IQBAL REVIEW

Journal of the Iqbal Academy, Pakistan

April 1996

Editor

Dr. Waheed Qureshi

IQBAL ACADEMY PAKISTAN

Title	:	Iqbal Review (April 1996)
Editor	:	Wahdeed Qureshi
Publisher	:	Iqbal Academy Pakistan
City	:	Lahore
Year	:	1996
Classification (DDC)	:	105
Classification (IAP)	:	8U1.66V12
Pages	:	170
Size	:	14.5 x 24.5 cm
ISSN	:	0021-0773
Subjects	:	Iqbal Studies
	:	Philosophy
	:	Research

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Volume: 37 **Iqbal Review: April 1996** **Number: 1**

TOLERANCE AND INTOLERANCE: METAPHYSICAL ROOTS—ISLAMIC INTERPRETATIONS

Seyyed Hossein Nasr

Before discussing Islamic attitudes towards intolerance and tolerance, it is necessary to deal with the metaphysical roots of these attitudes, manifested everywhere in human life, and search for their meaning in the context of the existential reality of both ourselves and the whole of creation. It can be asserted categorically that, from the metaphysical point of view, only the Supreme Principle, the Ultimately Real or what, in the climate of monotheism, is usually referred to as the Godhead, the Divine-Essence, or the Divine Ground has no opposite, for it transcends all duality. The very act of creation or the cosmogonic process implies, of necessity, duality and opposition. Even in the Divine Order which embraces not only the Supreme Essence or the One but also Its Energies, Hypostases-or what in Islam is called the Divine Names and Qualities, where already the domain of relativity commences-one can observe duality, multiplicity, and also the roots of opposition. The manifestation of all things in this world issuing from the Divine Nature is furthermore through their opposite, a principle which has been immortalized in a Persian Poem by the 8th century Sufi poet Shaykh Mahmud Shabistari who wrote,

The manifestation of all things is through their opposites Only the Divine Truth has neither opposite nor like.

To Live in the world of manifestation is, therefore, to live in a world of opposites which can be transcended only in that reality which is the coincidentia oppositorum and which on their own level are often in opposition and usually intolerant of each other. That is why tolerance, and intolerance are not only moral issues but have a cosmic dimension. This is a point which is emphasised by traditional doctrines in the Orient where human and moral laws have not become divorced from each other and was also true in the traditional West and, until modern times, when the link between human morality and cosmic laws became severed. Examples of the

emphasis upon this nexus can be found in classical thought, Thomistic and other forms of Christian theology and philosophy, as well as classical Jewish thought.

To live in this world is to live in a world of duality and also opposition, although there are also elements of harmony and complementarity that must be considered. Therefore, the question of tolerance or intolerance must be understood not simply as only a moral choice or choice of values but also as an ontological reality. According to all traditional metaphysics, which is the perspective of this essay, duality, opposition, and intolerance of opposites for each other are present in all realms of existence below the Divine Order. Moreover, this duality within manifestation, although possessing many facets such as harmony and complementarity as seen in the yin and yang in the Chinese tradition, is also seen in its aspect of irreducible opposition in many traditions, as can be seen in such realities as truth and falsehood, beauty and ugliness, or goodness and evil. It is this second type of duality from which derive intolerance and tolerance. Yin and Yang or other similar dualities in other traditions result in complementarity and harmony whereas truth and error, or goodness and evil can never live in harmony with each other without violating the very principles of microcosmic as well as macrocosmic existence. An architect can never harmonise truth and error or falsehood on the level of his art without the building, which he is constructing, collapsing no more than can the individual "tolerate" evil simply as a complementary of the good without losing his or her moral vision. Such dualities can be transcended in a unity which stands above them in the ontological hierarchy but cannot be harmonised on their own level of existence. Truth remains always intolerant of falsehood and good of evil.

In every religion, intolerance is expressed toward evil and falsehood and as the Quran asserts: "If the truth comes, falsehood perishes." When the light manifests itself, the darkness disappears because here one has oppositions which are not of the same nature as Yin and Yang, which stands on the same ontological level. Goodness and evil do not simply have the same degree of ontological reality, no matter how they appear outwardly. The good is always intolerant of evil because the good corresponds to being and evil is nothingness, parading in the garb of existence. It is in the nature of reality to be intolerant of the unreal. If this thesis be denied, one would have

to surrender the very notion of the truth, which in fact much of the modern world has done in the name of relativity and sacrifice at the altar of tolerance without this step diminishing intolerance in any appreciable manner. Those who deny the truth are even more intolerant concerning those who believe that there is such a thing as the truth than most followers of one form of the Truth are of the followers of other manifestations of It. However, as long as one accepts truth and goodness, one must also accept the intolerance of truth vis-a-vis error and goodness in the face of evil. Moreover, those intolerant towards evil have in fact been praised in all societies as champions of the good.

In this context the term intolerance, which has become so negative and pejorative in this century of maximum hatred of human collectivities toward each other, gains a new meaning. The whole question of intolerance and tolerance becomes reflected in a new dimension when seen in the light of the true and the good, or for that matter, the beautiful and the ugly, and what lies in the nature of existence. The problem becomes, however, even more complicated when one distinguishes between absolute and relative truth and also absolute or relative moral values which determine what is good and what is not in a particular context. Furthermore, as already mentioned, a new type of intolerance sets in among the relativizers against those who still cling to the notion of absolute truth and goodness, a phenomenon which is so prevalent in the modern West as not to need any further elaboration. In fact, the basic problem of intolerance, not seen metaphysically, but observed and experienced in the present-day world, is related precisely to this fact in addition to what concerns the very fibre of separative existence in which irreducible dualities appear. Lest we forget, most human beings do not live at that exalted centre of existence which, according to the great metaphysician Nicholas Cusa, is the coincidence of opposites and which the founder of the Naqshbandiyyah Sufi order called "universal peace" (sulh-i Kull) transcending all opposition and strife. Most of us live simply in the world of opposition and of strife unable to transcend dualities and oppositions in which one side negates the other of the two sides of opposition. Therefore; the question of intolerance and tolerance presents itself to most people as being related not to the reality that transcends all dichotomies, but as part of a world in which both seem to be real and concern man's daily life in an ever

more threatening manner, thanks to the tools of destruction now available to him.

Today many people hold tolerance to be a positive virtue which is also politically correct whereas now the term implies even endurance of something false, painful, or even opposed to the good. One tolerates something despite its negative connotations such as tolerating pain or this or that person whose ideas or even presence one dislikes but nevertheless tolerates. Therefore, tolerance cannot be the highest virtue but a necessary virtue which one must possess when one cannot transcend the dichotomies of opposition where such a transcendence is a possibility as between two interpretations of a truth and not of course when truth is simply opposed to error. This necessary virtue on a social level is nevertheless considered as the highest virtue by those who are secularists because it also implies relativity, the denial of absoluteness and if carried to extremes, ultimately the very notion of truth. To assert absoluteness in the modern world-view seems to them to imply intolerance at least beyond the realms of the mathematical and natural sciences where society gives every right to scientists to be intolerant of someone who asserts that 2+2=5 or merely goes beyond the boundaries of the generally accepted paradigm of knowledge now dominating over the modern mentality. Rarely have people called official biologists intolerant when they lack tolerance toward a non-evolutionary theory of biological development even if this be presented by a respected scientist.

The question of tolerance and its opposite poses in fact different sets of problems in the modern West from what one finds in traditional civilizations in which the dominating idea or paradigm always held and continues to hold a most exalted place for the truth and the good beyond the realm of a particular form of knowledge such as modern science in the West since the 17th century. In the Western context, the discussion of tolerance and intolerance is most often between those who have followed the path of relativism and secularist humanism and those who still cling to the Christian and Jewish understanding of the truth. It also involves non--Western civilizations which have not for the most part as yet accepted the secularist relativization of their traditions and agents which most Western relativists and secularists are even more intolerant than followers of religion in the West were intolerant toward other religions in yesteryears or as various

religious communities which have confronted each other over the centuries. The question for the Western intelligentsia must therefore also include the question of tolerance or intolerance toward other religions, cultures, and ethnic groups for whom truth and goodness in an absolute sense still possess a defining role in the lives of their followers.

In must be remembered that all traditional civilizations, which means the whole of the world before the appearance of the modernist separation form the norm, held on to a truth which for them was absolute and this includes Hinduism and Buddhism considered by so many scholars as being opposed to Abrahamic absolutism. The great struggles between Buddhism and Brahmanism in India itself concerned essentially the question of the truth, and not simply social factors. Among all religions, there was one form or another of intolerance as far as views which negated their perspective upon reality were concerned and many wars' were fought over the question of truth as they are now fought over markets and economic gains or a short while ago over man-made ideologies seeking to replace religions. It is true that the crusades were carried out in the name of religions as were many other acts of a similar nature elsewhere, if not with the same persistence and ferocity. But more often than not, this kind of doctrinal intolerance was combined with practical tolerance.

A case in point is that of Islam, identified by many with intolerance today, because it seeks to cling to an immutable vision of the truth before the relativizing forces of the modern world. Muslims did fight against Christians, Shamans, and Hindus on the various borders of the Islamic world. But also Jews, Christians, and Muslims lived in remarkable peace and tolerance in Islamic Spain and Hindus and Muslims under Muslim rule during much of the domination of India by Muslim powers. Moreover, even today millions of Christians and still small numbers of Jews, as well as Zoroastrians, Buddhists, and Hindus live under Muslim rule from Morocco to Malaysia. Not only are they tolerated on the human level, but many comprise the wealthiest groups in their countries, such as the Copts in Egypt, or the Chinese Buddhists in Malaysia, and they have never been "ethnically cleansed," as Muslims and Jews were in Spain after 1492 or the Tax-tars under Czarist Russia and present day Muslims in Bosnia, not to speak of the horrendous crimes of Nazi Germany.

In such situations in the Islamic world, the common people for the most part exercised tolerance which often included personal friendship with members of a religious community while shunning discussions of other visions of the truth which on the surface would negate their own vision of it. Most, however, also remembered that others were 'People of the Book' (ahl al-Kitab) and had received a revealed truth form God, the Truth (al-Haqq) and the source of all truth. Then there were philosophers and theologians who debated with Jews, Christians, and others often in a more tolerant fashion than is to be seen among the so-called tolerant modern secularists against anyone denying the premises of their world-view. This fact is of course due to the common truths of a transcendental nature which exist between various traditional religions and the lack of such a basic common ground between the agnostic-secularist perspective and the religious one.

In any case besides the theologians and philosophers, there were the Sufis who spoke so often of the Truth which embraces all religions and who sought beyond the world of forms the Formless Reality wherein is to be found that "Universal Peace" (Sulh-i-kull) transcending all confrontations, delimitations, and oppositional dualities. In contrast, in the modern world in which it is impossible to harmonise truth and error and in which no common ground exists between those who cling to an absolute truth and the relativists, in the view of the latter a new element has entered the whole question of intolerance and tolerance and that is doubt and relativism. Seeing themselves of course as being tolerant, and forgetting their intolerance of the religious perspective, the relativizers glorify their own scepticism and relativism while always blaming those who cling to an absolute truth as being intolerant or fanatical, always insisting that the foundation of tolerance is doubt and relativization.

It is well known that since the Age of Enlightenment, and putting aside certain philosophers such as Lessing who sought to discover the underlying common truth of Judaism, Christianity and Islam, the more irreligious and agnostic philosophers sought to refute any claim of absoluteness, except of reason itself. They took human nature as the basis for the creation of tolerance among human beings. Such figures as Voltaire and Rousseau became paragons of this new understanding of tolerance which would sacrifice the right of the truth, especially the Truth as such, to that of the

individual. It was considered that human beings be tolerated because they are human beings and not whether or not they assert the truth and live according to the good.

This century has proven how wrong was this appraisal of human nature for in this most secularist period of human history when, in the West at least, religion has been to a large extent sacrificed at the altar of the secular and forced to accept relativization in order to be part of the modern discourse, not only has tolerance not increased in a profound sense, but intolerance is raising its head in an unprecedented manner, now armed with means of destroying not a few but thousands and millions of human beings. We live in a world in which in the West the relativization of nearly everything, including what has remained since the Renaissance of Christian ethics, is being carried out with great rapidity in the name of individual rights and freedoms and any opposition to this trend is immediately branded as intolerant, fanatical, and extremist. Moreover, any part of the world which refuses to participate in this process is called out of step with the' march of history, so-called progress, and all of the other idols of 18th and 19th century European thought which some refuse to give up despite the observation of the unprecedented chaos of this age which it would take more than religious faith to confirm as progress.

Being in the very nature of cosmic and human reality, intolerance has continued to survive in the West itself, which claims to determine the very direction and tempo of what is called "the march of history." Needles to say, the metaphysical principles mentioned earlier in this essay continue to be operative whether one accepts or rejects them. Yet, these new forms of intolerance are usually blamed upon what still remains of religion in the West and its recent partial revival in some circles and hardly ever upon the secularists and relativists themselves who keep insisting that if only everyone were to stop believing in absolute values and accept the process of relativization, then tolerance would flower all over the world and intolerance would disappear.

It is, therefore, important to examine the issue from the other side and turn especially to Islamic civilization accused today by the West to be more intolerant and fanatical than any other religion and civilization no matter how many centuries old mosques are destroyed in India or Muslims massacred in

Bosnia or Chechnya. It is especially necessary to turn to the Islamic world now because of the deliberated and orchestrated program to identify the negative attitude of intolerance with Muslims especially, to the extent of neglecting the rather remarkable record of Islamic civilization concerning minorities during most of its history, there being of course tragic exceptions. There are even those who do not want to be reminded of the facts of Islamic history even if mentioned by respectable scholars because such historical truths either challenge their own world-view. or their political and economic interests.

To turn to the other side of this debate, it is first of all necessary to remember once again that to be tolerant on the basis of the relativization of the truth implies also to be intolerant toward those who claim the reality of absolute truth and their attachment to it Like the thesis and antithesis of Hegelian dialectic, which Hegel probably took form Jacob Bohme and the long Hermetic tradition in the West, the very assertion of tolerance on the basis of relativism brings about the negation and intolerance toward those who refuse to participate in the prevalent process of relativization. That is why, while many people in the West talk of tolerance, they are usually very intolerant of members of other civilizations which do not accept their views even if these other civilizations pose no danger to the West. Many people speak of the Islamic world as if it had its navy in the Gulf of Mexico endangering America itself, rather than the American navy dominating the Persian Gulf and the main economic resource of all the Muslim countries in that region. A picture is drawn by the very secularist champions of tolerance that if another civilization wants to go its own way, experiment within the context of its own religion and history and with the dynamic of its own society, not accepting the prevalent secularist and relativizing models dominating over the West, then it is intolerant and must be opposed. In such situations, suddenly all the decorum of tolerance falls apart and the hitherto unannounced sentiments become formulated as the motto "whoever does not follow- our way of doing things we arc intolerant against him, but since this is not a laudable trait, we keep emphasising that he is intolerant against us. We possess all the virtues and the other, all the vices." This is where one needs to pause and think for a moment again about the metaphysical and philosophical roots of tolerance and intolerance, truth and falsehood, good and evil, alluded to briefly at the beginning of this essay.

Turning now to the Islamic world specifically, it must be asserted at the outset that Islam sees the value of human life in holding firmly to the doctrine of the absoluteness of the Divine Principle and in leading a life in accordance with the norms revealed by that Principle, norms which therefore participate in some way in the quality of absoluteness. For centuries, and despite the bigotry of a number of its scholars, the Islamic world has respected the life and property of Jews, Christians, Zoroastrians, and others living in its midst and in doing so, ii has followed the advice of the Prophet. Moreover, the Qur'an states explicitly that the "People of the Book" (ahl al-kitab), who include not only the followers of the Abrahamic religions but also those of other major religions such as Zoroastrianism and Hinduism with which Islam came into contact, have also received a divine message and that ultimately all authentic religions contain elements of the Truth within themselves. That is why Muslims are obliged according to their Sacred Law (al-Shari'ah) to protect the followers of other religions living in their midst even if Muslims do not agree with all their teachings. In answer to some contemporary Muslims who claim other religions to be false, one could ask why would God command Muslims to protect the rights of groups who live in error and would be condemned to hell. Traditional Muslims always saw other people in terms of their attachment not to an ethnic group or nation in the modern sense of the-. word, but to a religious community. That is why even today most Muslims, not transformed by modernism and Westernization, see Westerners as Christians and cannot even understand the category of secularism and the fact that many Westerners are only post-Christian and no longer attached to the Christian world-view. The faranji for the Arabs and farangi for Persians (from Frankish and meaning European) is inseparable in the mind of the people of the bazaars of Isfahan, Damascus, and Cairo from Christianity. Even the term kafir usually translated as infidel used for European Christians did not bear the strictly theological significance of a people cut off completely from the truth and grace as does the term pagan in Christianity. Because of this basic outlook, the whole question of intolerance and tolerance is seen in a different light by traditional Muslims. Tolerance is seen as involving a person who does not accept the truth of Islam but accepts some other call from Heaven as the Muslims displaying of tolerance toward Christians in such lands as Syria for fourteen hundred years bears witness. The traditional Muslim's attitude has not involved a person or society which denies any divine truth and relativizes all that is absolute and

desacralizes all that is sacred because for Muslims the purpose of human life is to confirm the Absolute and the Sacred without which the human being is only accidentally human. This radical difference in perspective is the cause of so many in the West having such difficulty in understanding the reaction of Muslims to the Salman Rushdie affair, judging all things from the prism of its own understanding of the Absolute and the relative, the Sacred and the profane, God's rights and human rights. And it has displayed the utmost degree of intolerance toward those who have not been willing to accept the fruits of the European philosophical and political developments of the last few centuries.

At the heart of this affair lies the basic question: What is more important, God's rights or man's rights? However, even if one speaks of tolerance and freedom of choice in the current Western sense, then every society should have the right to respond to this question by itself without either imposing its answer upon others or accepting others to impose their answers on it. Any society which claims that its answer to this question is global and that anyone who does not accept its answer is "backward" or "medieval" or some other such pejorative term based upon the myopia of progress and evolutionism, is exercising the worst kind of intolerance on a global scale. Putting aside sloganeering and emotional condemnation by taking recourse to such terms as "medieval", which paradoxically refers to the most religious chapter of Western history and is therefore also called the "Age of Faith", one must turn to the basic question about divine and human rights with logic and objectivity.

If viewed in this manner, we come to the conclusion that Western societies after centuries of internal wars and social revolutions have come to the conclusion that human rights are more important than divine rights. The latter are respected only under the condition that they do not interfere with law, economics, political, and other aspects of daily human affairs. Real tolerance would mean that other societies which have not undergone the modern Western experience and have not made such a decision, societies for whom God's rights come before man's would be respectfully tolerated as those societies must tolerate the West's decision on such a crucial matter which defines human life and what it means to be human. That of course has not happened especially as far as the West, which speaks so much of human

rights and tolerance, is concerned while non-Western societies have little choice but to tolerate the situation because of the complete imbalance of power. It is the hiding of these basic truths which make the situation so difficult and the discourse so tortuous today, especially in the case of the Islamic world which is perhaps more vocal than others in announcing its abiding attachment to the Absolute and the Sacred and its choice to accept the rights of God before the rights of man, a truth which is also very much present in traditional Christianity as seen in the saying of Christ: "It is the attempted by the modern West to globalise the substitution of the "kingdom of man" for the "kingdom of God" and then label anyone who does not agree with this program me as being intolerant that has taken away any claim to seriousness of much of the discourse that is now going on concerning intolerance and tolerance or human rights on a global scale.

Today we are not in a situation like the medieval period when the military and economic power of civilizations were close to each other if not evenly matched. These days there is no comparison in worldly power between the defenders of the priority of the rights of God and those of man not only globally but even within Western societies. The Islamic world, like what remains of other traditional civilizations, has little choice before this onslaught of alien ideas supported by overwhelming economic and military might. Those in the non-Western world who choose the favourite slogans of this century such as democracy and human rights, whatever they might mean in a non-Western context, are endeared to those powers, while those who try to bring out their deeper implications as far as the Absolute and the Sacred are concerned are anathematized and not at all tolerated. We only have to wait now to see what the sologans of the 21st century will be. The intolerance of the relativists against those who still hold on to the sense of the Absolute and the Sacred is a marked character of this period of human history. Intolerance continues with the same ferocity as in the ages gone by except that it is now camouflaged by the veil of hypocrisy according to which those who display such intolerance, evident in so many circles during the Rushdie affair, pose as champions of tolerance and identify their opponents as the only people who have a monopoly on intolerance.

These are factors which contribute to the difficulty of serious dialogue in today's world. One civilization, namely the Western, having broken from its

Christian past, and possessing tremendous economic and military power, combined with unprecedented social disorder, defines itself as being open-minded, the champion of human rights and tolerance but defines such terms in a particularly relativistic and secularistic manner, despite the presence of Christian, Jewish, and now to some extent Muslim voices within it. Moreover, although it is the only civilization of its kind in the world, it acts as if its understanding of man, his rights and freedoms and relationships with God or lack thereof are global. It is, therefore, decidedly intolerant toward those opposed to its world-view, while other civilizations now faced with the possibility of the very destruction of their particular identity are also intolerant toward the dominating power of the modern West.

The West traversed the path which led it where it is now as a result of its own inner forces and not because of the coercion of an outside force. In contrast, other civilizations, some of which, such as the Islamic, are still very much alive, have not had in the recent past and do not have today the freedom and choice to decide their own futures according to the dynamics of their society and the principles which their people uphold. It is here that the question of tolerance and intolerance reappears. Muslims, like many others, are intolerant toward this situation of external coercion in which others, supported by extensive economic means and political pressures, want to decide for them the meaning of human life. Seeing their identity threatened not only by an external power called the West, but also by Westernized elements within their own society who are supported by the West, they have now become even more intolerant towards the modern world. In fact, however, they are not intolerant of the West itself, but o what the power of Westernization is doing' to their society, culture, and even religion. Any society v, hose identity is threatened becomes intolerant of the forces which constitute that threat and the intolerance increases with the increase of the threat, for in this situation, there is not the question of complementary dualities such as the yin and yang hut dualities which confront and annul each other. One cannot defend the kingdom of God and His absolute rights and at the same time, the kingdom of man and his claims to the absoluteness of his rights. One can tolerate individuals with the other view as many Muslims do not only tolerate hilt have close Western friends, but one cannot be tolerant toward a world-view which is simply seeking to negate and obliterate one's own view of things. The West in fact displays the same

intolerance, although it is not under economic or political pressure to conform to an alien perspective.

Where there is the least sense of threat to a country's identity or even economic welfare in the West, even the decorum of tolerance and human rights is cast' aside as we see in Europe during the last five years where a small decline in the economic situation has caused an exponential rise of intolerance in such countries as France toward the very non-Europeans whose hard work for cheap wages helped the economic revival of the country. Who could have imagined that the country which from the 18th century became the vanguard of human freedom, anti-Christian rationalism, humanism, and free-thinking and which also influenced the founders of America should demonstrate such intolerance towards those living for fifty years amidst its people, going to the extreme of banning Muslim girls from wearing scarfs to school. Far form condoning intolerance on the individual and social levels by certain Muslims, we wonder what the manifestation of tolerance and intolerance would be in the West, if the situation were reversed and the Islamic world were exercising as much pressure upon the West to conform to its point of view as the West is exercising upon the Islamic world.

The threat to the existence of any entity which is still alive brings with it resistance and intolerance toward whatever is threatening its existence, this being true for both the individual and any human collectivity united as a society or civilization. Much of what is happening in the Islamic world is due to this fact and increase, with the impending threat. Many Muslims societies feel threatened from both the outside and the inside by forces lowly allied to the outside without regard for the fact whether this situation is their fault, the fault of their leaders, the forces outside their boundaries, or all of them together. They are reacting in the manner of a living organism which becomes immediately intolerant toward the threatening element. Our body, for example, shows acute intolerance toward a foreign virus threatening its harmony and functioning. If it were to show tolerance, the body would become ill and possibly (lie. How tragic for a body which has lost its immune system and becomes overtolerant toward every foreign invasion!

Traditional Muslims always showed much greater tolerance toward others than the so-called "fundamentalist" Muslims do today, precisely

because the former felt much less threatened as far as their identity and very existence was concerned than do the latter. But what I am most concerned about is traditional Islam still followed by the majority of Muslims who of all the different groups shows the least degree of fanatical opposition to the West. It is an Islam which is very much alive and still remains very tolerant towards Christians and followers of other religions in its midst. But traditional Islam is also now being threatened. What it does not tolerate, therefore, is a world-view which would deny ultimate truth altogether and which is moreover trying to impose this view upon Muslims. In such a situation the wise and the saintly cannot appeal to a transcendent truth of which Islam and this or that religion are different formal manifestations. There is in fact no common ultimate truth to he discovered in the present situation between the Islamic and the modern secularist view. The best that one can do is to have recourse to tolerance on the human level, provided each side respects the rights of the' other and does not seek to impose itself by economic or cultural pressure, not to speak of political impositions, upon the other.

In the present context, therefore, where the modern West is trying to impose its view of things, which while being partial and even provincial is paraded as global and even "absolute," despite its constant change, Islam has no choice but to be intolerant toward what threatens its very existence. For Islam, the truth conies before all earthly considerations and if forced to choose between the truth and tolerance based upon the destruction or marginalisation of the truth, it would certainly choose the former and have tolerance toward the latter only on the condition that it not be imposed upon it by force. I think that many believing Jews and Christians in the West would also agree with this Islamic position, although not all dare speak about it clearly and openly rather than seeking to placate the secularising other by bending their own teachings which as a result, ' sometimes become hardly recognisable any more.

The problem of the Islamic world is, however, not how to come to terms, tolerate, and even display sympathy for traditional Judaism and Christianity which have so much in common with Islam. The problem is have tolerance towards a world view which is simply the negation of Islam while at the same time seeking to impose itself upon the Islamic world. The

Islamic world must learn to continue to strengthen its identity in the face of a powerful external threat always preaching to it the doctrine p of human rights according to its own understanding while applying it selectively and only according to its worldly interests, and yet remain tolerant vis-a-vis this force at least on the human level. The difficult at situation is complicated further by the tragedy of the lack of freedom by Muslims to charter their own course and work out a modus vinendi toward the modern West in conformity with their own principles and traditions. It is as if Americans and Europeans were forced from the outside to come to terms with Confucian ideas of filial piety without the freedom to react to such an alien idea creatively and freely.

As for the West and those who believe that tolerance is related to human rights defined according to a purely worldly notion of human existence and individualistic understanding of freedom, irrespective of whether man was created in the image of God or is simply an evolved ape, there is also an immense challenge but in the other direction. It is how to be tolerant toward those who do not accept the Western definition of the human state, nor relativism and secularism, those who belong to other civilizations or even within the West for whom the sense of the Absolute and the Sacred has not withered away and is not likely to wither away no matter how much one extols the glory of secularism. These beliefs will not disappear especially at a time when, under the most secularist and worldly civilization ever known, the modern society is falling apart so rapidly from within.

The future of the world in the next few years and decades will depend obviously on .how various world-views and civilizations will be able to live together not simply under the banner of a relativistic and secularist view foisted by the West as global human rights, but after consideration of the different understandings of ultimate truth on the one hand, and its denial on the other. If all civilizations were still traditional, this task would have been much easier since one could not only speak. of tolerance of other versions of the truth, but in the manner of a Rumi or Ramakrishna of the Truth which transcends all forms and is yet manifested in different sacred forms lying at the heart of different civilizations. One could also appeal to metaphysics and seek to understand the root of intolerance in certain types of dualities which characterize manifestation as such. But of course this is not now the case and

the challenge remains how to he tolerant of ideas, forms, and philosophies which negate one's world-view at its very foundations.

Needless to say, no matter how difficult, the challenge must nevertheless be successfully answered. Interestingly enough, at this moment of history the challenges to the Islamic world and the secularised West are in many ways reversed and opposed in nature. The Islamic world must learn to he tolerant of a world that threatens its very existence without losing its identity, and the secularized West must learn the very difficult lesson that its modernised understanding of man and the world is not necessarily universal and that it is not sufficient to boast of the virtue of tolerance while being totally intolerant toward all those who challenge the very premise of the secularist and humanist world-view. Paradoxically enough, each side, the non-Western- especially the Islamic- and the Western, have much to learn from each other, whether in a positive or negative manner, at this dangerous juncture of human history.

IQBAL AND KHAWAJA GHULAM FARID ON MAN-GOD POLARITY

Shahzad Qaiser

Allama Muhammad Iqbal (1877-1938) and Khawaja Ghulam Farid (1845-1901) are two great representatives of the Islamic heritage. Iqbal builds a religious metaphysics by taking fundamental inspiration from Jalaluddin Rumi (1207-1273) whom he openly acknowledges as his spiritual guide.

Khawaja Ghulam Farid, on the other hand, commits to the traditional metaphysics of Islam by mainly accepting the doctrinal formulations metaphysical and traditional truths as realized by a number of Sufies including Bayazid Bistami, Mansur Hallaj (858-922), Ibn' Arabi (1165-1240) and his own spiritual master, Khawaja Ghulam Fakhruddin. He pays homage to these saints in the following lines:

Learn the Mansurian tradition and its realization; now shelve, 'Kanz'. 'Kuduri' (books of jurisprudence).

The antagonist mullahs seem to be hardened in their way; undoubtedly Ibn' Arabi and Mansur impart heart---knowledge.

The sermons of the mullahs do not touch us; undoubtedly we are committed to the Way shown by Ibn' Arabi. The entranced lover exists beyond disdain. Be Bistami by saying 'Glory he to Me'. Say: 'I am the Truth' and he Mansur.

Adopt the Way of Ibn' Arabi; shelve jurisprudence, its principles and problems.

Fakhr-e-Jehan, the preceptor, has pontificated that Ibn' Arabi, the gnostic, is our Master.

Learn Oneness and thrust aside the vice of otherness.

Adopt the ways of Ibn' Arabi. This has been said by the resplendent Fakhr-e-Jehan.

His foremost disciple Maulana Ruknuddin who recorded the proceedings of his doctrinal sittings over a period of time says:

In the eye of Hazrat (Khawaja Ghulam Farid), Shaikh Mansur is the Man of God and the Imams of the Righteous....We servants know full well that Shaikh Mansur, Shaikh Muhyuddin Ibn' Arabi and Shaikh Bayazid Bistami are considered by Hazrat (Khawaja Ghulam Farid) as Imam of 'Faqr' (Poverty) and Tariqah' (Sufism). There are numerous 'kafis' in his 'Diwan' wherein he acknowledges them as his Masters and has followed their Way.

Both Iqbal and Khawaja Ghulam Farid believe in man---God polarity but with this essential difference that for Iqbal this polarity is absolute, final and categorical whereas for Khawaja Ghulam Farid it is essentially relative, provisional and hypothetical and is ultimately transcended by virtue of the Self, the intellect or the Spirit which is identical with the Divine Essence. Here lies the essential difference between a religious metaphysics and an intellectual one. The former stands for individuality, limitedness and duality whereas the latter is essentially characterized by universality, unlimitedness and non-duality.

Iqbal builds his religious metaphysics on the subject and object structure of reality. His theory of knowledge embraces the triplicity of sense-perception, reason and intuition within the framework of individualistic experience. The distinction between subject and object subsists at each level of experience including the mystical one. Mystic experience maintains this subtle distinction which is understood in the language of religion as a polarisation between man and God. The polarisation alluded to is manifest in the following main characteristics of religious experience as presented by Iqbal.

1. Mystic experience is immediate like other levels of human experience. Its interpretation gives us knowledge of God. The immediacy of mystic experience simply means that we know God just as we know other objects. God is not a mathematical entity or a system of concepts mutually related to one another and having no reference to experience.'

2. Mystic experience is characterized by unanalysable wholeness. The mystic state brings us into contact with the total passage of Reality in which all

the diverse stimuli merge into one another and form a single unanalysable unity in which the ordinary distinction of subject and object does not exist'.

3. The private personality of the mystic, in state of mystic experience, is neither obliterated nor permanently suppressed. 'The mystic state is a moment of intimate association with a unique Other Self, transcending, encompassing, and momentarily suppressing the private personality of the subject of experience.' The truth of this intimate association is the element of response which essentially posits 'the presence of a conscious self'.

4. Mystic experience by virtue of being direct is incommunicable but the interpretation put on it can be conveyed in the form of propositions.

5. The mystic, in the ultimate analysis, remains linked with serial time. 'The mystic's intimate association with the eternal which gives him a sense of the unreality of serial time does not mean a complete break with serial time. The mystic state in respect of its uniqueness remains in some way related to common experience. This is clear from the fact that the mystic state soon fades away though it leaves a deep sense of authority after it has passed away. Both the mystic and the prophet return to the normal S. QAIsER: Iqbal and khazaja Glurla'n Lnid levels of experience.

Iqbal consistently maintains that sense-perception needs to be supplemented by the perception of heart in order to have a total vision of Reality. 'In the interests of securing a complete vision of Reality, therefore, sense-perception must be supplemented by the perception of what the Quran describes as 'Faud' or 'Qalb', i.e., heart…

The 'heart' is a kind of inner intuition or insight which, in the beautiful words of Rumi, feeds on the rays of the sun and brings us into contact with aspects of Reality other than those open to sense-perception. It is, according to the Quran, something which 'sees' and its reports, if properly interpreted are never false. We must not, however, 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.

Iqbal considers man as self, ego, nafs or soul. For man both 'Anfus' (self) and 'Afaq' are sources of knowledge. 'God reveals His signs in inner as well as outer experience, and it is the duty of man to judge the knowledge--yielding capacity of all aspects of experience'. In other words,

'One indirect way of establishing connections with the reality that confronts us is reflective observation and control of its symbols as they reveal themselves to sense-perception, the other way is direct association with that reality as it reveals itself within'.

Here conscious experience is the royal road to Reality.

'Now my perception of things that confront me is superficial and external; but my perception of my own self is internal, intimate and profound. It follows, therefore, that conscious experience is that privileged case of existence in which we are in absolute contact with Reality and an analysis of this privileged case is likely to throw a flood of light on the ultimate meaning of existence.

Both efficient and appreciative aspects of the ego are oriented towards conscious existence which means life in time. Human 'self in its inner life moves from the centre outwards... on its efficient side it enters into relation with what we call the world of space... The self here lives outside itself as it were and, while retaining its unity as a totality, discloses itself as nothing more than a series of specific and consequently numerable states... The unity of the appreciative ego is like the unity of the term in which the experiences of its individual ancestors exist, not as a plurality, but as a unity in which every experience permeates the whole. There is no numerical distinctness of states in the totality of the ego, the multiplicity of whose elements is, unlike that of the efficient-self wholly qualitative'.

The levels of experience are understood in reference to the dynamism of human thought.

