Even in an ordinary student of literature knows that the emotions, and experiences of a heart lend colour to the imagination of an artist and inspires him to express it in an artistic way.

Iqbal has equated this emotion and hearty connection with the blood of the heart which results in a manifestation of artistic miracle. He has said:

رنگ ہو یا سنگ و خشت، حرف ہو یا چنگ و صوت
معجزہ فن کی ہے خون جگر سے نمود

"Be it colour, stone or buck, be it word or music or sound the miracle of art is manifested by the blood of the heart".

The manifestation of the miracle of art by the blood of heart of love and faith is possible when the artist does not only on the basis of the Oneness of God, Prophethood and the day of judgment realize there eternal truths and their effects on a general level but also on the level of emotion and soul.

The first of these eternal truths is:

وما خلقنا السما والارض وما بينهما لعين

"We created not the heaven and the earth and all that is between them in play. If we had wished to find a pastime we could have found it in our presence -- if we ever did (21:16 & 17).

Thus this divine creation is greatly organised from the point of view of aspirations and aims.

The second truth is that man is the supreme creation

لقد خلقنا الانسان في احسن تقويم

"Surely We created man of the best stature" (45:4).

He has been made the deputy of God on this earth after conquering it. So the relationship between man and the universe is that man to lead his life according to the instruction of the creator and remain grateful to Him.

The third truth is that man has been granted the power of determination and independence of choice. He has not been made unconscious like the universe. So he is free to adopt the path of right or wrong. If he leaves the only right faith (سو السبيل), he has to be ready to cross the stage of the worst as stated by the Quran: "Then We reduced him to the lowest of the low"(95: 57

The fourth truth is that although man is born individually he has to spend his life in a certain place, environment and society. So even though he possesses an individualistic personality he is closely connected with a group. It, therefore, becomes his individual and social responsibilities that he should be helpful of each other and thus make his universe more and more beautiful because it is a fact that at this stage of development it is not only impossible to reach this stage but life itself will be impossible.

But the fundamental fact which flows like blood in the relationship between man and the universe and man and man is the perpetual conflict between right and wrong. If there is any dialectic it is the act of good and evil. Individually, every living being especially man possesses a kind of natural instinct which helps him distinguish between right and wrong, black and white and useful and harmful. It is this instinct which makes him accept the right, useful and the good and reject the wrong, harmful and incorrect. This instinct of likes and dislikes makes him feel elated at accepting the right and inflicts agony when he commits himself to the evil and the wrong.

Iqbal has presented this in his own philosophical style:

"In my opinion truth is a combination of such elements which aspires to achieve totality by establishing a kind of relationship through conflict and this conflict will inevitably lead to their organization. In fact, conflict is essential for the growth and sustenance of life.... I consider all the forms of action which includes conflict necessary and in my opinion it leads permanence and strength to man. So I regard inaction and stagnation and the mystic philosophy of this nature which is based on sheer guess work, reprotected. I regard conflict essential not from a political point of view but from point of view of morality.¹⁰⁷

Explaining this view of Iqbal an intellectual has observed that according to Iqbal the universe is essentially a vast expanse which conceals within it the power of thought and determination. In order to translate it into action he has divided himself into self and other self or in the term of philosophy into 'subject' and 'object'. The real function of the other self is that it should be

¹⁰⁷ Iqbal *Namah* Part I, p. 464.

like a mission for experience and should be like an agent for its growth the self clashes with the other self in order to perfect and strengthen itself and its inner strength grows as a result of this conflict and gradually it goes through the different stages of development. Its existence is based on continuous movement, action and struggle. The place of a thing is fixed in the different stages of life in accordance with the degree to which it finds strength in itself and conquers the other self.¹⁰⁸ Thus human life is in fact an amalgam of spiritual and physical live. Human will strive for creation but matter obstructs its way. Thus life is a conflict between option and compulsion. The result of this conflict is progress. To achieve the different stages of progress means a conquest of matter by the will and freedom itself from the compulsion of matter. This is also found in the life of animals and vegetable life. But it is best manifested in human life. This does not, however, mean that in the human life will power always dominates over matter. It succeeds when it acts according to the divine directives but when it acts in violation of these divine directive it meets with failure. Even in the event of failure we cannot prove its absence. The presence of this conflict is undoubted.

This eternal conflict between spiritual and material life is dependent on positive and negative values.

If our poets and artists ponder the reality of these values it will not only increase the appeal of their creations but-also augur well the human society. The utility of art depends on the creation of beauty and creation of beauty depends on appropriateness, perfection, proportion balance or in the terminology of Quran on delineated balance. Thus in such pieces of art variety, appropriateness artistic perfection and purity are of great significant. The most important of these positive values is action because this is the basic quality of life. In its absence life is worst than death, as Iqbal said:

عمل سے زندگی بنتی ہے جنت بھی جہنم بھی
یہ خاکی اپنی فطرت میں نہ نوری ہے نہ ناری ہے

"Life can be turned into heaven or hell by action. This terrestrial element

¹⁰⁸ Iqbal, *Risala-e-Urdu*, p. 25.

in our nature is neither light nor fire".

But faith is the basic requirement for action. Action can also be called the result of this faith. This faith is also required for love and creation. In contrast presumption, estimation doubt and suspicion weaken human organs. They do not generate that desire which is the basic requirement for action and in particular intensive action.

غلامی میں نہ کام آتی ہیں شمشیریں نہ تدبیریں
جو ہو ذوق یقین پیدا تو کٹ جاتی ہیں زنجیریں

یقین محکم، عمل پیہم، محبت فاتح عالم
جہاد زندگانی میں یہ ہیں مردوں کی شمشیریں

'Stronger belief, continuous action and love conquer the world, these are the weapons of man in his struggles in life. In slavery neither the swords nor any contrivance is of any use, if your faith is perfect all chains are cut'.¹⁰⁹

Thus patience, strong determination, courage and strength are the essential requirement for action. Besides, collectiveness, emancipation, brotherhood, equality and unity of purpose are the positive values. Apart from these there are negative values on the individual and social level which act as impediments in our attempt to attain spiritual, moral and social heights. So it is not possible to attain perfection in one's individual conquering these negative values, nor can its action and thinking be perfect. These can also be called (مروف و منکر) "good" and 'evil' in the terminology of the Holy Quran.

These positive and negative values are so much interrelated with each other that one cannot be thought of without the other. Thus there have been parallel discussions regarding love and request, self and self-denial, action and inaction, strength and weakness, hope and despair, originality and imitation,

¹⁰⁹ *Kulliyat-i-Iqbal* (Urdu), p. 271-2.

resignation and the wrong type of resignation. The only way to strike a balance between the two is to follow the divine directives as given in the Holy Quran and Sunnah.

Of the negative values which confront the Muslim World today the Persian mysticism is the most pernicious. This has given the road to pantheism.

Iqbal was right when he said: "If mysticism means sincerity of action no Muslim will object to it. But when mysticism wants to become a philosophy and expresses views regarding the order to the universe and God Himself under non-Arab influence my soul reacts against it".¹¹⁰ In a letter to Sirajuddin Pal, Iqbal further explains "The fact is that to search the inner meaning in the manners and code of conduct of a nation is to distort it and this is a very subtle way of distortion. This can be invented or adopted by such nation which are sheepish by nature."¹¹¹

In the same way religious narrowness, inferiority of enquiry of fear and despair, the imprudence of limitation, doubt, demoralisation, hypocrisy, weakness and stagnation can become most dangerous negative values on individualistic level. How like the rest of the world, is also a victim of slavery, patriotism, monarchy, western democracy, dictatorship, capitalism and communism is evident to all.

These positive and negative values are the most important bases of the contemporary sociological problems and only the Islamic view of life can present their solution as has been proved in practice in the different periods of history. Naim Siddiqui observes: "Falsehood and evil are not permanent in the world, only good and the truth can flourish here. This provides with new matter to sociologists as well as poets and writers. When we encounter such imagination symbolism in literature as spring and autumn, pleasant and unpleasant wind, shelter and prison, garden and desert, gardener and the hunter, flower and throne, flame and dew, nest and the lightning, light and darkness, the morning of hope and the night of despair, meeting and parting, friend and rival, messiah and murderer, wound and ointment, display and concealment, they present two aspects to poets and writers"¹¹² One aspect is

¹¹⁰ Iqbal *Namah* I, p. 54.

¹¹¹ *Mid*, p. 26.

¹¹² Naim Siddiqui, *Islami Adab*, p.21.

of good, right and useful the other of sin and harm. Since the universe has been created on the principle of right and good only those poets can attain universal fame who represent this aspect in their poetry. Iqbal in Urdu, Rumi in Persian and Shauqui in Arabic are the best examples of this.¹¹³

اسے اہل نظر ذوق نظر خوب ہے لیکن
جو شے کی حقیقت کو نہ دیکھے، وہ نظر کیا!

مقصود ہنر سوز حیات ابدی ہے
یہ ایک نفس یا دو نفس مچل شرر کیا!

شاعر کی نوا ہو کہ مغنی کا نفس ہو
جس سے چمن افسردو ہو وہ باد سحر کیا!

O people for the eye the craving to see is good but the eye which fails to see the reality is no eye. What is inspired for is the quality of possession for eternal life; one or two breaths are of no avail. Whether it is the poet's voice of the musician's note that which makes the garden sad is worthless.

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THE QURANIC METHODOLOGY FOR GNOSIS OR MARIFAH

Dr. Absar Ahmed

It is my pleasure and proud privilege to address this august assembly of Muslim scholars on the most vitally important question of renewing our relationship with the Holy Quran in the field of Ma'rifah i.e. Gnosis or metaphysical philosophy and wisdom. In other words, this paper is a study of the Quranic methodology for attaining Gnosis or 'Irfan' -- that illuminative knowledge which unites man with God after penetrating and transforming him completely.

Let me emphasise at the very outset that Islamic faith, as against deism or agnosticism, is essentially a way of knowledge; it is a way of gnosis (ma'rifah). It is based on gnosis or direct and immediate communion with God that cannot by any means be equated with contemporary rationalism which is only indirect and secondary form of knowledge. Islam leads to that essential communion with Reality which integrates our being, which makes us know what we are and what we know or, in other words, it integrates knowledge and being in the ultimate unitive vision of Reality. In this sense, the Islamic perspective and point of view is radically different from many other religious traditions. For example, Christianity is essentially a mystery which veils the Divine from man. According to Augustine, the beauty of Christianity lies in the acceptance of God as a mystery and in bowing before this mystery, in believing in the unknown or Otto's 'mysterium'.¹ In Islam, however, it is man who is veiled mahjoob from God. The Divine Being is not veiled from us, we are veiled from Him and it is for us to try to rend this veil asunder, to try to know God. Our reason al-aql is not a limited and narrow faculty in the sense of contemporary philosophers, but a God-given instrument whose ultimate object is God Himself. The Arabic word al-aql means both reason and intellect and al-though used to mean that reason is also what binds us to God. In fact one of the meanings of the root 'aql' is to tie or to bind. The Quran calls those who have gone astray from religious truths as those who cannot intellect, 'la ya 'qilun, those who cannot use their intelligence correctly and fruitfully. It is very significant here that the loss of faith is equated in the Quran not with the corruption of the will but with the

improper functioning of intelligence and reason.

The Holy Quran conceives of man as a theomorphic and not an anthropomorphic being:

فاذا سويتة و نفخت فيه من روحى

'I have made him and have breathed into him my spirit' (-15: 29).

There is, therefore, something of a 'divine nature' (malakuti) in man; and it is in the light of this profound nature in man that Islam envisages him. That divine element in man is first of all an intellect and soul that can discern between the true and the false and is naturally led to Unity or tawhid. As such, the very idea of Islam is that through the use of intellect and higher spiritual faculties which discern between the Absolute and the relative one should come to surrender to the will of the Absolute. This in fact, is the meaning of Muslim: one who has accepted through free choice to conform his will to the Di-vine Will made known in detail in the divinely revealed law of the Quran.

According to the Quran, it is necessary that the religious duties al-Shari'ah should be internalized. Namely, it should be assimilated in personal experience as best as possible in every individual case -- rather than remaining an imposition 'from out-side', any meaningful transformation of personality being impossible in the latter case. Internalization, in its turn, demands the adoption of a method al-tariqah and actual meaningful journey suluk in the realm of experience. Then as the transformation proceeds, the appreciation of the Truths that Islam has taught begins to deepen in terms of personal realization al-Ma'rifah --realisation with total consciousness and not merely rationalistic appreciation through discursive thought, which can never provide unshakable 'iman' (faith), and realisation in respect of the metaphysical tenets which are of the most basic importance in the Islamic scheme of Guidance. That realisation brings the earnest Muslim progressively closer and closer to the understanding of the Reality al-Haqiqah. That understanding attains in due course a standard level when a Muslim's consciousness becomes fixed on Allah, the Really Real.

Ultimate Goal of Religious Quest.

The Holy Quran emphasises the 'vicegerency of God' as the status of man, and invites human beings to undertake the pilgrimage of eternity in

terms of dynamic movement towards God. The Quran says:
ye who believe!

يا ايها الذين امنوا اتقوا الله
وابتغوا اليه الوسيلة
وجاهدوا في سبيله
لعلكم تفلحون

Do your duty to God,
seek the means unto Him,
And strive hard in His cause;
That ye may attain salvation

al-Ma'ida: 38.

The Quran supplies this method Wasila, of God which is enshrined in the verse; "he attains 'falah' who subjects it (i.e., the soul) to tazkiyah (Shams:9). As such, it consists in the pursuit of tazkiyah -- i.e., eradicating of the evils that obstruct or keep in abeyance the development of human personality in the spiritual dimension, and consequently in the moral dimension, thereby ensuring healthy spiritual growth under the impact of Islamic injunctions al-Shari'ah -- which operates on the twin wheels; Zikr ('remembrance of God') and Fikr ('probe into the mysteries of Creation and which ends in the establishment of 'falah' salvation -- in one's personality (i.e., spiritual development in terms of the harmonious and comprehensive actualisation of the latent capabilities that relate to the transcendental dimension of the soul.