'In its deeper movement, however, thought is capable of reaching an immanent Infinite in whose self-unfolding movement the various finite concepts are merely moments. In its essential nature, then, thought is not static; it is dynamic and unfolds its internal infinitude in time like the seed

which, from the very beginning, carries within itself the organic unity of the tree as a present fact.... It is in fact the presence of the total Infinite in the movement of knowledge that makes finite thinking possible. It is a mistake to regard thought as inconclusive, for it too, in its own way, is a greeting of the finite with the infinite'.

Also, one finds no cleavage between thought and intuition. 'They spring up from the same root and complement each other'. 'Thought therefore, it its true nature, is identical with life'.

Iqbal believes in the individuality and uniqueness of man. Human ego is real and its reality cannot be denied.

'The finite centre of experience, therefore, is real, even though its reality is too profound to be intellectualized.. The ego reveals itself as a unity of what we tall mental states… True time-duration belongs to the ego alone… Another important characteristic of the unity of the ego is its essential privacy which reveals the uniqueness of very ego'.

Iqbal rejects the theological view of considering, the ego as 'a simple indivisible, and immutable soul substance, entirely different from the grout of our mental states and unaffected by the passage of time'. He states that 'our conscious experience can give us no clue to the ego regarded as a soul substance; for by hypothesis the soul-substance does not reveal itself in experience... the interpretation of our conscious experience is the only road by which we can reach the ego, if at all.

Iqbal considers the ego as a directive energy which 'is formed and disciplined by its own experience'. He quotes the Quranic verse in this context: 'And they ask thee of the soul. Say: the soul proceeded from my Lord's 'Amr' (command) but of knowledge, only a little to you is given '(17:85). His explanation of the verse is as follows:

'The verse quoted above means that the essential nature of the soul is directive, as it proceeds from the directive energy of God; though we do not know how Divine 'Amr' functions as ego-unities. The personal pronoun used in the expression Rabbi ('My Lord') throws further light on the nature and behaviour of the ego. It is meant to suggest that the soul must be taken

as something individual and specific, with all the variations in the range, balance, and effectiveness of its unity… Thus my real personality is not a thing, it is an act... My whole reality lies in my directive attitude.'

In the divine scheme of things, ego occupies a prominent place.

'The degree of reality varies with the degree of the feeling of egohood. The nature of the ego is such that, inspite of its capacity to respond to other egos, it is self-centered and possesses a private circuit of individuality excluding all egos other than itself. In this alone consists its reality as an ego. Man, therefore, in whom egohood has reached its perfection occupies a genuine place in the heart of Divine creative energy and thus possesses a much higher degree of reality than things around him. Of all the creations of God he alone is capable of consciously participating in the creative life of his Maker.

Iqbal on the basis of individualistic experience considers the ultimate Reality too as an ego. He says:

'Thus a comprehensive philosophical criticism of all the facets of experience on its efficient as well as appreciative side brings us to the conclusion that the ultimate Reality is a rationally directed creative life... intuition reveals life as a centralizing ego. This knowledge, however imperfect as giving us only a point of departure, is a direct revelation of the ultimate nature of Reality. Thus the facts of experience justify the inference that the ultimate nature of Reality is spiritual, and must be conceived as an ego'.

In other words:

'The more important regions of experience, examined with an eye on a synthetic view, reveal, as the ultimate ground of all experience, a rationally directed creative will which we have found reasons to describe as an ego. In order to emphasize the individuality of the ultimate Ego the Quran gives Him the proper name of Allah, and further defines Him as follows:

'Say: Allah is one:

All things depend on Him;

He begetteth not, and He is not begotten: And there is none like unto Him' (112:1-4).

Iqbal derives the egos from the ultimate Ego. He says: 'Reality is, therefore, essentially spirit. But, of course, there are degrees of spirit... from the ultimate Ego only egos proceed. The creative energy of the ultimate Ego, in whom deed and thought are identical, functions as ego-unities.. The world, in all its details, from the mechanical movement of what we call the atom of matter to the free movement of thought in the human ego, is the self-revelation of the 'Great I am'. Every atom of

. Divine energy, however low in the scale of existence, is an ego. But there are degrees in the expression of egohood. Throughout the entire gamut of being runs the gradually rising note of egohood until it reaches its perfection in man. That is way the Quran declares the ultimate Ego to be nearer to man than his own neck vein. Like pearls do we live and move and have our being in the perpetual flow of Divine Life'.

Iqbal presents an individualistic conception of God and interprets the metaphor of light in the Qur'an accordingly. He says: 'The metaphor of

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light as applied to God, therefore, must, in view of modern knowledge, b taken to suggest the Absoluteness of God and not His Omnipresence which easily lends itself to a pantheistic interpretation.' He poses a question: Does not individuality imply finitude? In other words, if God is an ego and as such an individual, how can we conceive Him as infinite. He says:

The answer to this question is that God cannot be conceived as infinite in the sense of spatial infinity. In matters of spiritual valuation mere immensity counts for nothing--moreover, temporal and spatial infinities are not absolute.. space and time are interpretations which thought puts upon the creative activity of the Ultimate Ego...The infinity of the Ultimate Ego consists in infinite inner possibilities of his creative activity of which the universe, as known to us, in only a partial expression'.

He believes in the self-revelation of God.

'God's life is self-revelation, not the pursuit of an ideal to be reached. The 'not-yet' of man does mean pursuit, and may mean failure the 'not yet' of God means unfailing realization of the infinite creative possibilities of His being which retains its wholeness throughtout the entire process.' Further it is in the concrete individuality manifested in the countless varieties of living forms that the ultimate Ego reveals the infinite wealth of His being'.

Infinite Reality remains in the process of creative unfolding. Life is one and continuous. Man marches always onward to receive ever fresh illuminations from an infinite Reality which 'every moment appears in a new glory'. And the recipient of Divine illumination is not merely a passive recipient. Every act of a free ego creates a new situation, and thus offers further opportunities of creative unfolding'.

Iqbal poses another question: Does the universe confront God as His 'other' with space intervening between Him and it? He answers in the negative.

'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 independent reality standing in opposition to Him. This view of matter will reduce both God and the world to two separate entities confronting each other in the empty receptacle of an infinite space... space, time and matter are interpretations which thought 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.'

He further discusses the intuition of I amness in reference to both the human self and Divine Self with corresponding relation to Nature.

'To exist in pure duration is to be a self, and to be a self is to 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 dependent and arises out of the distinction between the self. and the not self. The ultimate Self, in the words of the Qur'an, 'can afford to dispense with all the worlds'. To Him

the not-self does not present itself as a confronting 'other', or else it would have to he, like our finite self, in spatial relation with the confronting 'other'. What we call Nature or the not-self is only a fleeting moment in the life of God. His 'I amness' is independent, elemental, absolute. Of such a self it is impossible for us to form an adequate conception. As the Qur'an says: 'Naught' is like Him, yet 'He hears and sees' Now a self is unthinkable without a character, i.e., a uniform mode of behaviour. Nature... is not a mass of pure materiality occupying a void. It is a structure of events, a systematic mode of behaviour, and as such organic to the ultimate Self. Nature is to the Divine Self as character is to the human self. In the picturesque phrase of the Qur'an it is the habit of Allah. From the human point of view it is an interpretation which, in our present situation, we put on the creative activity of the Absolute Ego... Nature, then, must he understood as a living, evergrowing organism whose growth has no final external limits. Its only limit is internal. Leo the immanent self which animates and sustains the whole. As the Qur'an says: 'And verily unto thy Lord is the Limit'. (50:14)'

All limits have to he understood in this context. For instance,

the element of guidance and directive control in the ego's activity clearly shows that the ego is a free personal causality. Ile shares in the life and freedom of the Ultimate Ego Who. by permitting the emergence of a finite ego, capable of private initiative has limited this freedom of I Lis own free will'.

It is very pertinent to note that Iqbal mentions Bayazid Bistami on the question of creation to bring home the fact that matter is not co-eternal with God. He says:

"The question of creation once arose among the disciples of the well-known saint Bayazid of Bistam. One of the disciples very pointedly put the commonsense view saying: 'There was a moment of time when God existed and nothing else existed beside Him". '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 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'.

What is the ultimate nature of the ego in reference to the climax of religious life? Iqbal says:

'Indeed, the incommunicability of religious experience gives us a clue to the ultimate nature of the ego... The climax of religious life, however, is the discovery of the ego as an individual deeper than his conceptually describable habitual self-hood. It is in contact with the Most Real that the ego discovers its uniqueness; its metaphysical status, and the possibility of improvement in that status. Strictly speaking, the experience which leads to this discovery is not a conceptually manageable intellectual fact; it is a vital fact, an attitude consequent on an inner biological transformation which cannot be captured in the net of logical categories'.

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Iqbal understands the ultimate aim of the ego not in the category o 'seeing' but in the category of being. He says:

'The ultimate aim of the ego is not to see something, but to be something. It is the ego's effort to be something that he discovers his final opportunity to sharpen his objectivity and acquire a more fundamental 'I am', which finds evidence of its reality not in the Cartesian 'I think' but in the Kantian' 'I am'. The end of the ego's quest is not emancipation from the limitations of individuality;it is, on the other hand, a more precise definition of it. The final act is not an intellectual act, but a vital act which deepens the whole being of the ego, and sharpens his will with the creative assurance that the world is not something to be merely seen or known through concepts, but something to be made and re-made by continuous action. It is a moment of supreme bliss and also a moment of the greatest trial for the ego'.

Iqbal holds that even the Day of Judgement shall not

'affect the perfect calm of a full grown ego... Who can be the subject of this exception but those in whom the ego has reached the very highest point of intensity? And the climax of this development is reached when the ego is able to retain full self possession, even in the case of a direct contact with the all-embracing Ego. As the Qur'an says of the Prophet's vision of the Ultimate Ego:

'His eye turned not aside, nor did it wander'. (53:17) this is the ideal of perfect manhood in Islam. Nowehere has it found a better literary expression than in a Persian verse which speaks of the Holy Prophet's experience of Divine illumination:

('Moses fainted away by a mere surface illumination of Reality: Thou seest the very substance of Reality with a smile!'). Pantheistic Sufism obviously cannot favour such a view, and suggests differences of a philosophical nature. How can the Infinite and the finite egos mutually exclude each other? Can the finite ego, as such, retain its finitude besides the Infinite Ego? This difficulty is based on a misunderstanding of the true nature of the Infinite. True infinity does not mean infinite extension which cannot be conceived without embracing all available finite extensions. Its nature consists in intensity and not extensity; and the moment we fix our gaze on intensity, we begin to see that the finite ego must be distinct, though not isolated, from the Infinite. Extensively regarded I am absorbed by the spatio-temporal order to which I belong. Intensively regarded I consider the same spatio-temporal order as a confronting 'other' wholly alien to me.. I am distinct from and yet ultimately related to that on which I depend for my life and sustenance'.

Iqbal further discusses the nature .of this final experience. He says:

"This final experience is the revelation of a new life-process-original essential, spontaneous. The eternal secret of the ego is that the moment he reaches this final revelation he recognizes it as the ultimate root of his

being without the slightest hesitation. Yet in the experience itself there s no mystery. Nor is. there anything emotional in it... Thus the experience reached is a perfectly natural experience and possesses a biological significance of the highest importance to the ego. It is the human ego rising higher than mere reflection, and mending its transiency by appropriating the eternal. The only danger to which the ego is exposed in this Divine quest is the possible relaxation of his activity caused by his enjoyment of and absorption in the experiences that precede the final experience'

It is interesting to note that for Iqbal the religious experience of the Prophet is, in fact, the contact of the Prophet with the root of his own being. He says:

'A Prophet may be defined as a type of mystic consciousness in which 'unitary experience' tends to overflow its boundaries, and seeks opportunities of redirecting or refashioning the forces of collective life. In his personality the finite centre of life sinks into his own infinite depths only to spring up again, with fresh vigour, to destroy the old, and to disclose the new directions of life. This contact with the root of his own being is by no means peculiar to man. Indeed the way in which the word Wahi (inspiration) is used in the Qur'an shows that the Qur'an regards it as a universal property of life; though its nature and character are different at different stages of the evolution of life.'

Iqbal moves on to discuss the expression of this experience in the religious life of Islam. He says:

'The development of this experience in the religious life of Islam reached its culmination in the well-known words of Hallaj--'I am the creative truth'. The contemporaries of Hallaj, as well as his successors, interpreted these words pantheistically, but the fragments of Hallaj, collected and published by the French Orientalist, L. Massignon, leave no doubt that the martyr-saint could not have meant to deny the transcendence of God. The true interpretation of his experience, therefore,, is not the drop slipping into the sea, but the realization and hold affirmation in an undying phrase of the reality and permanence of the human ego in a profounder personality'

He further says:

In the history of religious experience in Islam which, according to the Prophet, consists in the 'creation of Divine attributes in man', this experience has found expression in such phrases as--'l am the creative truth' (Hallaj), 'I am Time' (Muhammad), 'I am the speaking Qur'an (Ali)' 'Glory to me' (Bayazid). In the higher Sufism of Islam unitive experience is not the finite ego effacing its own identity by some sort of absorption into the Infinite Ego; it is rather the Infinite passing into the loving embrace of the finite'.

Before we proceed to present the views of Khawaia Ghulam Fund on man-God polarity, it is imperative to examine a few essential points arising

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out of Iqbal's approach to the subject. lqbai is a religious metaphysician and he starts with an individualistic conception of man and God. He is neither concerned with pure metaphysics nor with the traditional one. This is precisely the reason that he does not start from the Essence or undifferentiated Reality. His starting point is the Divinity or differentiated Reality. This approach lands him in the orbit of individualistic experience whether discursive or intuitive. His conception of man and God within the individualistic framework is fraught with much meaning for both religion and philosophy but remains incomplete from the metaphysical point of view. His starting point is not the Supreme Principle which is formless but the divine form which is termed as God or the Ultimate Ego, Metaphysically speaking' it has been possible to say that the Avatara was "created before creation", which means that before creating the world, God hasp to "create" Himself" in divinis, if one may say so. the word "Create" having here a higher and transposed meaning which is precisely that of Maya.' Thus, 'there is Atma and there is Maya; but there is also Atma as Maya, and this is the manifesting and acting Personal Divinity,' And when it comes to understanding the total universe, Iqbal does not appreciate that Maya is Atma. From the metaphysical point of view, 'then is also Maya as Atma, and this is the total Universe when seen as one polyvalent reality. The world will then be the Divine aspect termed "Universal Man" (Vaishwanara) or. in Sufism, "The Outward" (az-Zahir) this is, incidentally, the deepest meaning of the Far Eastern Yin-Yang." lqbal considers man as an individual, ego, self, soul or nafs. He does not

take into consideration the metaphysical reality of man which is understood by dint of intellect or Spirit(ruh) which is in man but is not his It is the presence of this universal element i.e. the Self in man which makes him transcend the narrow circuits of his individuality. Iqbal not only misses this metaphysical perspective but further makes a mistake of translating 'ruh' Spirit as 'nafs' soul in the,Quranic verse alluded to. Resultantly, many problems like pantheism arise which have no cause of origin in traditional metaphysics. Thus, when it comes to realization, lqbal can only talk of

individual realization and not of universal one. He is condemned to interpret the utterrances of Mansur Hallaj and the like from the individualistic perspective whereas they can only be understood in reference to the universal realm. It is here that Khawaja Ghulam Farid emerges on the scene to provide intellectual foundations to both religion and philosophy by reiterating the doctrine of Oneness of Being (wahdat al. 'wujud) which not only embraces man-God polarity but further suggests doctrinal and realizational measures to transcend it. It is emphatic to note that Iqbal in his study of God, man and universe, at certain points, reaches the threshold of traditional metaphysics but in the absence of a perspective of gnosis he fails to develop these points and returns back to his essential individualistic approach. Khawaja Ghulam Farid, as if by Providence, takes these points to their logical conclusion. Thus Iqbal's incomplete religious metaphysics, in a certain sense, is completed by the traditional metaphysics of Khawaja Ghulam Farid.

Khawaja Ghulam Farid starts with the metaphysical idea of the Absolute. He uses the word 'Haqq' which literally means the Truth or the Reality in referring to the Absolute. He in one of his Kafees brings home the message that nothing can be ascribed to the Absolute for all ascriptions, in principle, fall short of describing the Real. He starts his kafi by posing a fundamental question as to whether the-essential Beauty or Primordial light can be called necessity and possibility. He goes on equating it with certain sensuous and non-sensuous realities and in the end shows the deficiency of this approach in the following verses:

Farid hasten to have eternal repentance. Sayeth, each ascription is impregnated with imperfection. Sayeth, He is Pure. Transcendent, unblemished. Sayeth, He is Nameless Truth without Signs.

These verses are very translucent in revealing the essential nature of the metaphysical truth. The Absolute in its absoluteness is Nameless and It has no Signs by which It can be approached. It is beyond human perception, conception and imagination. No qualification or relation can be attributed to It for It even transcends transcendence. It is 'the most indeterminate of all indeterminates'. No linguistic category can describe It.. It lives in permanent

abysmal darkness and is 'the most unknown of all the unknown'. The Absolute in its absoluteness is the 'Mystery of mysteries' and no one, in principle, can have access to It. The Absolute does not manifest itself in its absoluteness. 'The self-manifestation of the Absolute does not yet occur'. There is as yet no theopany or tajalli. The Absolute in its absoluteness is termed as 'Dhat' or Essence. The Pure Absolute in its fundamental aspect of absoluteness is beyond the insatiable human quest and all attempts to reach It prove to be negatory. Khawaja Ghulam Farid says:

Where to seek! Where to find You Friend. All the fiery creatures, human beings, forces of Nature and the entire world is amazingly drowned in the sea of bewilderment. The sufis, devotees, men of wisdom and learning have ultimately lost. Arshi and Bistami while embracing each other cry in vain. Ptolemy and Pythagoras did a lot of thinking and reasoning but found no mark and clue of the Friend which made them resign to the human limitation. The Buddhists, Zoroastrians. Jews, Christians. Hindus and the People of Book say that He is Pure, Perfect, Unlimited, Transcendent and Limitless. Saints, prophets, mystics, poles and even messengers and deities incarnate proclaim weepingly that He is beyond the reach of vision. Scientists, erudites, gnostics and professionals, in all humility have admittedly resigned. Ask Farid, naive and simple: Where do you stand?

Thus, the Absolute in its absoluteness is the highest metaphysical stage of Reality.

At this highest metaphysical stage, Reality is undifferentiated. Khawaja Ghulam Farid accounts for the principle of differentiation within the Reality. He says:

'Hidden Treasure' testifies Love initself. Originally Love emerge within the Reality which caused the entire universe". The above verse refer to the Holy Tradition: 'I was a hidden treasure, and longed to known, so I created the cosmos'. Self-consciousness is the primordial at fundamental polarisation within the Absolute. The otherness is not absolute for in case of Self-consciousness the principle of otherness t differentiation is essentially for Self-Realization. Ibn 'Arabi explains this point in these beautiful words:

The Reality wanted to see the essences of His Most Beautiful Names or, to put it another way, to see His own Essence, in an all-inclusive object encompassing the whole (divine) Command, which, qualified by existence, would reveal to Him His own mystery. For the seeing of a thing, itself by itself, is not the same as its seeing itself in another, as it were in a mirror, for it appears to itself in a form that is invested by the location of the vision by that which would only appear to it given the existence of the location and its (the locations) self disclosure to it. The Reality gave existence to the whole Cosmos (at first) as an undifferentiated thing without anything of the spirit in it, so that it was like an unpolished mirror the (divine) command required (by its nature) the reflective characteristics of the mirror of the Cosmos, and Adam was the very, principle of reflection for that mirror and

the spirit of that form

In order to know the emergence of the principle of differentiation within the undifferentiated Reality, one needs to understand that Supreme Reality is absolute and infinite.

'That is absolute which allows of no augmentation or diminution, or of no repetition or division; it is therefore that which is solely itself and totally itself. And that is infinite which is not determined by any limiting factor and therefore does not end at any boundary; it is in the first place Potentiality or Possibility as such, and ipso facto the Possibility of things, hence Virtuality, Without All-Possibility, there would be neither Creator nor Creation, neither Maya nor Samsara'.

The distinction between the absolute and the infinite expresses the fundamental aspects of the Real i.e. the Absolute.

The Infinite is so to speak the intrinsic dimension of plenitude proper to the Absolute; to say Absolute is to say Infinite, the one being inconceivable ' without the other. The distinction... expresses the two fundamental aspects of the Real, that of essentiality and that of potentiality; this is the highest principal prefiguration of the masculine and feminine poles. Universal Radiation, thus Maya both divine and cosmic, springs from the second aspect, the Infinite, which coincides with All-Possibility.

Speaking etymologically, the Infinite is that which is without limits. It has absolutely no limits. The infinities of number, space and time belong to the domain of the indefinite which is qualitatively different from the Infinite. The Indefinite is merely an extension of the finite and may be understood as enhanced finiteness.

S. QAISER: Iqbal and Khawaja Ghulam Farid

The Infinite.. if it is truly to be such, cannot admit of any restriction, which supposes that it is absolutely unconditioned and indeterminate, for all determination is necessarily a limitation simply because it must leave something outside itself, namely all other equally possible determinations. Limitation, moreover, presents the character of a veritable negation, for to set a limit is to deny that which is limited everything that this limit excludes. Consequently, the negation of a limit is in fact the negation of a negation, which is to say, logically and even mathematically, an affirmation. Therefore the negation of all limits is equivalent, in reality, to total and absolute affirmation. That which has no limits is that to which one can deny nothing, hence is that which contains all, outside of which there is nothing. This idea of the Infinite, which is thus the most affirmative of all because it comprehends or embraces all particular affirmations whatsoever, can only be expressed by a negation by reason of its absolute indetermination. Any direct affirmation expressed in language must, in fact, he a particular and determined affirmation—the affirmation of something—whereas total and absolute affirmation is not any particular affirmation to the exclusion of others, for it implies them all equally. It should now be simple to grasp the very close connection which this has with universal Possibility, which in the same way embraces all particular possibilities.

The idea of the Infinite cannot be contradicted for it contains no contradiction and there is nothing negative about it.

'If, in fact, one envisages the "Whole" in an absolute and universal sense, it is evident that it can in no way be limited. It could only be limited by virtue of something outside itself, and if there were anything outside it, it would no longer be the Whole.... the Whole in this sense must not be assimilated to a particular or determined "whole" which has a definite relationship with the parts of which it consists. It is, properly speaking, "without parts," for these

parts would be of necessity relative and finite and could thus have no common measure with it, and consequently no relationship with it, which amounts to saying that they have no existence from its point of view. This suffices to show that one should not try to form any particular conception of it.

Likewise, universal Possibility is necessarily unlimited and an impossibility being a pure and simple negation is nothing and cannot limit it.

Thus, when we say that universal Possibility is infinite or unlimited, it must be understood that it is nothing other than the Infinite itself, envisaged under a certain aspect, insofar as one may say that there are aspects to the Infinite. For the Infinite is truly "without parts", and strictly speaking, there can be no further question of a multiplicity of aspects existing really and "distinctively" within it. It is we who in fact conceive of the Infinite under this aspect or that, because we cannot do otherwise, and even if our conception were not essentially limited (as it is since we are in a individual state), it is bound to limit itself in order to become expressible, for that requires its investiture with a determinate form. All that is important is that we should understand well from what side the

limitation comes and to whom it applies, so that we do not misattribute our own imperfection, or rather that of the exterior and interior instruments which we now use as individual beings, and which possess only a definite and conditioned existence. We must not transfer this imperfection, purely contingent and transitory as the conditions to which it refers and from which it results, to the unlimited domain of universal Possibility itself... The determinations, whatever the principle by which one creates them, can exist only in relation to our own conceptions.... Perfection being identical in its absolute sense with the Infinite understood in all its indetermination... Being does not contain the whole of Possibility, and that in consequent it can in no wise be identified with the Infinite, that is why we say that our present standpoint is far more universal than that from which we envisage only Being.

Khawaja Ghulam Farid identifies the stage of the Absolute in absoluteness with Allah's Essence. He ascribes to this view of identity set forth by Ibn 'Arabi who 'explicitly identifies the absolute Being with Allah, the Living, Omniscient, Omnipotent God of the Qur'an'.The Absolute in its absoluteness is not only identified with Allah's Essence Divine Essence but has complete identity with Unity (al-ahadiyah). 'Div Essence (dhat) and Unity (ahadiyah) are completely identical with e other in indicating one and the same thing, namely, the Absolute in absoluteness as the highest metaphysical stage of Reality'.

Khawaja Ghulam Farid maintains a subtle distinction between Essence and the Divinity. 'God may be considered in respect of Himself, which case He is referred to as the Essence, or in respect of His level, which case He is referred as the Divinity. In both cases he is called 'Allah However, in respect of Himself i.e., the Essence, He is unknowable, 'C is known through the relations, attributions, and corelations that becon established between Him and the Cosmos. But the Essence is unknow since nothing is related to it. In proof of this assertion, the Shaykh (Ibn 'Arabi) often cites Qur'anic verse, "God warns you about His Self" (3: 30), which he frequently explains in terms of the prophetic saying: "Reflect] (tafakkur) upon all things, but reflect not upon God's Essence'. Ibn At says:

'God is described by Nondelimited Being (al-wujud al-mutlaq), for He neither the effect (ma'lul) nor the cause (' ilia) of anything. On the contra He exists through His very Essence. Knowledge of Him consists of knowledge that He exists, and His existence is not other than His Essence, though I Essence remains unknown; rather, the Attributes that are attributed to h are known, i.e., the Attributes of Meanings (sifat al-ma'am), which are 1 Attributes of Perfection (sifat al-kamal). As for knowledge of the Essence's reality (haqiqat al-dhat), that is prohibited. It cannot be known through logical proof (dalil) or rational demonstration (burhan 'aqli), nor

definition (hadd) grasp it. For He-- glory be to Him--- is not similar anything, nor is anything similar to Him. So how should he who is similar things know Him to whom nothing is similar and Who is . similar to nothii

So you knowledge of Him is only that "Nothing is like Him" (Qur'an 42:10) and "God warns you of His Self" (Qur'an 3:28). Moreover, the Law (al-slar') has prohibited meditation upon the Essence of God.'

The principle of differentiation emerging within the undifferentiated Reality as alluded to is named by Khawaja Ghulam Farid as Ahmad. He says: The Primordial Beauty become manifest; Ahad's formlessness assumed Ahmad's form". "Ahad emerged in the form of Ahmad.'

The name Ahmad signifies the Logos; First Intellect; Reality of realities; Light of Muhammad; Reality of Muhammad and so on and so forth:

Thus understood, the Reality of Muhammad is not exactly the permanent archetypes themselves. Rather, it is the unifying principle of all archetypes, the .active principle on which depends the very existence of the archetypes. Considered from the side of the Absolute, the Reality of Muhammad is the creative activity itself of the Absolute, or God 'conceived' as the self-revealing Principle of the universe. It is the Absolute in the first stage of its eternal self-manifestation, i.e., the Absolute as the universal Consciousness.... The 'Reality of realities' is ultimately nothing but the Absolute, but it is not the Absolute in its primordial absoluteness; it is the very first form in which the Absolute begins to manifest itself.

Likewise, the Reality of Muhammad can be called the Light of 'Muhammad for the prophet said that the first thing which God created was his light. This Light was eternal and non-temporal and was manifest in the chain of prophets till its final historical manifestation in the prophet himself.

Since the light was that which God created before anything else and that from which He created everything else, it was the very basis of the creation of the world. And it was 'Light' because it was nothing else than the First Intellect i.e., the Divine Consciousness by which God manifested Himself to Himself in the state of the Absolute Unity. And the Light is in its personal aspect the Reality of Muhammad.

How does the possibility of relativity arise in the Absolute?

The Divine Essence-Beyond-Being include in' Its indistinction and as a potentiality comprised within Its very infinity a principle of relativity; Being,

which generates the world, is the first of teh relativities, that from which all the other flow, the function of Being is to deploy in the direction of 'nothingness; or in an 'illusory' mode, the infinity of Beyond-Being, which thus, becomes transmuted into Ontological and existential possibilities.... Relativity is the 'shadow' or 'contour' which allows the Absolute to affirm Itself as such, first before Itself and then in 'innumberable' gushings forth of differentiations.

The chapter of Sincerity (surat al-lkhlas) beautifully delivers the message of the Essence, al-ahadiyah.

Iqbal Review 37.•1

"Say: He, God is One (A had) God, the Absolute Plenitude Sufficing-unto-Himself (as-Aamad)". It is no doubt in virtue of this last Name--- of Oneness that the chapter is called the Chapter of Sincerity (Surat al-Ikhlas). For sincerity implies an unreserved assent, and for this to be achieved the soul needs to be made aware that the oneness in question is not a desert but a totality, that the One-and-Only is the One-and-All-and that if the indivisible Solitude excludes everything other than Itself, this is because Everything is already there'.

Behind the illusory veil of created plurality there is the One Infinite Plenitude of God in His Indivisible Totality.

Khawaja Ghulam Farid is highly committed to the metaphysical idea of the Indivisible One-and Only'. He says:

Discard the worthless falsehood, Remember the sole Reality. Except the essential One, there is mere imperfection. The forged, fake beauty is perishable, ruinous. Whither Majnun, whither Laila. Whither Shireen Farhad. Things totality beside God is annihilative, unfounded. Without divine love, there is repulsive, thundering antagonism. Farid understand. Always remain free from the non-divine.

Get rid of the craving for other than God; everything is pseudo-thought. Whither Laila, whither Majun, whither Sohni Mahinwal. Whither Ranjhan, whither Kheras, whither Heer Sayal. Whither Sassi whither Punnu, whither the tale of anguish and suffering. Whither Saifal, whither Fairies whither that

parting and meeting. Except the essential One, all things are ephemeral. Anything besides God is fale, undoubtedly, a concocted lie.

The existence and activity of total things is illusory; the Reality is Omnipotent, all else is powerless.

Each instant concentrate on the Real; undoubtedly this is the Committed Way.

Letter Alif alone is enough for me; set aside your sophistic ramblings. Alif has captivated my heart.

After establishing the principle of 'the Indivisible One-and Only' which in the religious language means transcendence of God, Khawaja Ghulam Farid moves to affirm that the 'One-and Only' is the 'One-and All.' He says:

One is, One is, One is; each breath yearns for the One. The one dwells in each place, whether high or low. The One is Outward, the One is Inward; all else is annihilative. He who considers the One as two is veiled, polytheist.

Lover know the Omnipresence of Punnal with certainty. The Friend's demonstration is in each form: be Heavens, earth.

Laudation to the conduct of the Beautiful, who descendeth in each form. Understand and recognize and do not consider it non-divine; all form is

sure manifestation. Do ascertain, don't ramble: Ka'bah (House of God), Qibla (Direction of prayer), Dair (idol-temple), Dawara (Sikh place of worship), mosque, temple are identical Light.

Recognize the Essence in all forms: do not place the other beside Reality. Neither there is Adam nor Satan: it has become a totally fabricated story. Without God there are mere thoughts: do not associate heart with the other. Each move means unity; do not crave for the other side.

The immanence of Beautiful Friend Punnal is manifest everywhere. Know that the First, the Last, the Outward, the Inward is His manifestation.

It is pertinent to note that both transcendence and immanence are human viewpoints pertaining to the understanding of the 'Supreme Principle which is neither one nor the other. .

'In itself, the Supreme Principle is neither transcendent nor immanent. It "is That which is" only in relation to Manifestation may one speak either of transcendence or immanence... transcendence annihilates, reduces or diminishes the manifested; immanence on the contrary ennobles dilates or magnifies it'.

Khawaja Ghulam Farid's understanding of the Absolute as the Essence (al.ahadiyah) and as the Divinity (al-wahidiyah) becomes precisely formulated in his metaphysical conception of tawhid. He manifests an intellectual understanding of the idea beyond the exoteric constriction of it. He says:

Everlastingly repent and seek forgiveness; remain constantly spiteful about innovation and polytheism; be purely unitarian, clearly singular.

Farid, duality is a false pretext.

Shelve jurisprudence, principles. kalam, lexicon, logic, syntax and accidence for tawhid is high-minded. Mullahs impute contrary meanings to the message of verse, teaching and hadith. They are proud of mere sound. Undoubtedly, Ibn 'Arabi and Mansur impart heart-knowledge. The manifest Unity is in substance and accidents; in secret of esoterism and exoterism. It is apparent and not hidden. Remain ascertaining; accept the Faridian tradition and be delighted.

Consider all evidence as real. Unity is the story of love. Understand and reflect on the unity behind the veil of multiplicity. Do eradicate resentment and grief. Truly understand the Friend as Formless. By hiding askance light Hijazi, He has manifested in each form. The otherness is sacrilegious. Inherit the tradition of Truth. Do real ceaseless struggle and become exalted victor. This Faridi Way of Sufism, the tradition of tawhid is strange. It is relishing, delectable and contemporaneous. Leave long distant modes.

Any one who is convinced of tawhid is our bosom friend. The receptivity of the purified self makes it capable of knowing the realities.

Farid, Face of God remaineth; all else is annihilative, ephemeral and disintegrative.

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Tawhid is essentially expressed in the doctrine of Shahadah which is the fountainhead of Islam. Khawaja Ghulam Farid says:

The "negation" tradition of the religious Way is the kernel of the entire Arab heritage. It is evident in the teachings, hadith and Qur'an. Learn to be thyself and cast away the craving for the other. The majestic Fakhr-e-Jehan advises to remain in the tracks of Ibn " Arabi. Unmindful, devotee, neglectful, reader, virtuous, vicious, faithful, infidel: all is the Splendor of the Primordial Light. He is Ahad, He is Ahmad. Wins the heart while hiddenly manifest in Meem. Farid, keep constant watch.

From this inward, esoteric and intellectual point of view Shahadah means: 'There is no divinity (or reality, or absolute) outside the only Divinity (or Reality or Absolute) and Muhammad (the Glorified, the Perfect) is the Envoy (the mouthpiece, the intermediary, the manifestation, the symbol) of the Divinity.' The entire Shahadah demonstrates that 'God alone is' and 'all things are attached to God'. 'All manifestation and so all that is relative is attached to the Absolute.

'The Shahadah-- "There is no divinity (reality, quality) but the sole Divinity (reality, Quality) "--which in the first place signifies the exclusive and extinguishing primacy of the Sovereign Good, assumes in esoterism an inclusive and participatory signification; applied to a given positive phenomenon; it will mean: this particular existence or this particular quality--this miracle of being or of consciousness or of beauty--cannot be other than the miracle of the Existence or the Consciousness or the Quality of God, since precisely there is no other Existence, Consciousness or Quality, by the very terms of the Shahadah. And it is this truth that lies at the basis of such theopathic expressions-- of the highest level-- as "I am the Truth" (ana 'l-Haqq) of the ullustrious Al-Hallaj, or "Glory be to me" (subhani) of the no less illustrious Abu Yazid al-Bistami. It goes without saying that in ordinary language, the first Shahadah... is connected with Transcendence, without in any way excluding a certain causal existentiating and efficient Immanence

which is essential for Islamic unitarianism. But it is in the second Shahadah– "Muhammad (the perfect Manifestation) is His Envoy (His unitive prolongation)" that we meet with the direct expression, or the formulation-symbol of Immanence and thus of the mystery of Union or Identity'.