Thus the Quran lays down the doctrine of the 'Ascent of man to God'. This 'Ascent' consists in a spiritual journey, or what I would like to call, the Religious Quest. We learn the following from the Holy Quran in respect of its progress and achievement.

The spiritually un-regenerate person stays in a state of spiritual inertia and darkness al-Anam:122. When his heart is opened to the understanding and the appreciation of the ideal of 'Surrender to God':

افمن شرح الله صدره للاسلام فهو على نورٍ من ربه

'Is one whose heart God has opened to Islam, so that he has received enlightenment from God, (no better than one hard-hearted?)

Zumar: 22

and he undertakes the Religious Quest, he is revived spiritually and his spiritual nearness to God increases.

The two relevant verses read:

او من كان مَيِّتاً فاحييه و جعلنا له نوراً يمشى به في النار كمن مثله حييه في
الظلمت ليس بخارج منها

1. Can he who was dead, to whom We gave life, and a light whereby he can walk amongst men, be like him who is in the depths of darkness, from which he can never come out?

Al-Anam: 122

كلا لاتطعه واسجدوا اقترب

2. Nay, heed him not; But bow down in adoration, and bring thyself closer to God.

Alaq: 19

And as it increases, the harmony with the Divine Will in-creases, and as that harmony increases, God's Grace bestows upon him 'a Light with which he walks among human beings'. Then he continues his spiritual pilgrimage with the help of that Light, acquiring more and more holiness in terms of harmony between himself and God;

ارجعى الى ربك راضية مَرْضِيَّة

'Come back thou to thy Lord-well pleased (thyself) and
well-pleasing unto Him'

maturing more and more in terms of the direct experience of Reality, and acquiring deeper and deeper conviction about God, as the Quran says:

واعبد ربك حتى ياتيك اليقين

'And serve thy Lord, until there comes unto thee utmost certainty (or the time that is certain)

In this, the pursuer of Religious Quest attains the realisation of God on the one hand, and realises himself in terms of vicegerency of God on the other; whereby he attains the fulfilment of the highest and the most ultimate yearning of his soul --which constitutes his essential personality -- in the state of Beatitude and Felicity. That is the highest possible achievement for the human personality, because of the realisation in it of the ideals of all forms of human consciousness at their highest.

It becomes evident from the above lines that the Quranic philosophy differs radically from those religions which create a distinct class of 'pursuers of Gnosis ma'rifah or saintliness', on the one hand, and a vast mass of 'religious proletariat', on the other, -- with principles, ideal and modes of life different for each class. According to the Quran, the stage of al-Ma'nfah (or 'the realisation' as opposed to the possession of 'formal knowledge' of Islamic beliefs) bears reference to the fruits of the strenuous labour Jihad undertaken in respect of Divine obligations, and this, of course, can be attained by any true Muslim. This stage is attained when the Light that God establishes in His devotee 'abd illumines all the dimensions of his consciousness to an extent that he lives and moves only under the impact of that Light, and not through his desire 'hawa . At this level of experience, his ego transcends, in terms of its approach to the reality of Existence, the phenomenological level of 'Diversity' and be-comes focussed in the realm of 'unity' Tawhid -- 'unity' being the reality 'Haqiqah of existence.

Iman -- The Basis of Islamic Gnosis

In the preceding section of this essay I spoke about the 'altariqah' and

'suluk' as important concepts in the Islamic gnostic scheme. I now want to make it clear that the connotation of both these terms and other allied notions are covered under the basic Quranic term of 'iman' i.e., doctrinal belief in, and conviction of, God's existence and other metaphysical tenets of the Islamic faith.

According to the Quran, the real understanding and true knowledge of all things is dependent on our knowledge of God. Just as light is essential for sensory perception of objects, similarly the real true nature of things can be apprehended only through an intimate knowledge of the Creator of the universe. The famous prayer of the Prophet (peace be upon him) sums up the end toward which the gnostic strives with all his mind, soul and body:

"O God, deliver us from preoccupations with worldly vanities and show us the nature of things 'as they really are'. Remove from our eyes the veil of ignorance, and show us things as they really are Deliver us from ourselves, and accord us intimate knowledge of Thee."

A true Muslim sees all things as manifestations of the Supreme Divine Being. It is not accidental that the verses of the Quran as well as phenomena in nature and events within the soul of man are called signs or portents ayat. According to the well-known Quranic verse:

سنريهم آياتنا في الافاق و في انفسهم حتى يتبين لهم انه الحق

'We shall show them Our portents on the horizons and within themselves until it will be manifest unto them that it is the Truth'.

Ha Mim Sajda: 53.

The gnostic thus views cosmos in its dual aspects of positive symbol and negative illusion. In so far as any manifestation is real, it is a symbol of a higher order of reality; in so far as it is separated from it, it is merely an illusion and non-being. This view of the cosmos has its positive aspects in its vision of Nature as symbol, and in the consequent cultivation of the sciences which deal with natural phenomena not as facts, but symbols of Divine wisdom and creativity. It is precisely these signs which are displayed in the Quran. The Quran corresponds in a sense to nature, to God's creation. That is why when a Muslim looks at a natural phenomena he should be reminded

of God and His power and wisdom. Man should be reminded of the wonders of creation and constantly see the 'signs' of God upon the horizons.

Pondering over the three categories of signs i.e., the Quranic verses, the signs in the physical universe and the signs in the spiritual world of the human heart, a man will be able to perceive a perfect concord, he will grasp certain fundamental truths which are borne out by the internal testimony of his own nature. In other word, full and intense awareness of Absolute Reality, which is the core of 'iman' will spring up to his consciousness like the memory of a forgotten thing shooting up from the dark depths of the mind to its surface with the aid of a pertinent suggestion. For this very phenomena, the Quran uses the term 'Tazakkur'. The Muslim gnostic Arif or Hakeem who possesses this knowledge inwardly knows the secret of the relation between God and the phenomenal things, the secret of nearness and proximity, immanence and transcendence. Not only does he know these metaphysical truths, but he also feels the immediate presence of God within his own self, as the *Quran* says:

ونعلم ماتوسوس به نفسه ونحن اقرب اليه من حبل الوريد

'We know that his soul whispereth to him, and We are nearer to him than his jugular vein'. Qaf: 16

A true Muslim 'seeks to realise the meaning of the Shahadah, La illaha ill' Allah, and practically seeks to emulate the life of the Propeht (peace be upon him) who is the prototype of Islamic spirituality and who realised the unity or tawhid implied by Shahadah in its fullness. True gnosis is achieved only through following a spiritual path based on the Quran and prophetic practice actively with the aim of gaining that illuminative knowledge al-'irfan which is the ultimate goal of the believer. In this way, 'iman' must be transformed from mere verbal attestation qal to an inward existential faith hal. 'Iman' is essentially attestation of, and inner faith in, some metaphysical truths. The first step towards attaining this faith is to believe more firmly in some truths even though they are not observable or perceptible, and to hold the things heard by the heart to be more trustworthy than the things heard by the ear. Belief in the unseen -- 'Iman bil-ghaib' -- is the first and foremost condition of iman, and this requires a radical change in the thought system and in the point of view of the believer. According to this new perspective, the whole

order of creation should be taken as nothing more than a fleeting appearance of shadow, whereas the existence of God should be felt as an eternally living Reality. Contrary to the view that the universe is a chain of eternally present and uncreated causes and effects or the world of 'natural' forces and rigid mechanical laws, the will of God and His design and purpose should be 'seen' and felt in operation at all times and in all parts of the cosmos. Matter is looked upon as insignificant, and the soul is thought to be man's essence. The locution 'insan' is not to be attributed to man's animal and corporeal body, but to that di-vine spirit the presence of which makes man superior to angels .3 Worldly life should appear to be transitory and unreal, and life hereafter should alone be taken as real and everlasting. The pleasure of God should be held as more valuable than the attainment of all the riches of this world. And, according to a Prophet's (peace be upon him) saying, the riches of the world should not be assigned more value than a mosquito's wing deserves. Let it be clearly and distinctly understood that unless and until a major portion of the Muslim community really undergoes this profound transformation, the vision and the fond hope of an Islamic renaissance can never be realized.

'*Iman*', in the true sense, is a degree of participation in the religion implying intense faith and attachment to God. In fact, many Sufis have over the ages defined Tasawwuf by the well-known Hadith of the Prophet (peace be upon him) who when asked about the definition of ihsan said:

الاحسان ان تعبد الله كأنك تراه فان لم تكن تراه فانه يراك

'It is to adore Allah as thou doest see Him, and if thou does not see Him He nonetheless sees thee'.

What the Quran wants is precisely to worship God with the awareness that we are in His proximity and therefore 'see' Him or that He is always watching us and we are always standing be-fore Him.

Contemporary philosophical empiricism maintains that we finite beings cannot know God, the Infinite. According to its advocates, logical purity demands that it is impossible to specify the nature of the referent in the term 'the Infinite'. They hold that any attempt to 'fill out' the character of the 'object' in question will, ipso facto, render it finite. They pair finite with intelligible and infinite with unintelligible. But surely this approach is radically

misguided and the pairing breaks down easily. For ex-ample, some mathematical infinites are perfectly intelligible, while some finite objects, at the present time, are not intelligible to us. To a person wholly ignorant of mathematics, the calculus may be completely unintelligible. For someone totally void of mystical insight, the nature of his own spirit ruh which is in some sense also 'infinite' remains unintelligible. As a matter of fact, if one prays to God passionately and soulfully, He answers him. This is a partial but perfectly good perception of God's nature, and one which has some degree of verifiability, as the Quran says:

وإذا سألك عبادى عنى فانى قريب احجيب دعوة الداع اذا رعان

'When My servants ask thee concerning Me. I am indeed close (to them): I listen to the prayer of every supplicant when he calleth on Me'

al-Baqara: 186

Indeed the Islamic faith provides the possibility of achieving the highest form of spiritual realisation and beautitude. Ac-cording to a divine saying Hadith Qudsi revealed through the mouth of the Prophet, (peace be upon him) God said: "the heavens and the earth cannot contain Me, but the heart of My believing servant does contain Me'. Another Prophet's (peace be upon him) tradition explains the Divine proximity thus: "My servant continually seeks to win My favour by works of superogation until I love him, and when I love him, I am to him an ear and an eye and a hand. Through Me he hears and through Me he sees and through Me he walks". Al-Bukhari.

To be sure, the Holy Quran lays more emphasis on acquiring personal and genuine relationship with God rather than having abstract cognition of Him. Indeed it is not possible for mortals like us to comprehend the Essence of God in its entirety. Allah is Ahad, and Ahadiyat is a state of the colourlessness, the state of the Essence. Consequently the desire to ac-quire gnosis of the Dhat or Essence of Allah is of no avail. The Quran refers to this in these words:

لايحيطون به علما

'But they shall not compass Him with their knowledge'.

Even the Holy Prophet Muhammad (peace and blessings of God be upon him) had said about it: I have not known thee to the extent that thy knowledge demands, and had warned thinkers thus; 'Do not indulge in speculating on the nature of God lest ye may be destroyed.'

It becomes clear from the above lines that true and genuine apprehension of the attributes sifaat of God is attained through devotional worship, supplication and humility towards Allah. In this process the Creator discloses Himself to the worshipper in a manner which is beyond communication or philosophical categorization. It must be emphasised, however, that all this makes sense in the living context of Islamic beliefs and practices. Adherence to Quranic injunctions and the Prophet's (peace be upon him) Sunnah is the sole criterion of attaining veridical and genuine religious experience of God.

Gnosis through Moral virtue

The Muslim Gnostic Ar'if billah is one whose conduct to-wards God is sincere. According to the Quran and the traditions of the Holy Prophet (peace and blessings of God be upon him), the unveiling of divine gnosis is entirely dependent on inner purity and moral excellence. Verse 26 of Surah Saad reads:

ولا تتبع الهوى فيضلك عن سبيل الله

"And follow not the lusts (of thy heart) for they will mislead thee from the Path of God."

It is crystal clear from this verse that true Ma'rifah and propinquity of God is attained only through the purification of the senses and the will, through the effacement of one's desire in the will of God. It is attained through the renunciation of all selfish pleasures and unlawful carnal desires. At an other place the Quran says:

والذين جاهدوا فينا لنهدينهم سبلنا وان الله لمع المحسنين

"And those who fight strenuously for us, We will surely guide them into Our way. Verily, Allah is with those who do right."

Believing in these exhortations the great Sufi Yahya has said: 'the spirit of gnosis will never reach thy heart, so long as there is a duty owing to God which thou hast not discharged'.

Again, the immediate illumination that makes the individual sovereign in the realm of knowledge also inspires superior rules of conduct. The creature 'abd discovers his own true nature as a compliment to the attributes of God – his humility to God's greatness, his gratitude to His generosity, etc. I believe this is the sense of the following Quranic verse:

ولا تكونوا كالذين نسوا الله فانسواهم اولئك هم الفاسقون

'And be ye not like those who forgot God; and He made them forget their own selves. Such are the rebellions transgressors'.

Hashr: 19

To forget God is to forget the ultimate Reality. As we are only reflected and contingent realities, how can we understand or do justice to or remember ourselves, when we forget the very sources of our being. Self-knowledge is thus tied to knowledge and remembrance of God and His attributes, and the relation between them is complementary and symbiotic. Of course, this knowledge is not mere theory or metaphysical speculation. If a man appreciates God's generosity he will himself be sincerely and truly grateful. So character and conduct are an essential part of this knowledge. A man cannot appreciate God's quality of forgiveness without throwing his own sin, and the two recognitions develop and mature together. As they mature, they naturally bring with them repentance and the striving for purity.

Gnostic knowledge of eternal and timeless realities thus has a salvational quality. It is not the common property of all and sundry. In gnosis there is no attempt, as in the modern West, at a theory of knowledge which applies equally to all men. Knowledge is given to some, not to others, yet remains genuine knowledge. This undoubtedly is a strongly privileged sense of knowledge opposed to modern democratic and levelling tendencies. A man's nature as expressed in his behaviour and his knowledge go hand in hand, and his nature is determined by God and His Grace. Thus, according to the

Quran, those without faith are said to be more in error than even animals. 'Remembrance of God' has been contrasted with following the desires and lusts (al-Kahaf:28 (al-Najam: 29). Remembrance of God brings deeper and intimate knowledge of God and oneself; following one's wayward and animal impulses turns one to the world, causes him to disobey God's commands and ultimately leads to condemnation. Thus, self-discipline, purity of heart and conduct, and some degree of worldly detachment zuhd are essential pre-requisite for attaining knowledge and appreciation of the Di-vine.

The heart is the seat of genuine metaphysical understanding. It may turn towards the world or towards God, and the consciousness turns with it. It turns towards the world through the instrumentation of the self nafs. This self or soul has varying degrees of purity and the heart responds accordingly. The Holy Prophet (peace be upon him) explained this fact beautifully in one of his sayings quoted in al-Bukhari thus:

"Mark, in man there is a lump of flesh, if it is kept whole-some and healthy the whole body remains in a healthy condition; and if it is corrupted, the whole body is corrupted Mark, it is the heart!"

This kind of knowledge is not the same as I.Q. or the knowledge of pure mathematics (despite Plato's theories of mathematics and the eternal ideas, etc.). A person can obtain much theoretical knowledge but still be essentially ignorant concerning God and his own soul, and in need of salvation. It is not merely a question of study, but of faith and character development, and thus the problem of communicating, this knowledge is much more difficult than that of communicating, for instance, Arabic grammar. Reason, logic and experiment (in the outward sense of experiment and empirical observation), are not sufficient, and an over-reliance upon universally accepted sources of knowledge may cause gnostic and salvific knowledge to dry up.

My God bless us, advance us in true knowledge, grant us wisdom, illuminate our hearts and draw us ever nearer to Him-self. Amin!.

(Paper presented at the 15th International Conference of Islamic thought in Algeria in September, 1981).

ALLAMA IQBAL IN 50 VOLUMES OF THE 'ISLAMIC CULTURE'

Prof. Dr. Muhammad Riaz

The Quarterly Islamic Culture has been published regularly from Hyderabad Deccan starting from January, 1927. The event speaks of its importance that its back volumes have been nicely reprinted abroad. It was first edited by the famous translator of the Holy Quran in English and author of several valuable articles, late convert Muhammad Marmaduke Pickthall (d. 1936) and its second editor has been another famous staunch convert Muhammad Asad. The last 13th article in the first issue of January, 1927 of this journal entitled "The Reform in the Muslim Society" which is the English translation of Prince Saeed Haleem Pasha's (d. 6th Dec., 1921) French article¹¹⁴ had impressed Al-lama Iqbal considerably and he has referred to his book "Islam lashmiq" (To Islamised) in the sixth lecture on Ijtehad contained in the anthology "The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Is-lam' in early 1929. He again refers to the impact of this article on him in the spheres of Mercury in Javid Nama which was first published in 1932. Iqbal himself wrote two important articles in this journal. One appeared in issue No. 4 of the year 1928 which is entitled "Khushhal Khan Khattack": the Afghan warrior poet' and another in volume No. 2 of 1929 which is the text of his Presidential address in the Oriental Conference Lahore. During Iqbal's life time, only one article by Professor Dr. Kh. Ghulam Sayyidain appeared in January 1938 issue of this journal. In the synopsis (i.e. introduction) the editor referred to the exalted position of Iqbal as the poet and thinker.¹¹⁵ He also refers to Iqbal Day celebration carried out in all parts

¹¹⁴ The Editor of the 'Islamic Culture' had introduced this article in the following words in margin: This article was written in French for the Review "Orient et Occident" (Paris), edited by that staunch friend of Muslims, M. Gaston Gaillard, only a few weeks before Prince Saeed Haleem Pasha was assassinated in Rome. It contained some of the ideas developed in his epoch-making work in Turkish, Islam lashmiq (Islamise). Our present translation is being published in book form by Maulvi Abdullah, Secretary, Jami 'at-i-Dawat-o-Tabligh-i-Islam, outside Akbari Gate, Lahore.

¹¹⁵ The Extract of the synopsis of the Editor in the Islamic Culture July, 1938 is as follow: The recent death of the greatest Muslim poet-philosopher of the present age, Dr. Sir Muhammad Iqbal, has stimulated the interest of Muslims all over the world in his works. In his as yet unpublished book, Iqbal's Educational Philosophy, Mr. K.G. Saiyydain (now

of the Sub-Continent on 9th January, 1938. The article covering 8 pages actually contains introduction and first chapter of his book Iqbal's Educational Philosophy; the manuscript of the book was submitted to the author by him in 1936 and Mama Iqbal wrote the following encouraging letter to this author:

Lahore

21st June, 1936.

My dear Sayyidain,

Thanks for your letter which I received a moment ago. Your summary is excellent and I have got nothing to add. My will, I hope, be published about the end of June and I will send you an advance copy. This collection has a part devoted to . You may not find anything new in it, yet it reaches you in time you may read the portion mentioned above.

I suppose you are aware of the Educational implications of Leibnitz's monadism. According to him monad (the mind of man) is a closed window. incapable of absorbing external forces. My view is that the monad is essentially assimilative in its nature. Time is a great blessing... While it kills and destroys it also expands and brings out the hidden possibilities of things. The possibility of change is the greatest asset of man in this present surroundings.

Your sincerely,

Muhammad Iqbal

P.S. My general health has much improved. The improvement in the voice is slow¹¹⁶ ...

On 21st April 1938 Mama Iqbal passed away and the journal published the following obituary;

Director of Education, Kashmir State) has been able to show the tremendous import Iqbal's philosophy may yet have for the intellectual orientation of the Muslim community. In our January number we published the Introduction and the first chapter of Mr. Sayyidain's book, and now we placing before our readers two more chapters.

¹¹⁶ Letters and Writings of Iqbal, ed. B.A. Dar, Iqbal Academy Pakistan 2nd Edition 1977. pp. 12-13.

Sir Muhammad Iqbal is dead

On the morning of the 21st April this news came as a numbing shock to the Muslim world. Everyone who is acquainted with Iqbal's genius -- be it through his unbelievably beautiful and thought-pregnant poetical works in Persian and Urdu, or through his epoch-making philosophical discourses, in English, on the intellectual and social structure of Islam -- feels the loss of this personality as the greatest blow to Muslim life in India. In mourning him we do not conceive of his death as that of a single man: we realise that something that appears in a nation perhaps once in a century, something that was infinitely precious in, and because of, its uniqueness, has been suddenly taken from our midst. The world of Islam is like a bleeding body from which a vital limb has been cut away at a time when it was needed most. The glory of Iqbal's name and work will shine for ever; but his active presence, his loving spirit to which his nation, our Muslim nation, has been accustomed to turn for guidance as to a light in the midst of darkness; is no more; and there is darkness in our hearts.

Iqbal is dead. May his great soul rest in peace.

The news of his death reached us at the moment when the present issue of Islamic Culture was leaving the press. A full appreciation of his personality and his literary record will appear in the July number. A most important writing of this journal is the editor Muhammad Marmaduke Pickthall's valuable notes about Allama Iqbal's famous lectures. By that time only six lectures had been published and editor's review was published in volume No. 4 of the year 1931. Iqbal's lectures have been widely acclaimed on the International level but the review of the author of the Islamic Culture still deserves a deeper attention of scholars of Iqbal's Studies:

"The Quran is a book which emphasises 'deed' rather than 'idea'. There are, however, men to whom it is not possible organically to assimilate an alien universe by reliving as a vital process, that special type of inner experience on which religious faith ultimately rests. Moreover, the modern man, by developing habits of concrete thought -- habits which Islam itself fostered at least in the earlier stages of its cultural career -- has rendered himself less capable of that experience which he further suspects because of its liability to illusion."

Thus Sir Muhammad Iqbal begins his preface to the Six Lectures now

before us; and the lectures themselves are an attempt to explain the 'idea' implicit in the 'deed' emphasised by the Quran and to explain the nature of that 'special type of religious experience' in terms acceptable to 'the modern man!' One might plead that the language of the Quran is infinitely clearer, and that the type of mind which can require such explanation might well be regarded as a bewildered and to some extent perverted type of mind, of which the great majority of modern men are happily innocent. But the fact remains that there are minds which can accept no truth seriously which is not couched in the difficult jargon of modern scientific philosophy and that such minds, being those of the technicians, are, in a technical age, regarded as the elite. Sir Muhammad Iqbal has set out to preach Islam to them in their own language, and his perfect mastery of the jargon is in itself sufficient to ensure for him a respectful hearing. We cannot help wondering what the effect of these lectures was upon those who heard them; they are so obviously designed to be read, and read most thoughtfully; so full are they of phrases tightly packed with thought, and paragraphs which only yield their meaning to a second reading. They must have dazed and bewildered the audiences which listened to them in Madras, Hyderabad and Aligarh; and that bewilderment has led, no doubt, to a notion, which we have heard expressed, that Sir Muhammad Iqbal has obscured the clear light of Islam. The notion is born of a misunderstanding; it is not the truth. Sir Muhammad Iqbal has, on the contrary, in these lectures, done, perhaps, the greatest service that it is possible for any Muslim to render to Islam today. He has demonstrated to the Pandits of modern thought, in their own language and with a display of learning equal to their own, that Islam is really their religion though they know it not.

He has done more than that, for he has brought out certain truths of Islamic teaching which have been misunderstood or neglected by the Muslims themselves. We need give only one instance: the real meaning of 'the Last of the Prophets', Muhammad (God bless and keep him) is the last of the Prophets because his message set men on the path of progress by inaugurating the Inductive Method of reasoning, by adjuring men to study nature and collate facts and phenomena; hence there is no further need of that Prophetic guidance which was necessary in the childhood of the human race. This, of course, does not mean that God no longer gives men further guidance, but that man is henceforth in a position to seek that guidance for himself, and it is a part of the Divine Plan that he must do so.

The comparative rationality of stories retold for man's instruction in the Qur'an as compared with the same stories told as history in the Bible and Other Sacred Books is so remarkable and has been so seldom noticed that we are particularly grateful to Sir Muhammad Iqbal for calling serious attention to it. For example:

"Turning to the legend of the Fall we find it in a variety of forms in the literatures of the ancient world. It is indeed, impossible to demarcate the states of its growth, and to set out clearly the various human motives which must have worked in its slow transformation. But confining ourselves to the Semitic form of the myth, it is highly probable that it arose out of the primitive man's desire to explain to himself the infinite misery of his plight in an uncongenial environment, which abounded in disease and death and obstructed him on all sides in his endeavour to maintain himself. Having no control over the forces of Nature, a pessimistic view of life was perfectly natural to him. Thus, in an old Babylonian inscription, we find the serpent, (phallic symbol) the tree and the woman offering an apple (symbol of virginity) to the man. The meaning of the myth is clear -- the fall of man from a supposed state of bliss was due to the original sexual act of the human pair. The way in which the Quran handles this legend becomes clear when we compare it with the narration of the Book of Genesis. The remarkable points of difference between the Quranic and the Biblical narrations suggest unmistakably the purpose of the Quranic narration. .

1. The Quran omits the serpent and the rib-story altogether. The former omission is obviously meant to free the story from its phallic setting and its original suggestion of a pessimistic view of life. The latter omission is meant to suggest that the purpose of the Quranic narration is not historical, as in the case of the Old Testament, which gives us an account of the origin of the first human pair by way of a prelude to the history of Israel. Indeed, in the verses which deal with the origin of man as a living being the Quran uses the words 'Bashir, or Insan', not 'Adam', which it reserves for man in his capacity of God's vicegerent on earth. The purpose of the Quran is further secured by the omission of proper names mentioned in the Biblical narration -- Adam and Eve. The word Adam is retained and used more as a concept than as the name of a concrete human individual. This use of the word is not without authority in the Quran itself. The following verse is clear on the point.

"We created you; then fashioned you; then said We to the angels,

'Prostrate yourselves unto Adam'." (7:10)

2. The Quran splits up the legend into two distinct episodes -- the one relating to what it describes simply as 'the tree' and the other relating to the 'tree of eternity' and the 'kingdom that faileth not'. The first episode is mentioned in the 7th and the second in the 20th Sura of the Quran. According to the Quran Adam and his wife, led astray by Satan whose function is to create doubts in the minds of men, tasted the fruit of both the trees, whereas according to the Old Testament man was driven out of the garden of Eden immediately after his first act of disobedience, and God placed, at the eastern side of the garden, angles and a flaming sword, turning on all sides, to keep the way to the tree of life.

3. The Old Testament curses the earth for Adam's act of disobedience; the Quran declares the earth to be the 'dwelling place; of man and a 'source of profit to him for the possession of which he ought to be grateful to God. 'And we have established you on the earth and given you therein the supports of life. How little do ye give thanks!' (7:9). Nor is there any reason to sup-pose that the word 'Jannat' (garden)as used here means the supersensual paradise from which man is supposed to have fallen on this earth. According to the Quran man is not a stranger on this earth. "And we have caused you to grow from the earth", says the Quran. The 'Jannat' mentioned in the legend, cannot mean the eternal abode of the righteous. In the sense of the eternal abode of the righteous, 'Jannat' is described by the Quran to be the place. "wherein the righteous will pass to one another the cup which shall engender no light discourse, no motive to sin". It is further described to be the place "wherein 'no weariness shall reach the righteous, nor forth from it shall they be cast." In the 'Jannat' mentioned in the legend, however, the very first event that took place was man's sin of disobedience followed by his expulsion. In fact, the Quran itself explains the meaning of the word as used in its own narration. In the second episode of the legend the garden is described as a place "where there is neither hunger, nor thirst, neither heat nor nakedness". I am, therefore, inclined to think that 'Jannat' in the Quranic narration is the conception of a primitive state in which man is practically unrelated to his environment and consequently does not feel the sting of human wants the birth of which alone marks the beginning of human culture.