The metaphysical conception of tawhid opens the door to the doctrine of Oneness of Being (wahdat al-wujud). The term Oneness of Being (wahdat al-wujud) simply means that 'there is only one Being, and all existence is nothing but the manifestation or outward radiance of that One Being. Hence "everything other than the One Being" that is whole cosmos in all its spatial and temporal extension is non-existent in itself, though it may be considered to exist through Being. Khawaja Ghulam Farid considers the sensible world as not-self, imagination and dream. He says:

The world is fancy, imagination and dream; all forms are marked on water. If you ask about Reality, then listen, understand and pay heed. The

Unity encompasses like sea wherein all multiplicity is bubble-faced. Duality has no essential reality; know yourself that duality is not everlasting. The airy duality vanishes; well, the water remains the same water. _

These forms and properties are not real in themselves but are manifestations of the Reality. In other words, 'reality is not a subjective illusion, whim or caprice but is an 'objective' illusion. It 'is an unreality standing on a firm ontological basis'. One could say that 'the world of being and becoming (kawn) is an imagination but it is, in truth, Reality itself'.

The doctrine of the Oneness of Being (wahdat al-wujud) accounts for both the undifferentiated Reality and the differentiated one and gives a metaphysical vision of wholeness. 'Thus God, although One in His Essence, is multiple in forms.' Khawaja Ghulam Farid spells this metaphysical idea in numerous verses.

He says:

Understand reflectively and do not consider it as other. All form is His Glory. The openly manifest Friend is the First, the Last, the Outward and the Inward.

Friend is not hidden, Farid. Everywhere He is openly manifest Darkness in all-pervasive light. Only it has been named differently.

Discard the style of apprehension and risk. There is no other except one God. In the interior and the exterior there is the everlasting existence of Truth, the existence of Reality. There is no other except Thou. There is absolutely no odour of the non-Divine. There is permanent One and not two. Be with One, discard otherness.

Face of God remaineth Farid; all else is annihilative, ephemeral and disintegrative.

The mysteries of Oneness of Being are remarkable. They are known by the dealers of Unity who behold the real Sinai theopany in each and every existent.

The entranced lover exists beyond disdain. Be Bistami by saying 'Glory be to Me'. Say 'I am the Truth' and be Mansur.

All that is, is obviously manifest. How can I acknowledge except Him. The murshid, after full verification, imparted instruction on Oneness of Being.

Oneness of Being has made me realize a noble tradition.

After imbibing learing of Oneness of Being, the hidden intricacies were disclosed.

The religion of Being is imperative; all else is in wane, conceit. I have seen with the 'Eye of Certainty'. The same is called the passion of the lovers.

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Khawaja Ghulam Farid maintains a subtle distinction between the soul or nafs and the Spirit or ruh. The former is individual whereas the latter is universal. He follows the metaphysical tradition which considers the

'intellect' and 'spiritual' as more or less equivalent terms. Both 'body and soul are purely human and belong to the 'individual' domain, the Spirit or Intellect is 'universal' and transcends the human state as such... the Latin Spiritus vel Intellectus ('Spirit' or 'Intellect') corresponds to the Arabic Ruh. Anima ('Soul') corresponds to the Arabic nafs'. Resultantly, the. realization of the soul or nafs is individual whereas the realization of the Spirit or ruh is universal.

Khawaja Ghulam Farid, under the guidance of his spiritual master, attained both mystic and metaphysical realization. He expresses it thus:

The Master disclosed all secrets. Made me forget reason, thinking and all forms of comprehension. Taught me sobriety in drunkenness. Made me understand the entire voyage of spiritual elevation.

The cup-bearer made me perceive one intricacy. Understand the Beloved as near. At all places and at each moment, do not be oblivious of the Beloved even for an instant. In order to captivate the heart of Farid, he became Fakhr-ud-Din.

I completely owe my Master, Fakhr with whom I accomplish nuptial rites. Why should I grief when I belong to him. The Friend has made me understand everything.

Fakhruddin made me understand all the deeper secrets of faqr (Sufism). He has fully demonstrated the contraction and expansion in states and stations. The cordial friendships and sociable companionships have withered away. Farid, since love captivated me, all other activities have finished.

The time of eternal bliss dawned. Fakhr-e-Jehan laid bare the principles of gnosis. The harmonious disposition of Farid understood the language of the birds.

Fakhr-e-Jehan made me perceive one tradition. The terrestrial became
1 celestial. The darkness turned light upon light.

The perfect Pir complete in gnosis made me perceive the intricacy. Farid, the Face of God remaineth; all else is annihilative, ephemeral and disintegrative.

The Master taught the total doctrine, Taifuri (of Bayazid Bistami) and Mansuri (of Mansu Hallaj). The Sinai theopany became openly manifest. Everything is Aiman (the valley of Mount Sinai) and Meeqataan (the .moments of communication with Lord).

In fondness of sweet Fakhruddin, each breath of mine emits smoke, Farid attained union after becoming extinct.

Khawaja Ghulam Farid consistently maintains a distinction between

mystic realization and metaphysical realization. Mystic or individual realization is by virtue of self, ego, soul or nafs. It realizes the way from man to God. It manifests a temporary identity with the Lord (Rabb) for a complete identity, in principle, is not possible in the axis servant-Lord. Such an experience momentarily suppresses the soul or nafs of the subject of experience and in this single unanalysable unity the ordinary dichotomy of subject and object ceases to exist and. there is a 'sense of the unreality of serial time'. When the mystic state fades away the mystic returns back to the normal level of selfhood which includes the distinction between subject and object and the reality of the serial time. But such an experience is restricted entirely to the individual domain for the nature of the mystic state is in no manner supra-individual. Mystic state stands for 'indefinite extension of purely individual possibility'_ spread on a broader spectrum than ordinarily supposed by the psychologists but it only leads to partial realization. This realization of the soul or nafs is no match to the realization of the Self which is universal for in the latter it is not the soul or nafs but the Spirit or Intellect which attains universal realization. Unlike a mystic who returns to his ordinary self or the precise limitations of individuality, a man who has attained metaphysical realization does not return to his 'habitual selfhood but achieves a complete emancipation from the limitations of individuality. His human overlay no more remains permanent, fixed and unalterable but becomes impermanent, fleeting and ephemeral. Khawaja Ghulam Farid says:

The heart is engrossed within imagination. I cannot bear any differentiation. This imagination is imminent union and this is perfection and not madness. I have openly witnessed the Supreme Principle in every nook

and corner. This witnessing is so glaringly evident that I cannot disengage myself even for a moment. That what was spatial has become without signs. The names and customs of the ages have left me forlorn. 0 God! What should I call myself. Neither there is openness nor hiddenness; neither there is speech nor thought. Neither the body has remained nor the life-impulse; how can I blame my sense and senses. There is double

reflection for fana' (extinction) is baqa' (subsistence) and baqa' (subsistence) is fana' (extinction). Except the ultimate where is that and you; where is yes and yea? Sometime there are loud offensives; at times there are great falterings. There are many types of prattles leading to meaningless discourse. Farid, the lust has been uprooted and I have become incapacitated as a straw. Be quiet fro there will be tumult in determining who absolutely merits or who does mot merit.

The ultimate aim of the Self is to see His own Essence in the 'human' medium. Once the soul or nafs has withered away, the self-identity of mystic realization is transformed into the Self- identity of metaphysical realization which is understood as 'the Supreme Identity'. Such identity cannot be termed as philosophical monism though it can be called sapiential monism. From the purely metaphysical point of view, this identity is essentially covered under the principle of non-duality. Man subsists in the Divine Consciousness as realized possibility. It is pertinent

to note that originally man is nothing but a mere name of the Divine unrealized possibility. It is by virtue of freedom and grace that this possibility is partially realized in the mystic state and completely realized in the universal one. In the mystic state the principle of fana' (extinction) and baqa' (subsistence) has a single reflection whereas in metaphysical realization this principle has a double reflection. Fana' (extinction) is baqa' (subsistence) in the sense that nothing remains of man as such except the Spirit which is not his; and baqa' (subsistence) is fana' (extinction) in the sense that the baqa' (subsistence) or the feeling of 'I am-ness' is an illusion for in the ultimate analysis it is only the Reality which can say 'I am'. Thus, it is the Spirit which says: 'I am the Truth'; 'Glory be to Me! How great is My Majesty.' In other words, 'the final end and ultimate return of the gnostics— though their

entites remain immutably fixed is that the Real is identical with them, while they do not exist!

From the metaphysical point of view 'I' is an imagination, dream and illusion but it is not vain, groundless or false. 'I' is not the Reality itself but it vaguely and indistinctively reflects the latter on the level of imagination. It is 'a symbolic reflection of something truly real'. It is essentially a dream-symbol which needs to be interpreted and whose interpretation shall lead to the real I. Man does not see in a dream the Reality itself but an 'imaginal' form of the Reality and by interpretation he has to take back this symbol to its Origin. The Prophet says. 'All men are asleep (in this world); only when they die, do they wake up'. This dying is to the soul or nafs wherein man realizes that the reality of the I does not belong to him but to the Spirit which is identical with the Divine Essence. Thus, the I, which is essentially Spirit, fully unravels itself once the 'I' grounded in soul or nafs has withered away. And, this I is nothing but the Reality itself. The veracity of this metaphysical truth dawns when one has achieved metaphysical realization.

Iqbal envisaged the problem on the individualistic level and did not transcend to the universal realm. It is in the form of a category-mistake in the sense that he tries to place the metaphysical truths at the level of the mystical plane and criticised them for being pantheistic. He interprets the utterance of Mansur Hallaj: 'I am the Truth' on the mystic plane whereas Khawaja Ghulam Farid excels in interpreting and realizing the truth of this assertion at the metaphysical level to which it rightfully belongs. What is the secret of Mansur Hallaj's assertion 'ana 'l-Haqq,' I am the Truth'? The secret revealed in the process of metaphysical realization is that the Self withdraws from the 'servant-Lord' polarity and resides in its own transpersonal being. The subject-object dichotomy or complementarism is transcended by virtue of pure intellect or Spirit which is identical with the Divine Essence.

"If soul is the element in man that relates to God, Spirit is the element that

is identical with Him--not with his personal mode, for on the celestial plane God and soul remain distinct, but with God's mode that is infinite.

Spirit is the Atman that is Brahman, the aspect of man that is the Buddha-nature, the element in man which, exceeding the soul's fully panoply is that 'something in the soul that is uncreated and uncreatede' (Eckhart). It is the true man in Lin Chi the Ch'an master's assertion that 'beyond the mass of redish flesh is the true man who has no title; and the basis for the most famous of Sufi claims: Mansur Hallaj's assertion 'ana'l-Haqq,' I am the Absolute Truth, or the True Reality.... Peripherally Spirit is without boundaries; internally it is without barriers. It knows neither walls that encompass nor walls that divide"

Mansur Hallaj delved in this secret by virtue of the inner illumination. 'His ana'l-Haqq (I am the Truth) has become perennial witness to the fact that Sufism is essentially gnosis and ultimately it is God within us who utters "I" once the veil of otherness has been removed. It is a process of annihilation wherein the Divine Self is alone real. Mansur Hallaj says: 'You have wasted your life in cultivating your spiritual nature: What has become of annihilation in Unification (al fana fil tawhid). It is at this stage that even man's own individual self as testifier to the Shahadah ceases to exist for "the soul is not competent to voice the Shahadah.... The Witness must be, not the self, but the Self.' It is in this ultimate sense that Mansur Hallaj says: "Whoso claimeth to affirm God's Oneness thereby setteth up another beside Him." No one can affirm truly the Oneness of God for the very process of affirmation creates a duality through the intrusion of one's own person. 'Who is it that can bear witness that there is no god but God, no reality but the Reality? And for the Sufis the answer to this question lies in the Divine Name ash-Shahid (the witness) which, significantly enough, comes next to al-Haqq (the Truth, the Reality) in the most often recited litany of the Names. If God alone is, no testimony can by valid except His. It is hypocrisy to affirm the Oneness of Being from a point of view which is itself in contradiction with the truth'. There is nothing beside God. 'If there were anything which, in the Reality of the Eternal present, could show itself to be other than God, then God would not be Infinite, for Infinity would consist of God and that particular thing. Thus, the Self, the pure intellect or the Spirit says ana'l-haqq (I am the Truth) and it was obliviousness of this metaphysical truth which led people to crucify the great Saint.

Metaphysical realization is the process through which man ceases to be. The final goal is union.

"If sacred knowledge involves the whole being of man, it also concerns the giving up of this being for its goal is union. The miracle of human existence is that man can undo the existentiating and cosmogonic process inwardly so as to cease to exist, man can experience that "annihilation" (The fana' of the Sufis) which enable him to experience union in the ultimate sense. Although love, as the force "that moves the heavens and the stars", plays a major role in attracting man to the "abode of the

Beloved" and realized knowledge is never divorced from the warmth of its rays, it is principal knowledge alone that can say neti neti until the Intellect within man which is the divine spark at the centre of his being realizes the Oneness of Reality which alone is, the Reality before whose "Face" all things perish according to the Qur'anic verse, "All things perish save His Face."'

Thus, it is the immanent Divinity, pure Intellect or Spirit within man which says: 'Glory be to me' and 'I am the Truth'.

'Man qua man cannot have union with God. But man can, through spiritual realization and with the aid of Heaven, participate in the lifting of that veil of separation so that the immanent Divinity within him can say "I" and the illusion of a separate self, which is the echo and reverberation upon the planes of cosmic existence of principal possibilities contained in the Source, ceases to assert itself as another and independent "I" without of course the essential reality of the person whose roots are contained in the Divine Infinitude ever being

annihilated 'the goal of sacred knowledge is deliverance and union, its instrument the whole being of man and its meaning the fulfillment of the end for which man and in fact the cosmos were created'.

Before we conclude, it is exceedingly imperative to reiterate the point that Iqbal's rigorous approach to man---God polarity is purely derived from the individualistic dimension and not the metaphysical. Also, his

apprehension of pantheism has no foundation in the metaphysical realm. Metaphysical pantheism, if we can use this term, neither denies the transcendence of God nor the degrees of reality. Though the separation between creator and creature is rigorous yet 'by compensation there is an aspect which admits the created and the Uncreated to be linked, since nothing that exists can be other than a manifestation of the Principle or an objectivization of the Self; "everything is Atma"... If philosophical pantheism had this aspect of things in view-- which it has not, being ignorant of the degrees of reality and ignorant of transcendence-- it would be legitimate as a synthetic or inclusive perspective. The polemics of the . theologians readily confuse these two kinds of pantheism.'

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ISLAMIC PHILOSOPHICAL INFLUENCE UPON EUROPE: 900-1200

Nusba Parveen

The Philosophical and scientific culture of Western Europe in the twelfth to fifteenth centuries was not created out of its own limited resources but resulted from the reintroduction of Greek learning (with Islamic additions and modifications) into a Christian theological tradition that had flourished for a thousand years with only a minimum of outside interference"[1], claims a Western writer David C. Lindberg. It is generally believed that the process of transmission from Islam to Europe began with Muslim West in the twelfth century. This is not the case as the influence of Islam upon Europe was completed by the year 1200, and the twelfth century Renaissance or sometimes called "Little Renaissance" was the impact of learning which began in Muslim East. With the spread of Islam in Europe within the first century of its existence, the Islamic learning was also transferred. What was going on in the Muslim East was in the knowledge of Muslims in the Western lands of Islam as they were well informed of Islamic activities in the heartland of Islam. The fact that the Muslim West produced philosophers like Ibn Bajjah (d. 1138), Ibn Tufail (d. 1185) and Ibn Rushd (d. 1198), must have prepared a ground by their predecessors. Otherwise it would not have been possible for them to achieve this position before the end of 12th century. The aim of this paper to study that period of history when the transmission of learning began from Islam to the West, i.e. approximately from year 900-1200 C.E. We attempt to see how and why did it began? and, what was the nature and sources for transmitting philosophical learning.

BACKGROUND OF ISLAMIC PHILOSOPHY

Comparing the rise of Arabic thought out - of Greek influence and Western out of Islamic Culture, Hamilton Gibb says, "the Arabs were

[1] David C. Lindberg, "The Transmission of Greek and Arabic Learning to the West", Science in the Middle Ages, ed. by David C. Lindberg (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1987) pp. 52-90: 52.

looking for a logical methodology to subserve the dogmatic structure of Islam, the Westerners were looking primarily for a logical methodology to subserve the practical arts".[2] But, both found more than they were looking for, i.e. to quote Gibb again, "The Arabs acquired the physical and mathematical science of the Greeks, the Westerners the corpus of 'Aristotelian' Philosophy".[3]

This is important because Muslims turned towards Greek Philosophers for their methodology and system as they had the philosophy of their own in Islam. Companions of the Prophet became speculative thinkers following the teachings of the Quran to contemplate in the signs of the Universe pointing to the 'Creator', a 'Reality' and 'the Being'. And they inclined towards Greek works for their love of learning, because they were known as the masterpieces of great learning. Muslim philosophers benefitted from these works and many went far beyond that. Muslims always acknowledged this, and their debt to Greek learning. To quote Prof. Masumi, "if Islam borrowed ideas and sciences from other nations and cultures to produce its own culture, it has certainly reformed and reshaped all the borrowed factors so much so that they lost their previous identity and adopted a shape entirely different from the former, representing a clearly distinguished Islamic impression. This is hardly true of European culture which not only adopted the Islamic Culture but also retained its characteristics without always acknowledging its indebtedness to Islam".[4]

Philosophy in Islam began with revelation. The first command to "Read! in the name of your lord who has created", inspired Muslims to read the ayats of the Quran and contemplate in the signs of the Universe (and their ownself). There are questions asked by the companions both in the Quran and Hadith regarding the metaphysical aspect, for example 'spirit', 'goodness', 'existence' and other cosmological questions. But, Muslims did not use term 'Philosophy' until Greek works were translated into Arabic,

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[2] Hamilton Gibb, The Influence of Islamic Culture on Medieval Europe, (in Bulletin of the John Rylands Library, 38 (1955-56) p. 93

[3] Ibid., p. 94.

[4] M.S.H. Masumi, "Islam's influence on World History and Culture". Islamic Culture, (Lahore. 1958) pp. 111-123:114.

although philosophy existed there in the name of theology. The distinction was made somewhat later between philosophy and theology. According to G.H. Lewis there was no separation between religion and philosophy until 9th century, as both were considered one and the same.[5]

Muslims began to express their speculative thinking by using the term "hikmah" (wisdom) which appears in the Quran. And within half a century Islam produced speculative thinkers like Hasan al-Basri, Wasil Ibn Ata, Jafar al-Sadiq, believed to be standing at the same footing in Islamic philosophy as Socrates in Greek Philosophy. And very soon first rationalist thinkers of Islam were originated namely Mu'tazilites, Murji'tes and Kharijites. These theologians influenced a great deal on Christian scholasticism. The process of translating Greek works started in 754 C.E. the period of al-Mansur and continued under Harun al-Rashid. It reached new heights at the beginning of 9th century, during the reign of al-Mamun (813-833). He established a research center the "House of Wisdom" by using his father's library. With this and other centers opened, the program for Islamic learning was deeply and widely circulated.

BEGINNING OF TRANSMISSION

No sooner did the Muslims got acquainted with Greek works in the East, they gradually began the process for attracting to it the Europeans. This is not to suggest that the Muslims in the West learned it from the Muslims in the East and then they influenced the Western learning. Rather Muslims brought the love of learning with them when they entered into Europe in 8th century C.E. Muslims of the West were behind their contemporaries in East who had better intellectual environment but there existed direct contacts between the two. The process of transmission began at Baghdad through Christian, Muslim and Jewish intermediaries and then through their travels it expanded vigorously in time and space.

First Muslim philosophers (as quoted by Sarton) was al-Nazzam (d. 845), who was a Mu'tazilite philosopher famous for his theory of creation. And very soon the time was ripe in Islamic to produce great philosophers

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[5] See, George Henry Lewes, 'The Biographical History of Philosophy (London: John W. Parker and Son, West Strand 1857) p. 290.

like al-Kindi (d. 873) who flourished in Baghdad. He was an encyclopedist, scientist and philosopher of Arabs. He made a deep study of philosophy from neo-platonic point of view. It was due to him that philosophy came to be acknowledged as a part of Islamic culture, therefore he is called "the Philosopher of the Arabs". Al-Kindi tried to harmonize between philosophy and religion, and gave philosophy a new feature which remained popular for a long time. Al-Farabi, Ibn Sina and Ibn Rushd became philosopher's following his footsteps.

The contacts were established between the East and the West by the coming of Umayyad prince Abdur Rahman in the middle of 8th century from the fallen dynasty of Umayyads. The beginning of the 9th century was remarked by two imperial names active in world affairs the Abbasid caliph Harun al-Rashid, in the Muslim East and Charlemagne in the West. They both are reported to have sent presents to each other and exchanged a number of embassies who would have brought along with them the new learning's from Muslims as they represented the more powerful and higher culture, while the others were compared to beasts and as uncultured by Muslim historians of that time. Commenting on this comparison between the two, Hitti says, "while al-Rashid and al-Mamun were delving in Greek and Persian philosophy their contemporaries in the west Charlemagne and his lords, were reportedly dabbling in the art of writing their names".[6]

We may suggest then that this way the influence of Muslim philosophers of the East was affecting the philosophy of the West from whom this had taken its seeds and needed the soil to be fertiled. Many scholars believe that philosophy entered into Spain in the 11th century with the treatises of "Rasail Ikhwan al-Safa. But Prof. Masumi refutes this claim by saying "Philosophy had entered Spain long before the Rasail lkhwan al-Safa were introduced in that region"[7] Maslamah Ibn Ahmad al-Majriti (d. 1007) who lived in Spain during the reign of al-Hakam II, he has been ascribed with some manuscript copies of Rasail Ikhwan al-Safa. Ibn Khaldun al-Hadrami and Karmani were among his disciples and their journeys to Eastern countries have been

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[6] Philip K. Hitti, The Arabs: A Short History (Chicago, Henry Regner Company, 1943) p. 120.

[7] M.S.H.. Masumi, "Ibn Bajjah", A History of Muslim Philosophy, ed. M.M. Sharif (Germany, Otto Harrassowitz, Wiesbadan, 1963) Vols. 2, pp. 506 - 526:508.

believed to have brought the treatise into Spain in the 11th century. But as Prof. Masumi says[8] it was long before this when Muhammad Ibn Abdun al-Jabali journeyed through the learning centers in Muslim East in 952. There he studied logic with al Sijistani and returned to Spain in 965. Also two brothers Ahmad and Umar, sons of Yunus al-Barrani in Spain went to Baghdad for learning science with Thabit Ibn Sinan Ibn Qurrah. They studied there for a period of twenty one years and came back in 956. This throws some light on the fact that how philosophy entered into Spain through Spanish students who studied philosophy and logic in the Islamic learning centers of East at Basra, Baghdad, Damascus and Egypt. But it went underground after the persecution of these advocates towards the end of the 10th century whet the philosophy was condemned in Spain. As a result the general interests towards Islamic philosophy were haulted until it reemerged in the following century again. It may be noted here that Al-Majriti (d. 1007), who is ascribed with Rasail Ikhwan al-Sala was an Andalusian Scientist who introduced learning to this part. He was born in Madrid and later moved to Cordova where he found a school which later attracted the would be scholars like Ibn-Khaldun and al-Zuhri. This means that already in the 9th century there were schools in Cordova but people continued going to East for it was the seat of intellectuals with supportive environment for learning.

And before al-Majriti we have al-Jahiz of Basra who died in 869. He was an able and versatile writer whose influence in Muslim Spain was destined to be of great importance.

Beginning of 10th century in Spain was fortuitous to have ruler like al-Hakam, the successor of Abdur Rehman III, who was a scholar and patronized learning. He supported scholars and opened twenty seven free schools in the capital, founded the University of Cordova[9] and established seventy libraries. Cordova was the most civilized city in the 10th century Europe. Already in the 9th century Arabic was the language of reading and writing but according to al-Maqaddasi, with a difficulty in speaking. Latin literature available was of no great interest.

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[8] Ibid.

[9] See Hitti, p. 172.

It was the same time when we have philosophers like Muhammad Ibn Abd Allah Ibn Masarra who prospered when the attitude was critical towards learning. He was born in 883 and his father Abd Allah was a native of Cordova who was attracted towards Mu'tazilite doctrines and developed his taste. But due to strong reaction he had to conceal his ideas. Still before his death he instilled this love of speculative thought in his young son. Brought up with this love of esoteric theology, Ibn Masarra concealed himself in the mountains. There he was surrounded by his disciples and he acquired a deeper inspiration due to isolation. Being threatened for his ideas considered as atheistic, he decided for a pilgrimage to Mecca. And after the accession of scholarly ruler Abdur Rehman III he returned to Spain and became a good teacher for his doctrine. M. Asin,[10] a Spanish orientalist has collected his works and found that "he was an enthusiastic advocate of the philosophy which was fathered on Empedocles".

In fact, he was the first to propagate the ideas on Empedocles in the West which enormously influenced the succeeding generations. The famous Jews Avice born (Ibn-Gabrirol c.1020-1050 or 1070) of Malaga, Judha ha-Levi of Toledo, Moses Ibn Ezra of Granada, Joseph Ibn Saddiq of Cordova, Samuel Ibn Tibbon, and Shen To'b Ibn Joseph Ibn Falaqira, adopted his doctrines on Empedocles.[11]

By the 10th century the whole basis of life throughout Spain was profoundly influenced by Islam. With the capture of Toledo (1005) the way to Muslim learning had been thrown open to the rest of Europe. Before the close of the 10th century philosophical books were available in Spain and there were opening many schools for learning Islamic sciences. Ibn al Imam was a disciple of Ibn Bajjah and he preserved his writings in an Anthology. He also wrote introduction of the book and said "the philosophical books were current in Spanish cities in the time of al-Hakam II (961-976), who had imported the rare works composed in the East and had got them made clear. He (Ibn Bajjah) transcribed the books of the ancients and others and carried on his investigation into these works. The way had not been open to any investigator before him (Ibn Bajjah).... The way of investigation in these

[10] See The Legacy of Islam, p. 266.
[11] Ibid.

sciences were opened only to this scholar (Ibn Bajjah) and to Malik Ibn Wahab of Seville, both of whom were contemporaries".[12]

Ibn Bajjah was born towards the end of the 11th century at Saragossa. After completing his academic career at Saragossa he travelled to Granada as an accomplished scholar of Arabic language and literature and was well versed in twelve sciences. Al-Shaqandi (d. 1231) writes about him in a famous letter while speaking about the achievements of the Spanish Muslims as against the Africans while addressing them, "Have you anybody among yourselves like Ibn Bajjah in music and Philosophy"?[13]

Al-Amir al-Muqtadir Ibn Hud was a contemporary of Ibn Bajjah and reigned over Saragossa during 1046-1081. Al-Shaqandi writes about him while addressing Africans, "Have you any King expert in mathematices and philosophy like al-Muqtadir Ibn Hud, the ruler of Saragossa"? This refers to the fact that the Islamic sciences were so widespread by now that the rulers too were not unaware of it or it may be vice versa, that it was due to the inclination of rulers towards learning that sciences prospered.

Toledo became the center of Muslim learning in Spain after the destruction of Cordova by Berbers at the beginning of 11th century. It prospered and continued this position until the Christian conquest in 1085. It is said that the court of Alfonso VI (1050-1109) was very much imbued with Islamic civilization though he was a Christian. He claimed himself as the 'Emperor of two religions. The school of Toledo attracted scholars from all parts of Europe, and names of Robertus Anglicus, Michael Scott, Daniel Morley and Adelard of Bath are worthy of mention.

France is said to be the last place where influence of Islamic science was established. But the new research has shown that it was done no later than tenth century.[14] The contacts started in the 9th century when Charles the Bald sent two Ambassadors to the Khalif of Cordova who returned to Compiegne in the following year.

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[12] See Ma'sumi, "Ibn Bajjah". p. 509.
[13] Ibid.
[14] J.W. Thompson, "The Introduction of Arabic Science into Lorraine in the 10th century", ISIS, 1929. Vol. 12.

Widukind (Saxon Chronicler of the time) showing the connection between Otto the Great (936-73) and Islamic Spain lists some oriental importations brought into Germany from Saracen lands (i.e. Western Khalifate).

Otto I who was interested in Italian affairs chose John of Gorze as hisambassador to Cordova in 953. He was the leader of intellectual reform of the monasteries in the beginning of 10th century. J.W. Thompson holds the opinion that, during his three year stay in the company of Hasdev and Recemundus (both men of great learning at the court of the caliph) George acquired knowledge of Islamic science. And he says that "I am convinced that the schools of Lorraine in the last half of the tenth century were the seed plot in which the seeds of the Arabic science first germinated in Latin Europe from which the knowledge radiated to other parts of Germany".

Another study by M.E. Male[15] shows the presence of monks at Cordova from Christian France in the 9th century, Cluniac monasteries in Aragon, Castile, Leon and a French quarter at Toledo.

TRANSLATIONS

As compare to Muslim East, Islamic learning in Europe was slow to develop intellectually. It could be due to the earlier Umayyad rulers of Cordova who suppressed any form of intellectual expression which they did not consider as Islamic. But in the 10th century situation became better under Abdur Rehman III (912-961) and the scholars to and from Islamic East travelled.

Another factor which affected towards a better intellectual environment was the Jewish communities. Some Jewish communities gained independence of their religious authorities in Iraq and then participated in the scientific and cultural activities of Andalus. They followed Muslims and wrote and spoke in Arabic accordingly. As a result, the western Europe was attracted to this and

[15] See J.W. Thomson, p. 192.

the earliest scientific translations were made from Arabic to Latin at the monastery of Ripoll in Christian Catalonia.[16]

Al-Hakam(961-76) housed the royal library in Aleaza (The Old Palace) and it was extended enormously by purchasing and copying various kinds of books. And so "Andalusia had at last become a major center for both Islamic and secular learning",[17] meaning not only religious but scientific, and philosophical books also enhanced its existence. But after al-Hakam an inclination towards science and philosophy declined and the new ruler Abu-Amir al-Mansur (978-1002) gained the favour with conservatives. Then Amirid family was overthrown and Umayyad family also came to its decline. There was anarchy and civil war for twenty years (1011-1031) and al-Hakam's library was dispersed after Cordova was sacked by Berber Troops. This the contralized state came to an end and it proved to be more beneficial for intellectual growth of Muslims in Europe. In Andalusia, remains of al-Hakam's library were sold at a cheap price and the books were scattered all over the country. This must have brought many Andalusian's indirect contact with Islamic learning who couldn't find an opportunity before, or go to East. Also namy scholars. like Ibn Hazm and Maslama, were scattered from Cordova. Said al-Andalusi--- The Toledian historian of science in this period was able to trace the students of Maslama in Granada, Dania, Saragossa, Seville and likewise their students. This gives us an insight into how far the Islamic learning was established until this period. "By 1050 most of the Greek corpus was available, and much of Arabic philosophy and science as well", writes G.F. Hourani[18] while commenting on the translation period. Books of al-Farabi and Ibn Sina were available and Said writes about this situation between 1066 and 1070 as, "Conditions in Andalusia, thank God, are as good as they have ever been in permission for those sciences and refraining from prohibition of their study".[19] He also points out towards the Christian distraction caused by armies on the frontiers which was reducing the numbers of scholars, particularly at Toledo and Saragossa.

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[16] See G.F. Hourani, "The Medieval Translations from Arabic to Latin made in Spain", The Muslim World, Vol. LXII, April 1972, pp. 99-100.
[17] Ibid., p.99.
[18] Ibid., 100.
[19] Ibid., 10.

The earliest translations (first half of 11th century) made in the north east were at Catalonia and Aragon. The first name in the world of translation was Peters Alphonsi, a Jew converted to Christianity in 1106 at Hunesca near Saragossa, but he was credited with translating incomplete works. He was the author of Letter to the Peripatetics from across the Mountains in which he gave the samples of Arabic science. And he taught astronomy to Walcher of Malvern during his visit to England. There is no doubt that he took it from Muslims. There were also some other translators in that region namely, Hugo of Santella, Herman of Carinthia, Robert of Chester who did the first Latin translation of the Quran and in Barcelona Plato of Tivoli.

In Toledo the wave of translation began in 1130's and was organised by Don Raimundo the Archbishop. The work began with the contribution of two men, a Jew called John of Seville, (probably known as "Avendehut" i.e. Ibn Dawud) and Domingo Gonzales (Gundisalvus) a Christian Archdeacon. Ibn Dawud first translated it into Castilian Romance word by word and then Gundisalvus translated into Latin. This work was not very accurate as it was not direct from Arabic but very soon the translations became sophisticated. This has been pointed out by Herman of Carinthia to Robert of Chester?[20]

'Yet you have certainly learned by experience how difficult it is to convert anything from such a fluid kind of language as the Arabs use into a proper Latin style, especially in subjects that demand such a close adherence to reality".

Adelard of Bath is known as the first translator who had the knowledge of scientific subject matter, he translated Maslams's astronomical table in 1126. In the later half of the 12th century, Gerard of Cremona's translation was found to be "closely literal and reasonably accurate". But Roger Bacon condemned him also with Michael the Scott, Alfred the Englishman and Herman the German. He only praises two translators Boethius and Master Robert called Grosseteste.

The subjects which first demanded the translation were Astrology and Astronomy. And 1120 onward works of Maslama, Abu Ma'shar and Ptolemy were translated. John and Domingo from Toledo translated the psychological

[20] Ibid., p. 102.

works of al-Kindi, al-Farabi and Ibn Sina. This was followed by other branches of philosophy like logic and metaphysics from al-Shifa of Ibn Sina. Also Ibn Gabirol's Fous Vitae and al-Ghazali's (d.1111) Maqasid al. Falasifa were translated at this time. Gerard of Cremona translated eighty seven works between 1160-1187 including the works on logic by al-Kindi and al-Farabi.

The 13th century began with a new wave of translations from the commentaries of Ibn Rushd on Aristotle, of which De amina and Metaphysics were very long where as Nichomachean Ethics was of medium length. Also Guide for the Perplexed written by Maimonides was translated into Latin from Hebrew translation. We can understand from this fast rendering into Latin of Ibn Rushd that how fast were they getting aware of the philosophical works that they were doing immediate translations produced in that period.

Ibn Sina's book al-Shifa was first transmitted to the West in the 11th century through Solomon begommomg gabroer, a Jewish philosopher. Again he was introduced in greater detail in the geinning of 12th century by Maimonides through his Dalalat-al-Ha'irin. (The Guide for the Perplexed). John of Seville translated al-Kindi's book al-'aql. Gerard of Cremona also translated some of his works and also al-Mansuri's.

Constatine the African who was born in Carthage near the end of 11th century travelled all through the East. He translated two philosophical works of al-Razi, Kitab al-Ilal and Sirr al-Israr. He also translated into Latin from Arabic translations of Hippocrates and Galen.