"Thus we see that the Quranic legend of the Fall has nothing to do with the first appearance of man on this planet. Its purpose is rather to indicate

man's rise from a primitive state of instinctive appetite to the conscious possession of a free self, capable of doubt and disobedience. The fall does not mean any moral depravity; it is man's transition from simple consciousness to the first flash of self-consciousness, a kind of waking from the dream of nature with a throb of personal causality in one's own being. Nor does the Quran regard the earth as a torture-hall where an elementally wicked humanity is imprisoned for an original act of sin. Man's first act of disobedience was also his first act of free choice; and that is why, according to the Quranic narration, Adam's first transgression was forgiven. Now goodness is not a matter of compulsion; it is the self's free surrender to the moral ideal and arises out of a willing co-operation of free egos. A being whose movements are wholly determined like a machine cannot produce goodness. Freedom is thus a condition of goodness. But to permit the emergence of a finite ego who has the power to choose, after considering the relative values of several courses of action open to him, is really to take a great risk; for the freedom to choose good involves also the freedom to choose what is the opposite of good. That God has taken this risk shows His immense faith in man; it is for man now to justify this faith. Perhaps such a risk alone makes it possible to test and develop the potentialities of a being who was created of the 'goodliest fabric' and then 'brought down to be the lowest of the low'. As the Quran says: 'And for trial will We test you with evil and with good'. (21:36). Good and evil, therefore, though opposites, must fall within the same whole. There is no such thing as an isolated fact; for facts are systematic wholes the elements of which must be understood by mutual reference. Logical judgment separates the elements of a fact only to their inter-dependence."

We are moved to give the reader two other long quotations in illustration of what we have said about the "modern" phraseology and at the same time high worth of these most noteworthy lectures.

"Life is a passage through a series of deaths. But there is a system in the continuity of this passage. Its various stages, in spite of the apparently abrupt changes in our evaluation of things are organically related to one another. The life history of the individual is, on the whole, a unity and not a mere series of mutually ill adapted events. The world process, or the movement of the universe in time, is certainly devoid of purpose, if by purpose we mean a foreseen end -- a far off fixed destination to which the whole creation moves.

To endow the world process with purpose in this sense is to rob it of its originality and its creative character. Its ends are terminations of a career; they are ends to come and not necessarily premeditated. A time-process cannot be conceived as a line already drawn. It is a line in the drawing, an actualisation of open possibilities. It is purposive only in this sense that it is selective in character, and brings itself to some sort of a present fulfilment by actively preserving and supplementing the past. To my mind nothing is more alien to the Quranic outlook than the idea that the universe is the temporal working out of a preconceived plan. As I have already pointed out, the universe, according to the Quran, is liable to increase. It is a growing universe and not an already completed product which left the hand of its maker ages ago, and is now living stretched in space as a dead mass of matter to which time does nothing, and consequently is nothing.

"We are now, I hope in a position to see the meaning of the verse -- "And it is He Who bath ordained the night and the day to succeed one another for those who desire to think on God or desire to be thankful". A critical interpretation of the sequence of time as revealed in ourselves has led us to a notion of the ultimate Reality as pure duration in which thought, life and purpose inter-penetrate to form an organic unity. We cannot conceive this unity except as the unity of a self -- an all-embracing concrete self -- the ultimate source of all individual life and thought. I venture to think that the error of Bergson consists in regarding pure time as prior to self, to which alone pure duration is predicable. Neither pure space nor pure time can hold together the multiplicity of objects and events. It is the appreciative act of an enduring self only which can seize the multiplicity of duration -- broken up into infinity of instants -- and trans-form it to the organic wholeness of a synthesis. To exist in pure duration is to be a self, and to be a self is to be able to say 'I am'. Only that truly exists which can say 'I am'. It is the degree of the intuition of 'I-amness' that determines the place of a thing in the scale of being. We too say 'I am'. But our 'I-amness' is de-pendent and arises out of the distinction between the self and the not-self. The ultimate Self, in the words of Quran, can afford to dispense with all the worlds."

And again:-

"Finite mind regards Nature as a confronting "other" existing per se, which the mind knows but does not make. We are thus apt to regard the act

of creation as a specific past event, and the universe appears to us as a manufactured article which has no organic relation to the life of its maker, and of which the maker is nothing more than a mere spectator. All the meaning-less theological controversies about the idea of creation arise from this narrow vision of the finite mind. Thus regarded, the universe is a mere accident in the life of God and might not have been created. The real question which we are called upon to answer is this: Does the universe confront God as His "other", with space intervening between Him and it? The answer is that, from the Divine point of view, there is no creation in the sense of a specific event having a 'before' and an 'after'. The universe cannot be regarded as an independent reality standing in opposition to Him. This view of the matter will reduce both God and the world to two separate entities confronting each other in the empty receptacle of an infinite space. We have seen before that space, time and matter are interpretations which though puts on the free creative energy of God. They are not independent realities existing per se, but only intellectual modes of apprehending the life of God. The question of creation once arose among the disciples of the well known saint Ba Yazid of Bistam. One of the disciples very pointedly put the common sense view saying: "There was a moment of time when God existed and nothing else existed beside Him. "The saint's reply was equally pointed. "It is just the same now" said he, "as it was then". The world of matter, therefore, is not a stuff co-eternal with God, operated upon by Him from a distance as it were. It is, in its real nature, one continuous act which thought breaks up into a plurality of mutually exclusive things."

Sir Muhammad Iqbal's book is designed for non-Muslim of a certain mentality and for Muslims who have fallen under the influence of that mentality through scientific education in a foreign medium. It deserves, however, to be studied closely by all who are interested in Islam, or modern philosophy, or both.

The following 24 articles and reviews have appeared during the first 50 years of Islamic Culture or about Allama Iqbal:

S.No.	Volume	Title	Year	No.
1.	2	Khushhal Khan Khattack:	1928	4

		the Warrior Poet.		
		By Dr. Muhammad Iqbal		
2.	3	A Plea for Deeper Study of the Muslim Scientists	1929	2
		By Dr. Muhammad Iqbal		
3.	5	Sir Muhammad Iqbal's Lectures	1931	4
4.	12	Iqbal's Educational Philosophy	1938	1
		Kh. Ghulam Sayyidain		
5.	12	Iqbal's Educational Philosophy	1938	2
		Kh. Ghulam Sayyidain		
6.	13	Iqbal's Doctrine of Destiny	1939	2
		Prof. Mutazid Wali-ur- Rahman of Osmania University'		
7.	14	Concept of Love in Rymi and Iqbal	1940	4
		Dr. Khalifa Abdul Hakim of Osmani Osmani University		
8.	16	Iqbal's Conception of God	1942	3
		M. M. Sharif Of Aligarh University		
9.	18	Iqbal's Political Theory	1944	4
		Dr. Md. Aziz Ahmad		
10.	29	Hkimat-e-Kalimi, Translation in Urdu of Iqbal's Persian Mathnawi Pas Che Bayad Kard ai Aqwam-i-Sharq	1955	4
		By Zafar Ahmad Siddiqi		
11.	30	Early Year of Shaykh Iqbal's Life	1956	2
		Dr. Y.D. Ahuja		
12.	31	Glimpses of Iqbal's mind	1961	4

		and thought By Dr. H.H. Bilgrami Dr. S. Vahiduddin		
13.	35	Iqbal, His art and Thought By S.A vahid	1961	4
14.	36	Iqbal's Theory of Ethics By Prof. Sayeed Ahmed Rafique Dr. Rahimuddin Kamali	1962	4
15.	37	Iqbal's Concept of Man By Dr. Rahimuddin Kamal	1963	1
16.	37	Payam-e-Mashriq in Czech: (Czech Translation of Iqbal's Payam-e-Mashriq) By Dr. Jan Maerk Mr. S. Fakhruddin Ahmed	1963	1
17.	42	The Concept of Love in Rumi and Iqbla By Dr. Sauuod Naimuddin	1968	4
18.	43	Iqbla's Gulshan-e-Raz-e- Jadid and Bandagi Namah By Bashir Ahmed Dar Dr. Q.S. Kalimullah Husaini	1969	2
19.	44	Dr. Iqbla's Optimism By Dr. Safdar Ali Baig	1970	2
20.	45	The Ideal Man in Rumi and Iqbal By Dr. Sayyid Naimuddin	1971	2
21.	46	Evil and Freewill in Rumi and Iqbal By Dr. Sayyid Naimuddin	1972	3
22.	48	Talmihat-o-Isharat-e-Iqbal By Dr. Akbar Hussain Qureshi	1974	1
23.	49	Glory of Iqbal, by Maulana Sayyid Abdul Hassan Ali	1975	1

Nadwi
Dr. M Safdar ali Baig

24. 50 Iqbal's Relevance to our 1976 2
 Times
 Prof. Aslub Ahmed Ansari

Now we wish to have a view of the articles and reviews by and on Iqbal in the journal.

Iqbal's Educational Philosophy by Dr. Kh. Ghulam Sayyidain whose two chapters were published in the journal as referred to above was published fully in 1938.¹¹⁷ Its several editions have appeared so far and it has been rendered into Urdu¹¹⁸ as well. So many books and articles about Iqbal's educational thoughts have been published by other author upto now, but Iqbal's Educational Philosophy whose manuscript was judged by Iqbal himself is still a popular and important work.

Dr. Khalifa Abdul Hakim and Dr. S. Naeem-ud-Din were renowned scholars of Iqbaliyat and their articles published in the Islamic Culture on Rumi and Iqbal have considerable depth.

Iqbal's Presidential Address in the Oriental Conference, Lahore have been included in several other anthologies and its Urdu translation is also available.¹¹⁹ It has many portions common with Iqbal's lectures,¹²⁰ The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam. Iqbal was under deep impact of the Khushhal Khan Khattack. On the basis of the Cap. Reverty's literal English translation of Khushhal Khan Khattack's Pushto Poetry in to English, Iqbal had written this article. The translation of the couplets of Khushhal Khan Khattack is reflective in Iqbal's Persian and Urdu poetry of Javid Nadia (1932) and Bal-i-Jibreel (1935). In an article in Urdu I had compared Iqbal derivations from Khushhal Khan Khattack's translated couplets Khushhal Khan Khattack's impact is envisageable in other section of Iqbal's poetry, particularly with the last portion of Zarb-i-Kalim.

¹¹⁷ First published by the Arafat Publications, Lahore, 1938, pp.202.

¹¹⁸ Tr. by Muhammad Ahmed Saddiqi (Aligarh), Pakistan Educational Conference Karachi, 1965, pp. 365. The book has same editions also.

¹¹⁹ See Maqalaat-e-Iqbal, ed. S.A.Vahid and M. Abdullah Qureshi 2nd editions Lahore 1982.

¹²⁰ With Lectures No. 2 and 4 particularly.

Iqbal's affinity with the quarterly 'Islamic Culture', started with the very first issue of this journal in 1927. This issue contains English translation of Prince Saeed Haleem Pasha's article "The Reform of Muslim Society". Saeed Haleem Pasha (1863-1921) was leader of Religious Reform Party of Ottoman Turkey and had risen to the higher office of Interior and Prime Ministers during the First World War¹²¹. This three detailed articles are still being publishing in the form of an anthology in Turkish language: 'Islam lashmiq (Islamisation of knowledge) the crisis in our thinking and' the reform of the Muslim society'. The fast article was published in the form of a booklet and also translated into Urdu in the Stab-continent several times. Allama Iqbal was impressed by Saeed Haleem Pasha even more than the national poet of Turkey. Muhammad Afif (1880-1936) who has been ac-claiming Iqbal's superiority over himself and recommending the scholars to go through his works. In the sixth lectures on 'Ijtehad', Allama Iqbal refers to Saeed Haleem Pasha's piercing vision quite vividly:

The Religious Reform Party, on the other hand, led by Saeed Haleem Pasha, insisted on the fundamental fact that Is-lam is a harmony of idealism and positivism; and, as a unity of the eternal verities of freedom, equality, and solidarity, has no fatherland. 'As there is no English Mathematics, German Astronomy or French Chemistry,' says the Grand Vizier, 'so there is no Turkish, Arabian, Persian or Indian Islam. Just as the universal character of scientific truths engenders varieties of scientific national cultures which in their totality represent human knowledge, much in the same way the universal character of Islamic verities creates varieties of national, moral and social ideals.' Modern culture based as it is on national egoism is, according to the keen-sighted writer, only another form of barbarism. It is the results of an over-developed industrialism through which men satisfy their primitive instincts and inclinations. He, however, deplors that during the course of history the moral and social ideals of Islam have been gradually de-Islamized through the influence of local character, and pre-Islamic superstitions of Muslim nations. These ideals today are more Iranian, Turkish, or Arabian than Islamic. The pure brow of the principle of Tawhid has received more or less an impress of heathenism, and the universal and impersonal character of

¹²¹ He has been made Interior Minister and then become Prime Minister but when his Allies succeeded he had to resign in 1918. Later he was imprisoned in Malta and on 6th Dec., 1921, he was shot dead in Rome by a hostile Armenian.

the ethical ideals of Islam has been lost through a process of localization. The only alternative open to us, then, is to tear off from Islam the hard crust which has immobilized an essentially dynamic outlook on life, and to rediscover the original verities of freedom, equality, and solidarity with a view to rebuild our moral, social, and political ideals out of their original simplicity and universality.

Such are the views of the Grand Vizier of Turkey. You will see that following a line of thought more in tune with the spirit of Islam, he reaches practically the same conclusion as the Nationalist Party, that is to say, the freedom of Ijtehad with a view to rebuild the law of Shari at in the light of modern thought and experience.¹²²

'The Reform of Muslim Society' has even a deeper and more spacious impact on Iqbal. Here are only a few contrasts from the late Pasha's translated article and the Allama's couplets from his Javid Namah suffice to bring home the impact of the immortal writing: our intellectual elite are no longer able to assure themselves with full conviction, that Islam is the human religion par excellence: religion in its highest and completest form; that it is civilisation itself in the most perfect sense; and that, consequently, there can be no social salvation, as there can be no eternal salvation, outside it. They apparently forget that, if for the Christian world, all roads lead to ROME, for the Muslim world all roads lead to MECCA. In other words, each of these two worlds is called to follow a different direction and destiny, to play a different part in the general evolution of humanity.