Gundisalvus (d.1151) translated some of al-Farabi's works and he wrote along the pattern of al-Farabi. His translations had an impact on Christian scholastic philosophy especially of St. Thomas and Albert the Great.

MUSLIM CONTRIBUTION TO WESTERN THOUGHT

The role of Islamic philosophy in the development of Western thought is immense. It is the credit of Islam that it brought West out of its barbarism and darkness which was prevailing under the name of its church. Muslims

brought knowledge and intellectual achievements and transmitted them to West.

Al-Farabi and Ibn Sina wrote on the cosmological proof of God based on the conceptions of possibility and necessity. Maimonides took it from Ibn Sina and from St. Thomas Aquinas. And then Spinoza and Leibniz took it from him (St. Thomas)[21]

However, it seems that most European scholars hide the fact that forerunners of European Civilization learned from the writings of Ibn Sina and al-Farabi through this chain of scholars.

Translations from al-Farabi and Ibn Sina helped in the establishment of Augustinian philosophy. There was an attempt in the 13th century to make a reconciliation between Aristotelian and Augustinian ideas and basing it on the system of Ibn Sina. This was done mainly by William of Auvugne who did it according to Ibn Sina's classification of sciences, his definitions and his theological ideas. He also disagreed with Ibn Sina on some issues and criticised him over his belief to the eternity of the universe, the necessity of creation and the separate active intellect. As a result of his attempt, Aristotle and Ibn Sina were prohibited by the decrees of the church issued in 1210 and 1215. Bacon rejected Aristotle's theory of knowledge and accepted Ibn Sina's. Bacon had insight into all his works and its influence is seen in his illuminism. He was also influenced by Ibn Sina's social ethics, conception of the city state, and philosophy of religion. Alfred of Sareshel was also influenced by Ibn Sina.

Albert the Great and his disciple Ulrich of Strassburg were influenced by Ibn Sina, they took him as a model although disagreed with him on certain points. Albert accepted Ibn Sina's classification of soul and was influenced by him, and while discussing Ibn Sina's view on the intelligible he developed his own theory. Ibn Sina's philosophy of illumination influenced a great deal on the development of several religio-philosophical trends in the West during the medieval period. Roger Bacon (1214-1292) was a good example of this influence and was called the father of empiricism.

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[21] See, M.M. Sharif, p. 1371.

Ibn Sina's influence on Western thought can be best described in the words of A.M. Goichon[22] "There is not one thesis on one of our medieval philosophers which does not examine his relations with Avicennan philosophy. And the deeper these examinations go, the more clearly one sees that Avicenna was not only a source from which they all drew librerally, but one of the principal formative influences on their thought".

Al-Ghazali (d.1111) influenced Western thought both as a theologian and philosopher. Both his Tahafut and Maqasid were translated by Gundisalvus. Bar Hebraus, a minister at a Syriac Jacobite Church in the '13th century wrote in Arabic and Syriac, copying from al-Ghazali's Ihya. And he did not copy only ideas but even his examples, analogies, phrases and style too. His book was entitled Ethicon and The Book of the Dove.

Palacios is credited of tracing al-Ghazali's ideas upon West. He shows that Raymond Martini, a Spanish Dominican monk, borrowed directly from al-Ghazali's texts in his books, Dugio-Fidei and Explanatio Symboli. The books of al-Ghazali he used were Tahafut, Maqasid, al-Munqidh, Mizan, Maqsad, Mishkat al Anwar and Ihya.

St. Thomas in his Contre Gentiles is believed to be influenced by al-Ghazali. St: Thomas and many other scholastics were influenced by his 'creatio en nihilo' his proof that God's knowledge comprises particulars and his justification of the resurrection of the dead. St. Thomas used the same arguments as al-Ghazali in his attack on Aristotelianism, St. Thomas' Summa Theologica and al-Ghazali's treatise on reason consist of the same ideas. They both agree on certain ideas as the value of reason on demonstrating divine things, unity of God Perfection, beatific vision, the divine knowledge and divine simplicity. Al-Ghazah's influence on Pascal is also seen in his Pensees.[23]

Al-Farabi's (d. 950) influence is seen on Gundisalvus, the translator who. wrote a book initiating al-Farabi, De Divisione Philosophiae. In this hook Gundisalvus follows al-Farabi's classification for the system of seven types of

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[22] Quoted by Haider Bammate, Muslim contribution to Civilization (Indiana; American Trust Publications, 1976) p. 23.
[23] See M.M. Sharif. p. 1363.

knowledge, well known in the East during that time. B. Carra de Vaux has a high opinion of al-Farabi's logic which he considers as idealistic and it left a permanent influence on the logical thought of Latin scholars. Another scholar Robert Hammond shows al-Farabi's influence on St, Thomas regarding the existence of God. Al-Farabi's ideas of definite determinism based on metaphysical foundation was influential for theologians. This idea led to the distinction between psychological necessity and physical necessity, means God as the Necessary Being gives necessity to other beings.

Ibn al-Haitham (Alhazan, d. 1039) influenced Bacon, Kepler and Witello through his empiricist ideas. His philosophy proceeded from scepticism to criticism which he owed to al-Farabi. He also explained the role of induction in syllogism. He criticised Aristotle for underestimating the role of induction which Alhazan considered very important for true scientific research.

"No Muslim thinkers influence the medieval West more than Ibn Rushd".[24] Ali his works were translated into Latin and Hebrew by the middle of the 13th century. He was born in Cordova (in 1126) in a family of judges and religious scholars. After studying law and medicine in Cordova he travelled to Marrakesh for further studies. This means that the 12th century Cordova was already offering education in this field. After becoming an authority in religious law, philosophy and medicine he practiced as a judge in Seville and Cordova. M.A. Wollyson considers him as one of the leading authorities on medical philosophy. And he was called as "the commentator" and "as he who made the grand commentary", by St. Thomas and Dante respectively.

Michael Scott had the honour to introduce this Andalusian philosopher. While commenting on his achievement Renan says, "St, Thomas is at one and the same time the most serious adversary that Averroist doctrine ever encountered, and one can state without fear of paradox the first disciple of the grand commentator. Albertus Magnus owes everything to Avicenna, St. Thomas owes practically everything to Averroes." The influence created by Ibn Rushd was more in the West than in the Muslim East. Although he is remembered more as a commentator for Aristotle, he was no less an original thinker. The influence of his particular trend, Averroism lasted for several

[24] Ibid., 1379.

centuries and was an important source for European Renaissance. By the end of the 12th century his philosophy became so popular that in 1210 the council of Paris forbade the teachings of Aristotle and Ibn Rushd's commentaries. Frederick II (1215) the Emperor of Rome was educated at Palermo which was a centre of Islamic and Arabic Science. By the influence of Arab teachers he became an admirer of Muslim learning, particularly Ibn Rushd and established a University 'at Naples in 1224 with an intention to introduce Islamic learning to Western people. St. Thomas joined here as a student and it became an important center for translating Islamic works. For four centuries Ibn Rushd's thoughts were the part of main curriculum in Western Universities.

CONCLUSION

Thus from the above discussion we can conclude that the influence of J Muslim learning upon West was permanent. It was not only a source for bringing European Renaissance but changed the over all view of Western scholars and philosophers who became the torchbearers in the time to come. Scholars like Charles H. Haskins have failed to recognise this contribution of Muslim philosophers. He writes,

"The Renaissance of the twelfth century was a Greek as well as an Arabic Renaissance; and the unique significance of the Arabic Science in this period now finds itself diminished by the translations made directly from the Greek".[25]

Whereas it follows from our discussion that "science owes a great deal more to Arab culture, it owes its existence".[26] This claim is getting closer with the studies done on the topic and the new research should reveal some important facts and fill in the gaps. "The time has not yet come when a history of Muslim philosophy can be written ... At the present time there are many gaps in our knowledge which are being filled up slowly", speaks the author of The Legacy of Islam.'[27] Muslims in Europe have contributed to every aspect of its civilization, they established educational. I and scientific

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[25] Charles M. Haskins, "Arabic Science in Western Europe", ISIS, 1925, Vol. 7.

[26] Briffault, quoted by Sharif, p. 1355.

[27] Alfred Guillaume, "Philosophy and Theology", The Legacy of Islam (ed. Sir. Thomas Arnold and Alfred Guillaume; London, Oxford Uni. Press, 1931), pp. 239-283:261.

institutions in which most early Muslim and non-Muslim scholars received education and scientific training. They did this not as an outsider but considering themselves as a part of it and taking it responsibility of their own. Although Ibn Bajjah and Ibn Rushd were born and brought up in Europe, it seems that there is a reluctance on the part of the scholars to identify them with Europe.

The problem therefore, does not lie in the construction of Muslim Philosophy as Guillaume has suggested but in the construction of European Philosophy. Perhaps further research in this field will help to establish this fact on firmer ground.

IQBAL AND ‘ARSHI

Majeed Jami

‘Arshi was a contemporary of Iqbal for a quarter century and: an active exponent of his message for nearly half a century afterwards. The. story of their relationship is an interesting chapter of our literary history. They started as distant admirers addressing poety to each other. Then they exchanged verbal messages through a mutual friend. Later they had many lace to face discussions and came much closer. ‘Arshi’s requiem for Iqbal appeared in the monthly Balagh of Amritsar in May 1938. Until his own death in 1985, he continued writing on Iqbal. Some of his essays are included in Malfoozat-e-Iqbal, Naqoosh-i-Iqbal, Ibbal Payarnbar-e-Ummid and Despite material already published, Iqbal and ‘Arshi is a topic which calls for intensive study. This writer has had the honour of exchanging letters with ‘Arshi and meeting him several times but claims no expertise on Iqbal. He studies their poetry regularly- Both are his favourite poets, though in the list of their admirers he is at the very bottom. He ventures to present his ideas in the hope that some learned scholar will explore this topic further.

Iqbal and ‘Arshi seem to have nothing in common at first glance. Iqbal was well dedicated. After completing his studies within the country, he qualified in law and philosophy from renowned universities in Europe. Returning home, he resigned his professorship and earned his living through legal practice. He was elected to the Punjab Legislative Assembly and attended the Round Table Conference in London. In his life time he earned national recognition and international fame. On the other hand, Arshi was a middle school drop-out without formal education. Through self-study and sheer hard work, he acquired a wealth of knowledge which did not stand in need of academic approval. He studied eastern medicine but did not practice it. He worked first as a goldsmith and then as the poorly paid editor of monthly Faiz-ul Islam. He is not widely known. What this writer said at the time of his death — is still true. ‘The passage of time is pushing him into obscurity.

Iqbal collected, edited and published his own poetry. Even the portion he discarded has been discovered. His correspondence; statements and other

writings have also been printed. His life events have been recorded in detail. Several books have been written about him and the Government of Pakistan has established an academy to continue research on him. His poetry has been translated in foreign languages. ' Arshi has not been lucky in this respect. Some of his manuscripts were lost in the upheaval of 1941 and so were the magazines in which his writings appeared. It was not until 'Arshi was in his eighties that some of his poetry was salvaged by Professor Abdur Rashid Fazil and published under the title Ruswa Kiya Mujhe. Mohammad Husain Tasbihi, an Iranian friend of 'Arshi posted in. Pakistan, published some of his Persian poetry as Naqsh-ha-e-Rung Rung. The two collections contain only a fraction of 'Arshi's prolific writing.

Being poles apart in education and social status, how did Iqbal and 'Arshi come to have identical thinking? This was brought about by their profound study of, and complete faith, in Islam. Religion was the fountain. head of their inebriation and their source of inspiration. Drossed in western clothes, Iqbal was not a dyed in the wool 'mister' but a true Muslim. So was 'Arshi. He returned to the fold of Islam after a brief wandering in the wilderness of atheism. Though a maulana in his mode of dress, he was the very opposite of the stern theologian. His eastern robes and religious appearance could not rob him of his humility. 'Arshi and Iqbal were simple folks described thus by Akbar Allahabadi: "Give me a few grains of barley to bake my own bread as I am neither a mister nor a maulana". Except for contrast in dress and difference in background, Iqbal and 'Arshi had no conflict in ideas. They treaded the same path and thought in unison, Their first encounter took place in 1918 when 'Arshi addressed Iqbal in a Persian poem, inviting him to come out of seclusion and actively lead the Indian Muslims. The call was published in Zamindar, a popular daily of that time. Zafar Ali Khan, its firebrand editor, seconded 'Arshi in a 'stiring Urdu poem Ferzuddin Tughrai Amritsari, 'Arshi's teacher in poetry, endorsed the call in Persian. Iqbal replied in Persian, assuring 'Arshi not to think that his goblet had been shattered; he could still offer fresh brew from the tavern of Hejaz. Soon afterwards appeared Iqbal's Rumuz-i-Bekhudi, followed by other works. 'Arshi's initiative at that critical juncture deserves honourable mention.

Even after exchanging poetry, 'Arshi was diffident about meeting Iqbal in person. Perhaps he was overawed by Iqbal's stature. Nevertheless, he remained his keen admirer and avid reader of his poetry. Often he sought clarifications from Iqbal through Sufi Ghulam Mustafa Tabassum Amritsari, a common friend who was teaching at a Lahore college but visited his home town frequently. 'Arshi closely studied Javid Namah as soon as it came out in 1932. He had some questions to which he requested Sufi Tabassum to get Iqbal's answers. Sufi felt that the indirect approach would not help and advised 'Arshi to accompany him to Lahore and talk to Iqbal himself.

The above is the background of the first meeting between Arshi and Iqbal. It took place on 8th October 1932 at Iqbal's McLeod Road residence. The topic of discussion was Mansur Hallaj. Thus began the series of meetings which shifted to Javed Manzil, Iqbal's new house. 'Arshi claims that without receiving formal lessons he considered himself Iqbal's student. He also regarded Iqbal as his spiritual guide without ever taking the customary oath. In fact, Iqbal was his guide, friend and mentor. Whenever 'Arshi visited Lahore, he went straight to Javed Manzil Where he was received with open arms. Even during his last illness, Iqbal had lengthy discussions with 'Arshi and answered all his questions, much against the advice of his physician. If 'Arshi did not show up for long, he would enquire from Sufi Tabassum. After Iqbal's death, 'Arshi lost his interest in visiting Lahore. Often he would recite the classical Arab poet's lament: O! the haunts of Salma (his beloved) where has Salma vanished?

Here are some examples selected at random to show the identical thinking of Iqbal and ' Arshi. In Iqbal's case, the name and page number of his books are given. All references to ' Arshi relate to Ruswa Kiya Mujhe, unless stated otherwise.

(1) Iqbal praises Bilal, the son of an Abyssinian slave and the Prophet's companion who became the first muezzin in Islam (Bang-e-Dara, p. 80). 'Arshi eulogizes Suhaib. Rumi, another slave companion p. 152). Both were brutally tortured for their belief in One God but did not waver under any hardship. They are shining examples that Islamic brotherhood treats as equals persons of different races, colours and social status. The two poems are in the same meter, embellished with a Persian couplet and end on similar notes.

(2) Iqbal expressed a wish (Bang-e-Dara, p. 46) to live in a modest cottage at the foot of the mountain, as he was sick and tired of this world-. He longed to spend his life in harmony with nature and amidst warbling 1 birds. He prays that his lamentation might move listeners to tears and wake them up from slumber. 'Arshi feels the same burning desire (p.154). He too wishes to be away from urban tumult and free from daily worries. He likes to live near a brook where he could be a spectator of, nature at its beautiful best.

(3) Iqbal and 'Arshi were both inspired by Jalal-ud-Din Rumi, the illustrious poet of the 13th century. His major work, dubbed as the Qur'an in the Persian language, was their favourite reading material. Iqbal's heavenly journey as the Indian follower in Javed Namah was undertaken under Rumi's spiritual guidance. He quotes Rumi extensively, notably to answer the questions he raised in 'The Guide and the Disciple' (Bal-i Jibril, pp. 134-142). 'Arshi pays tribute to Rumi by saying that his poetry is enjoyed throughout the world. Calling himself the Pakistani follower, he asks Rumi several questions and provides the answers with Rumi's verses (p. 140).

(4) One of Iqbal's poems is entitled 'A dialogue in Paradise' (Bang-e-, Dara, p. 244). It reports an imaginary conversation between Sa'di of Shiraz, the Persian master poet of the 13th century, and Altaf Husain Hali, an Urdu poet of the 19th century. Sa'di asks about the plight of the Indian Muslims. Hali answers that modern education has shaken their beliefs. They have acquired worldly gain at the cost of their faith. In an imaginary interview with Hali, 'Arshi reminds him that he had specified hell as the punishment for bad poets and asks him what would happen to had politicians. Hali replies that they too are to be assigned to hell:

(5) Once asked to write about Eid, Iqbal composed six verses to the effect that those who have lost everything cannot really enjoy this festival. The new moon mocks at us by asking us to rejoice (Bang-e-Dara, p. 213). 'Arshi has dealt with the same topic. He says that living corpses, whose fasting (starvation) never ends, have no interest in Eid. The month of fasting continues for those who are in the grip of perpetual hunger (p. 122).

(6) Iqbal wrote two poems in Persian addressed to the Holy Prophet (peace be upon him). They are: 'Author's Petition to the Prophet of Mercy'

(Asrar-o-Rumuz, pp. 166-170) and 'in the August Presence of the Prophet' (Pus Cheh Bayad Kard, pp. 48-52). He followed in the foot steps of Imam Busayri, the Egyptian poet of the 13th century, whose celebrated poem continues to be recited throughout the Islamic world. 'Arshi also wrote two poems in Urdu and called them 'In the August Presence of the Teacher of Wisdom' (pp. 172-174). Like Iqbal's poems, they praise the Prophet (peace be upon him) and are at the same time the poet's own petitions.

(7) Iqbal says when the sun rises it drives away sleep and opens our eyes. But, being unaware of its beauty, it is not equal to human being (Bang. e-Dara, p. 48). Elsewhere he asks the sun for the light which will improve the inner vision (Bang-i-Dara, p. 43). An echo of this is found in 'Arshi's poem in which he tells the sun that we know your true worth. You are under the command of somebody and are following the laws of nature (p.166).

(8) Iqbal tells the story of a maulvi in his neighbourhood who regarded him as a bundle of contradictions (Bang-i-Dara, p. 59). 'Arshi describes in' Persian the character of a maulvi who declares sincere Muslims as non-believers. The death of such a maulvi would be a blessing for the Muslim and indeed for knowledge and wisdom. Ironically, he named the poem 'In Praise of the Maulvi' but explained in the footnote that such a person has also been called an evil scholar.

(9) Iqbal issued a call for Afghanistan's awakening in an Urdu poem 0! Unmindful Afghan! Recognize Yourself' (Zarb-e-Kalim, p. 168). Half a century later, when Russians invaded Afghanistan, 'Arshi sounded an alarm. He warned the Afghans that a super power was bent upon capturing their homes and hearths; their mosques and fortresses, and upon dispossessing them of everything. They should resist the invaders and must not barter away their homeland. In another poem 'Arshi congratulated the Afghans on their stiff resistance. Their mountains nurture brave fighters who are heirs to Mahmud and Abdali. Both poems, not included in his published work, are preserved by this writer.

'Arshi has incorporated selected verses of Iqbal in his own poems - a practice which helps to understand Iqbal better, He adds either one hemistich of his to Iqbal's two to make a triangle, or three hemistiches to Iqbal's two to form a pentagon. Arshi's graftings are beautiful additions

which enhance the effect of the original. Examples are 'Arshi's creation of a pentagon (p. 147) with Iqbal's quotation for Zarb-e-Kalim, and a triangle formed with Iqbal's verses on jihad (p. 108). Iqbal tells a pro-church Muslim cleric that he need not preach in the mosque against jihad because Muslims are unarmed. This advice should be given to the European powers who are rapidly equipping themselves with destructive modern weapons (Zarb-e-Kalim, p. 28).

I Apart from adding to Iqbal's poetry, 'Arshi translated some of his Persian poems into Urdu. These are verses about spiritual leaders and mullahs, hell and slavery, jugular vein and stomach, the perfect devil and the proud sinner (p. 148). Also translated is Iqbal's call to sufis and ulema (p.150). He asserts that Muslims are not aware of mullah's fabrications. Had they been, they would have grasped the central point of shariat which is this: no man should be depended on another man.

'Arshi has explained Iqbal's ideas into his own poems. He describes a celestial gathering (pp. 128-132) where the angels surrounded the Divine Throne, with prophets gathered on the right and sufis on the left. There arrives an Indian poet named Zinda Rud (as Iqbal called himself in Javed Namah) in the company of such Persian poets as Sana'i, Rumi. Attar, 'Iraqi etc. Welcoming them, Gabriel asks the purpose of their visit. Rumi answers that the Indian poet, a connoisseur of the wine of Hejaz, has come with. a petition. Granted permission, Iqbal prostrates and recites his 'Shikwah'. His audacity astonishes the prophets and makes the angels tremble. Suddenly a voice announces that the petitioner's plea on behalf of the Indian Muslims is accepted. They will be liberated from colonial. rule. Then it will be up to them to husband the resources of the promised land and prove themselves worthy of the bounty bestowed upon them. This will be their biggest test. 'Arshi then adds how to pass the test: the learned should guide the nation to the right path, elected officials should pay attention to their duty, the armed forces should be ready for any sacrifice and so should be the youth. All citizens should adopt truthfulness, eschewing sectarian and parochial differences. Quoting Iqbal, 'Arshi reminds that the time. has come for the Muslims to unite. Taking all his quotations from Jawab-e-Shikwah, 'Arshi gives a stirring message which should have been heeded.

A similar poem of 'Arshi is 'Awaza-e-Qudsi' (p. 164). He was taken to a heavenly place where he observed a dazzling illumination. Learning that its source was the Holy Prophet (peace be upon him), he submits that Muslims have no shelter in the whole world and no leader worth the name. The reply was; Be. attentive and convey my message to the Muslims. They have shredded the true faith to pieces and disregarded the Qur'an. If this situation continues, they will be wiped out.. Their safety lies in unity. They should unite and have a common purpose. Equipped with this kind of faith, they will live for ever.

Another poem is 'Address to the Poets from Quaid-e-Azam's Graveside" (p.158). 'Arshi reports Jinnah paying a rich tribute to Iqbal saying that he himself was awakened by the melody of the author of Bang Dara. The same clarion call woke up Muslims at large. The Quaid asks the poets to rise up and awaken their nation. This poem echoes Iqbal's verses describing the nation as a living body of which individuals form different parts, the poets being the seeing eyes (Bang-e-Dara, p. 61)

In his Persian poem 'At the Graveside of Iqbal' (Naqsh.ha-e.Rung Rung, p. 104), ' Arshi says he turned his back on the world and cloistered himself at Iqbal's grave, studying Asrar-o-Rumuz day in and day out. One night his eyes opened upon another world. He saw a gathering presided over by the Holy Prophet (peace be upon him). Iqbal appeared there and complained that he had put forward in front of the Muslims precious pearls of wisdom from the Qur'an. They failed to recognize their worth. The Prophet sighed and told Iqbal to convey this advice to the Muslims: The present age is full of disorder. Evil is spreading everywhere. In these circumstances the Qur'an is the only secure fortification where Muslims can find security. However, mullahs and religious guides are ignorant and political leaders ignore it. The poem ends with Iqbal's verse: If you do wish to live as Muslims, this is not possible without Qur'an.

Food and drugs are often described as hot or cold or producing dryness or phlegm. On this analogy, knowledge is supposed to be hot and the lower its quantity the more heat it is expected to cause. There is another saying that to hold one pound of knowledge requires ten pounds of wisdom. If this ratio between knowledge and wisdom is absent, mental equilibrium can be easily disturbed, Perhaps that is why knowledge has also been called the greatest

barrier. The truth of these sayings is furnished by Iqbal and 'Arshi. Both reached the summit of learning through different paths but remained well balanced. They never. made a public display of their knowledge but always acted with humility.

What did 'Arshi find in Iqbal? In his written opinion, Iqbal was an enlightened comrade who never parted company when going was tough, a kind elder who whole-heartedly solved all problems, a perfect guide fully familiar with the ups and downs of the path right up to the destination, a fellow thinker so rare in this world, a beloved friend whose love seems to grow day by day, an accomplished philosopher in whose company worldly worries disappear, and a consummate scholar of the east and the west who had a ready answer to any question.

Once 'Arshi was engrossed in studying Rumi's famous mathnawi at a small village far from centres of learning. He encountered some passages he could not comprehend and keenly felt the need for somebody who could explain them. He looked around but could think of nobody except Iqbal. Returning to Amritsar, he wrote to Iqbal expressing the wish to profit from his mastery of Rumi.

Iqbal's reply dated 19 March 1935 tells us his opinion of 'Arshi. After describing his state of health, Iqbal wrote to 'Arshi: You have already tasted real Islam. If the study of Rumi heightens your interest, you need nothing more than your own enthusiasm. Let your personal interest be your guide. In any event, continue studying the Qur'an and Rumi. Also see me once in a while, not that I can teach you something new, but because the companionship of like-minded persons can sometimes produce results which nobody could foresee.

Contemporary poets and writers rarely think highly of each other. Professional rivalry prevents them from coming close. Contempt, ridicule and libel often source their relationship. False notions of omniscience and exaggerated opinion of self-importance govern their actions. They belittle their contemporaries and overlook their merit. Judged by this criteria. Iqbal and 'Arshi are at the height of greatness. Such cordial relations as existed between them are hard to find in the case of any two distinguished contemporaries, especially when their field of work is the same.

ISLAM: A RELIGION OF PEACE AND TOLERANCE

Aalia Sohail Khan

The thesis of my article is based on Iqbal's statement that "Islam is essentially a religion of peace"[28] He categorically rejected the objection forwarded by Western critics that Islam is a militant religion, and that it was spread on the point of sword. Iqbal said, "Defensive war is certainly permitted by the Quran; but the doctrine of aggressive war against unbelievers is wholly unauthorized by the Holy Book of Islam.[29] I have in my article endeavoured to elucidate that Islam is intrinsically a religion of peace, tolerance and universal brotherhood.

Given the inevitable heterogeneity of beliefs, and man's intense experience of them, the message of the Holy Quran to accept the differences of religion, community and culture is one of toleration of differences: "And the Jews will not be pleased with thee, nor will the Christians, till thou follow their creed." (Chap. 1. 120 The Cow). "And even if thou broughtest into those who have received the Scripture all kinds of portents, they would no follow the qiblah, nor canst thou be a follower of their qiblab." (Chap. 2. 145 the Cow).

Mutual agreement on theological issues may not be possible, it is not even the desired goal, but mutual understanding and respect for other religions is desirable. If God wished, He the Omnipotent, could surely have made every one a Muslim, but that is not a part of the Divine Design. The absolute unity of Allah is inclusive of all the differences, because He is the creator of the veriegated pattern. So what if the Christians do not accept Islam? Are they to be condemned as the followers of Satan to be finally hurled into the leaping livid flames of hell fire? Ought they to be butchered? Should they be cast out of the realm of good people? Or should they be forcibly or secretively converted to Islam? What is to be done? The Holy Quran is very explicit on this issue. "Let no hatred of any people seduce ye

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[28] Syed Abdul Vahid, Thoughts and Reflection of Iqbal (Lahore,' Ashraf Pr c, 1964), pp-46.
[29] Ibid., p. 46.

that deal not justly. Deal justly, that is nearer to your duty. Observe your duty to Allah." (6.8 The table spread). .

"Say (unto the people of the Scripture): Dispute ye with us concerning Allah when He is our Lord and you Lord? Ours are our works and yours you works." (1.139 The Cow). And Each one hath a goal towards which he turneth; so vie with one another in good works wheresoever you may be, Allah will bring you all together." (2.148 The Cow). The Quran teaches that all religious people have a duty to work for a just and equal society.

Iqbal in his article on the "The Ethical and Political Ideal of Islam" cites, many verses form the Holy Quran with a view to "educate political opinion on strictly Islamic lives."[30] Iqbal views Christian and Muslim relationship in the historical perspective[31] He gives the example of the courteous behaviour of the earlier Muslims, who had to settle in the Christian state of Abyssinia, because of persecution at home. Iqbal said[32] that Muslim - Christian relationship is determined by the Quran, which says: "You will find the nearest in affection to those who believe, those who say, We are Christians. That is because there are among them priests and monks, and because they are not proud". (6.82 The table spread).

"This day are (all) good things made lawful for you. the food of those who have received the Scripture is lawful for you, and your food is lawful for them." (6.5 the table spread) The above quoted verses should dismiss the common superstition among Muslims that they cannot be friends with Christians. The misunderstanding has bred suspicion, rivalry, bitterness: and enmity between the two communities. Islam does not forbid its followers to mix with Christians. The idea of blocking one self into a narcisstic image of superiority on the basis of. faith alone is an absolute travesty of Islamic teaching. Excellence of conduct is the mark of superiority. The injunction is not to make friends with those who scoff at Muslim religious beliefs and practices. The Holy 'Quran asks to tolerate verbal violence. Not to make friends with an insolent reviler does not permit hostility or use of violence or aggression. Provocative language inducing violence is disliked in Islamic

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[30] Ibid., p.50.
[31] Ibid., p.50.
[32] Ibid., p. 47

teaching. The Holy Quran forbids Muslims to make derogatory remarks about any religion in front of, or at the back of the upholders of the other religion. "Allah loveth not the utterance of harsh speech save by one who hath been wronged." (6-148).

God sent all His Prophets with one and the same message which was "Islam" and all prophets of Allah were "Muslims" The word Islam means' "Peace". It is willing surrender to the will of God. "Say, 0 People of the scripture (Christians and Jews) Come to-an agreement between us and you, that we shall worship none but Allah, that we shall ascribe no partner unto Him, that none of us shall take others for Lords beside Allah. And if they turn, they say: Bear witness that we are they who have surrendered (unto Him)" (3.64 AI 'Imran). "Abraham was not a Jew; nor yet a Christian; but he was an upright man who had surrendered (to Allah) and he was not of the idolaters". (3.67 Al Imran).

When the Christian Waraqa ibn Nawfal acknowledged Prophet Mohammed (may peace be. upon him) as the true prophet, neither he nor the Prophet expected him to convert to Islam. The Holy Prophet never wanted the Jews or the Christians to embrace Islam unless they themselves had a desire, because they had received authentic revelations of their own.

The Quran did not see the revelation as canceling out the messages and insights of previous Prophets, but instead it stressed the continuity of the religious experience of mankind. It is important to stress this point because tolerance is not a virtue that many western people today would feel inclined to attribute to Islam. Yet form the start, Muslims saw revelation in less exclusive terms than either Jews or Christians."[33] The Quran does not condemn other revealed religions as false, but shows each new prophet as confirming, continuing and adding to the message of his predecessors. "We make no distinction between any of His messenger" (3-285 The Cow) and "He hah revealed unto thee (Mohammad) the scripture with Truth, confirming that which was (revealed) before it, even as He revealed the Torah and the Gospel". (3-3 Al 'Imran) and "We gave Jesus, son of Mary, clear proofs (of Allah's sovereignty) and we supported him with the Holy Spirit" (3-253 The Cow). "say (Q Mohammad) we believe in Allah that which

[33] Karen Armstrong, History of God (U.S.A. Alfred A Knof, 1993), pp. 152.

is revealed unto Abraham and Ismael and Iseaac and Jacob and the tribes and that which was vouchsafed unto Moses and Jesus and the Prophets form their lord. We make no distinction between any of them, and unto Him we have surrendered" (3-48 Al 'Imran). thus the Quran repeatedly points out that Muslims must tolerate the older religions. "Do not argue with the followers of earlier revelations otherwise than. in the most kindly manner unless it be such of them as are set on evil doing ----and say: "We believe in that which has been bestowed upon us, as well as that which has been bestowed upon you for our God and your God is one and the same, and it is unto Him that we (all) surrender ourselves". (21-46 The Spider)

Islam does not aspire to unify humanity by converting all human beings to institutional Islam. Such a feat is obviously impracticable. According to Quranic scriptures, it does not matter what creed a man professes or what rite he performs. "And who doth greater wrong than he who forbiddeth the approach to the sanctuaries of Allah lest his name should be mentioned there" (1-114 The Cow) It is important to note that the word used here for the place of worship is sanctuary and not mosque. Islam enjoins the Muslims to respect and maintain the sanctity of all the sanctuaries, whether they are mosques or churches. "The true mosque in a pure holy heart is builded. There let all men worship God;, For there He dwells, net in a mosque of stone"[34]

This concept broadens the boundary of Islam, extends it to include the entire human race. Allah is one not only in the sense of being unique and undivided but in the sense of being all inclusive. Given the heterogeneity of human needs, customs, the ineradicable idiosyncrasies of human reasoning, Islam affirms the unity not of religion alone but of mankind. It deplores the divisions among Christians and Jews and calls on them to be at one with the Muslims in worshiping one God.

Christianity and Islam an encounter each other in a new way, one leading to a solidarity which in this critical hour of human history, all should seek. Bitterness, hatred and rivalry among them must give place not only to negative toleration, but also to a positive and fruitful cooperation on the

[34] Reynold A. Nicholson, The .Mystics of Islam (New York: Schockew Bks, 1975), pp. 87.

largest possible scale. They should fight together against materialism in all its forms; ideological, intellectual and political.

We must learn from the warnings and experiences of history and use religion as a source of love and more love and still more love. We must dispassionately, and free form prejudices, reinterpret religion and try to discover its true spirit. "We (God) have nude you nations and tribes that ye may know one another (and be friends). The noblest of you, in the sight of Allah, is the best in the conduct."(26-13 Apartments)

IQBAL'S CONCEPTION OF HUMAN EXISTENCE

Dr. Latif Hussain Kazmi

Kierkegaard, the founder of modern existentialist philosophy; made an attempt at philosophical level to meet the challenge of materialism which threatened to erode the spiritual foundations of human existence. He was also critical of the institutionalization of religion. To him, institutionalized religion appeared as a feature of a highly institutionalized society which swallowed the individual man. In other words, his attempt was to save the individual man from the danger of losing his individual identity. In the preface of his Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam Iqbal points to a similar danger- i.e. onslaught of materialism and an all-embracing bureaucratism. Modern society and civilization have reduced the individual to a nameless part of a huge machinery. Materialism is all-pervading. The modern society and state governed by institutions threaten the very existence of individuality.