مرد حق از کس نگیر و رنگ و بو
 مرد حق از حق پذیر و رنگ و بو
 ہر زماں اندر تپش جانے دگر
 ہر زماں او را چو حق شانے دگر
 راز ہا با مرد مومن باز گوے

¹²² The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam, Lahore ed. 1965 pp. 156, 157.

شرح رمز گل یوم باز گوے

جز حرم منزل ندارد کارواں
غیر حق در دل ندارد کارواں

من نمی گویم کہ راهش دیگر است
کارواں دیگر نگاہش دیگر است¹²³

The man or God takes not colour and scent from anyone, the man of God receives colour and scent from God: every moment there is in his body a fresh soul, every moment he has, like, God, a new labour.

Declare the secrets to the believer, declare the exposition of the mystery of Every day.

The caravan has no halting-place but the Sanctuary, the caravan has naught but God in its heart;

I do not say that its road is different--

It is the caravan that is different, different its regard.

The history of the Muslim world provides categorical confirmation of my diagnosis of the cause of decadence. It teaches us in fact that the decline of that world coincided with the appearance in it of a certain scholasticism. The Muslim religion is absolutely opposed to excessive subtleness and quibblings in religious thought -- which explain the absence of a priesthood in Islam. The said scholasticism propagated the belief that the very urgent recommendations of the Prophet (peace be upon him) in favour of research and science related exclusively to the truths contained in the Shari'at, and that meditation of those truths ought to engross the human mind. It was an utterly arbitrary reading of the Prophet's (peace be upon him) intentions; for, after having taught us ethical and social truths in the Shari'at he never ceases

¹²³ Kulliyat-e-Iqbal, Farsi Lahore 1973 and later pp. 77/665.

to insist on the necessity of acquiring by our own efforts more and more knowledge and of instructing ourselves without a respite. He tells us that by science we shall appreciate our religion better, and shall practice it all the better if we are learned. Thereby he mean to secure to us, by means of a constant striving which would deliver to us the secrets of nature, a material happiness worthy of the ethical and social happiness which he offered to us freely in the Shari'at. Nevertheless, the mysticism to which the Muslim world became a victim, and which is the work of a pseudoclergy self established wrongly in its midst, became so general as at last to dominate the Muslim

دین حق از کافری رسو تراست
زانکه ملا مومن کافر گراست

شبنم مادر نگاه ما یم است
از نگاه او یم ما شبنم است

از شکر فیہائے آل قرآن فروش
دیده ام روح الامین را در خروش

زانسوی گردوں دلش بیگانه
نز او ام الکتاب افسانه

بے نصیب از حکمت دین نبی ﷺ
آسائش تیره از بے کوهی

کم نگاه و کور ذوق و ہرزہ گرد
ملت از قال و اقولش فرد فرد

مکتب و ملا و اسرار کتاب
کور مادر زاد و نور آفتاب

دین کافر فکر و تدبیر جهاد
دین ملا فی سبیل اللہ فساد¹²⁴

The religion of God is more shameful than unbelief's because the mullah is a believer trading in unfaith; in our eyes this dew-drop of ours is an ocean, to his eyes our ocean is dew-drop. At the elegant graces of that Koran-vendor I have seen the Trusty Spirit himself cry out! His heart is a stranger to what lies beyond the sky, for him the Archetype of the Book is but a fable; having no share of the wisdom of the Prophet's (peace be upon him) religion, his heaven is dark, being without any star. Short of vision, blind of taste, an idle gossip, his hairsplitting arguments have fragmented the community. Seminary and mullah, before the secrets of the Book, are as one blind from birth before the light of the sun. The Infidel's religion is the plotting and planning of Holy War;

Only such a remoulding of Western mentality can put an end to the class struggles which persist in spite of all the changes made in order to get rid of them. All those aspirations towards liberty and equality, all those social claims pressed daily with more or less of violence, yet never satisfied, will be fulfilled on that condition of a changed mentality. Then only will be West attain the social justice she has sought so long in vain.

From the various observations and comparisons which I have made, it follows -- let me say it once again -- that Muslim society has no reason to prefer the ethical and social principles of the West to those of the Shari at. The latter are incomparably superior. It is not by departure from them but,

¹²⁴ Ibid. page 76/665

on the contrary, by endeavouring to understand them better and practise them better that we can hope to put an end to the present decadence of the Muslim World.¹²⁵

غریباں را زیر کی ساز حیات
شرقیوں را عشق راز کائنات

زیر کی از عشق گرد و حق شناس
کار عشق از زیر کی محکم اساس

عشق چوں با زیر کی ہمبہر شود
نقشبند عالم دیگر شود

خیز و نقش عالم دیگر بنہ
عشق را با زیر کی آمیزدہ

شعلہ افرنگیاں نم خوردہ ایست
چشم شاں صاحب نظر، دل مردو ایست

زخما خوردند از شمشیر خویش
لسل افتادند چوں نخچیر خویش¹²⁶

For Westerners intelligence is the stuff of life, for Easterners love is the mystery of all being.

Only through love intelligence get to know God, love's labours find firm

¹²⁵ Visualise the article in the cited issue of the 'Islamic Culture' Journal pp. 1-35.

¹²⁶ Kulliyat-e-Iqbal Farsi pp. 63-653.

grounding in intelligence; when love is companioned by intelligence it has the power to design another world. Then rise and draw the design of a new world, mingle together love with intelligence. The flame of the Europeans is damped down, their eyes are perceptive, but their hearts are dead; they have been sore smitten by their own swords, hunted down and slaughtered, themselves the hunters. Look not for fire and intoxication in their vine'; not into their heavens shall rise a new age.

It is from your fire that the glow of life comes, and it is your task to create the new world.¹²⁷

Notes and Explanation

¹²⁷ Javid Namah Eng. Tr. by A.J. Arberry London, 1966 pp. 57 and 58. All the translations of Iqbal's couplets from Javid Namah have been taken up from this very translation.

EVOLUTION OF PHILOSOPHICAL ACTIVITY IN PAKISTAN

Prof. Bakhtiar Hussain Siddiqui

1. Importance of Thinking in Life

1.1 "All Civilization", says F. Schuon, "have decayed, only they have decayed in different way; the decay of the East is passive and that of the West is active. The fault of the East in decay is that no longer thinks; the West in decay thinks too much and thinks wrongly. The East is sleeping over truths; the West lives in error."¹²⁸ One thing is clear from this quotation that it is thinking and thinking alone that presides over the destinies of nations, with right thinking leading to their all around development and progress and wrong thinking or lack of thinking to their active or passive decay, respectively. As a man, it is thinking that makes man a man, and likewise nation a nation; and it is philosophy that we look for consistent and coherent thinking, without which our thinking any field of inquiry, be it science or religion - the realm of facts or values - would make no sense. Religion on less than science, as we shall see later, stands "in need of rational foundation of its ultimate principle" and this rational foundation is provided to them by philosophy, the art the thinking through.

1.2 The singular importance of philosophy in the life of a nation demanded that adequate arrangement should have been made in Pakistan at the college and university level for the teaching of this subject. But one is painted to point out that, contrary to the expectation, philosophy is, at present, being taught half-heartedly at the intermediate and degree level in a negligible few colleges in the country. The Islamia University, Bahawalpur, Bahauddin Zakariya University and International Islamic University, Islamabad and Azad Kashmir University, Muzaffarabad, have no departments of philosophy for good. The Baluchistan University, Quetta, opened the department of Philosophy only last year. This indifferent attitude both of the people and the Government towards Philosophy is largely responsible for the lack of critical and creative thinking in every department of life in this country. The sooner we make amends for our fault, the better it

¹²⁸ F. Schuon; *Spiritual Perspectives and Human Facts*, London, 1954, p.22.

is for us. After all man is what he thinks, not what he eats, and his thinking, to be critical and creative, must be clear, consistent and coherent, and not con-fused, muddled and full of contradictions. It is consistent thinking that lies at the root of all innovations which make lie worth while in this world of wind and water.

ندرت فکر و عمل سے معجزات زندگی
ندرت فکر و عمل سے سنگ خارا لعل و نایاب¹²⁹

(What is innovative thinking and action? A propensity for revolution. What is innovative thinking and action? The youthful vigour of a nation. All miracles of life flow from innovations in thought and deed. It is innovative thinking and action that turns rough stone into a pure ruby).

1.1 Having made clear the impact of innovative thinking on the development of the culture of a nation, I shall now turn to two basic questions: first, what do we understand by philosophy? Secondly, what is the relevance of philosophy to religion? Do philosophy and religion mutually exclude each other? Or is there a possibility of a philosophy of religion like the philosophy of science? Without answering these basic questions we cannot em-bark upon the task of evaluating philosophical activity in Pakistan.

2. What is Philosophy

2.1 I want to make it clear at the very outset that there is no such thing as Philosophy in the sense of a fixed subject-matter or finished product. There is only philosophizing, the conscious intellectual activity whereby men perpetually endeavour, in the light of available knowledge, to establish their lives in some satisfying and meaningful relation to the universe in which they find themselves. This search for the meaning of life is a native demand of human nature, a demand which, in view of the ever-increasing extension in the frontiers of knowledge, can never be wholly or finally met with. It requires a constant broadening of our outlook in order to make room for new facts that are ever coming to light in the fields of religion, art, morality

129 M. Iqbal: Kulliyat-i-Iqbal, Urdu, Bal-i-Jibreel Lahore, 1981, pp. 150-151.

and specially in the realm of social, physical and biological sciences. Each single development in the realm of knowledge obliges the philosopher to interpret afresh to whole range of human experience and re-examine his answer to the all important question of the wisdom or meaning of life. This dependence of philosophic thinking on the progress made in the realm of knowledge goes a long way to show that there is no such thing as philosophy; there is only philosophising or its product, philosophies, the various ways of looking at the world, different principles of interpreting our experience and thus of establishing meaningful relation to the universe we live in.

2.2 But what do philosophers do in their philosophising? The basic aim of all philosophising is to bring things together in thought and try to understand them in their broadest relation-ships. It studies each object in its internal unity and also in its relations to other objects, which finally leads to a consideration of that object in its cosmic setting. In its just analysis, philosophising thus purports to be a conscious reflection upon the world as a whole, particularly with regard to its meaning, purpose and value for human existence.

2.3 Apart from speculative synthesis, philosophising aims at critical analysis as well. Preoccupation with wholes is exposed to the danger of becoming careless and uncritical of the parts that make those wholes, and so philosophising needs, for its process of thinking in terms of wholes, in order to be able to see more clearly the parts that may have been obscured or distorted from the perspective of the whole. Historically speaking, the analytic function of philosophising took birth in the reflective criticism of the moral and religious beliefs of a people, to which now has been added the examination of the nature, method and functions of scientific inquiry in all its details. It goes without saying that the examination of the key concepts of science, viz., matter, energy force, time place, cause, law evolution etc., and the clarification of the fundamental concepts of religion and viz., existence of God, freedom of will, immortality of soul, good, evil. right, wrong, punishment, reward etc., is the greatest service of philosophising to science, morality and religion.

2.4 Thus philosophising is a combination of two cooperative processes: it is an organisation of ideas, concepts and beliefs into a consistent whole; it is also an examination of these ideas, concepts and beliefs for determining

just what they are and what they imply in themselves. It is both an analytic and a synthetic process, though the two processes do not always go together. Some thinkers aim simply at synthesis; others at analysis. Some periods of synthesis; other specially those of analysis. Bosanquet saw the essence of philosophising "in the connected vision of the totality of things". But much of the emphasis of the present-day philosophising is on analysis alone. Logical positivists, for instance, hold that the meaning of ideas and the range of their applicability depend entirely on the way they are arrived at, and since language is vehicle of ideas, its analysis, they maintain, contributes much to our understanding of how we think about the things that we find in our experience. Just as speculative synthesis finds its culmination in Hegelianism, turning metaphysics into a fool-proof system, so critical analysis reaches its highest in Logical Positivism, ruling out the possibility of speculative metaphysics altogether.

2.5 Philosophical thinking may be analytic or synthetic, but in either of its two forms it is essentially a pursuit of meaning. We discover the meaning of a thing when we see it in its parts in isolation from each other and also in its relations with other things which finally leads to a consideration of it in its cosmic setting. Thus if we do not stop short at some point, the search for meaning inevitably results in the attempt to find is ultimate and final in life the attempt to find out what is ultimate and final in life and to understand other things in terms of their relations with this or these ultimates. Each system of philosophy is, in this sense, but a theory concerning ultimates. Democritus for instance, posited "atoms moving in space" as the ultimate reality. Leibniz identified it with the "windowless (spiritual) monads" arranged in a hierarchical order, with God, the supreme monad, at the top. To Hegel, the world is the expression of a Universal Mind. To Iqbal, it is the creation ex nihilo, of a self-existing God. All philosophising thus "is a search for meaning within the framework of ultimates", be they atoms, monads or God.

2.6 The pursuit of meaning is what gives philosophising "a working basis as well as an ultimate aim". The question of meaning is one that is of special interest to the thinking individual himself. "Philosophical inquiry", says Philip Wheelwright, "may be directed towards anything whatever, but its aim will always be to behold and understand the object of inquiry in its whole character and in relation to man's most enduring and most deep-seated

interests".¹³⁰ In contrast to science which refuses to regard our own desires, tastes and interests as affording a key to understanding the world. Philosophising tends to fall in line with aesthetic arts and religion. But whereas aesthetic arts and religion are discoveries of what existence means to feeling and imagination in the one case and to personal encounter in the other, philosophising is a discovery of what existence means to thought. It seeks neither appreciation nor encounter, but understanding. Its working tools are concepts, the truth of which is assessed in terms of the logical standards of consistency, necessity and universality.

3. What is Islamic Philosophy

3.1 The question of the meaning of life, though basic to philosophical inquiry, is not peculiar to it. It shares it in common with religion which also provides us with answers to the questions of the role of man in the universe and the meaning of human existence. But whereas religious answers are directly revealed by God to the prophets, the philosophical one's rest on no authority save that of human reason and logic. The sole aim of religion is to give its followers a sense of peace and harmony by postulating a universe in which the individual has purpose and value. It does practically on the emotional level what philosophizing seeks to do theoretically on the intellectual plane. Since the urge for inner peace and security is as natural a drive in man as the desire for intellectual satisfaction, he needs both religion and philosophising for the balanced growth and development of his personality. In the Islamic Republic of Pakistan we obviously need not more philosophizing, but Islamic philosophising which is the very hope and aspiration of the people of this country.

3.2 Islamic philosophy is the philosophy of Islam, the sum total of the basic ideas, beliefs and values Islam stands for. It is an attempt to interpret the metaphysical vision of the Quran in the idiom and diction of philosophy through a peculiar method of philosophy of religion. It is an endeavour to understand things divine in terms human.¹³¹ This philosophical exercise is not one that can be performed once for all, but a perpetual exercise that has to

130 P. Wheelright: *The Way of Philosophy*, New York, 1960 p. 18.

131 Proceedings of the Pakistan Philosophical Congress, 1964, M. Saeed's Article on Re-orientation of Muslim Philosophy, pp. 159-161.

be made afresh in every age in the light of new developments and challenges in philosophy and other domains of human knowledge. Islamic philosophy, and for that matter the philosophy of any other religion, cannot afford to be static. It must keep pace with time in order to have a meaningful existence and thus to be communicative to the people of every age. It has always to be a contemporary philosophy; if it is not, it would not only lose its vigour but also its hold.

4. Possibility of Philosophy of Religion.

4.1 Islamic philosophy is a species of philosophy of religion. But is it "possible to apply the purely rational method of philosophy to religion", inquires Iqbal. "The spirit of philosophy", he goes on, "is one of free inquiry. It suspects all authority. Its function is to trace the uncritical assumptions of human thought to their hiding places, and in this pursuit it may finally end in denial or a frank admission of the incapacity of pure reason to reach the ultimate reality. The essence of religion, on the other hand, is faith, and faith, like the bird, sees its 'trackless way' unattended by intellect which, in the words of the great mystic poet of Islam,¹³² "only waylays the living heart of man and robs it of the invisible of life that lies within ". Yet it cannot be denied that faith is more than mere feeling. It has something of cognitive content, and the existence of rival parties -- scholastics and mystics -- in the history of religion shows that idea is a vital element in religion. Apart from this, religion on its doctrinal side, as defined by Professor Whitehead, is a "system of general truths which have the effect of transforming character when they are sincerely held and vividly apprehended"¹³³ Now, since the transformation and guidance of man's inner and outer life is the essential aim of religion, it is obvious that the general truths which it embodies must not remain unsettled. No one would hazard action on the basis of a doubtful principle of conduct. Indeed, in view of its function, religion stands in greater need of a rational foundation of its ultimate principles than even the dogmas of science. Science may ignore a rational metaphysics; indeed, it has ignored it so far.

132 The reference is to Fariduddin Attar's verse in *Mantiq al Tair*, pp. 243, V.S,

لیک آن علم جدل چوں راه زند
پیشتر بر مردم آگہ زند

133 A.N. Whitehead: *Religion in the Making*, New York, 1926, P.

religion can hardly afford to ignore the search for a reconciliation of the oppositions- of experience and a justification of the environment in which humanity finds itself. That is why Professor Whitehead has actually remarked that the ages of faith are the ages of rationalism".¹³⁴ But to rationalise faith is not to admit the superiority of philosophy over religion. Philosophy, no doubt has jurisdiction to judge religion, but what is to be judged is of such a nature that it will not submit to the jurisdiction of philosophy except on its own terms. While sitting in judgment on religion, philosophy cannot give religion an inferior place among its data. Religion is not a departmental affair; it is neither mere thought, nor mere feeling, nor mere action; it is an expression of the whole man. Thus, in the evaluation of religion, philosophy must recognize the central position of religion and has no other alternative but to admit it as something focal in the process of creative synthesis. Nor is there any reason to suppose that thought and intuition are essentially opposed to each other. They spring up from the same root and complement each other. The one grasps reality piecemeal, the other grasps it in its wholeness. The one fixes its gaze on the eternal, the other on the temporal aspect of realityBoth are in need of each other for mutual rejuvenation. Both seek visions of the same Reality which reveals itself to them in accordance with their function in life. In fact, intuition, as Bergson¹³⁵ rightly says, is only a higher kind of intellect".¹³⁶

4.2 Religion, as we have seen above, is an expression of the whole man, of the totality of his being. It embraces all the three aspects of his consciousness -- thought, feeling and action. Seen in this context, philosophy of religion is a necessary adjunct of faith. It is a handmaid of religion, but as philosophising it nevertheless depends on nothing save human reason and logic, owing all its truth to the self-evidence of its principles and the accuracy of its deductions.

4.3 The positive function of Islamic philosophy in the modern world is to reconstruct the metaphysical vision of the Quran in the grammar of contemporary philosophy. Iqbal was the first Muslim in the Indian subcontinent who felt the need of this reconstruction and wrote the famous

134 Ibid., p.73.

135 H.L.Bergson: Creative Evolution, London, 1911. pp. 187-88.

136 M. Saeed Sheikh (ed): Iqbal, The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam, Lahore, 1986, pp. 1-2.

The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam, published by the Oxford University Press, London, 1934. This book now needs to be modified, refined and elaborated at certain places. It even needs to be supplemented and revised at places. Besides, no attempt has been made in it to meet the challenges of dialectical material-ism, logical positivism and atheistic existentialism -- the negative function which any contemporary Islamic philosophy can hardly ignore to perform. "The fault of the East in decay is that it no longer thinks". It is because of this miserable lack of thinking that no lower of wisdom in Pakistan has so far cared to construct afresh the metaphysical vision of the Quran in terms of contemporary philosophy, to supplement and revise Iqbal's Reconstruction and to examine and evaluate dialectical materialism, logical positivism and atheistic existentialism from the metaphysical and axiological standpoint of the Quran. It will not be expecting too much of the International Islamic University Islamabad, to take the much needed lead in the matter and make necessary arrangements for perpetual reconstruction of Islamic philosophy in terms of contemporary philosophy. The only not-able work done by a Pakistani scholar, Professor M. Saeed Sheikh, is the critical and annotated edition of Iqbal's Reconstruction -- the only book on Islamic philosophy --published by the Institute of Islamic Culture, Lahore, 1986. One cannot help congratulating him for doing this painstaking and laborious job. It may open new avenues of research in Iqbal's thought.

5. What is Muslim Philosophy

5.1 Islamic Philosophy is the Philosophy of Islam. It is both Philosophy and Islam, because revelation in Islam though "above any reasoning, is not above reason. Nor is reason above revelation".¹³⁷ Muslim Philosophy, on the contrary, may be Islamic philosophy, but it may as well be merely a Muslim's intellectual involvement in philosophy as such. In the latter case, it may be mere "logomachic dialectic" of the Mutakallimun (scholastics), or "merely as series of Islamic footnotes to the metaphysics" of any great Greek thinker; or a simple attempt to reconcile philosophy with religion; or a mere defense of religion, providing a rational justification for the dogmas of Islam. Taken in any one of these senses, Muslim philosophy is a "hybrid freak" and as such it

137 A.J. Arberry: Revelation and Reason In Islam, London, 1957, p.34.

is neither Muslim nor philosophy"¹³⁸. It is not possible to philosophise Islam or to Islamicise philosophy. Hence the invectives of Imam Ghazali, Ibn Khaldun, Ibn Taimmiyya and the Hanbalites as a class against the Muslim philosophers and their votaries. Ghazali's *Tahafut al-Falasafa* is not actually an invective against philosophy as such, for it is itself a masterpiece of high philosophical thinking and logical soundness, but against Muslim philosophy which, being a curious mixture of philosophy and religion, is neither philosophy nor religion.

5.2 Yet Muslim philosophy is an integral part of the culture of Muslim community. It played a vital role not only in the cultural development of Muslims in the Middle Ages, but exercised a tremendous influence on the growth and development of Jewish and Christian thought on the one hand, and the intellectual rebirth of Europe on the other. The credit of all this goes specially to Ibn Rush. (Averroes) who ruled the medieval European mind for nearly three centuries under the wave of Averroism. "Life", says Iqbal "moves with the weight of its past on its back.... No people can afford to reject past entirely; for it is their past that has made their personal identity"¹³⁹. This accounts for the renewed interest in Muslim Philosophy in Pakistan.

5.3 It was but the importance of Muslim philosophy in the cultural development of Muslim community that prompted the publication of *A History of Muslim Philosophy*, Otto Harrassowitz, Weisbaden (West Germany), 1963-65, a monumental work in two volumes. The project was undertaken at the instance of the Government of Pakistan by Prof. M.M.Sharif, of which he was Editor-Secretary. Prof. Sharif worked assiduously in planning the whole scheme, in selecting contributors from all over the world for different topics and in editing the whole material to fit in into his general theory of History -- that culture has many cycles of life instead of just one life-cycle, one period of blossoming and one of decline. The book is significant in many ways. It is written under the able guidance of eminent scholar from an objective standpoint, distortion and is, there-fore, free from the drawbacks of partiality and distortion of facts which mar the writings of many an Orientalists. Not only is it based on primary sources, but it also

138 Proceedings of the Pakistan Philosophical Congress, 1964, p.160.

139 Iqbal: *Op.Cit.*, p. 167.

makes room for short accounts of disciplines other than philosophy alongwith modern renaissance in the Muslim Lands.

5.4 The monumental work, to say the least, meets the long standing need of the academic community in general and that of the researchers in Muslim thought in particular. Justice demands that a brief outline of its contents should be given here to have an idea of the range of topics discussed in it. The plan of the work is as follows:

VOLUME ONE

- a) Pre-Islamic Philosophical Thought: Indian, Chinese Iranian, Greek, Alexandrio-Syriac and Arabian Thought before Islam.
- b) Fundamental Teachings of the Qur'an: Philosophical, Ethical, Economic and Political Teachings of the Qur'an.
- c) Theologico-Philosophical Movements: Mutazilism, Ash'arism, Tahawism, Mathurdism, Zahirism and Ikhawan al-Safa.
- d) The Sufis: Doctrines, Sufis before al-Hallaj, al-Hallaj, Abdul Qadir Jilani, Shihab al-Din Suhrawardi, Shihab al-Din Suhrawardi Maqtul, Ibn Arabi.
- e) The Philosophers: Al-Kindi, Zakariya Razi, Al-Farabi, Miskawaih, Ibn Sina, Ibn Bajjah, Ibn Tufail, Ibn Rushd, Nasir al-Din Tusi.
- f) The Middle Roaders: Al-Ghazali, Fakhr al-Din Razi.
- g) Political Thinkers: Political Thought in Early Islam, Abu Hanifa, Abu Yusuf, Al-Farabi, Al-Mawardi, Political Theory of the Shi'ites, Nizam al-Mulk Tusi, Al-Ghazali.

VOLUME TWO

- a) Fall of the Abbasid Caliphate in 1258.
- b) Theologica-Philosophical Thought: Ibn Taimiyyah.
- c) The Sufis: Jalal al-Din Rumi, Mahmud Shabistri Al-Eli, Jami, Shaikh Ahmad Sirhandi.
- d) The Philosophers: Jalal al-Din Dawwani, Ibn Khaldun.
- e) The Middle Roaders: The School of Ispahan, Sadr al-Din Shirati (Mulla Sadra)
- f) Political Thought: Ibn Khaldun.

- g) Language and Literature: Arabic, Persian and Turkish Language and Literature.
- h) Fine Arts: Architecture, Painting, Music and Minor Arts.
- i) Social Studies: Historiography and Jurisprudence.
- j) The Sciences: Geography, Mathematics, Astronomy, Physics, Minerology, Chemistry, Natural History and Medicine.
- k) Influence of Muslim Thought: Influence on the West Influence on the East.
- l) The Dark Age: Decline in the Muslim World, The Silver Lining-Development of Urdu Language, Grammar and Literature.
- m) Renaissance in the Near and Middle East: Renaissance in Arabia, Yemen, Iraq, Syria, Lebanon, North Africa, Jamal al-Din Afghani, Renaissance in Egypt, Turkey, Iran.
- n) Renaissance in South and South-East Asia: Renaissance in Indo-Pakistan -- Shah Wali Allah Dehlawi, Sir Sayyid Ahmad and Iqbal. Renaissance in Indonesia.

5.5 Of the fifty six contributors to the monumental work, more than half are Pakistanis. The names of twenty five of them alongwith the titles of the articles they contributed are given below to have an idea of the research talent available in the country.