Kierkegaard's aim was to liberate the individual from the group of institutionalized religion i.e. the Church. He revolted against the established religious authority and challenged the Christian faith. Backhem says that in rejecting Christianity, Kierkegaard perceived the discontinuity between faith and reason and he made efforts to renew the meaning of Christianity by a compelling recognition of the permanent cleavages)between faith and reason, Christianity and culture and there are always,attempts to reconcile faith and reason to philosophize Christian beliefs.[35]

Iqbal's task, at least in one of its aspects, was also similar i.e. to fight against Pantheistic Sufism. So far as the challenge of materialism was concerned, both Kierkegaard and Iqbal made attempts to stop it in order to save spirituality, which they considered as the fountain-head of human existence. The similarity of views of Kierkegaard and Iqbal naturally led them to an approach which was also similar. Ira other words, both had recourse to existential experience of the individual man. Iqbal points out that if man

[35] Blackhem, H. J. Six Existential Thinkers, Harper and Row, New York, 1959, p. 3.

wants to know God, he should first of all, recognize and realize his own existence.[36]

At the very outset, it is necessary to say that Iqbal may not be considered an existentialist in the strict sense of the term. Although existentialism was initiated as a philosophy by Kierkegaard in the second half of the 19th century, it became a philosophical movement only between the two great World Wars in Europe. Its main representatives, besides Kierkegaard, are Heidegger, jaspers, Marcel and Sartre. But in most of the books on existentialism, certain other Western philosophers and writers too are referred to as having existentialist elements in their thought and works, such as: Dostoyevsky, Kafka, Unamuno, Nietzsche and to some extent, Bergson. All these philosophers and writers were concerned with the problems of the individual person and his life. Institutionalism is essentially anti-intellectualist in approach to the study of man and reality, which is not much different from the subjective approach of existentialism, Besides, literature has always been interested in the man of flesh and blood, who is born, suffers, chooses his own destiny through his actions, faces crises and ultimately dies. On the other hand, traditional philosophies considered man as an essence or universal concept. Aristotle defines man as 'a rational being' and regards reason as the essence of man. The Platonic-Aristotelian tradition dominated the Western philosophy throughout the history of the development of the Western thought. Rationalism and its later form, intellectualism, was strengthened by the advancement of sciences, whose arrogant claims ignored and rejected all the other approaches to the knowledge of reality as non-sensical, superstitious and unscientific. This arrogance of science reinforced the superiority and authority of reason. The most tyrannical form of the arrogance of rationalism found expression in the philosophy of Hegel, who regarded reason as the absolute reality and the whole phenomenal world as the unfolding of the absolute reason. Kierkegaard had to fight against Hegel and employed his own weapons to refute him.

Iqbal also fought against the claims of superiority of reason. According to, him, reason is merely a 'light of the path' not the destination for the ideal

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[36] See, for example, Diwan-i-Iqbal Lahori (Iqbal's Persian Collection), Intisharat-i-Pagah Tehran, Iran, 1361 (shamsi). p. 211.

man.[37] Whatever may be the differences between Iqbal and the existentialists, their motto was a Socratic one: Know thyself Knowledge of the self, Iqbal emphasized, was not possible through intellect which relied upon the data furnished by the senses. According to him, empirical or scientific method is capable of providing one with knowledge of the external world only. This knowledge is supposed to be objective Kirerkegaard rejected and repudiated the notion of objectivity, particularly so far as self-knowledge was concerned. Iqbal, who had studied and was influenced by the Sufi tradition of Islam knew that the knowledge of the self and God could but be attained through reason and scientific method, Hence he had to go back to the religious experience as the source of authentic and valid knowledge of the realms lying beyond the physical world.

The similarities between the philosophies of Iqbal and Kierkegaard have been highlighted to show that to a certain extent the problems posed by Iqbal and his approach to the solution of these problems was existentialist in character. On the same lines, a parallel can be drawn between Iqbal and Heidegger, Iqbal and Sartre, Iqbal and Jaspers and Iqbal and Marcel. All the contemporary existentialists are not theists. The existentialists are divided into two groups— theists and atheists. But these two have certain notions in common. The interpretations and approaches of different existentialists may be different from one another in certain respects, but their points O emphasis are the same. All are concerned with the 'individual man.' All of them agree that all religion and philosophy are for man and should be concerned with evolving a proper theory of man. All of them reject the claim of intellectualism as the only source of knowledge. All of them are anti-essentialist i.e. they do not accept any given essence or ready-made definition of man. All of them regard freedom as the most authentic mode of human existence. The theist Iqbal in his Reconstruction asserts that Islam recognizes a very important fact of human psychology, i.e. the rise and fall of the power to act freely, and is anxious to retain the power to act freely. as a constant

[37] Kulliyat-i-Iqbal (Iqbal's Urdu Collection) Aligarh Book Depot, Aligarh (India), 1975. p. 376.

and undiminished factor in the life of the ego.[38] Ina word, according to him, "Life is an endeavour for freedom." Iqbal further says:

'How long wilt thou abide under the wings of others? 'Learn to wing they flight freely in the garden breeze.[39]

Now the atheist Sartre's position seems similar to that of the theist Iqbal. Sartre asserts in his famous book Being and Nothingness that "Human reality everywhere encounters resistances and obstacles which it has not created but these resistances and obstacles have meaning only in and through the free choice which human reality is".[40] Again in his Existentialism and Humanism Sartre points out that one will never be able to explain one's action by referenee to a given and specific human nature; in other words according to him, there is no determinism. "Man is free, man is freedom."[41] All the theistic and atheistic existentialist thinkers grapple with dread, anxiety, concern and death which an individual man has to fact in his life. All of them emphasize the historicity of human existence and consequently the relativism of all human values. For example, regarding historicity of man Heidegger says: "Man writes histories or makes history by his actions because his very being is historical"[42] This theme has found its echo in Iqbal's poetry also. For example, in a poem in Bal-i Jibril entitiled "Zamana" (The Time) he says:

"From my goblet are trickling fresh events drop by drop; I count on my rosery days and nights bead by bead'[43]

In his Persian Mathnawi: 'Rumuz-i-Bekhudi', he asserts:'

So his memory maketh him aware

Of his own self, and keeps secure the bond Linking tomorrow with his yesterday;

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[38] Iqbal, Muhammad. The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam, Shaikh Muhammad Ashraf, Lahore, (Pakistan) 1944, p. 109.
[39] Diwan-i-Iqbal Lahori, op. cit., p. 248.
[40] Sartre, J.P., Being and Nothingness, Mathuen, London, 1957, p. 489.
[41] Ibid., Existentialism and Humanism, Mathuen, London, 1948, p. 34.
[42] Barrett, W., Irrational Man, Hainemann, London, 1961. p. 204.
[43] Iqbal, Kulliyat (Urdu), op. cit. p. 421.

Upon this golden thread his days are strung Link jewels on a necklace, one by one... A hundred knots are in its cord to loose

Ere it can reach the end of selfhood's thread. But when with energy it falls upon

The world's great labours, stable then becomes This new-won consciousness; it raises up A thousand images, and casts them down; So it createth its own history.[44]

In the same Mathnawi emphasizing the importance of history in human life Iqbal says:

'Yet, when the individual has snapped The bond that joins his days, as when a comb Sheddeth its teeth, so his perception is—The record of the past illuminates

The conscience of the people; memory of past achievements makes it self-aware; But if that memory fades, and is forgot, The folk again is lost in nothingness.

Know, then, 'tis the connecting thread of days That stitches up thy life's loose manuscript; This selfsame thread sews us a shirt to wear, Its needle the remembrance of old yarn. What thing is history, O self-unaware? A fable? Or a legendary tale?

Nay, 'tis the thing that maketh thee aware of thy true self, alert unto the task,

A seasoned traveller; This is the source of the soul's a dour, this the nerges that knit The body of the whole Community… Preserve this history, and so abide Unshaken, vital with departed breath.[45]

There are certain other notions which are found in the writings of al the existentialists such as those of choice, crisis and authenticity. In Iqbal's prose writings and poetry all these concepts are dealt with. It may, therefore, be

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[44] Arberry, A. J., The Mysteries of the Selflessness ('English translation of Iqbal's Rumuz-i-Bekhudi), John Murray, London, 1953, pp. 60,61.
[45] Ibid., pp. 60,61.

concluded that the themes and notions which Iqbal has dealt with are mainly existentialist in tone, temper and import. It may be noted here that none of these themes and notions is abstract. They arise out of the concrete reality of man's existence and his historic situation. Existentialist elements in Iqbal's philosophy are not accidental. There are two main sources of Iqbal's thought, namely, (i) the Islamic philosophical tradition--- which has always been concerned with the individual man, and (ii) literature in general which has always made man the central subject of its study. Both Islamic and literary traditions found their expression in Iqbal's thought and poetry in accordance with the needs of modern times. Iqbal lived and philosophized about the historical situation in which the existentialists lived and grappled with the problems of 'Human existence'. It is actually the spirit of the age or the historicity of human existence which induced Iqbal to think on similar lines with the existentialists.

The literary approach and the existentialist approach have some common characteristics. Objectivity, in scientific sense, has no place in the experience of a creative artist. Literature is the expression of the subjective experience of the writer or the artist. It does not mean that a writer is imprisoned in his subjectivity. He has to live in the society and is aware of all the social, political, economic, moral and religious trends and problems of his time. But he does not respond to these problems in a scientific way. His method of study is not analytical. He assimilates the external reality of his contemporary society and internalizes it. His response is, therefore, always subjective. Existential experience is also subjective in nature.

Existentialist philosophers do not ignore social and political problems. They take keen interest in their historical situations. Their response to the social reality is, like that of artists and literary writers, subjective to a large extent with minor differences.

Sartre says:

Subjectivism means, on the one hand, the freedom of the individual subject and, on the other hand, that man cannot pass beyond human subjectivity. It is the latter which is the deeper meaning of existentialism. When we say man chooses himself, we mean that everyone of us must

choose himself; but by that we also mean in choosing for himself he chooses for 'all men'.[46]

In this way by 'choosing for all men', existentialist philosophers evince a keen interest in social and political problems. Iqbal too has discussed this theme elaborately in his Mathnawi: Rumuz-i Bikhudi (The Mysteries of Selflessness), the whole of which is an eloquent presentation of the intimacy of the relationship between the 'individual man' and the social life of the 'community' (Millat), in the midst of which he lives, moves, translates his values into action and expresses his authentic existence. Alone, man is weak and powerless and his aims are narrow. It is the active participation of the living membership of a vital Millar that confers on him a unique sense of power and makes him aware of higher collective purposes which deepens and widens the scope and significance of his very individual ego. Iqbal says:

Individual wins respect as being one of them,

And the society is organized

As by comprising many such as he. When in the congregation he is lost

Tis like a drop which, seeking to expand, Becomes 'an Ocean.

The joy of growth

Swells in his heart from the Community That watches end controls his every deed. The Individual,

Alone, is heedless of high purposes; His strength is apt to dissipate itself.[47]

In his Urdu works too Iqbal describes an unbreakable bond between the individual and the community:

The individual is alive only due to its relationship with the Community, alone he is nothing,

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[46] Sartre, J.P xistentialism and Humanism, p. 29.
[47] Arberry, A. J.. op. cit., pp. 5,6.

The wave's existence is in the river, outside the river it is nothing'[48]

and:

The destiny of the nations lies in the hands of the individuals, Every individual is the guiding star of community's destiny.[49]

Literature has always been interested in the concrete existence of individual man who is reduced to a philosophical hypothesis or formula in traditional philosophy and social sciences like psychology and sociology. Man is not merely an economic or political being. He, therefore, cannot be understood fully by means of any of the social sciences. His inner life remains a mystery. Even psychology and psychoanalysis fail to understand individual human beings, because being sciences they try to generalize results of their studies of human beings and apply their laws to all the individuals. Literature, on the other hand, takes each and every individual as an independent entity, a world in himself or in Kant's words, "an end in himself". Iqbal is basically a poet. His approach is literary and, therefore, his philosophic responses are subjective. The religious tradition of Islam also helps him to adopt this approach. Iqbal analyses religious experience in mystical terms and for him it is an immediate, unanalysable whole, uncommunicable and constitutes a state of intimate association with a unique other self. However, the mystic's intimate association with the Eternal does not mean a complete break with serial time, or, say, common or normal levels of experience.[50] Iqbal makes a distinction between an ordinary mystic and prophet on the basis of the power of communication. An ordinary mystic lackes this power. After attaining the vision of Ultimate Reality, he is baffled and tongue-tied. He cannot express his experience in words. He does not come down to earth and his people to give even verbal expression to his experiences. The prophet, on the contrary, is distinguished from the mystic because of his return to earth and his people and his power of communication. The prophet can express his experiences in words and can convey the divine message and is capable of guiding his people to attain the

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[48] Iqbal, Kulliyat (Urdu) Lahore, 1993, p. 217.
[49] Kulliyat-i-lqbal, pp. 190 and 657.
[50] Iqbal, Muhammad. The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam, pp. 18-22.

highest End. Iqbal regards a poet's mission similar to that of a prophet. Poetry is a part of prophetic mission:

'It is said that poetry is a part of Prophethood;

Lo! convey the message of the heavenly voice to the congregation of Millah'.

The religious experiences, which Iqbal underwent in his. creative process found verbal expression in his poetry. The results of the poetic experience were formulated in The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam. Hence, Iqbal's philosophy is inseparably connected with his mystical and poetic experiences which are ultimately existential in nature and logic. This is how Iqbal comes closer to the existentialist approach.

Iqbal, like the existentialists, the pragmatists and the Marxists, advocates the unity of thought and action. According to him the Ego or man possesses the germ of vicegerency of God on earth. "The highest power is united in him with the highest knowledge. In his life, thought and action, instinct and reason become one".[51] This unity of thought and action is attainable through ego-activity. Through the realization of ego's potentialities (specially creativity and freedom) and translating them into action, the individual comes nearer to God. Iqbal conceives that with the perfection of the ego man comes nearer to God by assimilating Divine attributes. "Not that he is finally absorbed in God, but on the other hand, he absorbs God into himself".[52] The religious experience finds expression in the assertation like "I am the truth" (ana al-Haq), "I am time" and "I am the speaking Qur'an". In the same way, Kierkegaard's dictum "Subjectivity is truth" finds deeper meaning in these phases. In Iqbal's concept of ego existential subjectivity is transformed into creative activity. Iqbal attributes Divinity to Ego,[53] and

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[51] Nicholson, R. A., The Secrets of the Self, London, 1920,., (Introduction), pp. XXVII, XXVIII.

[52] Ibid., p. XIX.

[53] cf. "Existentialist Elements in Iqbal's Philosophy" by Dr. S. Waheed Akhtar, (Indo-Iranica, Vol. 31, 1978, Iran Society, Calcutta, pp. 28-41).

holds that "of -all the creations of God he (man) alone is capable of consciously participating in the creative life of his Maker".[54]

We have already discussed how Iqbal met the challenge of materialism by reawakening a deeper sense of individuality (egohood). His criticism of the Western culture is similar to that of Nietzsche and Spengler. The lack of spiritual values and one-sided development on materialist lines, have led, according to him, to the decline of the West. Sartre and Jaspers are also critical of Western culture and regard it responsible for the alienation of man at various levels. Their solution of the problem is social and political, while Iqbal suggests an solution which is essentially spiritual. The society and polity can be transformed by the individuals who develop their' egohood under the guidance of Divine light. He, unlike Sartre, does not believe in absolute freedom nor he regards freedom as condemnation. Freedom is a blessing, but it cannot be bestowed upon man from outside. Man has to win his freedom through struggle and effort to perfect his egohood. According to Tradition 'the true Faith is between predestination and free-will'. In the same way the Ego attains to freedom by the removal of all obstructions in its way. It is partly free, partly determined, and reaches fuller freedom by approaching the Individual who is most free-God.[55] But it is to be noted here that the highest stage which a man can attain is not union with God but perfection of egohood as a separate entity. At this stage, man's will becomes identical with the divine will and he participates in the act of creation. It is in this sense that a man creates himself, his values and his surroundings. Man's creativity also depends upon the stage of the development of the ego. Iqbal's' philosophy of egohood is not far from existentialist concept of individuality and authenticity. Highly developed ego is the only state of authentic existence. This authenticity can be acquired by means of Divine light. A true believer submits to the divine will with the knowledge and faith in the authenticity of religious commandments. In this respect Iqbal's approach to freedom is different from the atheist Sartre's. God does not delimit or curtail human freedom. God guarantees human freedom. Man conquers finitude and death through his struggle in time. Finitude is not a misfortune. Islam does not teach "complete liberation from finitude as the highest state of human bliss.[56]

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[54] Iqbal, Muhammad. The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam, p. 72.
[55] Nicholson, R.A., op. cit., p. XXI.
[56] Iqbal, Muhammad. The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam, p. 117.

According to the Qur'an as mentioned before, "Man is the trustee of a free personality which he accepts at his peril".[57] In this respect freedom is man's own choice. He is neither condemned to be free, as Sartre holds, nor does he receive freedom as a gift from the transcendence as Jaspers believes. Iqbal agrees with Jaspers that God speaks through freedom. He does not regard slave's prayer as genuine because of the fact that a slave cannot communicate with God. Iqbal agrees with Heidegger and Sartre that freedom in the sense of free creative activity is the mode of human existence:

'The world of Moon and Pleiades has no worth before thee; Theirs is the world of necessity, thine of freedom.[58]

According to Iqbal, man being a partner in the creative activity of his Maker (Allah) should not subscribe to the oft-repeated notion of Taqdir, that is Fate. He emphatically say that 'man himself is his fate and the maker of his destiny'.

'Lovers of Truth! Be like a shining sword and be the fate of thine own world.[59]

All the things which are there in the world are tools for man. It is only the human person who gives them meaning and purpose.' In a word, the whole world is the inheritance of the mumin.[60] Iqbal, like existentialists, holds that every individual has to discover the meaning of life through his own freedom and experience. In his Bang-i-Dara Iqbal says:

'Create thy own world if thou be amongst the living;

Life is the secret essence of the Adam, the hidden truth of creation... Life is reduced to a rivulent with little water in the bondage; In freedom, life is a boundless ocean.[61]

DEATH AND HUMAN EXISTENCE

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[57] Ibid., p. 95.
[58] Kulliyat-i-lqbal, op. cit., p. 534.
[59] Diwan-i-lqbal Lahori, p. 411.
[60] Ibid., p. 359.
[61] Ibid., p. 259.

Iqbal has a very peculiar conception of human existence. In his philosophy, death is not the end of human life. The existentialists interpret death as "Not" or "Nothingness". According to the Heidegger and others this realization inspires dread and anguish. Iqbal's Perfect Man (Mard-i-Mumin) is not awed by death. The inevitability of death strengthens his faith in Allah and he tries to attain immortality through seeking His pleasure. In Bang-i-Dara in a short poem Humayun and in another long poem entitled In memory of the late mother Iqbal says:

'Ignorants consider death the end of life,

While the eve of life is the beginning of an eternal life…[62] Death is nothing but revival of the lust for life,

It is a dream that conveys the message of awakening.

Alas! you, the ignorant person, are unfamiliar with the mystery of death;

The transitory character of an image implies permanence.[63]

In Bal-i-Jibril he further asserts.[64]

'I learnt this wisdom from Abu al-Hasan ['Ali (A)]'

that the soul remains unaffected by the death of body.'

According to Iqbal the aspect of action is very important in human existence. It may be called the essence of his life. He points out that it is in action that the free ego seeks immortality. The martyrs who sacrifice their lives for the sake of higher ends attain immortality. In Iqbal's view Martyrdom of husayn Ibn 'Ali is. the. highest instance of the individual freely choosing his own destiny and thus attaining immortality. In this context, regarding Imam Husayn (referred to him by name "Shabbir"), he says in Bal-i Jibril:[65]

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[62] Ibid., p. 251.
[63] Ibid., pp. 231-33.
[64] Ibid., p. 379.
[65] Ibid., p. 365.

'The station of Shabbir is an eternal reality while the positions of the Kufis and Shamis are ever-shifting.'

Immortality, in the eyes of Iqbal, is an ideal which may or may not be attained by every one. Its achievement solely depends upon one's personal efforts or constant striving. As the Holy Qur'an declares:

Blessed is He in Whose hand is the Sovereignty, and He is able to do all things.

Who hath created life and death

that He may try you, which of you

is best in conduct (or in point of deed);

and He is Mighty and Forgiving.[66]

According to Iqbal, life offers to the ego a great scope for personal efforts to achieve the ideal of immortality, and death is perhaps the best test whereby the synthetic activity of the ego is brought to trial. In this regard Iqbal says in his Payam-i-Mashriq:[67]

I tell thee a piece of secret wisdom,

If thou would'st learn from me the

lesson of life:

Thou diest if thou hast not the soul in the body, If thou hast the soul in the body thou diest not.

An ego perfected through a life of creativity and action overcomes finitude. Martyrdom is eternal life, for in it the individual ego becomes one with the creative activity of Allah and conquers time:

It is here that he becomes the Perfect Man; his eye becomes the eye of God, his word

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[66] Al-Qur'an, 67:1-2.

[67] Diwan-i-lqbal Lahori, pp. 199-200.

the word of God and his life the life of God—participates in the general life of Nature and 'sees into the life of things'.[68]

Iqbal is of the view that it is only the pure time that brings to the ego its freedom, creativity and immortality. Man that has attained a relatively perfect egohood, possesses a privileged position in the heart of Divine creative energy and is capable of consciously participating in the creative life of Allah—the Supreme Creator:

Endowed with the power to imagine a better world, and to mould 'what is' into 'what ought to be' the ego in him aspires, into the interests of an increasingly unique and comprehensive individuality, to exploit all the various environments on which he may be called upon to operate during the course of an endless career.[69]

In short, to Iqbal, death is not inflicted upon man but he chooses his own modes of death. Each man's death is determined by his deeds. The martyrs who sacrifice their lives for the sake of higher ends, attain immortality. According to Jaspers, through death a human person transcends his own existence and becomes one with the Absolute Transcendence-- God. According to Iqbal, human ego is everything. He argues that every aspect of his existence represents a kind of totality of being:

'I am life, I am death, I am resurrection.'[70] Again, Iqbal maintains:

'Life and death are not worth our attention; Ego alone is the object of ego':[71]

FREEDOM AND HUMAN EXISTENCE

Another most important aspect of human existence is freedom. Freedom is the summum bonum of Iqbal's religious and ethical philosophy. According to him, an individual is alienated from his own self, nature, society

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[68] Iqbal, Muhammad., The Development of Metaphysics in Persia; Bazm-i-Iqbal, Lahore, p. 119.
[69] Iqbal, Muhammad. The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam, p. 72.
[70] Ansari, A.A, (ed.) Iqbal: Essays and Studies, Ghalib Academy, New Delhi, 1978, p. 144.
[71] Kulliyat-i-Iqbal, p. 530.

and God in the state of slavery and he adds that this is also true of a nation. He goes to the extent of saying that a slave's prayer is futile. Only a free man can establish a direct relationship with God.

Iqbal interprets prayer as "an expression of man's inner yearning for a response in the awful silence of the universe"[72] The universe responds to the yearning of a free man. This yearning is the yearning for freedom and immortality.

Iqbal's view regarding the various stages of the development of man can be compared with Kierkegaard's theory of the three stages of life. Iqbal in his Secrets of the Self has mentioned three stages: (a) Subordination or obedience to moral law; (b) self-control, which is the highest form of self-consciousness or Ego-hood; and (c) Divine Vicegerency[73] (Niyabat). The first two stages, combined together, represent the ethical stage in Kierkegaard's religious stage. But in Iqbal's philosophy Vicegerency of God is far higher than the religious stage. It is at this stage that man establishes his own individuality and can even address God boldly in the following manner:

'It is I who turn stone into a mirror,

And it is I who turn poison into an antidote.

Thou didst create the deserts, mountains and forests, I produced the orchards, gardens and groves.[74]

It does not mean that Iqbal disregards God or shows disrespect to Him. It is the voice of freedom which echoes in these verses. This free creativity of man becomes part of Divine creativity-- a continuous process. Iqbal maintains in his Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam that "Man, in whom egohood has reached its relative perfection, occupies a genuine place in the heart of Divine creative energy..."[75] Man being the crown of the

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[72] Iqbal, Muhammad. The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam, p. 72.
[73] Nicholson, R.A.., The Secret of the Self (Introduction), p. XXVIII.
[74] Diwan-i-Iqbal Labor:, p. 242,- (English translation: cf. S.A. Wahid's Iqbal: His Art and Thought, John Murray, London, 1959, p. 106).
[75] Iqbal, Muhammad. The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam, p. 72.

creation is along capable of consciously participating in the creative life of his Master or Maker (Allah).

In the light of the preceding discussion it can rightly be said that none of the Muslim thinkers had elaborated the conception of human existence is such detail as Iqbal did in his Urdu, Persian and English works. There are various common characteristics of existential philosophy and Iqbalian thought. 'Human existence' is the centre point on which both the systems more. Iqbal has been and is being interpreted even today from different points of view. In the opinion of the present researcher, all these approaches are inadequate and one-sided. Existentialist approach to Iqbal alone can help one to understand Iqbal in his totality, and can bring out his relevance to contemporary thought in a broader perspective. In reality, human existence is the raison d'etre for his philosophy.

ISLAMIC THEORY OF KNOWLEDGE

Dr. Muhammad Maruf

The Qur'an is definite and clear on the question of knowledge. It claims with an absoluteness that knowledge of the manifest as well as of the hidden belongs to God, that nothing occurs in the world which is not known to Him. To quote, "…by Him who knows the unseen— from whom is not hidden the least little atom in the heavens or on the earth:…[76] Of man it says that most of them know not: and those few who know, 'They know an outward part of the present life,...'[77] It adds, '…they follow only surmise, merely conjecturing.[78] In other words, the commoners have 'opinion' only (to use a platonic term), and not 'knowledge' in the proper sense; and whatever knowledge they possess is of the external aspect of the world ('appearances') only and not of the 'reality' itself. So far Plato and Kant share the approach that characterizes the Qur'an in the regard. However, unlike Kant, the Quran does not preclude the possibility of knowledge to man. It over and again talks of 'man of wisdom and understanding, however few they may be.

The Qur'an emphasizes the innate nature of all human knowledge, which is bestowed by God Himself. The Qur'an says, 'He knows what lies before them and what is after them, and they comprehend not anything of His knowledge save such as He wills'.[79] Again, when the Holy Prophet (peace be upon him) was asked concerning the spirit, the Qur'an enjoined him to answer, 'You have been given of knowledge nothing except a little'.[80] Thus, man has a little of knowledge, and that by the grace of God which means that knowledge cannot be acquired by man through his personal effort and industry— surely a wahbi (endowed) view of knowledge according to which it is 'innate' and 'inspired'. Some early Muslim thinkers like Ibn Bajah and even such a great scholar as Ibn Sina were led to the 'innate' view of knowledge not so much by their study of the Greeks, as is generally thought, as under the inspiration of these verses of the Qur'an.

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[76] A. J. Arberry, The Koran Interpreted (tr.) Oxford University Press, 1964, XXXIV:4.
[77] Ibid, XXX:5.
[78] Ibid, VI:116
[79] Ibid, II:256.
[80] Ibid, XVII:87.

The Muslim thinkers right from al-Kindi were led to formulate the doctrine of the Intellect under the inspiration of the above-mentioned verses. It is generally believed, and not without justification, that the Muslims took this doctrine from Aristotle's De Anima[81] ('and Alexander of Aphrodisias's De Intellectu,[82] though acknowledging at the same time that they made some very important modifications and elaborations. Thus, al-Kindi made a very pertinent addition when he divided Alexander's 'Intellecn habitu' into two intellects, of which 'one is the possession of knowledge without practising it' and 'the other is the practising of knowledge'.[83] Next to him, al-Farabi makes a distinction between the 'intelligables in sensibles' and ' intelligables in action[84] which is almost parallel to that of al-Kindi. However, he adds 'acquired intellect' which is capable of comprehending pure abstractions, and here the intellect rises to the 'level of communion, ecstasy, and inspiration'.[85] It may be added that though al-Farabi himself declared that his theory depended on the third part of De Anime of Aristotle, his conception of the 'acquired intellect' is alien to Aristotle; it differs also from the ' acquired intellect' as found in the theory held by Alexander of Aphrodisias and al-Kindi'. When we come to Ibn Sina the concept of a supra-human transcendent intellect which, when the human intellect is ready, bestows knowledge upon it'[86] finds its most developed form. It is the external, objective agency which causes all knowledge through inspiration in the human mind and, but for which no knowledge could be possible.

Unlike Alexander, al-Farabi, and even Aristotle, Ibn Sina holds that the universal is not abstracted from the particulars of sense-experience; 'it issues directly from the active intellect'. He says, 'The perception of the universal form,..., is a unique movement of the intellective soul, not reducible to our perceiving the particular either singly or totally and finding the common essence among them, for if so, it would be only a spurious kind of

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[81] Aristotles's famous book on psychology which was studied by the Muslim thinkers right from al-Kindi who benefitted from it.

[82] This book mainly deals with the doctrine of Intellect and the origin and sources of human knowledge. It also impressed the Muslim thinkers from the beginning.

[83] M.M. Sharif (ed.), A History of Muslim Philosophy, Wiesbaden: Otto ' Harrassowitz, 1963, Vol. I, p. 433.

[84] Ibid, p. 642

[85] Ibid.

[86] Ibid.

universal'.[87] He concludes, 'the origin of knowledge is mysterious and involves intuition at every stage'[88] He goes on, 'All seeking of knowledge,..., has this prayer-like quality'; however, he adds that 'the effort is necessary on the part of man; the response is the act of God or the active intellect'[89] In other words, the 'innate' nature of knowledge does not preclude the possibility and necessity of effort on the part of man, and no knowledge can be 'had' without effort by man. Thus, Ibn Sina has developed his theory of knowledge in the intuitive direction in line with the teachings of the Qur'an-. In fact, the Muslim thinkers have developed their theory of knowledge in two positive directions:-viz., (i) in the direction of the practical import of knowledge, and (ii) in the direction of 'innate' or 'intuitive' nature of knowledge— the tow characters which the Qur'an has emphasized. This account clearly indicates that the Muslim thinkers, although impressed by the Greeks and built their own theory on theirs, were really inspired by the Qur'anic teachings which prompted them not only to accept but also to modify and add to the Greek view.

In the chapter "Al-Baqarah", the Qur'an fixes man's capacity for knowledge as the halmark placing him above all the creatures, including even angels, because Adam, when commanded, could name things which the angels could not'.[90] Even among men the Qur'an places the men of learning far above the ignorant. It says, 'Shall those who know be deemed equal with those who do not'.[91] It compares the knowing to the 'men of sight' and the ignorant to the 'blind'. The Prophet of Islam (peace be upon him) is reported to have said, 'The learned men are the heirs of the prophets'.[92] According to the Prophet (peace be upon him); the learned men have a superior rank. . He says, 'The superior rank the learned man holds in relation to the worshipper is like the superior rank I hold in relation to the least of men'[93] and again the Prophet (peace be upon him) describing the difference between the learned

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[87] Ibid, p. 495.
[88] Ibid, p. 496.
[89] Ibid.
[90] The Koran op. cit., II:28-31.
[91] Ibid, XXXIX: 2.
[92] From supra, p.2 by al-Ghazali in Kitab al-'Ilm, Eng. tr. as The Book of Knowledge by Dr. N.A. Faris, Lahore: Ashraf, 1974, p. 11.
[93] Al Baghawi, Masabih al-Sunnah, Cairo, 1312 H., vol. I, p. 14.

and the worshipper says, 'Between the learned and the worshipper are a hundred degrees, each two of which are separated by the extent of a racing horse's run in seventy years'[94] The learned, thus, occupy a very high place— a place next to the Prophet (peace be upon him) in point of rank and dignity.

Islam, however, does not approve of the concept of knowledge for knowledge sake; it rather believes in the knowledge for practice. The Qur'an generally pairs the two words hakim (one who is wise) and 'alim (one who knows)[95] while talking of God— a construction which alludes to the necessity of knowledge and practice going together. According to the Prophet (peace be upon him), (as reported by Abu Darda), 'The worst of men in the eye of Allah on the Day of Resurrection would be the scholar who does not derive benefit from his knowledge'[96] Again, (as reported by abu Huraira), 'The knowledge from which no benefit is derived is like a treasure out of which nothing, has been spent in the cause of Allah'.[97]

However, all knowledge is not good according to the Qur'an. The Prophet (peace be upon him) has said, 'Behold the worst beings are the wicked among the learned ones and the best are the virtuous among the learned'[98] According to the Islamic view only that knowledge is good which is being practised for some virtuous end. Elaborating on this point Allama Iqbal says in his Javid-Nama

'if it attaches its heart to God, it is prophecy, but if it ;s a stranger to God, it is unbelief.

Science (sic-knowledge) without the heart's glow is pure evil,

for then its light is darkness over sea and land[99] he says,

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[94] Al-Darimi, Sunan, Damascus, 1349 H., intr. p. 32.
[95] See e.g. The Qur'an, 12:83, 12:100, 15:25 etc.
[96] Al-Tabrizi, Mishkat-ul-Masabih, Lahore: Islamic Publications, 1980, Eng. tr. by Abdul Hamid Siddiqi, vol I, p. 152.
[97] Ibid, p. 156, reported by Ahmad and Darimi.
[98] Ibid, p. 151, reported by Darimi.
[99] Arberry A. J., (tr.) Javid-Nama, London: George Allen: 1966, vs. 1321-24, p. 64. We have added the word Knowledge after 'science' with which Arberry had translated the word ' Ilm used by Iqbal in his verses.

'Science (knowledge) without love is a demonic thing, science (knowledge) together with love is a thing divine; science (knowledge) and wisdom without love are a corpse, reason is an arrow that never pierced the target'.[100]

Thus, knowledge which is devoid of 'faith' and 'belief', says Iqbal, is demonic and not good, and the man who possesses it is the companion of the Evil One (awliya al-Shaytan). According to the Qur'an, it is knowledge. which increases submission to God that is good.

Thus, true knowledge, according to the Islamic view, is that which instils humility and submission in the person who possesses it. The Qur'an says, 'Surely those of His servants who are possessed of knowledge fear Allah'[101] Haman, the minister of Pharaoh, who represents those who take great pride in their personal skill and wisdom, led to the destruction of his master as well as himself.[102] It may be interpolated here that the knowledge which the Holy Book refers to is not the worldly knowledge, but the knowledge of God. It is a view based on a bifurcation between the knowledge of God. (or religion) and the worldly knowledge (or science). However, this bifurcation is alleviated if we start with the belief, as we did in the beginning of this paper, that all knowledge is 'innate' and by the Divine Grace: this is the very purport of the Islamic teachings. They presume that all knowledge is one and in the end conduces, or will conduce, to the knowledge of God. In this connection Iqbal has denied that there is any fundamental or essential bifurcation between thought (the instrument of science) and intuition (the instrument of religion). He says, '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.[103] He adds, 'Both are in need of each other for mutual rejuvenation. Both seek visions of the same Reality…[104] He is still more direct when he says, 'The truth is that religious and scientific processes, though involving different methods, are identical in their final aim. Both aim

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[100] Arberry, op. cit., vs. 1341-44, p. 64.
[101] The Qur'an, op. cit., XXXV:28.
[102] Haman was the minister of Pharaoh who ordered him to kindle a fire for him, 'and make me a tower, that I may mount up to Mose's god,...' see The Koran, XXVIII:38.
[103] Iqbal Dr. M., The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam, Lahore: Ashraf, 1978, p. 2.
[104] Ibid, p.3

at reaching at the most real'.[105] It is not only that they complement each other and are identical in their final aim; the purport of the Islamic teachings, which recommend strongly the Conguest of the Universe as the final goal of human endeavour, is that all knowledge will in the end be reduced to one ultimate knowledge— i.e., knowledge of God to Whom all things, including knowledge, must return, says the Qur'an.[106]

By the "Islamic theory of knowledge" I mean a theory which is mainly ' based on the Qur'an and the Ahadith, though I have made some references to Allama Iqbal also who is considered a great interpreter of the Qur'an.

[105] Ibid, pp. 195-96

[106] The Qur'an is replete with verses on this subject: however, to quote one, 'Surely we shall inherit the earth and all that are upon it, and unto Us they shall be returned', XIX: 40.

IBN TUFAYL ON IBN SINA AND AL-GHAZZALI'S VIEWS

(*AN EVALUATION OF SOME ASPECTS OF IBN TUFAYL' S THOUGHT*)

Sarni S. Hawi

In my previous studies of Ibn Tufayl's Philosopher Autodidactus (Hayy Bin Yaqzan),[107] I have shown by argument and by evidence garnered from this work why it must be considered a systematic treatise devoted to serious poignant philosophical discourse. Such a characterization is more appropriate to the work and justifies a philosophical analysis of its themes.[108] Apart from G.F. Hourani's excellent article showing that the main theme of Hayy Bin Yaqzan is philosophical,[109] previous writers have either ascribed the work to Avicenna or considered it a passive reproduction of Avicenna's philosophy.[110] For instance, Leon Gauthier, one of the most influential writers on Ibn Tufayl does not consider the work original, and in fact contends that the substance of the views expressed by Ibn Tufayl are Avicennian commonplaces.[111] In my opinion, it is this popular but mistaken view of Gauthier's which precluded previous writers on the subject from either interpreting or assessing Ibn Tufayl's views philosophically. Such writers have dubbed the entire work a' philosophical romance,[112]

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[107] Ibn Tufayl's Hayy Bin Yaqzan, ed. trans. into French by Leon Gauthier (Beirut, 1936). Henceforth all references to the Arabic text will be to this edition of Gauthier by the term Hayy. Dr. Michael E. Marmura's comments on an earlier draft of this paper were helpful to me . However, it is not suggested that he would agree with the views expressed in the article.

[108] For a justification of this contention see S.S. Hawi, "Ibn Tufayl: His Motives for the Use of Narrative From and His Method of Concealment in Hayy Bin Yaqzan", The Muslim World (Hartford, Connecticut, 1974), vol. L, xiv, pp. 322-23.

[109] George F. Hourani, "The Principal Subject of Ibn Tufayl's Hayy Ibn Yaqzan," The Journal of Near Eastern Studies (Chicago, 1956), vol. xv, No. 1.

[110] Gauthier, op. cit., pp. v-vi. Also Leon Gauthier, Ibn Thofail sa vie ses oeuvres (Paris, 1909), p. 69; Ibn Khaldun, Prolegomenes, trans. M. de Slane (1868), vol. II, p. 385; Youhanna Qumayr, Ibn Tufayl (Beirut, 1956), p. 59.

[111] Gauthier, op. cit.

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undermining its formal and methodical approach, the seriousness of its contents and philosophical sincerity.

In this paper I shall: a) evaluate Gauthier's position and demonstrate that in the treatise Ibn Tufayl is not unfolding the Avicennian scheme of things. and that in Hayy Bin Yaqzan our author is presenting his own independent views, b) explain the author's assessment of Avicenna's thought in relation to Aristotle, c) show that the tremendous influence on Ibn Tufayl is not so much from Avicenna as it is from al-Ghazzali's writings on the specific issues of mystical elevation and the relationship of God, man and the universe, d) show that most of Ibn Tufayl's criticisms of al-Ghazzali's thought are untenable. Furthermore, I shall intentionally not deal with al-Farabi and Ibn Bajja, two thinkers discussed by Ibn Tufayl in his Introduction, since their influence is not as immense as al-Ghazzali's and since I have dealt with them elsewhere.[113]

Preliminary Remarks:

In preparing for the presentation of his views, Ibn Tufayl writes an Introduction to his work which includes a rigorous criticism of the philosophies of his predecessors. This Introduction imbues the treatise with philosophical seriousness and systematic value, and reveals the author's metaphysical presuppositions and basic motives for writing Hayy Bin Yaqzan. He also draws a fundamental distinction between nuturalistic knowledge[114] and mystical gnosis, two methods of cognition that are not, in his opinion, mutually exclusive, and the rigorous training in the first necessarily leads to the attainment of the latter.[115] Such a distinction determines the entire philosophic plan of the treatise which commences with Hayy's early scientific and conceptual development and culminates in his inevitable union with the Necessary Being. Had Ibn Tufayl not written this Introduction, a great amount of scholarly work and historical investigation would have been required to trace the historical and intellectual threads with which Hayy Bin Yaqzan was uniquely woven.

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In strict sense, the Introduction must be considered a compact and critical study of the highlights of the history of Islamic philosophy preceding Ibn Tufayl. He seems to have undertaken this study in order to provide a springboard and an apology for his whole work. By pointing out certain serious deficiencies in the thought of the previous philosophers, he provided a justification for expressing his own views on the same issues.

In fact, he mentions explicitly in the Introduction the kind of philosophical doctrine he advocates and the failure of his predecessors to elaborate such doctrine.[116]

Thus, it seems that a thorough discussion and evaluation of the ideas presented in the Introduction is an indispensable step for attaining a clearer understanding of the essential themes of his whole work. The omission or the partial reproduction of the Introduction by some writers led to an inadequate comprehension of his thought, from the point of view both of historical sources of this thought and of his basic philosophical intentions. For instance, in the Introduction he states that in his work he used the names of characters from tales by Avicenna,[117] and that he intends to express the secrets of "illuminative philosophy"[118] mentioned by Avicenna.[119]

These and similar statements led some writers to believe that Ibn Tufayl's treatise was no more than an elucidation and elaborate exposition of Avicenna's scheme of things with minor additions from the thought of his time. In fact, the treatise was more than once mistakenly attributed to Avicenna,[120] thus undermining the creative mind of the Andalusian philosopher.

Before advancing his own views concerning the perennial issues of philosophy, he, examines, with the detached and objective spirit characteristic of great philosophic minds, the validity and tenability of earlier philosophers' views. He first mentions his objective, and the sort of

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philosophical truth he is after, and then attempts to find in their views facts' relevant and instrumental to his aims.

His method here is critical and systematic, like that of the Greek master; Aristotle, before presenting his ideas on specific problems, turned to the thought of his predecessors, adopting what he deemed valid and rejecting what he considered false. In the same way Ibn Tufayl examines critically the writings of his predecessors and uncompromisingly condemns them for what seems to him erroneous and compliments them for their .valid insights.[121] In so doing, Ibn Tufayl is declaring two things: that he benefited from the results of their speculation on the one hand, and that he found them insufficient for his own purposes on the other.

In order to better understand his criticisms and evaluations, one should bear in mind that in so far as these philosophers approached the truth he is unfolding in his treatise, he judged them successful; and in so far as they veered from this truth he considered them incorrect. But what is this truth? Ibn Tufayl clearly says in his Introduction that this truth is Naturalistic-Mysticism.[122] Naturalism leads to the knowledge and comprehension of God's attributes. Mysticism, which begins where naturalism ends, intensifies this knowledge and helps the enlightened few discover that there is a deeper truth to things: that of pantheism and the sameness and oneness of all Being. This truth Ibn Tufayl does not set forth in a dogmatic manner, but vindicates it by a series of observations, deductions and the continuous presentation of evidence.

Apart from al-Ghazzali, the philosophers, he considers, attained a certain amount of the truth through their naturalistic method, which is that of the experimental and theoretical sciences. The truth they reached is not only insufficient but also remote from the immediate intimacy of the mystical experience.[123] Had they pushed the conclusions of their naturalistic method to their logical consequences, and had they then transcended these consequences to the realm of intuitive apprehension and the vision of the Divine, they would have obtained truth the way Ibn Tufayl conceived it.

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In brief, the general criticism that Ibn Tufayl levels against al-Farabi, Avicenna, al-Ghazzali, Ibn Bajja and Aristotle is that their thought falls short of conquering the highest peaks, of penetrating the unfathomed depths of what is, and of achieving what Hayy, in his solitary search, had experienced, acquired and seen.

The Question of the originality of Hayy Bin Yaqzan - An Evaluation of Gauthier's Position Ibn Tufayl's ideas, like the ideas of most thinkers, are historically conditioned by the cultural and philosophic categories of his age; but if these ideas distinctly show elements of the thought of this predecessors, it does not necessarily follow that he is not philosophically creative. The fact that he adopts, mentions and quotes sympathetically from the works of other Muslim philosophers does not properly permit one to construe such a work as Hayy Bin Yaqzan merely as amplification, elucidation and elaborate exposition of the enough of his time.

For instance, Leon Gauthier does not seem to consider Ibn Tufayl's works original. This may explain why, despite his outstanding scholarship, he did not carry out a serious philosophical analysis of Hayy Bin Yaqzan: "Ibn Thofail n'a Jamais vise une veritable originalite philosophique."[124] Gauthier supports his point by noting that Ibn Tufayl indicates at the end of his Introduction that he borrowed his doctrines from al-Ghazzali, Avicenna, and his contemporaries: "…Qu'il emprunte le fond de ses a El-

One who reads the Introduction finds that of all the philosophers Ibn Tufayl admired Avicenna themost. Yet, he did not regard Avicenna as one who had reached the truth Hayy had reached, nor was he a pantheistic mystic like Hayy. To be sure, Avicenna in his Isharat gave a good description of the psychological state (hal) of the mystic.[125]24 But he himself belonged to the category of the people of theoretical knowledge (ahl al-nazar), and not to those of immediate knowledge (dhawq). Avicenna, according to Ibn Tufayl, in his reference to and description of mystical states, was not an 'Arif[126]25 (One who experienced intimacy). His superior intellect permitted him to depict and discuss mystical gnosis as an "imitator," not as one who

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experienced it or belonged to the order. These points are strengthened by what one can infer from the whole treatise. Hayy, after achieving union with God, found it incumbent upon himself to chart a programme of life whose basis was asceticism, and to attend to the purity of his soul. Avicenna did not manifest these qualities in his way of life, nor was his behaviour governed by the rituals characteristic of Hayy and other mystics. The difference between the two is like the difference between dynamic existential involvement and conceptual apprehension. These remarks are implicit in the treatise.[127]

Ibn Tufayl's sympathetic expressions, and his employment of a few statements and terminology from Avicenna in the Introduction, led many 'writers to conclude wrongly that all he was attempting in his treatise was an exposition and elucidation of Avicenna's philosophy in a dramatic medium. The following are his statements:

You have asked me my noble brother...to present to you as much as I can of the secrets of Illuminative philosophy that were mentioned by the Sheikh Master Avicenna. Know then that if one wants the truth without ambiguity he must seek it and strive for its attainment.27

I shall describe to you the story of Hayy Bin Yaqzan, Absal and Salaman named thus by Avicenna.28

Before dismissing the notion that the treatise is an exposition of Avicenna's philosophy one must note the following:

a) Apart from the passage which he quotes from the Isharat; 29 Ibn Tufayl nowhere reproduces, relates or interprets Avicenna. My examination of the Isharat and al-Shifa, (Healing), shows that he drew on some of the sheikh's ideas, but not enough to justify the claim that what he advances in the treatise are Avicenna's ideas on illuminative philosophy or on mysticism as such. In fact, the themes ibedded in the major part of the treatise 30 do not betray Avicenna's influence so much as al-Junayd's, al-Bistami's, al-Hallaj's, Ibn Bajja's and especially al-Ghazzali's. However, in other parts of the treatise certain ideas can be traced to Avicenna, but they can also be traced to al-Farabi and even to Aristotle and Plotinus; particularly Ibn

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Tufayl's proofs of the existence of God, His attributes, the eternity of the world, and the divisions of the human soul.31

b) In the first quotation Ibn Tufayl in promising to provide the reader

with the secrets of illuminative philosophy that Avicenna mentioned. Form the phrase "that Avicenna mentioned" we cannot and should not infer that he intoned to give an exposition of Avicenna's thought, or to present exactly what Avicenna said on specific issues. Here Ibn Tufayl seems to be referring to a philosophic tendency shared by him, Avicenna, al-Farabi, and Suhrawardi. Had he used the term (kama), "just as," instead of al-lati, then it would have been just to infer that he is presenting and explaining Avicenna's thought. For the sentence would then read: ": You have asked me to present to you.... illuminative philosophy "just as" mentioned by Avicenna." Ibn Tufayl, in my opinion, did not use "just as" in order to have freedom and room for his own ideas. He believed in "illuminative philosophy" as he understood it and not as others did;32 that is why he urges the reader to follow the truth of such a philosophy.

c) Since Ibn Tufayl evaluated the thought of the philosophers in order to find the truth for himself, one would expect him to say that Avicenna was a mystic had he found him to be so. He does say this about al-Ghazzali, but expresses nothing to this effect about Avicenna; In addition, he seems to have been influenced by al-Ghazzali more than by Avicenna on the specific issue of mystical elevation and the relationship of God to man and the universe 33

d) What Ibn Tufayl insists upon is that Aviccenna drew our attention (nabbaha)34 to the quality, stages and degrees of mystical experience in theory, but not in practice; for the most intimate part of this experience is achieved by thought put to training and action. Here also Ibn Tufayl displays Ghazzalian traits. The naturalistic elements of Avicenna's philosophy are necessary to the achievement of gnostic heights, a phase that is neither the culmination nor the perfection of the long and laborious process of the quest for truth. Avicenna's works do not satisfy this quest.35

e) Ibn Tufayl says that he studied critically the works of Avicenna and others and compared the results of their labours, and that he was then able to extract the truth for himself and to form his own opinions on philosophic problems.36

f) Concerning the second quotation, a careful examination of Avicenna's tales by the present writer revealed that at the most Ibn Tufayl seems to have adopted the names of his characters from Avicenna.37 The stories of Avicenna bear no resemblance to Ibn Tufayl's works and any attempt to find a further similarity between the two authors is an overplay of scholarship.

In possession of these points a), b), c), e), and f), we can dismiss once and for all the hoary misunderstanding of Ibn Tufayl's subjection to the arresting shadow of Avicenna. Ibn Tufayl, in the Introduction, is not therefore telling us that in his treatise he is merely reporting or interpreting the Avicennian scheme of things.

Concerning Aristotle's works Ibn Tufayl says that Avicenna "undertook an exposition of their contents in accordance with Aristotle's

doctrines, and followed Aristotle's philosophical approach in his al Shifa'."38 However, although the Sheikh claimed to have written this book in the manner of the Peripatetics, one discovers that he did not exactly do so, but added facts and information that are not found in the Aristotelian corpus and cannot be braced to Aristotle's thought. Regarding this charge Ibn Tufayl is correct. For in the al-Shifa', apart from his Aristotelian analysis and synthesis, Avicenna displays abundant Neo-platonic elements, Farabbian ideas, and others of his own creation. For instance, he differentiates between three grades of prophecy. Prophecy relative to the imagination, prophecy relative to motive faculties, and the Holy Intellect.

' To each aspect of prophecy Avicenna devotes a chapter in al-Shifa.39 Such topics, it goes without saying, are not and could not have been discussed by Aristotle. In order to make such a valid assessment of the al-Shifa', Ibn Tufayl must have read Aristotle.

According to Ibn Tufayl, Avicenna declared at the beginning that the truth for him was something quite different from what he embodied in the al-Shifa'. The indisputable truth as he conceived it, is to be found in his other book, Oriental Philosophy. Further more, if one takes everything .written by Aristotle along with the outward meaning of the al-Shifa. grasping its subtle inner meaning, one cannot achieve perfection.40 This does not mean that one will achieve truth once he comprehends the hidden meanings of Aristotle's works and Avicenna's al-Shifa.. Comprehension, Ibn Tufayl says, may guide the reader to perfection only in theoretical knowledge. This is substantiated by Ibn Tufayl's own words: "Do not suppose the philosophy which has reached us in the books of Aristotle.... and in Avicenna's Healing is sufficient for the goal you wanted, or that any Andalusian has written anything adequate on this subject.41'

It is clear, therefore, that Aristotle and Avicenna's al-Shifa. do not supply the truth Ibn Tufayl wanted to advance in the treatise. But what is not perfectly clear is whether the ideas in other books by Avicenna such as Oriental Philosophy along with al-Shifa., include the truth he was after: Most probably they did not, or he would have said so. Since Avicenna's Oriental Philosophy cannot be consulted — for it is lost or not yet discovered — one cannot present a final view on this matter. In any case, Ibn Tufayl does not seem to have read the Oriental Philosophy, for if he had he would have referred to its contents, or at least would have mentioned that the truth as he viewed it was expressed in this book or in others by Avicenna. What strengthens this point is that he had to study not only Avicenna, as he says, but also al-Ghazzali's works and other contemporary writings 42 in order to fromulate his own conception of truth. One cannot conceive why he would have said this had he found Avicenna.s Oriental Philosophy satisfactory. In fact, as I have said before, in the treatise where events converge towards Hayy.s attainment of his goal,43 Ibn Tufayl betrays a strong Ghazzalian influence as well as mystical influences of the extreme type. Thus we should now turn to Ibn Tufayl's criticism of al. Ghazzali.

Al- Ghazzali's Errors

It is not as a champion of religious revival, but as a master of immediate experience and spiritual vision and as a mystic who lifted himself to the sublime that al-Ghazzali merits Ibn Tufayl's interest and esteem. The

emphasis on this point is significant since the effects of al-Ghazzali's influence on Ibn Tufayl's mind are disseminated throughtout the treatise.44 But far from being satisfied with his writing, Ibn Tufayl levels three main charges aginst him:

1. Al-Ghazzali often contradicres himself and frequently denies in one passage or book what he affirems in another 45

2. He advocated a multiplicity (ta 'addud) of methods of teaching and expression. Thus, instead of enhancing the truth, he generated doubt and confusion 46

3. His teachings are very difficult to understand: most of them are hints and symbols (isharat wa-rumuz; sing. ishara wa-ramz)7

I will consider each point separately: on the first charge, Ibn Tufayl enumerates some of al-Ghazzali's books and tries to show the different opinions he held in them on one and the same issue. Al-Ghazzali at one point stamped philosophers as infidels for their denial of the resurrection of bodies, and later he adopted their views. Here is what Ibn Tufayl says:

Regarding the books of Sheikh Abi Hamid al-Ghazzali, because he preached to-the masses, they bind in one place and loose in another. He deems a thing irreligious, then he says it is permissible. One ground on which he charges the philosophers with unbelief in The Incoherence [of the Philosophers] [Kitab al-Tahafut] is their denial of the resurrection of bodies and their assertion that only souls are rewarded and punished. But in the' beginning of his book Scale [of Action] [Mizan al-'Amal] he definitely attributes this belief to the Sufi masters, while in the Rescuer from Error and Revelation of Ecstasy [al-Munqidh Mina al-dalal] he says that his own belief is like that of the Sufi's although he came to it only after long searching. Much of this sort [of inconsistency] will be found in- his books by anyone who examines them meticulously." 48

In the second charge he advances the following comments: "He [al-Ghazzali] offers some apology for this practice at the end of the Scale of Action in his tripartite division of opinions into those held by him in common with the masses and what they believe, those opinions expressed to

all persons who ask questions and enquire in order to be enlightened, and those a man keeps to himself and divulges only to people who share his beliefs. Finally he writes: 'If my words have done no more than to shake you in the faith of your fathers that would have been reason enough to write them. For he who does not doubt does not inquire and he

who does not inquire does not see and will remain in blindness and confusion' 49

Concerning the third charge the following is presented:

Such then is the quality of his teachings; most of them wrre expressed in the form of symbols and allusions, of value only to those who hear them after they have found the truth by their own insight or to someone innately gifted and primed to understand. Such men need only the subtlest hints. He said.... that he had written certain esoteric books which contained the unvarnished truth. So far as we know no such books have reached Spain, although some claim that certain books we have received are in fact this hidden corpus. Nothing could be further from the truth. The books in question are Rational Knowledge [al Ma'arif al-'Aqliyyah], The Breath of Adjustment [al-Nafkh wa-l-Taswiyat], and Collection of Treatises [Masai/ majmu'at] and others. Granted that these books contain many hints, they still add little to what is disclosed in his better known works...some of our contemporaries basing themselves on his statements at the end of The Niche [for Light] [Mishkat al-Anwar/ imagined that they had fallen into a grave error and an inescapable pit; he goes on to speak of those who achieved communion with the Divine; that they know this Being as characterised by an attribute, which would tend to negate His utter unity. This successor wished to impart that al-Ghazzali believed [God]... has some plurality in His self... we have no doubt that our master al-Ghazzali was one of those persons who reached the highest degree of happiness.'50

Untenability of Ibn Tufayl's Criticisms of Al-Ghazzali

The first passage is clear and does not require interpretation. It demands, instead, an evaluation of the veracity of Ibn Tufayl's statements

about al-Ghazzali's own opinions. Without examination this passage seems to deal a stunning blow to the very method and basic issues that al-Ghazzali believed. Had all the facts quoted been true, one might say Ibn Tufayl admired al-Ghazzali but estimated truth more. Unquestionably Ibn Tufayl's primary aim was truth, but his remarks were mistaken and his comparative analysis erroneous. In order to justify this judgment, one must examine al-Ghazzali's views by consulting his works.

From the Tahafah, the Mizan and the Munqidh, one cannot infer the inconsistencies mentioned by Ibn Tufayl. In the Tahafah, as well as in the Munqidh, al-Ghazzali is consistent in his attacks on the philosophers. In the former, he presents a detailed and well-argued polemic to refute their beliefs; in the latter he presents the same disagreement on the same issues but does not in the least change his stand. In both books al-Ghazzali contends that all philosophers preceding him, including Aristotle, committed in their doctrines twenty mistakes regarding twenty issues. He pronounces them innovators on seventeen of these and dubs them infidels

on the remaining three. These three issues are their belief in the eternity of the world, God's knowledge of universals, and denial of the resurrection of the body.51

In both books he rejects their claims, especially those of al-Farabi and Avicenna, that only the soul can survive death and that the body is doomed to absolute disintegration. the Munqidh was composed after the Tahafah; an examination of the former does not show that he altered his views on the subject:

They say that for bodies there is no resurrection; it is pure spirits that are rewarded or punished; and the rewards and punishments are spiritual, not bodily. They are correct in affirming the spiritual ones, because these do also exist; but they speak falsely in denying the bodily ones and in their statements disbelieve the Divine Law." 52

It is clear, therefore, that al-Ghazzali, contrary to what Ibn Tufayl says, does not hold in the Munqidh the view of the Sufi masters or that of the philosophers concerning resurrection of the body.

Ibn Tufayl's criticisms are based on wrong inferences. Extracting statements from their context, as Ibn Tufayl does, may give the impression of a contradiction. In the Scale of Action, al-Ghazzali definitely points out that the Sufis shared the philosophers' view of denying the resurrection of the body S3 But what Ibn Tufayl overlooks is al-Ghazzali's disputation of their position on this very matter as well as on others. He never accepted a belief without scrutiny, and his commendation of the Sufis for their spiritual attainments, and his statement in the Munqidh that he finally adopted Sufism after a long and arduous search,54 do not permit one to' infer that he agreed with all their beliefs. He, too, was critical of the Sufis' and rejected as incorrect and imaginary some of their essential doctrines. For clearly, if it can be said that Hume was an empiricist one cannot properly infer from this that he agreed with all that John Locke believed. Likewise, in saying he discovered that the way of the mystics led toward his goal does not mean that al-Ghazzali was completely endorsing their views. In fact, he repudiated their belief in incarnationism, (hulul), unificationism' (ittihad) and 'the Arrivel' (wusul) 55

By purifying it from such extreme views as these, al-Ghazzali rendered mysticism in harmony with the precepts of Islamic Law. This shows that his was a moderate mysticism that did not imply denial of the resurrection of bodies and did not go as far as al-Hallaj in claiming absolute unity with, and consumption in, God. Ibn Tufayl's charge should be dismissed as irrelevant and wrong.

The second quotation is a continuation of Ibn Tufayl's displeasure with al-Ghazzali's method of composition and communication. The three divisions of opinion .mentioned are supposed to account for the contradictions abounding in al-Ghazzali's works.To be sure, one may find contradictions and inconsistencies, but not on the particular issues Ibn Tufayl refers to. Al-Ghazzali does mention in the Scale of Action the triple

division that our author has rightly observed.56 But this is not surprising. It should be expected from a thinker like al-Ghazzali, who in his distressing search for truth has come to realise that people's Minds vary by nature (fitra) in terms of intellectual power. Such an understanding lends suppleness and piquant interest to his writings, and need not evoke confusion and doubt in his readers.

Ibn Tufayl is perhaps correctly hinting at the logical outcome of such a division. In sharing some of his opinions with the masses, others with his 'students or enquirers after knowledge, and others with people who have /the same beliefs as he, al-Ghazzali is apt to contradict himself and to assert something in one place and deny it in another.

This may be granted, but at the same time such a procedure seems incumbent upon those who are unfolding their ideas with the view to educating others. One has to provide each seeker with the right amount of truth in a form he can handle at his level. This brings forth the notion of multiplicity and levels of truth which most thinkers have had to reckon with, beginning with Plato, Aristotle, al-Farabi, and coming to such moderns as Kierkegaard, Sartre, and Piaget. For instance, Kierkegaard wrote different books under different pseudonyms, with different methods, in order to teach and stimulate different readers. In fact Ibn Tufayl, by exercising his method of concealment in his treatise, shows he was equally aware of this fact. He even employs the same phrases and terminology and ideas at the very end of his work that al-Ghazzali used in the Mishkat.57 And although Ibn Tufayl was aware of the drawbacks of the method of division of opinion, he later seems to have admitted its importance in the educative process by implicitly agreeing with al-Ghazzali that perplexity and doubt are necessary and greatly favoured as basic springboards for learning.58

This brings us to the problem of al-Ghazzali's esoteric writings to which Ibn Tufayl refers in his third charge against his predecessor.

On this point one will at once notice that Ibn Tufayl's verdict is negative: Al-Ghazzali's works are not explicit enough to assist one out of his ignorance. From an educational point of view they are of a very little value and indeed seem to defeat their purpose. By obscuring his ideas with hints and symbols, al-Ghazzali barred honest beginners and seekers of truth from

finding them. Al-Ghazzali, Ibn Tufayl would say, might as well not have written these books, since only those who already have attained the highest degree of felicity can understand them. Ibn Tufayl is perhaps implying that the dramatic method he employed in his treatise is far more efficacious than al-Ghazzali's.

Be that as it may, he did not seem to believe that in any book he had read, al-Ghazzali had an esoteric doctrine withheld (madnun Bihi). If this doctrine was ever committed to writing, the books in which it was expressed had never reached Andalusia. According to IbnTufayl, al-Ghazzali had openly mentioned in the Jawahir 59 that he had written

esoteric books containing his direct and frank opinion as to truth.60 Certain persons considered some of the books Ibn Tufayl had read to be the ones, al-Ghazzali referred to, but Ibn Tufayl rightly rejected this opinion for the reasons mentioned in the foregoing passage. Yet upon examining the Jawahir, one finds that Ibn Fufayl was not careful enough in reading this book, and failed to observe al-Ghazzali's open statement that he entrusted all his esoteric teaching to one book and not many.

Regarding this one book al-Ghazzali says: "It is sinful for whoever has fallen upon it to disclose its secrets."61 Whether or not he had read all of al-Ghazzali's works, Ibn Tufayl's remark concerning the difficulty of deciding which of the doctrines al-Ghazzali set forth he actually believed, remains true. This difficulty is similar to that with Kierkegaard. Al-Ghazzali concealed his real teachings by means of symbols and allusions and by denying that he was presenting the truth as he really conceived it; whereas Kierkegaard published his books under pseudonyms and denied that any of them were genuinely his. It is hard to reach definite conclusions regarding the innermost thoughts of either of these authors.

One cannot formulate an exact idea of how many of his innermost beliefs al-Ghazzali did commit to writing. In this respect one cannot but agree with Ibn Tufayl, Al-Ghazzali's method of "economising" (iqtisad) truth does seem relatively suspicious to the modern mind. In the Mishkat as well as in the al-Iqtisad he frequently cuts off his exposition of a particular problem

and somewhat indirectly suggests to the reader that he could express so much more than he has done 62

In the last part of the third passage Ibn Tufayl simultaneously criticises and defends al-Ghazzali. One of the implications of this passage is that al-Ghazzali's

"economised" expression of truth renders his writings susceptible to grave misinterpretation. That this did take place, Ibn Tufayl is certain. Had al-Ghazzali expressed his opinion in the Mishkat more clearly on this particular issue, namely the unity of God's nature, later critics would not have inferred the plurality of God's nature from this passage.

In this Ibn Tufayl is correct and -my examination of al-Ghazzali's statement in the Mishkat corroborates it. But Ibn Tufayl did not quote the complete passage; he restricted himself to the first part. Here is the whole passage: "God is characterised by an attribute which negates His utter unity and ultimate perfection; this is due to secret reasons that this book cannot bear to divulge." 63

It is clear that Ibn Tufayl's remark would have been more strongly founded had he provided us with the entire sentence. The reader is definitely driven to speculate about the "secret reasons" on whose ground God acquires a plurality of attributes, and thus is tempted to infer a series of false propositions about God. On the other hand, Ibn Tufayl rejects the dubious interpretations by some "later writers" of this passage. He emphatically believed that neither in this passage nor elsewhere did al-

Ghazzali ever pen such a scandalous and horrid opinion. Al-Ghazzali he says, did not intend his works to lead to, nor did he believe in, the multiplicity of the Godhead.

It is worth noting that Ibn Fufayl himself adopts al-Ghazzali's method of economisng on more than one issue. The very last passage of the treatise along with others 64 suggests that, like al-Ghazzali, he knew more than he was willing to disclose. Furthermore, he seems to borrow freely from al-Ghazzali's elucidations of mysticism without any acknowledgment. For

instance, in the Introduction,, when discussing the values of mystical experience, he repeates without modification the same sayings of the Sufi masters that al-Ghazzali cites, in describing psychic states of the mystic gnostics (al-'Arifun), in the Mishkat. In such states the Sufis said: "praise be to me, great I am, "65 "there is nothing within this robe but God," and "I an the Truth;"66 "these and similar utterances are included in both the Mishkat and Hayy Bin Yaqzan.67 The benefit Ibn Tufayl derived from al-Ghazzali does not end at this point. His delineation of Hayy's beatific vision and the complete dissolution of the self in God are unquestionably drawn from the Mishkat. In Hayy Bin Yaqzan this vision is explicated with almost the same terminology as in the Mishkat, and corroborated by the same Qur'anic verses. The mystic-gnostic, in the moment of fana, as described by al-Ghazzali loses all consciousness save that of the Al-Mighty telling him, "Whose is the Kingdom on this day? God's alone, One and Triumphant.'68 Similarly, in this state, Ibn Tufayl tells us that Hayy's consciousness, mind and memory all scattered and disappeared but the One, the true Being who uttered the words: "Whose is the kingdom on this Day? God's alone, One and Triumphant. "69

This resemblance is not a matter of association but of deliberate utilisation of al-Ghazzali's views by Ibn Tufayl to suit his own purpose. The examination of the Mishkat reveals more than one resemblance between the ideas and explorations of Hayy and those of al-Ghazzali. Any shadow of doubt concerning this causal resemblance is dispelled by Ibn Tufayl's own statement that he studied and made use of al-Ghazzali's thought?°

Thus, it is clear that despite his criticisms Ibn Tufayl incorporated vital aspects of al-Ghazzali's thought. Also the beliefs that al-Ghazzali hints at and warns against in the Mishkat, such as unification with God and pantheism, Ibn Tufayl later adopts and infuses into his system.

Although these cannot be genuinely called influences, the important thing is that Ibn Tufayl found them in al-Ghazzali's Mishkat and made use of them. All the preceding Ghazzalian influences on his thought impel the careful examiner to free Ibn Tufayl, at least partially, from the encompassing shadow of Avicenna for which, as we have seen, he was partly responsible.

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6. Ibid. See Ahmad Foad El-Ehwani, Islamic Philosophy (Cairo; 1957), pp. 121-23; Angel Gonzalez Palencia, El-Filasafo Autodidacto (Madrid, 1948); Simon Ochley, The History of Hayy Ibn Yaqzan (New York, 1969); E. de Lacy O'Leary, Arabic Thought and Its Place in History, (London, 1963).

7. See S. Hawi, Islamic Naturalism and Mysticism (Leiden, 1973), pp. 51-74.

8. I mean science-oriented.

9. Hayy, pp. 4-20.

10: Hayy, pp. 4-11, 12-20. -

:1. Ibid., p. 20..

12. Ibn Tufayul uses the phrase al-hikmat al-mashriqiyya, which literally means the "wisdom of the East" and not mushriqiyya, "illuminative," as Gauthier held. There is a dispute among such scholars as Gauthier, Corbin and Nallino concerning this point. Some hold that al-hikmat al-mashriqiyya means oriental wisdom, which is different from hikmat al-ishraq, "illuminative philosophy." In my opinion, this dispute is unwarranted because in the final analysis both phrases refer to the same thing, namely, illuminative philosophy. This doctrine was introduced to Islamic thought by al-Farabi and later adopted by Avicenna and Suhrawardi. Some scholars confine it to Suhrawardi who elaborated it and came to be known as one of its chief exponents. See S. H. Nasr, Three Muslim Saga

S. S. HAWI: Ibn Tufayl on Ibn Sina and al-Ghazzali (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1964), pp. 54-74.

13. Hayy, p. 4.

14. See Gauthier, op. cit., pp. v-vi; also Leon Gauthier, Ibn Thofail sa vie ses oeuvres (Paris, 1909), p. 69; Ibn Khaldun, Prolegomenes, tras. M. de Slane (1868), vol. II, p..385, Youhanna Qumayr, Ibn Tufayl (Beirut, 1956), p. 59.

15. Hayy, pp. 3-20.

16. I mean that Ibn Tufayl's mysticism is science-based.

17. Hayy, pp. 55-588, 89-90, 120, 122, 129.

18. Ibid., pp. 5-8.

19. Gauthier, Leon. Hayy Bin Yaqzan, op. cit., p. v. A more positive appeciation philosophical analysis may be found in L.E. Goodnam's English translation and notes of Hay ibn Yaqzan. (ed.)

20. Ibid., p. vi.

21. Ibid., p..18.

22. Ibid., p. 18.

23. Ibid., p. 12-20.

24. Hayy, pp. 6-7.

25. One can infer from the Introduction that Ibn Tufayl did not consider Avicenna as a mystic, but rather, as one who studied and analysed the teachings of the mystics. Also Ibn Tufayl mentions that al-Ghazzali attained the heights of mystical gnosis, and that' Ibn Bajja achieved intellectual contact but does not express any such ideas about Avicenna. Had Ibn Tufayl found Avicenna a mystic there is no reason for him not to tell us so. Avicenna seems to have commanded Ibn Tufayl's respect for his

contributions in the empirical and theoretical sciences including philosophy. See Louix Cardet, La pensee religious d'Avicenne (Paris, 1951).