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| a) | M.M.Sharif: | i) Introduction |
| | | ii) Greek Thought |
| | | iii) Philosophical Teachings of Qur'an |
| | | iv) Philosophical Influence on the West, from Descartes to Kant. |
| | | v) Conclusion. |
| b) | Abul Ala Moudoodi | i) Economic and Political Teachings of the <i>Qur'an</i> . |
| | | ii) Political Thought in Early Islam. |
| | | iii) Abu Hanifa and Abu Yusuf. |
| c) | Abdul Hamid Siddiqui | i) Renaissance in Indo-Pakistan-
Shah Wall Allah Dehlawi. |
| | | .ii) Renaissance in Arabia, |

- Yemen, Iraq, Syria and Lebanon: Muhammad bin Abd-al Wahab and His Movement.
- d) Dr. Abdul Hamid Renaissance in Indo-Pakistan - Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan as a Politician, Historian and Reformist.
- e) Dr. Abdul Khaliq Al-Ghazali -- Ethics.
- f) Abdul Shahkooor i) Fall of the Abbasid Caliphate.
Ahsan ii) Renaissance in Iran.
- g) Bashir Ahmad i) Ethical Teachings of the *Our'an*.
Dar ii) Sufis Before al-Hallaj.
iii) Abdul Qadir Jilani and Shahab al-Din Suhrawardi.
iv) Mahmud Shabistri al-Jili and Jami.
v) Renaissance in Indo-Pakistan - Sir Sayyed Ahmad Khan as a Religio- Philosophical Thinker.
- h) Chaudhri i) Pre-Islamic Indian Thought.
Abdul Qadir ii) Alexandrio-Syriac Thought.
iii) Influence of the Muslim Thought on the East.
iv) Decline in Muslim World.
- i) Bakhtiar i) Ibn Tufail.
Husain ii) Nasir al-Din Dawwani.
Siddiqui iii) Jalal al-Din Dawwani.
- j) M.Saeed Al-Ghazali.
Sheikh i) Metaphysics.
ii) Mysticism
iii) Influence.
- k) Dr.M. Early Sufis -- Doctrines.
Hamiduddin
- l) M.Saghir i) Ibn Bajjah.

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|----|-----------------------------|-----|-------------------------------------|
| | Hasan al-Ma'sumi | ii) | Al-Farabi as a Political Thinker. |
| m) | Kh.Abdul Hakim | i) | Jalal-al-Din Rumi. |
| | | ii) | Renaissance in Indo-Pakistan Iqbal. |
| n) | M.Qammaruddin Khan | | Al-Mawardi. |
| o) | Syed Abid Ali Abid | | Political Theory of th Shi'ites. |
| p) | M.Ruknuddin Hasan | | Nizam al-Mulk Tusi. |
| q) | Dr. Ishtiaq Husain Qureshi. | | Historiography. |
| r) | Dr.M.Hamidullah | | Jurisprudence. |
| s) | Sheikh Inayatullah | | Pre-Islamic Arabic Thought. |
| t) | Dr. Fazlur Rehman | | Ibn Sina. |
| u) | Muhammad Farman | | Sheikh Ahmad Sirhindi. |
| v) | Sheikh Abdur Rashid | | Renaissance in Indonesia. |
| w) | M.Abdul Hye | | Ash'arism |
| x) | A.K.M.Ayyub Ali | i) | Tahawism |
| | | ii) | Maturidism |
| y) | Serajul Haque | | Ibn Taimiyya. |

5.6 All these article have been critically edited by Professor M.M.Sharif to fit in into his general theory of History that culture has many cycles of life instead of just one life-cycle. The modern renaissance in Muslim countries, to which 216 pages have been devoted in the book, lends support to his view. The book, however, suffers from one serious defect. It is a product of the labour of fifty six scholars, spread all over the world, working in isolation from each other. Each of these scholars has written on the topic assigned to him from a certain point of view which is, more often than not, different from that of others, and so the book lacks, at places, both unity of thought and continuity in treatment. It appears to be an aggregate, not organic whole.

5.7 But in spite of all this, *A History of Muslim Philosophy* has filled a long-felt gap in the education of our youth. Prior to its publication, they largely depended upon T.J. De. Boeji's *The History of Philosophy in Islam*, London, 1903, De Lacy O'Leary's *Arabic Thought and its place in History*, London, 1910 and Richard Walzar's *Creek into Arabic, Essays in Islamic Philosophy*, Oxford, 1962, for studying Muslim Philosophy at the Master's level which, imperceptibly enough, disposed them unfavourably towards their intellectual past. Partiality and distortion of facts mar the writings of the Orientalists. *A History of Muslim Philosophy* effectively counteracts the unwholesome influence of their prejudiced writings. But the monumental work is voluminous, running into 1700 pages in two volumes and costs Rs. 1000/-. To make it easily accessible to student community, it is desirable and necessary that an abridged edition of the book may be published as early as possible. We may entirely exclude Section I (Pre-Islamic Philosophical Thought) Section V (Other Disciplines) and Section VII (The Dark Age) from this edition. The Government of Pakistan may be requested to provide funds to the President (Dr. Wahid Ali Farooqi, Head, Department of Philosophy, Sind University, Hyderabad), Pakistan Philosophical Congress for meeting the expenditure to be incurred on the publication of the abridged edition.

5.8 A year before the publication of *A History of Muslim Philosophy* appeared, M. Saeed Sheikh's *Studies in Muslim Philosophy*, Lahore, 1962. It gives a short but lucid account of medieval -- Muslim Philosophy. The real value of the book lies in the footnotes rather than in the text of the book. The book suffers from an error of omission. Miskawaih (d.1030) is the founder of philosophical ethics in Islam and a metaphysician if no mean repute, besides being a historian of high calibre, but no mention is made of him in it. Modernists, like Shah Wall Allah, Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan, Iqbal, Jamal al-Din Afghani, M. Abduh and Zia Gokalp should also have found place in it.

5.9 The main hurdle in making Urdu the medium of instruction at the graduate and post-graduate levels is the non-availability of books in Urdu. Dr. Abdul Khaliq and Yusuf Shaidae's *Muslim Falsafa*, Lahore, 1981 is a notable attempt to make good this deficiency. It is also confined to the history of medieval Muslim thought, but it fails not to devote a ten-page chapter to Miskawaih's metaphysics and ethics. It is written in chaste Urdu in

terms of the inner intensity of Islam and not in terms of the modern theory of historical causation.

5.10 It will be sheer injustice if mention is not made here of M. Saeed Sheikh's *A Dictionary of Muslim Philosophy*, Lahore, 1981. The short book is an attempt to define and explain the major technical terms used by medieval Muslim philosophers in logic, metaphysics, psychology and other allied disciplines. Arranged according to Arabic alphabet, all terms have been transliterated into English. The work is the first of its kind in English. The Arabic equivalent of philosophy is hikmat. Various kinds of hikmat have been thoroughly explained at pages 46-47 of the book, but now-here it seems to explain the Qur'anic meaning of hikmat alongwith the meaning, if any, philosophers attach to it without which it is difficult to comprehend the very meaning of Muslim philosophy.

5.11 One of the neglected areas awaiting research is the development of modern Muslim thought in the Indian sub-continent. Qazi Javed is so far the only researcher who has cared to explore the field. His *Barri-Saghir men Muslim Fikr ka Irtaqa*, Lahore 1986, and *Sir Sayyed se Iqbal tak*, Lahore 1986, are the two notable works in the field. He has systematically dealt with the thought of Shaikh Sharfuddin, S.Muhammad Jaunpuri, Sheikh Abdul Haq, Muhaddis Dehlawi and Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi in the third chapter of the first book. The second book is a critical analysis of the religious thought of Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan, Maulwi Chiragh Ali, S. Ameer Ali, Mirza Ghulam Ahmad, Obaidullah Sindhi, Abul Kalam Azad and Iqbal, under the fascinating captions of " Period of Passive Adaptability", Logical Consequence of Devising a New Science of divinity, Emergence of a Moderate Escapism, the Influence of Colonial rule on Religion", Revolutionary Interpretation of Religion in Romantic Strain, Outpourings of a Rebellious Love for Islam and the Creation of a New Type of Staunch Faith," respectively. The name of Shah Waliullah is conspicuous by its omission in both the books. Needless to say, more intensive and comprehensive research is required in the field under reference.

5.12 All these researches have been done with a marked emphasis on the inner catholicity and dynamism of Islam to which Iqbal was the first to draw our attention in his *Development of Metaphysics in Persia*, London, 1908,. It has become quite a fashion among the modern orientalists, he warns us, to trace the chain of influences. Such a method of research is, indeed, of great

historical value, provided we remember all the time that the human mind possesses an abiding individuality of its own and may create out of itself truths which may have been anticipated by other minds centuries ago. "No idea can seize a people's soul, unless in some sense it is the people's own. External influences may wake it up from its deep unconscious slumber, but they cannot create it out of nothing".¹⁴⁰ It is the ignorance of this aspect of cultural influence that accounts for the repeated assertions of the Orientalists that medieval Muslim philosophy offers a little beyond a restatement and often a misstatement of Greek philosophy or it is a sterile hybrid denied the capacity to produce a characteristic thought of its own, as suggested by Richard Walzar's misleading title of the book *Greek into Arabic-Essays on Islamic Philosophy*, Oxford, 1962.

6. Books on Individual thinkers.

6.1 Some notable work was done by the Muslims of the Indian sub-continent on Miskawaih (d.1030), Al-Ghazali (d.1111), Rumi (d.1270) and Iqbal (d.1938) before the establishment of Pakistan. It is good to be acquainted with their work in order to maintain a liaison with our intellectual past. The list of the same is as under:

- a) Khawaja Abdul Hamid: *Metaphysics of Ibn Miskawaih.*
- b) M.Umaruddin: *Some Fundamental Aspects of*
- c) M.Umaruddin: *The Ethical Philosophy of Al- Ghazali, Volume I-IV*
- d) Sd.Nawab *All Some Moral and Religious Teachings of Al- Ghazali.*
- e) Khalifa Abdul Hakim: *Metaphysics of Rumi.*
- f) Dr. Ishrat Hussain: *Metaphysics of Iqbal.*
- .g) Bashir Ahmad Dar. *A Study in Iqbal's Philosophy.*
- h) K.G. Sayydain: *Iqbal's Educational Philosophy.*
- i) Abdul Wahid: *Iqbal His Art and Thought.*
- j) Yusuf Husain Khan: *Rub-i-Iqbal (Urdu).*

140 Iqbal: *Development of Metaphysics in Persia*, London, 1908, p. 97.

Of these, M. Umaruddin's *The Ethical Philosophy of Al-Ghazali*, Dr. Khawaja Abdul Hakim's *Metaphysics of Rumi* and Dr. Yusuf Husain's *Ruh-i-Iqbal* stand above the rest. The first of these outstanding work is a lucid account of Al-Ghazali's ethical thought and that of the diseases of the heart and their cures; the second is the study of the best achievements of philosophical and religious life in Islam; the third is a brilliant exposition of the uniqueness of the individual in spite of his being a wave in the ocean of society.

6.2 The pre-independence scholarly interest in Miskawaih, Ghazali and Iqbal unfolded itself in new dimensions in the cultural milieu of Pakistan. To begin with Miskawaih, B.H. Siddiqui contributed seven research articles on his *Life and Works*, *Ethical Philosophy*, *Spiritual Therapy*, *Training of Children*, *Metaphysics*, *Purposes of Historiography* and *Psychology to the Journal of the Regional Cultural Institute (Tehran)*, *Iqbal (Lahore)* *The Muslim World (U.S.A)* and *the World of Philosophy*, a Sharif Presentation Volume. These are yet to be published in book form.

6.3 Next to Miskawaih comes Al-Ghazali, "The Proof of Islam". The English translation of Ibn Rushd's *Tahfut al-Tahafut*, Oxford, 1954, by S. Von den Bergh inspired Sabih Ahmad Kamali to render Al-Ghazali's *Tahafut al-Falasafa* into English, Lahore, 1958, obviously to facilitate an impartial view of the controversy between the two philosophers. This was followed by Maulana M. Hanif Nadwi's *Afkar-i-Ghazali*, Lahore, 1956, *Sarguzasht-i-Ghazali* (Urdu translation of *Al-Minqad*), Lahore, 1959, and *Talimat-i-Ghazali*, Lahore, 1986, besides *Afkar-i-Ibn Khaldun*, Lahore, 1962 and *Aqliyat-i-Ibn Taimiyya*, Lahore, 1986. Steeped in Eastern Lore, Maulana Nadwi is a painstaking researcher of repute, but his arabicised Urdu sometimes stands between him and his reader.

6.4 Iqbal is the hot favourite of Pakistani scholars. The market is almost flooded with books, good as well as bad, on his philosophical, ethical, mystical, poetical, political and religious thought, not to speak of the translations of his works into the regional languages of the country and the compilations of his letters, speeches, addresses etc. etc. A select list of the books is as follow.

- a) Dr. Abu Saeed Nuruddin *Islami Tasawwuf aur Iqbal*
- b) Saeed Ahmed Rafiq: *Iqbal Ica Nazariya-i- Akhlaq.*
- c) Dr. Jamila Khatoon: *The Place of God, Man and Universe in the Philosophical System of Iqbal*
- d) Dr. Asif Iqbal: *Some Aspects of Iqbal's Thought.*
- e) Dr. M. Ma'ruf (ed): *Contributions to Iqbal's Thought.*
- f) Dr. M. Ma'ruf: *Iqbal's Philosophy of Religion.*
- g) Dr. Kh. A. Hakim: *Fkir-i-Iqbal.*
- Prof. M. Munawwar: *Iqbal, Poet-Philosopher of Pakistan.*
- Prof. M. Munawwar: *Iqbal and Quranic Wisdom.*
- Prof. M. Munawwar: *Dimensions of Iqbal.*
- Md. Usman: *Asrar our Ramuz per ek Nazar.*
- pr. Perveen Shaukat: *The Political Philosophy of Iqbal.*
- Bashir Ahmad Dar: *Iqbal and Post Kantian Voluntarism*

Dr. Nuruddin, indeed, had done full justice both the Sufism and Iqbal in his *Island Tasawwuf aur Iqbal*. The ethical thought of Iqbal was badly in need of systematization which has meticulously been done by Prof. S.A. Rafiq in his *Iqbal ka Nazariya-i-Akhlaq*. Philosophy is philosophy and religion is religion and never the two can meet. Prof. Jamila's doctoral thesis, *The Place of God, Man and Universe in the Philosophical System of Iqbal* is unmistakably an admirable attempt to provide a middle term between philosophy and religion. Prof. Asif Iqbal's *Some Aspects of Iqbal's Thought* is a collection of his articles on Iqbal under four heads -- philosophy of Religion, Culture and Art, Quaid-i-Azam's Influence on Iqbal's Political

Thought and Pakistan, A Dream and a Reality -- published from time to time in the Pakistan Times, and made available in book form without any tall claim whatever. The faculty members of the Department of Philosophy, Government College, Lahore, celebrated the birth Centenary of Iqbal in 1977 by writing paper on different aspects of Iqbal's thought. Prof. M. Maruf has edited and published these papers under the title, some Contributions to Iqbal's Thought. His own book, Iqbal's Philosophy of Religion, is brilliant exposition of Iqbal's contention that "faith is more than mere feeling", that it definitely has "a cognitive content" and that "idea is a vital element in religion". A really systematic study of Iqbal's religion-philosophical thought is Kh. A. Hakim's Fikr-i-Iqbal. The whole book make a refreshing reading. The three books of Prof. M. Munawwar -- Iqbal, Poet-Philosopher of Pakistan, Iqbal and Qur'anic Wisdom and Dimension of Iqbal -- are collections of stimulating articles, addresses and essays on different aspects of Iqbal's thought. An ardent admirer of Iqbal as he is, I can do no more here than to quote A. K. Brohi's pithy remark: "What Plato was to Socrates, Munawwar is to Iqbal". Asrar aur Ramuz per ek Nazar, is like other works of Prof. Usman a profound study and not a cursory glance over Iqbal's concept of self and society. A more or less neglected field of study was the political thought of Mama Iqbal, the poet-philosopher of Pakistan. Dr. Perveen Shaukat's Political Philosophy of Iqbal has, theoretically, made good this deficiency, but practically speaking, it leaves much to be desired, specially the chapters on Ijtehad and Nationalism need some further elaboration and even enrichment. B.A. Dar's Iqbal and Post-Kantian Voluntarism is a bold attempts to the light of Fichte's concept of Ego, Nietzsche's theory, of Will-to-power and Bergson's view of intuition as a higher kind of intellect.