26. Hayy, pp. 6-9, 90-135.

27. Hayy, pp. 3-4.

28. Ibid., p. 20.

29. See Hayy, pp. 6-7 and Sina, al-Isharat wa-l-tanbihat, (Allusions and Intimations), with Tusi's commentary, ed., S. Dunya, vol. 3-4 (Cairo, 1958) pp. 828-30.

30. Hayy, pp. 90-135.

31. Ibid., pp. 31-32, 51-52, 66-69, 72-90.

32. Ibid., p. 18.

33. My subsequent discussion of Ibn Tufayl's evaluation of al-Ghazzali's work justifies the above statement.

34. Hayy, p. 6.

35. Ibid., pp. 11-12.

36. Ibid., p. 18.

37. For Avicenna's story of Salaman and Absal see Isharat pp. 796-97. See also Avicenna's "Hayy Bin Yaqzan" in Hayy Bin Yaqzan li Ibn Sina, Ibn Tufayl wa-l-Suhrawardi, ed. Ahmad Amin (Cairo, 1952), pp. 43-54.

38. Ibid., p. 14.

39. Avicenna, Al-Shifa' (De Anima), ed., F. Rahman (London, 1959), pp. 194-201, 239-50. See also Al-Shifa' (Metaphysics) vol. II, ed. S. Dunya, M. Musa, S. Zayid (Cairo, 1960), pp. 435-46.

40. Hayy, p. 15.

41. Ibid., pp. 11-12.

42. Ibid., p. 18.

43. Ibid., pp. 90-135.

44. Ibid., pp. 3-135.

45. Ibid., p. 15.

46. Ibid., p. 16.

47. Ibid., pp. 16-17..

48. Ibid., pp. 15-16.

49. Ibid., p. 16.

50. Ibid., pp. 16-18.

51. Cf., al-Ghazzali: Al-Munqidh min-al-dalal (-The Rescuer form Error), ed. A. Mahmoud (Cairo, 1967), pp. 101-104. See also, al-Ghazzali, Tahafah al-Falasifa (Incoherence of the Philosophers), ed. M. Buaij (Beirut, 1962), pp. 46-47, 48-81, 164-74, 235-54 and Mishkat al-Anwar (The Niche of Lights), ed. A. Afifi (Cairo, 1964), p. 57. W. Montgomery the claims

works in al-Ghazzali's

authentic spurious. However, I believe that 52. Al-Munqidh, pp. 101-104.

53. Al-Ghazzali, Mizan al-'Amal (Scale of Action), ed. S. Dunya (Cairo, 1964), pp. 184-85.

54. Al-Munqidh, op. cit., pp. 122-29.

55. Ibid., p. 129.

56. Mizan al-'Amal, op. cit., pp. 406-09. In these pages the author holds the triple division of beliefs that Ibn .Tufayl mentions and this seems to be in harmony with his views in the Munqidh.

57. Hayy, p.:156, and Mishkat, p. 93.

S: S. HAWI: Ibn Tufayl on Ibn Sina and al-Ghazzali

58. Hayy, pp. 132-55.

59. The full title of this book is: Jawahir al-Qur'an (Gems of the Qur'an) Cairo, 1910.

60. Hayy, p. 17.

61. Jawahir, op. cit., p. 30. Al-Ghazzali says that in his esoteric book he discusses Acts of God, His Attributes, His Essence, and the afterlife. Ibid., p. 30. Al- Ghazzali is probably referring to his book: al-Madnun bihi 'ala Ghairi ahlihi, in which he discusses these subjects. This book apparently did not reach Ibn Tufayl.

62. Mishkat, pp. 44, 56, 58, 91-93. See also al-Iqtisad fi-l-I'tiqad (Economizing in Belief), ed. M. Qabbani (Cairo, 1908).

63. Mishkat, p. 91. The italicized part was not quoted by Ibn Tufayl.

64. Hayy, pp. 121, 122, 124, 156.

65. These are Abu Yazid al-Bistami's words.

66. Al- Hallaj is known to have made these two statements.

67. Hayy, p. 4. and Mishkat, p. 57. A comparison of these two pages shows that Ibn Tufayl had borrowed these utterances from al-Ghazzali.

68. Mishkat, p. 56.

69. Hayy, pp. 120-21.

70. Ibid., p. 18.

UNDERSTANDING THE RATIONALE OF SHAH WALI ULLAH, SHIBLI AND IQBAL

Muhammad Suheyl Umar

Years back, while preparing a dissertation for the fulfillment of my M. Phil. degree in Iqbal Studies, I had to analyse the contents of Iqbal's The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam[128] once again. During the course of my readings in the sixth lecture "The Principle of Movement in the Structure of Islam"[129] I observed that, while unfolding his thesis, Iqbal had built his argument on a key-concept borrowed from Shah Wali Ullah on the authority of Shibli Nu' mani's Al-Kalam.[130] Further reading revealed that the quotation given in Shibli's work, on which Iqbal based his views, differed considerably from the original text of Shah Wali Ullah.[131] In fact it was a 'cut and paste' kind of extract which Shibli had presented in his usual summarizing style of compilation. The inference drawn therefrom was, in my opinion, not tenable for two reasons. Firstly, it was categorically opposed to the views of Shah Wali Ullah that he had expressed, on the same topic, in "al-Hudud" section of Hujjatullah al-Baligah.[132] Secondly the inference drawn from the 'manufactured' quotation altogether changed the perspective of Shah Wali Ullah's discourse which was confined to a relationship between

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[128] M. Iqbal, The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam, Edited and annotated by M. Saeed Shaikh, Published jointly by Iqbal Academy Pakistan and The Institute of Islamic Culture,-Lahore, 1989, 249 p.

[129] Ibid. pp. 116-142.

[130] See Shibli Nu' Mani, ' llm al-Kalam-o- al-Kalam, Nafis Academy, Karachi, 1979, pp. 237-38. One is inclined to think that, perhaps, Iqbal did not have the chance to look at the actual passage in Hujjatullah al-Baligah by that time. Otherwise it is hard to explain as to why did Iqbal use the text provided by Shibli which we have refered to in the foregoing lines.

[131] Shah Wali Ullah, Hujjatullah al-Baligah, Dar al-Kutub al-Hadithah, Qairo, n.d,, Vol. I, .pp. 247-8.The reference provided in the annotations of M. Saeed Shaikh,(op. cit., p. 196) does not seem correct since there is no such passage on p. 118 of Shah Wali Ullah's book. More over, the fact has escaped the notice of the editor that, the text of the passage quoted form Shah Wali Ullah in Shibli's al-Kalam lacks six lines form the middle and two from the end. We have briefly alluded to the point in our dissertation Tashkil Jadid- nai Tanazur men, forth coming.

[132] Shah Wali Ullah, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 756-777.

Shari'ah bi'l jumlah and Shari'ah bi'l itlaq (Principles of Religious law and instances of their application).

Sayyid Sulayman Nadvi, Shibli's successor and intellectual heir to him in many respects, had earlier expressed his disagreement from the interpretation[133] which Shibli seemed to have imposed on Shah Wali Ullah's idea.[134]

Later on, we had a chance to present the problem to Dr. Javid Iqbal. After examining the relevant texts of both the authors he commented that Shah Wali Ullah, for what ever reasons, did not articulate the idea in an explicit manner. However, in his opinion, the inference drawn by Shibli and, later on, adopted by Iqbal was correct and represented the real intention of Shah Wali Ullah.

As the readers can surmise, this discussion, apart from its academic or legal value, had a direct bearing upon the on going debate about the immutability/adaptability of the rulings of the Islamic Law and especially the Hudud punishments. If the aforementioned rationale is accepted and the line of argument is adopted there are some drastic conclusions that inevitably confront us as a necessary corollary.[135]

We also had the opportunity to discuss the issue of determining the correct interpretation of Shah Wali Ullah's text and arguments with some of the leading authorities on Shah Wali Ullah and/or Islamic Law and Jurisprudence, namely, Dr. Muhammad al-Ghazali, Javid Ahmad Ghamidi and Dr. Muhammad Amin. Both Dr. Ghazali and Javid Ahmad Ghamidi were not inclined to accept the interpretation Shibli had suggested. Mr. Ghamidi was more explicit on the point. In his view Shibli's interpretation was neither in harmony with Shah sahib's over all point of view on the issue nor in accordance with the specific issue of the application of religious law to the cases removed in time and space form the age of the Prophet.

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133 See, Shaikh ' Ata Ullah, Iqbal Namah, Lahore, 1951, Vol. I, pp. 160-163.

134 Ibid. p. 161, Note 1.

135 We had the occasion to point out to it while commenting on the views expressed by one of the speakers of the Iqbal Day Seminar, Lahore, 7th November, 1994.

Dr. Amin, taking his cue from our discussions in the Iqbal Academy, went into print and expressed his point of view in his Urdu article "Shah Wali Ullah awr Islami Hudud".[136] The interpretation Shibli gave to Shah Wali Ullah's statements was not acceptable to him either. Unfortunately, Dr. Amin, some how, did not give the actual text of Shibli nor the subsequent usage it was put to, Instead, he opened an other avenue of discussion. Dr. M. Khalid Masud, an eminent authority on Islamic law and jurisprudence, responded to Dr. Amin's article[137] by defending the interpretation advanced by Shibli and, to a certain extent, Iqbal. However, remaining in the tracks of Dr. Amin's arguments, he, perhaps involuntarily, marginalized the main issue.

In the next issue of Iqbal Review we intend to take up the issue again and offer our views on the question of finding the true rationale of our thinkers. The same issue would carry an other study of Iqbal's comments on the hadith literature by Dr. Altaf Hussain Ahangar from the International Islamic University, Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia.

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[136] See, Fikr-o-Nazar, Islamic Reasearch Institute,,Islamabad Vol. 32, No. 2 October-December, 1994, pp. 59-74.

[137] Dr. M. Khalid Mas'ud, "Islami Ahkam awr ' Adat", Fikr-o-Nazar op.cit. Vol. 32, No. 3, pp. 63-80.

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IQBAL' S CONCEPT OF CULTURE

While defining the ingredients of Muslim culture, Iqbal emphasized that the spirit of Muslim culture was essentially but as classical not so much as a breaking point initiating a process of intellectual revolution abolition of priesthood and inductive reasoning. He stated that reason hereditary kingship in Islam, the constant emphasis that is laid on Nature experience in the Qur'an and History formed the basis of this new intellectual frame work. Iqbal's emphasis- on the recognition and development its of collective (ego) is nothing but creativity of individuals transformation into a system of intellectual power which controls subjaugates the various phenomena of direction again on history. of self-knowledge, development and hi story In i based d again on other words it is the highest development of cultural human consciousnes. visualized as the ultimate Explaining the various aspects of the spirit of Muslim culture of the method Iqbal identifies method of f observation and experience and experiment in Islam which led to its anti-classical manifestations. Knowledge of the concrete the conceived as "the intellectual the power of man to pass concrete that makes it possible in the sense beyond the concrete". This knowledge is evolutionary that time is seen as an active agent of change. The culture that lags behind the intellectual framework Muslim culture is viewed as decay dynamic ultimate extinction. Thus Muslim process of human concept of the universe. This evolutionary process historical relationship with matter receives transformation within the parameters of criticism to maintain its the inductive intellect which is constantly shaped by the understanding of the historical facts. However even the knowledge of history is visualized as playing a two-fold role: as an art of firm the reader's imagination and as a development into a genuine science. The matter in further conceived as a wider experience it which life is perceived as an organic unity. This idea of human unity is the hallmark of Iqbal's interpretation of culture and Iqbal visualizes Islam as a social movement to make this idea a living factor.

Because of these dynamic features, Muslim culture is presente as opposed to "magian cultures". While defending the intellectual: legacy of Muslim culture as antimagian, Iqbal confesses that because of host of factors "a magian crust has grown over Islam" and t crust is none other than substitution of religious formalism with Muslim thought,. blind following

with freedom of choices and denial of the human ego as a free power. Concluding his statement on the spirit of Muslim culture, Iqbal asks Muslims "to appreciate, the cultural value of the idea of the finality of Prophethood Islam".

The Finality of the Prophethood in Islam forms the basis Iqbal's "principle of movement in the structure of Islam". T view provides him with a foundation to study the various culture transformations that were going on in Turkey, South Asia and other Muslim areas. It is here that human creativity, unshackle and unrestricted, is seen as a psychological cure for the magi attitude of constant expectation which invites fatalism and divine intervention. These aspects of Muslim culture were criticised Iqbal as anti-historical and opposed to the intellectual implication of the ideas of finality of Prophethood. Subsequent development of Muslim thought and culture are seen as nothing more individual interpretations which could not possibly claim any finality but they assumed a permanent feature of Muslim cult These unfortunate developments were perpetuated because of colonial rule in the sub-continent. The British attempted preserve those aspects of Muslim culture which were not on retrogressive but also antithetical to the spirit of Islam, and this where Iqbal had to emphasize that the re-interpretation of Muslim' culture by some Muslim liberals were perfectly justified. He say "the teaching of the Qur'an that life is a process of progressive' creation necessitates that each generation guided but unhampere by the work of its predecessors should be prompted to solve own problems".

It was on the basis of this ideas of movement, liberalism and progressive evolution that Iqbal pleaded for the emancipation of Muslim culture in South Asia from alien influences. As a matter of fact what is stressed in his Allahabad address of December 1930, is fulfillment of his philosophy of Muslim culture of Pakistan which had a potential to develop into a unique and distinct system for others to emulate and for the future, Pakistani nation to achieve a higher social consciousness which could enable it to develop material as well as intellectual aspects of its culture. It is indeed relevant to point out that when he spoke of a future Muslim independent state in South Asia, he laid a particular emphasis on the areas that constitute Pakistan today.

We have been told by some historians and political scientists that Pakistan was made possible because of a process of negotiations, round table

conferences and constitutional framework introduced by the British without any reference to the fact that what made Pakistan possible was the cultural and historical identity of the people of this country. It is not a coincidence that demographically, Muslims were in an overwhelming majority in the areas of today's Pakistan, whereas the political power base was mostly away form these territories. It was both the territorial contiguity of Pakistani territory with the Middle East and Central Asia as well as its unique cultural identity that made the existence of independent Pakistan possible.

Extracts from the Cultural Policy of Pakistan, National Commission or History and Culture, Islamabad, 1995.

In his illuminating study of the diffusion of Ibn 'Arabi's thought, Prof. Michel Chodkiewicz has made a very interesting remark:

His work, in distinction to all that preceded it-- including in my opinion that of Ghazali -- has a distinguishing feature which the method chosen by Sha'rani in his Yawagit has demonstrated well: it has an answer for everything. Ontology, cosmology, prophetology, exegesis, ritual, it encompasses without exception all the domains on which the ahl al-tasawwuf need a trusted guide. In the muqaddima of his famous Lisan al-'Arab, Ibn Manzur (Who was born a few years before Ibn 'Arabi's death) explains that he composed this work in order to store all the words of the lugha nabawiyya (the prophetic language): "as Noah built the Ark, whilst his people laughed at him". If the Lisan is the "ark of the words (alfaz)", the Futuhat are the "ark of their spiritual significations (ma'ani)".

These 'spiritual signification's' have been studied and explicated through out the centuries. But recent years have seen an unprecedented activity in this direction. Two significant aspects of this important activity could be identified as the publication of works of highest scholarly standard about various dimensions of Ibn 'Arabi's life and doctrines and the establishment of "The Muhyiddin Ibn 'Arabi Society". A brief discreption of the organization and activities of the society is given in the following. The information is drawn from the Journal of the society.

"The Society was formed in 1977 to promote the study, translation, and publication of the works of Ibn 'Arabi and his followers. Its headquarters is

in Oxford, with branches in Turkey and the USA, and membership is drawn from many countries ! Since 1984 the Society has held an annual symposium, each considering a different aspect of Ibn 'Arabi's life and work. One of the Society's most important resources is the library. It houses not only many hard-to-find publications, but also an important and growing collection of manuscript copies, the originals of which are kept in libraries scattered across the world. All material is available for study. The Journal of the Society, devoted to translation, studies, and book reviews, is published twice a year and sent free to all members and fellows. Back issues can be bought at a reduced rate. Libraries and institutions interested in subscribing are welcome to apply for a sample copy.

In addition to the Journal members receive a newsletter, with other publications and special offers becoming available from time to time.

OFFICES AND BRANCHES

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Society Notices

RECENT EVENTS

The 8th annual symposium of the Society in the USA, entitled 'The Journey of the Heart', took place on 5-6 November at the University of California, Berkeley.

COMING EVENTS

The 12th annual symposium of the Society in the UK was held from 17-21 August 1995 at Cehisholme House, Scotland. Speakers included Michel Chodkiewcz, Souad Hakim, James Morris, Michael Sells, and Peter Young.

PUBLICATIONS

The following books can be purchased from the Secretary: Muhyiddin Ibn 'Arabi: a Commemorative Volume

Fusus al-Hikam (4 Volumes)

Wird and Hizb-l Wiqayah -(books of prayers by Ibn 'Arabi) Praryer and Contemplation (a volume of four important papers first presented at the 10th annual symposium of the Society in the UK.

M. S. UMAR: Ibn 'Arabi--Recognition and Reappraisal A Bibliographic survey

A catalogue of manuscripts and books held in the Library is available to members and fellows for 14($8) plus postage.

MEMBERSHIP

As the Society is not affiliated to any particular organization or institution, it is wholly dependent for funding upon its members and fellows. Membership is annual (details of life membership are available from the Secretary) and subscription can be paid in the UK or the USA. New members can join at any time and will be entitled to all that 'year's benefits: copies of the year's journals; newsletters with articles and details of coming events; discount rates for symposia, for some Society publications, and for occasional limited edition publications; and use of the Society library. In addition, fellows are entitled to elect one of their number to serve on the Society Committee each year.

Membership rates for 1995 (not increased form 1994) are: members: L 25 ($ 50), fellows: L 30 ($ 60), students: L 15 ($ 30) (documentary evidence of status is required).

Special offer for 1994/5: new members receive free copies of Journals I-VIII.

Previous issues of the Journal

are still available…

Volume I, 1982

Ibn ' Arabi, Peter Young; Beginning a study of the work of Ibn 'Arabi, Richard MacEwan; Muhyiddin Ibn 'Arabi and St Albertus Magnus of Cologne, Adam Dupre; Ibn 'Arabi's own summary of the Fusus: "The Imprint of the Bezels of the Wisdom", translated by William C. Chittick; Ib 'Arabi', Theophany of Perfection, Translated by Abraham Abadi.

Volume II, 1984

Between the Yea and the Nay, Peter Young; the Feminine Dimension in Ibn al-' Arabi's Thought, R.W.J. Austin; The Book of Alif (or) The Book of Unity, by Ibn 'Arabi translated by Abraham Abadi; The Chapter Headings of the Fusus, William C. Chittick; Reviews and Notices of Books.

Volume III, 1984

First Annual Symposium of the Ibn 'Arabi Society, Dom Sylverster Houedard; Meditations on the Vocabulary .of Love and Union in Ibn 'Arabi's Thought, R.W. J. Austin; Union and Ibn 'Arabi, Bulent Rauf; Sufi terminology: Ibn 'Arabi's al-Istilah al-Sufiyyah, translated by Rabia Terri Harris; Ibn 'Arabi: A Handlist of Printed Materials: Part I, Martin Notcutt.

Volume IV, 1985

Universality and Ibn 'Arabi, Bulent Rauf; An Extract from the Preface to the Futuhat, Translated by Layla Shamash and Stephen Hirtenstein; Universal and Divine Sainthood, Stephen Hirtenstein; The Rainbow Crystal, Dom Houedard; Book Reviews; Ibn 'Arabi: A Handlist of Printed Materials -- Part II '

Notcutt.

To the Murcian Gnostic..., by S.H. Nasr; Wisdom and Wisdoms, Bulent Rauf Aspects of Non-Manifestation in the Modalities of Being, Abraham Abadi; What the Student Needs; Ibn ' Arabi's Ma la budda minhu lil-murid, translated by Tosum Bayrak al-Jerrahi; Book Reviews

Volume VI, 1987

Bulent Rauf (1911-1987); Concerning the Universality of Ibn 'Arabi, Bulent Rauf On the Dignity of Man, Frithjof Rundgren; Universal Nature, Peter Young; Aspects of time and Light, Stephen Hirtenstein; Book Reviews.

Volume VII, 1988

Two Poems from the Diwan of Ibn Arabi; Translation and commentary by Ralph Austin; Love and Knowledge According to Some Islamic Philosophers,, Frithjof Rundgren; Light Illumination of All Possibility, by Robert' Breinl; The Rising of the Indications of Self-Subsistence in the Heart, Abraham Abadi; Love and Knowledge, Elizabeth Roberts; To the Murcian Gnostic Muhyi al-Din Ibn 'Arabi, S.H. Nasr; Book Reviews.

Volume VIII, 1989

On Knowing the Station of Love, translated by Ralph Austin; On Majesty and Beauty: The Kitab al-jalal wa-l jamal, translated by Rabia Terri Harris; Concerning the Station of Purity, Peter Young; A Forerunner of Ibn al 'Alarbi: Hakim Tirmidhi, Bernd Radtke; the Golden Bricks of Ibn 'Arabi, Dom Sylvester Houedard; Expression and the Inexpressible, Adam Dupre; Book Reviews.

Volume IX, 1991

Kitab al-fana fi-I mushahadah, translated by Stephen Hirtenstein and Layla Shamash; Ibn 'Arabi and Ottoman Dervish Traditions: The Melami Supra-Order, Part One, Mictoria Rowe Holbrook; The Diffusion of Ibn ' Arabi's Doctrine, Michel Cbodkiewicz; Book Review.

Volume X, 1991

Ibn ' Arabi's "Gentle Now, Doves of the Thornberry and Moringa Thicket", introduced and translated by Michael A. Sells; The Hierarchy of the Saints in Jewish and Islamic Mysticism. Paul B. Fenton; Theophanies and Lights in the Thought of Ibn 'Arabi in Early Naqshbandi Tradition, HamidAlgar; Book Review.

Volume XI, 1992

Notes on the More Than Human Saying; "Unless You Know Your-self You Cannot Know God", Dom Sylvester Houedard; Theophany as Paradox: Ibn al'Arabi's Account of al-Khadir in his Fusus al Hikam, Ian Richard Netton; The Seal of Saints- A Prophet and an Heir, Avraham Abadi; Ibn 'Arabi in the Yemen: His Admirers and Detractors, Alexander Knysh; Book Review.

Volume XII, 1992

Image and Presence in the Thought of Ibn al-' Arabi, Ralph Austin; Ibn-' Arabi

M. S. UMAR: Ibn 'Arabi--Recognition and Reappraisal A Bibliographic survey

and Ottoman Dervish Traditions: The Melami Supra Order, Part Two, Victoria Rowe Holbrook; Gnosis: Images of the Real, Elton Hall; Seeing Past the Shadows: Ibn 'Arabi's "Divine Comedy", James Winston Morris; Book Review.

Translation, Studies and Book Reviews Previously published in the Journal

This section is intended as a reference tool, so that the reader can quickly see what the Journal has published, and easily locate any item of interest. There are three separate listings, as follows:

Translations of works by Ibn 'Arabi Studies, by author Book reviews, by title

Translation of works by Ibn ' Arabi

Futuhat: an extract form the preface

Layla Shamash and Stephen Hirtenstein IV

Futuhat: Poems form Chapter 87

Ralph Austin VII

Futuhat: on tayammum (earth ablution) and

' aurah (imperfection) Eric Winkel XIII

Futuhat: From Chapter 41 (paper entitled 'The people

of the night') Layla Shamash XIV

Naqsh al fusus: the imprint of the bezels of the wisdom William C. Chittick

Tarjumrn:rl al-ashwaq.• poem 1'I, 'Gentle now, doves of the

thornberry and moringa thicket' Michael Sells X

Diwan: selected poems

Divine word and prophetic word in early Islam. William A. Graham

Ecrits spirituels by the Emir ‘ Abd el-Kader.

Trans. Michel Chodkiewicz II

Epitre sur l ‘Unicite Absolue by Awhad al-din Balyani.

Trans. Michel Chodkiewicz IV

Fez, city of /slam by Titus Burckhardt.

Trans. William Stoddart XII

Ibn ‘Arabi: la /niche des lumieres: 101 saintes paroles prophetiques.

Trans. Muhammad Valsan V

Ibn ‘Arabi: le liver d’enseignement par les formules indicatives des gens inspires (Kitab-l-i’lam bi isharati ahli-l-ilham).

Trans. Michel Valsan IV

Ibn ‘Arabi ou la quete du soufre rouge. Claude Addas VIII

Ibn ‘Arabi: traite de l’amour. Trans. Maurice Gloton VIII

Ismail Hakki Bursevi ‘s translation of and commentary on Fusus al-hikam by Muhyiddin Ibn ‘Arabi. Trans. Bulent Fauf

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Vol. 3. VIII

La doctrine initiatique du pelerinage a la maison d’Allah.

Charles-Andre Gilis II

L’alchimie du bonheur parfait by Muhyiddin Ibn ‘Arabi.

Trans. Stephane Ruspoli IV

M. S. UMAR: lbn ‘Arabi--Recognition and Reappraisal A Bibliographic survey La parure des abdal by Ibn ‘Arabi. Trans. Michel Valsan XI

La vie mervcillcuse de Ebu-I-Nun l’Egyptien by Ibn ‘ Arabi.

Trans. Roger Deladriere X

Le Coran at la fonction .17 /cones. Charles-Andre Gilis IV

Le kitab al-inbah ‘ala tariq Allah de ‘Abdallah Badr al-Habasbi.

Trans. Denis Gril VI

Le liver de l ‘arbre et des quatre oiscaux by Ibn Arabi.

Trans. Denis Gril IV

Le sceau des saints: prophetic et saint etc dans la doctrine

d Ibn Arabi Michel Chodkiewicz VII

Les secrets du jeune et du pelerinage by Al-Ghazali.

Trans. Maurice Gloton XIII

I.’Islam et la fonction de Rene Guenon. Michel Valsan IV

Los dos horizontes (Textos sobre Ibn al ‘Arabi).

Ed. Alfonso Carmona XII

Muhyiddin Ibn ‘Arabi: a commemorative volume.

Ed. S. Hirtenstein and M. TiernanXIII

Reflection of the awakened (mirat’l-’arifin), attributed to

Sadruddin al-Qonawi. Trans. Sayyid Hasan Askari VI

Scandal, essays in Islamic heresy. Peter Lambort Wilson VII

Sufism and Taoism: a comparative study of key philosophical

concepts. T. Izutsu V

Sufis of Andalusia. trans. R. W. J. Austin VII
Temple and contemplation by Henri Corbin.

Trans. Philip Sherrard VI

The Bezels of Wisdom by Ibn ‘Arabi.

Trans. R.W.J. Austin II

The legacy of mediaeval Persian Sufism.

Ed. Leonard Lewisohn XII

The minety-nine beautiful manes fo God by Al-Ghazali.

Trans. David B. Burrell and Nazih Daher XIII

The seals of wisdom-from the Fusus al-hikam by Ibn ‘Arabi.

Ed. Raghavan IyerV

The seals of wisdom-- Muhyiddin Ibn al-’Arabi.

Trans. ‘ Aisha ‘Abd al-Rahman at-Tarjumana II

The Sufi Path of Knowledge: Ibn al- ‘Arabi ‘s Metaphysics

of imagination William C. Chittick IX
Universal Man by ‘ Abd al-Karim al-Jili.

Trans. Titus Burckhardt II

This section reviews important books published on Ibn ‘Arabi during the recent past. These works, apart form their contents that concern the issues of Islamic Studies and Ibn ‘Arabi doctrines, reveal the interesting phenomenon that the image of Ibn ‘Arai’s life and doctrines that is commonly held in Iqbal Studies and Urdu literature is false and misconceived

to a large extent. One has to re-examine many positions taken in Iqbal Studies in the light of the facts unearthed in these works and the interpretation these works provide regarding Ibn ' Arabi's doctrines with reference to his original works, especially the Futuhat. In what follows we give information about important works and review some of these separately.

Books published since 1981 dealing with the life and works of Ibn ' Arabi

I- TRANSLATIONS

Al-Kawkab al-durri fi manaqib dhi'l-Nun al-Misri.

Published as: La vie merveilleuse de Dhu-l Mun l'Egyptien. Roger Deladriere. Paris, 1988.

Futuhat al-Makkiya

Chapter 167. Published as: L'alchimie du bonheur parfait.Stephane Ruspoli. Paris, 1981.

Chapter 178. Published as: Traite de l'amour. Maurice Gloton. Paris, 1985.

Selected texts, with a general introduction. Published as: Les illuminations de la Mecque.Edited by Michel Chodkiewicz with contributions by William C. Chittick, Cyrille Chodkiewicz, Denis Gril, and James W. Morris. Paris, 1989. translations are either in French or English according to the translator.

Hilyat al-abadal.Published as" La parure des abdal. Michel Valsan.Paris, 1992.

Kitab al-fana' fi'l-mushahadah. Published as: Le livre de l'extinction dans la contemplation. Michel Valsan. Paris, 1984.

Kitab al-i'lam bi-isharat ahl al-ilham. Published as: Le liver d'enseignement par les formules indicatives ades gens inspires. Michel Valsan. Paris, 1985.

Kitab al-isfar ‘an nata’ij al-asfar. Published as: Le devolvement des effects du voyage. Denis Gril. Combas, 1994.

Risalat al-Ittihad al-kawni. Published as: Le liver de l’arbre et du queatre oiseaux. Denis Gril. Paris, 1984.

Shajarat al-kawn. Published as: L ‘arbre du monde. Maurice gloton. Paris, 1982. (A treatise generally, but wrongly, attributed to Ibn ‘Arabi.)

Tadhkirat al-khawass. Published as: La profession de foi. Roger Deladriere. Paris, 2nd edn, 1985.

II STUDIES

Ibn ‘Arabi ou la quete de soufre rouge. Claude Addas. Paris, 1989.

English translation (by Peter Kingsley): Quest for the Red Sulphur: the Life of Ibn ‘Arabi. Cambridge, 1993.

M. S. UMAR: Ibn ‘Arabi--Recognition and Reappraisal A Bibliographic survey

Lesceau des saints: prophetie et saintete dans la doctrine d ‘Ibn ‘Arabi.

Michel Chodkiexicz. Paris, 1986.

English translation (by Liadain Sherrard): Seal of the Saints; Prophethood and Sainthood in the Doctrine of Ibn ‘Arabi. Cambridge, 1993.

Un ocean sans rivage; Ibn ‘Arabi, le Livre et le Loi. Michel Chodkiewicz. Paris, 1992.

English translation (by David Streight): An Ocean Without Shore: Ibn ‘Arabi, the Book and the Law. Albany, NY, 1993.

The Sufi Path of Knowledge, W.C. Chittick. Albany, NY, 1989.

Imaginal Worlds: Ibn al-’Arabi and ‘the Problem of Religious Diversity, W.C. Chittick. Albany, 1994.

1993 marked a milestone in Ibn ‘Arabi studies in the English-speaking world, with the publication of four major works on Ibn ‘Arabi: Muhyiddin Ibn ‘Arabi:Muhyiddin Ibn ‘Arabi: a commemorative volume, published by Element for the Muhyiddin Ibn ‘Arabi Society; the English translation of the first full length biography of Ibn ‘Arabi, Quest for the red sulphur by Claude Addas; and, also in translation form the French, two seminal studies by Michel Chodkiewicz of Ibn ‘Arabi’s teachings, Seal of the saints and An ocean without shore.

Quest for the red sulphur: the life of Ibn ‘Arabi. Claude Addas. Published by the Islamic Texts Society, Cambridge, 1993.

First published in French in 1989, Claude Addas’ biography of Ibn ‘Arabi offers a wealth of new and illuminating material about ‘Arabi’s life. The translation is, in effect, an second edition, with new’ material and modification of some passages, and with a full glossary of Arabic terms. It is translated with clarity and insight by Peter Kingsley, and produced to the usual high standards of the Islamic Texts Society.

Seal of the saints: prophethood and sainthood in the doctrine of Ibn ‘Arabi. Michel Chodkiewicz.Published by the Islamic Texts Society, Cambridge, 1993. Seal of the Saints by Michel Chodkiewicz was first published in France in 1986. It provides a detailed and scholarly exposition of Ibn ‘Arabi’s teaching on prophethood and sainthood, based on careful analysis of the relevant texts. The translation by L. Sherrard is elegant and authoritative, and once again is published by the Islamic Texts Society.

An Ocean without Shore: Ibn ‘Arabi, the Book and the Law. Michel Chodkiewicz. Published by the State University of New York Press, Albany, NY, 1993. French edition reviewed JMIAS, Vol. XII by Ralph Austin. English edition reviewed in the present issue by J. W. Morris.

An ocean without shore is Michel Chodkiewicz’s most recent contribution to Ibn ‘Arabi studies, published in French in 1992. It is now translated with welcome promptness in the United States by the State University of New York Press. Translator David Streight. The subtitle, Ibn ‘Arabi, the Book and the Law provides the clue to the perspective offered in

the study, which .sets out to demonstrate the profound inter-relationship between 'Arabi's work and the Qur'an and Sacred Law of Islam.

(Muhammad Suheyl Umar)

Reveiews

Muhyiddin Ibn 'Arabi: a commemorative volume. Edited by Stephen Hirtenstein and Michael Tiernan. Published by Element Books, Shaftesbury, for the Muhyiddin Ibn 'Arabi Society, 1993.

Ibn 'Arabi, or Ibn al-Arabi as I prefer to call him (following the second edition of The Encyclopaedia of Islam), died in Damascus in 1240 aged 75. This handsomely produced volume, with its beautiful frontispiece illumination from an Almoravid Qur'an manuscript produced in Cordova in 1143, celebrates the 750th anniversary of the Shaykh al-Akbar's death. The editors are well-qualified for their task: Stephen Hirtenstein edits the Ibn 'Arabi Society's Journal, has lectured on the Shaykh in the UK and USA and translated, unter alia, 'The Book of Contemplation in eh Annihilation' (IMIAS, IX 1991). Michael Tiernan encountered the works of Ibn 'Arabi while working as a health educator in his native Sydney and had studies the Shaykh for many year. Today he works in publishing.

The contents of this volume are an intellectual feast for all scholars, students and devotees of Ibn al-'Arabi and illustrate both the depth and the range of the Shaykh's thought. As such they constitute a worthy tribute to one of mystical Islam's most complex thinkers. They also bear witness to the increasing quantity of scholarly and popular works appearing in print about the Shaykh. As the editors themselves note in their Preface, 'the quarter century that has elapsed between [1965] and this [work under review] has seen a most dramatic change: the work of the Shaykh has begun to acquire a home among a much wider audience, and there are now full translations of several books available in European languages' (p xi). For the non-Arabist, of course, a major problem in getting to grips with Ibn al-' Arabi's massive corpus has been the dearth of good, translations into English. (This deficiency continues to be remedied by JMIAS as well as the first part of the volume under review.) the editors also modestly remind us that this volume 'is very much a beginning, a beginning of the (re-) cognition and (re-)

appraisal of Ibn al-' Arabi's contribution to mankind' (p. xii). While that may be true, it in no way devalues the worth of what is presented here.

This commemorative volume comprises eighteen articles. many of them by internationally regarded scholars of Ibn al-'Arai, divided into two parts: Part One contains five translations from the voluminous oeuvre of the Shaykh; Part Two consists of thirteen studies of the latter's thought. The two sections are complemented by an 'Introduction' by Stephen Hirtenstein (which includes a survey of Ibn al-' Arabi's life), an Index of Qur'anic Citations, and a (rather too brief) general Index.

In Part one, Paul B. Fenton and Maurice Gloton present for the first time an English translation of Kitab Isha' ad-Dawa'ir al-Ibatiya (The Book of the Description of the Encompassing Circles), a minor but very important treatise which 'deals with the fundamental premises of [Ibn al-'Arabi's] metaphysics'. This is followed by Roger Boase's and Farid Sahnoun's 'Excerpts from the Epistle on the Spirit of Holiness (Risalab Rub al-Quds)', a work of Sufi spirituality, other parts of which have earlier been translated by Dr. R.W.J. Actin (Sufis of Andalusia, London: Allen & Unwin, 1971). By vivid contrast, James Winston Morris, in 'How to study the futuhat: Ibn ' Arabi's Own Advice' provides a useful key to what is perhaps the Shaykh's most complex and extensive text. Morris suggests that in the Introduction (Muqaddima) to the Futuhat, 'the Shaykh gives perhaps his most complete discussion and explanation of the many different audiences and types of readers for whom he composed that work' (p. 74). This is followed by the well-known translator and scholar of the Futuhat, William C. Chittick, giving us two short chapter (nos. 317 and 339) from the Futuhat which embrace the two central ideas in the universe of Ibn al-' Arabi of ' Oneness of Being' (wahdat al-wujud) and 'Perfect Man' (al insan al-kamil). Part One concludes with Michael Sells' chapter entitled 'Towards a Poetic translation of the Fusus al-Hikam, in which the translator, in a new translation of Chapter One of the Fusus, 'attempts to bring across the poetic aspects of the text, and to keep the form and content as unified as possible' (p. 124).

While the contents of Part One of the volume under review are unified under the aspect of translation, the studies in Part Two are diverse indeed. They are introduced by the article entitled ' The Determinism Implicit to Change' by Avraham Abadi where, unfortunately, an utterly opaque prose

style veils the essence of the ideas beneath. (Ibn al-' Arabi might have approved (!) but surely we all have a duty as scholars to write as clearly as possible about the thought of the Shaykh. If we do not, then his writings will never become disseminated to a wider public.) Claude Addas follows this article with her 'Abu Madyan and Ibn 'Arabi', in which is discussed Ibn al-'Arabi's admiration for the saint Abu Madyan (died 588 AFT). Next, Ralph Austin in 'Ibn al-'Arabi- Poet of Divine Realities' provides a useful corrective via Ibn al-' Arabi's Diwan al-Kabir ('his greatest collection of mystical poetry') to the 'rather lopsided picture of the mystical expression of Ibn al-' Arabi' (p. 181). Another major scholar of Ibn al-'Arabi, Michel Chodkiewicz, then proceeds, in his usual masterly way, to examine "The Esoteric Foundations of Political Legitimacy in Ibn 'Arabi', while Mahmoud Al-Ghorab discusses the Shaykh's relationship to Sunnism, Shi' ism and the philosophers, inter alia, in an important article ponderously entitled 'Muhyiddin Ibn al-'Arabi Amidst Religions (adyan) and Schools of Thought (madhahib)'. Al-Ghorab concludes that Ibn al-' Arabi was a 'Muslim, Traditionalist (Salafi), Jurist (usuli) and a Sufi' who was 'one of the leaders (imams) of the people of the tradition and community (ahl al-sunna wa'l-jama'a)' (p. 224).

Al-Ghorab is clearly supported in some of what he says by Denis gril who notes that 'recent studies of the work of the Shaykh al-Akbar have been bringing more and more clearly to light the fact that his doctrine is rooted in the Qur'an and the Surma' (p. 228). In 'Adab and revelation or One of the Foundations of the Hermeneutics of Ibn 'Arabi', gril surverys of so much of what he writes. Souad (p. 228). In 'Adab and Revelation or One of the Foundations of the Hermeneutics of Ibn 'Arabi', gril surverys Ibn al-'Arabi's definitions of adab and the Qur'anic substrata of so much of what he writes. Souad Hakim then reminds us that 'to know God is the torment of every sufi' and in her chapter 'knowledge of God in Ibn 'Arabi' she studies 'human understanding in Ibn 'Arabi' and attempts to bring 'to light how the disciple realizes gnosis of god' (p. 264). This is an important and neatly organised contribution to the study of Ibn al-'Arabi and epistemology.

Dom Sylvester Houedard, OSB, who has made such a vital and learned contribution to the diverse fields of world mysticism, and whose passing we all mourn, places Ibn al-' Arabi in a wider ecumenical context with his article

'Ibn 'Arabi's Contribution to the Wider Ecumenism', while Alexander Knysh, in 'Ibn 'Arabi in the Later Islamic tradition', surverys 'the importance of Ibn 'Arabi for the subsequent generations of his co-religionists' (p. 307). Martin Notcutt, whose previous work has included valuable bibliographical surverys of the Shaykh's works, then surverys 'Ibn 'Arabi in Print' in a useful article which, unfortunately, lacks endnotes. Notcutt poses a number of interesting questions at the end of his article, two of which deserve reiteration:

Can one seriously study Ibn 'Arabi in translation, without learning Arabic?

Can one pretend to study Ibn ' Arabi without the background of a knowledge of Medieval Arabic thought?

The answer of your reviewer, at least, to these questions is an unconditional 'No'! I believe that an extensive knowledge of medieval Arabic language and medieval Arabic thought are both essential for the proper study of Ibn al-' Arabi. (I am also aware that such views may be regarded as controversial by non-Arabist devotees of the Shaykh– However, de gustibus non est disputatndum!) Hirtenstein's and Tiernan's volume concludes with three very different articles: Frithiof Rundgren's 'The Preface of the Futuhat al-Makkiyyah'(which should be read with Morris' article cited abive); Mustafa Tahrali's 'The Polarity of Expression in the Fusus al-Hikam'; and Peter Lamborn Wilson's 'Quantum, Chaos, and the Oneness of Being' which meditates on the Kitab al-Alif.

This is a book for the scholar, the student, and the sufi as well as the general reader. Not all will enjoy, understand or appreciate, everything; most will enjoy and appreciate something.

Hirtenstein and Tiernan are to be congratulated on producing a valuable contribution to the growing body of works about the life and thought. of the Shaykh al-Akbar.

Ian Richard Netton Reader in Arab and Islamic Civilization and Thought, University of Exeter

An Ocean Without Shore: Ibn ‘Arabi, The Book and the Law. Michel Chodkiewicz (Trans. D. Streight), SUNY Press, Albany, NY, 1993, 184 pp.

In most areas of scholarship there are one or two books so uniquely rich in their depth of insight, breadth of understanding, and richness of expression and illustration that even their individual footnotes become, as it were, the seeds of whole volumes of research in later generations. This deceptively short volume, which so ably condenses the fruits of decades of intensive study and reflection on Ibn ‘Arabi (as well as his disciples and heirs throughout the Islamic world) is clearly just such a landmark in ‘Akbari’ studies. Its basic unifying theme- familiar enough to even the novice reader of Ibn ‘Arabi today - is the Qur’ anic (and Prophetic) inspiration and aims of all the Shaykh’s writing. But here Professor Chodkiewicz, referring primarily to the ‘ocean’ of al-Futuhat al-Makkiya as well as a host of other untranslated (and often unedited) texts and commentaries, has systematically developed that theme to a depth that goes far beyond academic philology and amply illustrates the profoundly transforming power of Ibn “Arabi’s Arabi’s own ‘spiritual hermeneutics’ of Islamic scripture. For those interested in the Shaykh’s own life, this volume also highlights some of the deeper roots of his own extraordinary personal claims with regard to his ‘realization’ of the Qur’an and the inner dimension of prophecy, themes which are examined in more detail in two other recently translated studies, The Seal of the Saints (by the same author) and Claude Addas’ biography, The Quest for the Red Suophur.

There is no question, then, that this is in many respects an ‘advanced’ work, almost an agenda (as well as an indispensable reference work) for future study: indeed very few modern scholars could honestly lay claim to the familiar mastery of Arabic, of the Qur’an and hadith, and of so many different writings of the Shaykh and his disciples which this book often presupposes. On the other hand, serious students of Ibn ‘Arabi will recognize many familiar themes from the works that are available in translation, and— while acknowledging how much of this “ocean’ still remains uncharted— will surely be challenged to re-read and re-explore those available texts from new perspectives. The author’s Introduction (pp. 1-18) is an especially striking illustration of that process. At first reading, the Introduction may seem like nothing more than history: a highly condensed

survey of the far-reaching 'manifestations' of Ibn 'Arabi's work for .centuries throughout the Islamic world, focusing especially on the recent research by the author (as well as his many colleagues and students from France and the Arab world) that has helped to bring out the actual social bases (tariqas, ethical manuals, etc.) for the popular spread of Ibn 'Arabi's insights, especially in the Ottoman period, far beyond the line of his avowed disciples and commentators. By the time one has completed reading the book, however, it will be quite evident just how and to what extent those same historical data are also meant to illuminate the nature and seriousness of the Shaykh's meta-historical claims concerning the 'Seal of the saints' and his special inner relationship with both the Qur'an and the 'Reality of Muhammad'.

Each of the book's five chapters richly illustrates, at progressively deeper levels of expression and meaning, the full Qur'anic inspiration of all of Ibn 'Arabi's works. Not surprisingly, the first two chapters highlight themes and typical methods of scriptural interpretation---such as Ibn Arabi's consistent focus on the 'letter' of revelation even in his apparently most original (or outrageous) insights; his stress on the ongoing, 'perpetual descent' of the inner meanings of the Qur'an within each purified heart; or the metaphysical 'universality' of the Qur'an and the Source of all prophecy--- which should be familiar to most students of the Fusus al-Hikam and other widely available works. The second chapter also includes a very clear and accessible summary of Professor Chodkiewicz' seminal research on two major topics in the Shaykh's teaching: his discussion of the various types and ranks and functions of the 'friends of God' (from Chapter 73 of the Futuhat), and his uniquely irenic understanding of the principles of fiqh, with its compelling practical and intellectual relevance to the contemporary Islamic world.

The following two chapters, though, explore territory which has until now remained largely uncharted, at least in Western scholarship. Chapter 3 demonstrates in rigorous and convincing detail--- focusing on the long Fad al-Manazil in the Futuhat--- the multitude of precise ways in which the order, inner structures, and language and style of the Qur'an underlie the corresponding arrangement and meaning of all the Meccan Illuminations, including literally thousands of passages of allusions that would have remained mysteriously indecipherable without these essential 'keys'. Chapter

4 extends the same approach to revealing both the internal structure of other major works (Such as the early Kitab. al Isra', the K. al-Abadila, the K al-Tajalliyat), and, even more significantly,. to suggesting the 'networks' or 'constellations' of Qur'anic allusion that form fundamental linkages--- of both inspiration and cross-referential explanation--- between chapters or sections of the Qur'an, the Futuhat, and each of Ibn ' Arabi's shorter works. While scholars and students of these untranslated (and often unedited) works may have intuitively felt, and even occasionally deciphered, some of these inner connections and allusions, the systematic results of Professor Chodkiewicz' methods and examples here (summarized in 35 pages of dense notes) are rich enough to orient the research of several generations of future scholars. Indeed anyone who has wrestled directly with the constantly recurrent mysteries and opaque passages to be found throughout the Shaykh's writings may well consider these two chapters to constitute a sort of 'Rosetta Stone' in the gradual deciphering of Ibn 'Arabi's work.

The final chapter, focusing on the integral relationship between religious practice and spiritual realization in all the Shaykh's writings, returns to a topic and illustrations (from the Fusus al-Hikam and other translated works) familiar to a wider audience. Again the detailed analyses and synopses here--- of the interplay between right actions and the Attainment of karamat in the Mawaqi al-Nujum; of the roles of God and the individual soul in prayer in the Tanazzulat Mawsiliya; or of the constant allusions to the inner dimensions of salat throughout Tirmidhi's famous 'spiritual questionnaire' in Chapter 73 of the Futubat--- fully demonstrate both the author's mastery of the entire 'Akbari' corpus and the spiritual richness of these many texts that still await translation in order to reach the wider audience they deserve today. Any brief account of Professor Chodkiweicz' book, with its massive illustration of the impact of the Qur'an and (selective) hadith on every dimension of Ibn 'Arabi's writing, almost inevitably suggests a sort of 'apologetic' or narrowly sectarian approach and an intention--- on the part of either the Shaykh or his modern interpreter--- that is in fact almost diametrically opposed to the actual state of affairs. Readers familiar only with the many modern Western studies emphasizing the 'universality' of the Shaykh's outlook, in particular, might find this approach somewhat surprising. But this apparent paradox is no mystery to students familiar with Ibn 'Arabi's own writings: as they know from their own experience, it is

easily resolvable once one begins to appreciate the 'Reality' (to use the Shaykh's own expression) to which Ibn 'Arabi is actually referring. And few secondary studies in this field bring the reader closer to that constantly revelatory, more than intellectual, experience of the Qur'an than this remarkable work. It is itself an extraordinary illustration of that 'Ascension into meaning' (mi'raj al-Kalima, to borrow Souad al-Hakim's apt expression) which so uniquely typifies Ibn 'Arabi's own style and approach to revelation.

The English translation, which includes a substantial index of Qur'anic verses and technical terms (but not, unfortunately, of hadith references), is quite readable on the whole, an especially commendable achievement given that so much of the original French text already consists of translations of Ibn 'Arabi's notoriously complex language and close study of difficult Arabic linguistic, religious and grammatical expressions.

Fundamental Symbols: The Universal Language of Sacred Science By Rene Guenon. Translated by Alvin Moore, Jr., Compiled by M. Valsan, and edited by Martin Lings. Cambridge, England: Quinta Essentia, 1995. Pp. 369.20 diagrams. $ 35.9.5, cloth; $ 22.95, paper.

Even among those who have become interested in mythology and symbolism, it is too often forgotten that "myth," itself form the Greek mythos, is related etymologically to mystery and has to do precisely with the "Divine Mysteries," while "symbol" comes form the Greek verb symballein meaning to put together or hind, that is, to unite a thing with its origin. The French metaphysician and mathematician Rene Guenon stands as a beacon of light in guiding us to the understanding of symbols and in asserting with certitude the root of symbols in the immutable archetypes which are reflected on different levels of cosmic existence.

Despite the significance of so many of his works such as The Crisis of the Modern World, The Reign of Quantity and the Signs of the Time, and The Symbolism of the Cross (all published in English but now out of print), Fundamental Symbols is perhaps the most important after Man and His Becoming According to the Vedanta (which appeared in English in 1945 and is also no longer in print). As Martin Lings, himself the author of a major work on symbolism entitled' Symbol and Archetype, states in his preface,

The universal language of symbolism is as old as humanity; and the light which Guenon throws on the intelligence and the intellectual unanimity of the ancient world is enough to dispel for-ever any lingering illusions about primitive man that we have subconsciously retained from our education.

In this work, Guenon not only speaks about various symbols which concern religion, art, the traditional sciences, and life itself, and in fact provide the language of both sacred art and sacred science, but also discusses the meaning of symbol in general. He demonstrates why symbols are rooted in the ontological reality of things, having their source in the noumenal and archetypal levels of reality rather than in the merely human or psychological.

In seventy-six chapters grouped into eight sections, Guenon deals with the metaphysical and cosmological meaning of symbols drawn from traditions as far apart as the Greek and the Buddhist, the Druid and the Islamic. The titles of the eight sections reveal the vast expanse of this seminal work: "Traditional Symbolism and Some of Its General Applications"; "Symbols of the Center and of the World"; "Symbols of Cyclic Manifestation";" "Some Symbolic Weapons"; "The Symbolism of the Forms of the Cosmos"; "The Symbolism of Building"; "Axial Symbolism and Symbolism of Passage"; and "The Symbolism of the Heart." This collection, assembled by M. Valsan after Guenon's death from his scattered essays, was published in the original French as Symbol's fondamentaux de la science sacree (Paris: Gallimard, 1962). It is presented here for the first time in Eng1ish, with the addition of two essays and the deletion of one from the French text. the English edition opens with a preface by Martin Lings, long-time friend and colleague of Guenon, on the significance of this book, and an introduction by another close associate of Guenon, W. N. Perry, on his life. It concludes with a list of the original sources of the essays, the bibliography of the books of Guenon, and a useful index.

Guenon's exposition of symbolism is a critique in depth of all those modernist writers who would reduce the symbol to an allegory, an agreed-upon image of a socially defined significance, or a reality of psychological origin emanating from the common historic experiences or collective unconscious of an ethnic or linguistic group. And, like other writings of Guenon, Fundamental Symbols is an exposition of metaphysical truths and a criticism of errors in the light of those truths.

The translation of this extensive work has been a real labor of love for both the translator, who has spent a lifetime in the study of Guenon's works, and the editor, himself one of the foremost traditional authors. The result is an English text reflecting the lucidity and clarity of the original French, qualities which characterize Guenon's writings in general. It is a major addition to the English corpus of his work, one that it is hoped will kindle enough interest to bring back into print many of Guenon's books rendered earlier into English but now unavailable.

In any case the translator and editor as well as the publishers are to be congratulated for making this work available in English. The hardcover edition of the book is well-printed with a handsome cover characteristic of the Quinta Essentia imprint. One only wishes that Dr. Lings could have dealt in greater length with Guenon's significance. Perhaps he will do so in a future work, in response to the need in the English-speaking world for the reassertion of the call of tradition in general and the teachings of Guenon in particular.

(S. Hossein Nasr)

Faith and Practice of Islam: Three Thirteenth Century Sufi Texts. Translated, Introduced, and Annotated by William C. Chittick, SUNNY Press, Albany 1992; xv + 306 pages; no price.

With this volume C. W. Chittick introduces, translates and annotates three Persian Sufi tests written in the middle of the 7th century AH (13th century AD). All three texts are succinct compendia of Islamic teachings and were written in Konya, Anatolia, by a resident scholar who, perhaps erroneously (cf. appendix, pp. 255-262), is believed to have been Sadr al-Din al-Qunawi (d. 673/1274), the star disciple of Ibn al'Arabi (d. 638/1240). The value of the three treatises lies in their clear focus on-the essentials of Islam, as explained from the perspective of Ibn al 'Arabi's Sufism, and in the elegant simplicity with which the author presents his ideas in beautiful Persian. While the first treatise, Matali'-i-iman (The Rising Places of Faith) was edited by Chittick himself in Sophia Perennis 4/1 (1978), 57-80, the second treatise, Tabsira al-mubtadi wa-tadhkirat al-muntahi (Clarifications for Beginners and Reminders for the Advanced), was edited by Najaf 'Ali Habibi in Ma'arif 1 (1364/1985), 69-128, and the third treatise, Manahij-i Sayfi (The Easy Roads

of Sayf al-Din), by Najib Ma' it Hirawi as a separate volume in Tehran: Mawla, 1363/1984. Useful textual emendations to the Persian editions of the second and third treatise are given by Chittick in an appendix to the present volume (pp. 263-270). While the first two treatises were written for Muslims seeking a succinct and simple introduction to the principal dimensions of their faith, the third was addressed to a particular government official of an Anatolian Saljuq court. This man, a certain Say Iqbal Re: ab-Din Tughril, took Islam with suflicient seriousness o desire kith an initiation into its basic tenets as well as more detailed guidance toward its faithful practice.

Parts II and III of Chittick s work include the translations of the texts (pp. 35-164) which. together with the author's very helpful annotations (pp. 181-253), could stand by themselves as a separate volume. Chittick again shows himself to he a skilled translator who has a fine and accurate grasp of Persian and a clear idea of the type of English necessary to make a medieval text accessible to the contemporary reader. Part I ("Islam in Three Dimensions,,' pp. 1-23) and Part IV ("Sufism and Islam," pp. I65-179) serve as a frame for the translated treatises and include Chittick's general reflections on the relationship of orthodox and mystical Islam and on the nature of Islam as a religion and Sufism as a mysticism. In defining Sufism as the third dimension of Islam, the perfection which completes Islam, as works and Islam as faith, Chittick concludes that the authentic Sufi is "the perfect Muslim," and Sufism, simply put, is the "full and complete actualization of the faith and practice of Islam" (p. 178). While the three texts may he understood as an illustration of this broad definition of Sufism, the author's general reflections lack some of the scholarly sophistication that undergirds his annotated translations. In the opinion of this reviewer, Sufism deserves a more historical and source-critical analysis to account for its own specificity.

The Tao of Islam: A Sourcebook on Gender Relationships in Islamic Thought. By Sachiko Murata, Albany SUNNY Press, 1992; x plus 397 pp. n.p.

With The Tao of Islam Sachiko Murata has provided important resource material for those in the field of medieval studies. Islamic studies, and women's studies. The book is dense and demanding. It plunges the reader into the subtle language and vivid imagination of philosophers and mystics of medieval Islam---representatives of what Murata calls Islam's "sapiential

tradition"---as they engage in Qur'anic commentary and metaphysical speculation about cosmic and human realities in terms of gender relationships and symbolism. She presents lengthy excerpts from works of well known Muslim writers and teachers (e.g., Qushayri, Kashani, Ibn 'Arabi, Rumi, Qunawi) that treat the fundamental realities of God, world, and the human being in a manner analogous to the Taoist philosophers who saw bipolar relationships operating at all levels of created reality and who used the basic symbolism of male/femal "qualities" and relationships to describe the cosmos. Murata also provides the hermeneutical tools needed to understand the intentionality of the texts. She is quite aware that she is presenting a side of Islam that is foreign to most Westerners, who see Islam as the "most patriarchal" of patriarchal religions, and to many Muslims, who look at issues of gender simply in terms of the Shari'ab. Moreover, Murata gives evidence as to the diversity of discourses (juridical, theological, philosophical, Sufi) that emerged side by side during Islam's "classical period," a diversity which indicates a dynamic tradition of lively and creative interpretation of canonical texts and which cannot help but affect current discussions on ijtibad (new interpretation) of traditional texts, particularly as they relate to the nature and role of women.

Murata introduces her book by describing the circumstances of its genesis. She was asked to teach a course on "feminine spirituality in world religions" and having experienced how Western students tend to have the most negative preconceptions about Islamic religion, decided to develop a "back-door" approach to the subject of women. She searched for a model of comparative study that would circumvent those prejudicial feelings, a model that would not do violence to traditional Islamic sensibilities. She drew on the Chinese tradition, turning to the Taoist analysis of reality in terms of the complementary principles of yin and yang "female" and male," as a focal point for comparative study. We remember that while the Tao to-Ching affirms the unity and harmony of opposites in nature, it gives a certain primacy to the yin/female (receptive) principle, as if to counterbalance the prevailing social tendency to give primacy to the Yang/male (active) principle. In a similar spirit, Murata wants to affirm the Islamic perspective which celebrates male and female, spirit and body, intellect and soul, but in order to do that, she must bring to light writings that speak positively, or at

least equivocally, about women and things associated symbolically with "the female."

Murata demonstrates through the use of the texts that there are many-streams of Qur'anic exegesis that affirm a metaphysics of relation and complementarily while upholding the major theological principle of Islam namely tawhid or divine unity and transcendence. This line of thought sees the symbols and images associated with male and &male (e.g. man and woman, but also, heaven and earth, intellect and soul, spirit and body) as carrying both positive and negative valuation, depending on the relationship described, and understands this type of language as pointing to underlying ontological structures of reality (both cosmic and human). Indeed, for Murata and her sapiential representatives, the world was created from an attitude of relation (she refers to the well-known hadith qudsi. or "divine saying": "I was a hidden treasure and I loved/desired to be known") and all orders of creation are driven by the attitude of longing for the return of their "natural" state of equilibrium and unity (represented by the primordial covenant, al-mithaq, in the Qur'an). Her hope seems to he that the revisiting and subtle understanding of traditional Islamic texts and their models of God/world, God/human, and male/ female relationships can be applied currently at the level of social structures; that knowledge has the power to transform behavior and power structures.

The Book is divided into four parts. Part One contains Murata's explanation of the phrase, the "Tao (way) of Islam," and she introduces the three "great realities" that constitute "the tao": God, cosmos, and human being. She describes how in the "sapiential tradition" these elements are inseparable, each manifesting the same ""qualities" or attributes but in different modes, each containing the principles of yin and yang in harmony. The remainder, and bulk, of the book is textual evidence for this position. part Two, therefore, deals with theology, specifically, traditional Islamic conception of God. Part Three deals with cosmology, or the genesis and structure of the "macrocosm," al-'alam al-akbar, that is, the created order. Part Four focuses on the human "microcosm, al-'alam al-saghir, that is, what constitutes human nature (potentially and actually) and knowledge. The following summary may give some glimpse as to the book's contents and argument.

Part one introduces the framework of images that will recur in the primary source materials which will be presented in the following chapters. The images are derived from the Qtir' anic assertion that God's "signs" (ayat) can be seen "upon the horizons and within their own souls"(41:53); that the signs of God are found outside the human being, in the world of nature, and inside the human being, in the world of human nature (spiritual anthropology). This was interpreted by the sapientials to mean that to know "the Real" was to see the mirroring of God and nature, the mirroring of god and human being, the mirroring of human being and nature. To know the Real was to perceive the polarities operating within each of the three fundamental "realities" of God, the world, and human being.

In Part Two, Murata looks at the polar terms used to describe the Divine; the most basic duality being "incomparability," or distance, and "similarity," or accessibility. Looking at the traditional lists of the Divine Names, one sees "sets" of complementary attributes, and the sapiential commentators looked at such Qur'anic images as the "Two hands of God" as indicating this fundamental "polarization of being". These attributes include such yang" qualities as beauty, mercy, gentleness (rendering the human response of love). According to the commentators, the nature of creature (other than insan, the human being) is to manifest certain of these qualities more than others, while it is the unique privilege of insan to (potentially) manifest all the Divine Names and Qualities. Human beings are called to "realize" their true nature and, in a sense, participate in the governance of the cosmos by his/her own integration and mirroring of the totality of the Divine Names, both female and male.

Murata also presents discussions dealing with the created order, focusing on such fundamental linguistic and ontological correlations as heaven and earth, the Pen and the Tablet, intellect and soul--all of which have traditional symbolic association with "male" and "female". Among the points developed is the notion that these terms, which counterpoise spiritual and material realms, each carry both "downward" and "upward" symbolism; all levels of reality ("spiritual" or "material") can be seen, according to the sapeential commentators, in their movement "away" from their divine source and unity, and in their natural movement of ("toward") surrender and reintegration. That is, there is no absolute "spirit-good vs. matter-bad dualism" in- the

Qur'anic worldview. In looking at the Yin/Yang implications of the Pen and Tablet image (a primary Qur'anic image of God's creative activity), in which the Pen is traditionally related to the "male" principle of activity and the Tablet to the "feminine" principle of receptivity (which has tended to become a model for "absolutizing" the metaphor in terms of the primacy of man over woman), Murata presents commentators who explain to their readers that relational and polymorphic nature of the language, that a "father" is. anything in nature that exercises an effect and a "mother" is anything that receives an effect. Indeed the whole universe is, in a sense, female with respect to god. These commentators, moreover, foreground the traditional feminine images associated with God's creative activity (e.g., God creates through his rahma hiss mercy, a term related to "womb") and utilize traditional, joyous images of marriage to speak of creation (a "divine marriage" whose "celebration" is continuous). The selections of Ibn 'Arabi's views on his own growth in understanding and appreciation of sexuality and "human marriage" are fascinating.

Part Four is on Spiritual Psychology, and the Sufis of course are well-known for their development of sophisticated analyses of spiritual and emotional tendencies in human beings and methods of "treatment" for the unbalanced and disintegrated human personality. Murata presents texts which describe various psychological characteristics in terms of male and female imagery, but which indicate that these characteristics are tendencies that exist within both men and women. Thus when Rumi says that the intellect is Adam, the body is Eve, sensory intuition is Iblis, anger is the serpent, and good qualities are Paradise, he makes it clear that these "elements" exist in all human beings and need to be properly understood and integrated, for, only "He who knows himself knows his Lord." Also of interest is the discussion of the human heart, which in the sapiential tradition is the locus of "true" perception and the highest form of knowledge precisely because of its (Yin) characteristics of softness, flexibility, shyness, receptivity.

Murata knows that her line of thought will not satisfy those who feel that healing the iniquities in social structures, especially as they relate to women, requires the rejection of hierarchies of any kind (which the ontology of the sapientials presumes) and the rejection of the legacy of associating human attributes and conduct with male and female symbolism. She rejects

the philosophical presuppositions of this view as well as what she sees as the domineering, moralistic, imperialistic, orientalist, yes, "male" attitude with which this critique is imposed upon non-western scholars.

She also knows that she will be criticized for building her argument--that there is a "feminine-affirmative" and bipolar, correlational ontological tradition in Islam---with texts that are not representative of "the mainstream" in Islam. She points out, however, that a major problem in the field of Islamic studies is that Muslims and non-Muslims have both tended to assert an Islamic ""orthodoxy," and that while Shari sal) discussions of what people ought "to do" in everyday life became the dominant discourse in the Islamic community, the Islamic tradition must be seen in the full range of its discussions on human nature and conduct. The latter approach would itself manifest a more inclusivistic, "both-and", "yin" approach to scholarship and "orthodoxy." She sees many strategies of thought within the Islamic intellectual tradition itself that could improve the lot of women without the unconditional surrender to western secular models.

Sachiko Murata should be commended on the collecting, organizing, and elucidation of these important primary source materials. My main criticism of the presentation is that the term" sapiential tradition" has connotations of a certain learned, elite class, while in fact, as Murata would want us to know, the language and ideas of the "sapientials" were very much felt and transmitted at the popular level through the use of stories, music, poetry, and the "simple" teachings of the Sufi shaykhs. Moreover, these teachings did translate into a more inclusivistic stance toward participation of women (in Sufi spirituality), thus giving some evidence as to the effect that discussions on the "supremundane" can have on the social realities of woman.

Seton Hall University Gisela Webb South Orange, New Jersey The Need for a Sacred Science. Seyyed Hossein Nasr, State University of New York Press, Albany, N.Y, pp. 187, $ 16.95.

Ever since the colonial period, Muslim leaders, intellectuals and writers have fallen prostrate before the twin idols of modern science and technological progress, convinced beyond doubt that to master and propagate them is a religious duty, a panaceas automatically solving all

problems and bestowing health, wealth, prosperity and power upon their countries and peoples. On this subject, modernists and militant revivalists/activists completely agree with each other. Contemporary Muslim writers have expressed the simplistic assumption that the combination of oriental spirituality with occidental technological progress would immediately usher in a paradise on earth. Even otherwise conservative Muslim leaders think that by a futile distinction between westernization and modernization Muslims can adopt the latter without the former and, in this way, derive full benefits from scientific/technological progress without any ill-effects upon Islamic beliefs, practices, society and culture. They say that modern science is not western but international, the common property of all the peoples of the world Natural resources are awaiting industrial exploitation in unlimited abundance therefore no need to be concerned about the impact of technology upon the environment. Above all, they believe that modern inventions are value-free and morally and spiritually neutral; their compatibility with Islam depending entirely on how they are used by the pious and God-fearing: In this way, even a bulldozer, computer, jet-plane or nuclear reactor can be "Islamic" if used "for God".

Dr. Seyyed Hossein Nasr, alone among major living Muslim writers and intellectuals, is not deluded by any of these illusions and, one by one, effectively refutes them in this book under review. He shows that modern science is synonymous with western civilization, the exclusive product of the agnostic humanists of the European Renaissance. Since then, the West became an abnormal monstrosity, totally at variance with the rest of mankind. With irrefutable arguments, he proves that there is absolutely no way at all the Muslim world can make it their own uncritically wholesale without a corresponding destruction of traditional Islamic civilization and disintegration of Islamic society as the general acceptance of materialistic urban life-styles and mental outlook, with all their devastating consequences, prevail.

Is all this inevitable and irreversible? Is there any other viable attractive? Nasr replies emphatically in the affirmative. His answer is the still-living Islamic tradition in its full richness. The Islamic tradition was not limited to theology and jurisprudence. It was also a very rich aesthetic, intellectual, philosophical and esoteric heritage which included all the sciences of nature,

medieval Muslim scientists could not conceive of the study of creation without reference to the Creator. Thus did the traditional Islamic sciences proceed without open rebellion against the established spiritual, moral and social order or environmental destruction. In those days knowledge was integrated into a unified whole exemplified in the Sage or Hakim in contrast to the extremely specialized fragments of modern knowledge, each having no connection or relation to the other and without meaning or purpose. In the Holy Qur'an nature is regarded as a friend to man to be respected and cherished not as an any to be conquered. Islamic civilization thus sought harmony and equilibrium with the natural order as its traditional architecture, public works and urban planning so clearly demonstrate. Above all, the great Muslims in history sought beauty everywhere both natural and man-made. Industrialism has resulted in the unprecedented spread of the most degrading and dehumanizing ugligess nothing ugly can possibly be considered as Islamic.

The environmental crisis is the physical expression of the spiritual malaise of western man which has become global. Only submission to

spiritual authority and discipline can restrain the passions of selfishness and greed which have caused the rape of the earth. The traditional sciences of Islam include the inner life and demand spiritual and moral as well as academic qualification.

In his total rejection of modernism, Nasr in no way implies ignorance, isolatIon or segregation. On the contrary, he urges Muslim youth to acquire all modern western knowledge on the condition that it be subjected to rigorous criticism by orthodox Islamic standards and values. If the human body did not reject part of its nourishment, it would soon perish.

Nasr has been harshly condemned by so-called "fundamentalist" Muslims because of the respect he gives to other traditions including Christianity, Judaism, Buddhism, Hinduism and even American Indians. Why has Nasr understood the issue between modernism and traditionalism instead of Islam and Kufr? The reason is because the latter would involve placing materialist ideologies and neo-paganisms into the same category with

authentic traditions indiscriminately, thoroughly confusing and distorting any true understanding of the spiritual crisis we face today. The Holy Qur'an clearly distinguishes between Ahl al Kitab and paganism, and there are many kinds and degrees of Kufr.

Nasr's book is one of the most perceptive, enlightening and unapologetic on the subject of Muslim versus modern science and the revival of Islamic civilization.

(Maryam Jameelah)