6.4 With Ijethad as the principle of movement, Iqbal has laid over-much emphasis on the reconstruction of theological and legal thought in Islam. Dr. Yusuf Guraya is at one with Iqbal on this point. In his Islamic Jurisprudence in the Modern World, published by Sheikh M. Ashraf, Lahore, 1988, he has highlighted the need of Ijtehad in the modern age and laid down rules for the exercise of it therein. Needless to say, it is in this direction that Iqbal's thought needs to be studied, elaborated and even examined and criticised, where necessary, in the wider interests of both Islam and Pakistan.

6.5 "The task before the modern Muslim:, say Iqbal, "is to rethink the whole system of Islam without completely breaking with the past. Perhaps the first

Muslim who felt the urge of a new spirit in him was Shah Wali Allah (d. 1763) of Delhi".¹⁴¹ The suggestions aroused renewed interest in the philosophical, sociological, political and economic thought of Shah Wall Allah both in the pre-independence and post-independence period. Two societies Shah Wall Allah Academy, Hyderabad, -- Shah Wali Allah Society, Lahore - sprang up in its wake. Several of his works were translated from Arabic into Urdu. M. Sarwar the translator of Ham'at and Fuyuz al-Harmayan, published a selection of his works under the title, Armughan-i-Shah Wali Allah, Lahore, 1971. Below is given a list of the books published on various aspects of his thought in Urdu:

- | | |
|-------------------------------|--|
| a) Bashir Ahmad: | <i>Shah Wall Allah Dehlawi
our unka Falsafa-i-
Ifnraniyat-o-Ma'ashiyat</i> |
| b) Manazir Ahsan Gilani: | <i>Hazrat Shah Wall Allah.</i> |
| c) Obaidullah Sindhi: | <i>Shah Wall Allah our unka
Falsafa.</i> |
| d) Obaidullah Sindhi: | <i>Shah Wali Allah our unke
Siyasi Tebrik.</i> |
| e) Shamsur Rahman
Mohsini: | <i>Shah Wali Allah ka
'Inmrani Nazriya'</i> |
| f) Qazi Javed: | <i>Afkar-i-Shah Wali Allah.</i> |

The last book, Afkar-i-Shah Wali Allah, Lahore, 1986, is refreshing both in content and style. Qazi Javed, its author, has split it into six chapters -- Historical Background, The Experiences of a Pious Life, Challenge and Prompt Response, Search for a Middle Course, Quest for a Philosophical Basis and About the Enterprise that Failed. The rest of the books sometimes lack in communication because of the language they are couched in. Mention may also be made here of Athar Abbas Rizvi's Shah Wall Allah and His Times, Ma'ruf Publishing House, Canberra (Australia), 1980, a veritable guide to understanding Shah Wali Allah's political sociological, economic, religious and educational thought in correct perspective.

141 Iqbal: *Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam*, p. 78.

6.6 Shaikh Ahmad of Sirhind (d. 1624) was "a great religious genius of the seventeenth century". His "fearless analytical criticism of contemporary sufism resulted in the development of a new technique. All the various systems of sufi technique in India came from Central Asia and Arabia; his is the only technique which crossed the Indian border and is still a living force in the Punjab, Afghanistan and Asiatic Russia".¹⁴² But in spite of all this, no work seems to have been done in Pakistan on the sufi technique of Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi. Burhan Ahmad Farqui's *Mujaddid's Conception of Tawhid*, Lahore, 1940 is so far the only hook on the subject and that too was written before the establishment of Pakistan. Short accounts of it do occur in Professor Sharif's (ed) *A History of Muslim Philosophy* and Qazi Javed's *Barr-i-Saghir men Muslim Fikr ka Irtiqa*, but they can hardly be said to have done justice to it.

7. Books on Islamic and Muslim Educational Thought

7.1 Education is the religion of the modern world. It is the life-giving principle of national power. Nearly all Muslim thinkers, specially Miskawaih, Ghazali, Zarnuji,¹⁴³ Ibn Khaldun, J'afar al-Bubkani, Shah Wall Allah, Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan and Iqbal have given serious thought to education, both to its content and method. The development of curriculum, generally known as the classification of sciences, Islamic as well as Greek, has been a favourite subject of all Muslim thinkers right from Al-Kindi to J'afar al-Bubkani, whose *Hasil al-Nahj*, written in 1551, has been edited by Dr. N.A. Baloch and published by the University of Sind, Hyderabad in 1969. But despite the singular contribution of Muslims to education,¹⁴⁴ history of educational thought in the Muslim world finds no place,¹⁴⁵ even under the head, "Other Disciplines", in Professor Sharif's *A History of Muslim Philosophy*, referred

142 Ibid, p. 152.

143 Burhanuddin Zarnuji: *Talim al-Muta'allim, tariq al-Ta'allum* written in 1203, had been rendered into English by G. E. Von Grunebaum and T.M. Abel, New York, 1947.

144 See K.A. Tota's *Contribution of the Arabs to Education*, New York, 1926.

145 A. Shalaby: *History of Muslim Education*, Beirut, 1934 had made good this deficiency. Some other books on the subject by non-Pakistani scholars are:

A.S. Tritton: *Materials on Muslim Education in the Middle Ages*. London, 1957.

B. Dodge: *Muslim Education in Medieval Times*, Washington, 1962.

S.S. Nadvi: *Islamic Nizam-i-Talim*, Azamgarh, 1938. Mansur Ahmad Qureshi: *Some Aspects of Muslim Education*, Baroda (India) 1970, also Universal Books, Lahore, 1983.

to above. However, some books have indeed be written by Pakistani scholars on education in Pakistan and specially on the educational thought of Iqbal and Muslim thinkers. A list of the same is as under:

- a) "Fazulr Rahman: New Education in Making in Pakistan, London, 1948. Education in Pakistan,
- b) Ishtiaq Husain Qureshi: Karachi, 1975.
- c) Khalid Yar Khan: Tarikh-i-Ta'lim, Lahore, 1972.
- d) S. Sajjad Rizvi: Islamic philosophy of Education Lahore, 1986.
- e) Ch. Abdul Ghafoor: Some Aspects of Islamic Education, Lahore, 1966.
- f) Mian M. Tufail: Iqbal's Philosophy and Education, Lahore. 1966.
- g) Mahmud Ahmad Khan: Iqbal our Masla-i-Talim Lahore, 1978
- h) Mahmud Ahmad Siddiqui: Iqbal ka falsafa-i-Ta Karachi, 1960.
- i) Mahmud Ahmad Siddiqui: Iqbal ke Talimi Nazriyat, Karachi, 1965.
- j) Dr. Shafiq Ali Khan: Ghazali's Philosophy of Education, Hyderabad, 1976.
- k) Bakhtiar Husain Iqbal Bahaisiat Mufakkir-i-T'alim, Lahore, 1983.
- l) Bakhtiar Husain Musalmanun ki Talimi Fikr ka Siddiqui: Irtiqa' Lahore, 1983.
- m) Bakhtiar Husain Siddiqui: Education: An Islamic Perspective, Islamabad,

The basic theme of F. Rahman's *New Education in Making in Pakistan* is that education in Pakistan should have a religious basis. "I attach the highest importance" he says, "to the spiritual element (in education) for its neglect, which has characterised modern education, has had disastrous consequences, and the experience of two world wars as also the vast technological inventions of recent years, fraught as they are with incalculable possibilities of destruction, have brought home to us the realisation that unless the moral or spiritual growth of man keeps pace with the growth of science, he is doomed to utter extinction. It is surely a profoundly disturbing thought that every step forward in the domain of knowledge should be attended not with diminution but with an increase in barbarism and frightfulness, so that the pursuit of knowledge becomes as self-defeating process. To arrest this process, to purge man's mind of barbarism and turn them to humanitarian purposes is the great task our education must attempt if we are to help mankind survive. The provision of instruction in the fundamentals of religion in school is, therefore, a paramount necessity, for without religious insight we cannot hope to build up character or lay foundations for an adequate philosophy of life".¹⁴⁶ Education is always for a purpose. The sole purpose of education is to make man a man and to achieve this end his education must be grounded and rooted in the teachings of religion. This is the jist of F. Rahman's historic address to the First Education Conference held at Karachi in November 1947. But neither the Conference nor Government of Pakistan pushed the matter any further. Thus despite all the F. Rahman said, "education", in the words of Dr. I.H. Qureshi, "continued to be aimless in Pakistan".¹⁴⁷ This is the sum and substance of his *Education in Pakistan*. There is no book worth the name on the history of educational ideas in Urdu. Khalid Yar Khan's *Tarikh-i-Talim* is an exception to it. It is a selective study of educational ideas of ancient, medieval and modern thinkers. Reflections of al-Ghazali and Ibn Khaldun also find place in it. S.S. Rizvi's *Islamic Philosophy of Education* fills a long-felt gap, but only two small chapters out of six -- "Muslim Educational Thought in the Past".

146 Fazlur Rahman: *New Education in Making in Pakistan*, London, 1948, pp.6-7.

147 Dr. I.H. Qureshi: *Education in Pakistan*, Karachi, 1975, p. 49.

(pp.97-107) and "Islamic Philosophy of Education (pp. 109-130) -- deal with the subject, Some Aspects of Islamic Education is the only book by a Pakistani scholar, Ch. A. Ghafoor, on the subject of English, containing authentic information about the method of teaching and curriculum of Muslim Education in the Middle Ages. Mian M. Tufail's Iqbal's Philosophy and Education is more about Iqbal's philosophical than his education thought. To M. Ahmad Khan goes the credit of making available at one place to researches the scattered material on Iqbal's educational thought, alongwith an informative chapter on secularism, in his voluminous (running into 600 pages) Iqbal aur Masla-i-Talim. M.A. Siddiqui's Iqbal ka Falsafa-i-Talim? reveals more his enthusiasm for Iqbal than his comprehension of Iqbal's educational thought, specially with reference to Plato and Spinoza's views on the subject. His second book, Iqbal ke Talimi Nazariyat, is, as he himself admits, a free translation in Urdu of K.G. Sayydain's Iqbal's Educational Philosophy. From Iqbal to Ghazali the way is from modernity to tradition, of which Dr. Shafiq's Ghazali's Philosophy of Education, is by all mean, a good exposition. I read and evaluated all these books for the good of this august audience. I shall now request the august audience to read and evaluate B.H. Siddiqui's Iqbal Bahaisiat Mufakkir-i-Talim, Musalmanun ki Talimi Fikr ka Irtiqa and Education, An Islamic Perspective for the good of this not too learned a speaker.

OBITUARY OF SAYYID GHULAM RAZA SAEEDI

On 18th December, 1988 a renowned Iqbal Scholar of Iran Sayyid Ghulam Raza Saeedi had died at the ripe age of about 95 years. He was a great admirer of Allama Iqbal's thoughts and loved Pakistan as well. His momentous work Iqbal Shanasi was first published about 30 years back in 1959. When the quarterly Iqbal Review of the Iqbal Academy Pakistan was published in 1960, this journal contained a series of detailed articles on the philosophy and educational thoughts of Allama Iqbal. These articles were contributed by the Director of the Academy Dr. Mohammad Rafi-ud-Din and then the Assistant Editor of the journal Professor Khurshid Ahmad, Sayyid Ghulam Raza Saeedi had translated all these articles in Persian which were published in several issues of official organ of the Ministry of Education and Culture of Iran Aamoozush-o-Parvarish. It was but natural for this late scholar to quote Allama Iqbal in his speeches and writings. His conversation with the Iranian news correspondents and editors was published in Qumm entitled Musahibeh. This booklet contain Sayyid Ghulam Raza Saeedi's views about the great modern personalities of the Muslim Ummah like Sayyid Jamal-ud-Din, Abdur Rehman Alkawakabi and Allama Iqbal, etc., Musahibeh narrates the late Scholar's views about the great personality and ideas. Late Saeedi was devoted to education and he loved translating the important works into Persian. He had translated and got published several Arabic and English works into Persian and among his translated works from Arabic a few works are from Late Maulana Sayyid Abul Ala Maududi (originally written in Urdu) concerning ethical teachings of the Holy Quran, aspects of Islamic civilisation and the meanings of Islamic devotions. Late Sayyid Ghulam Raza Saeedi deserves special admirations from Scholars. He had visited Pakistan twice; his last visit in, December, 1977 when he participated in the Iqbal's Century celebration.

May his soul rest in peace;

Amen.

Dr. Mohammad Riaz