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Shohrat Bukhari

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IQBAL - THE SHINING STAR OF THE EAST

By
Syed Ali Khamenai
President of the Islamic Republic
of Iran

English Translation by
Dr. Muhammad Ahsan Khan Khalil,
Ph.D.

This is the English translation of the address delivered by the learned speaker at the World Congress for Commemoration of the 108th Birth Anniversary of Allama Muhammad Iqbal, held at the Tehran University, Tehran, Iran in March 1986. The Urdu translation of the address has been published by the Iqbal Academy, Pakistan in its Urdu Journal, Iqbaliaat, Volume 27, No,4 (January-March 1987), pp. 19-48. The great value of the address to the Muslims has motivated me to convey its benefits to the English speaking Muslims in general and the admirers of Iqbal in particular in the form of the English translation. This translation has been prepared from the above mentioned Urdu translation.

First a word about the translation seems appropriate. I have made all possible efforts to translate the material into English as close to the original as possible. However, translation of some words has been difficult due to the absence, in the English speaking world, of the concept represented by such words, on account of which a precise English equivalent word does not exist.

Such words have been represented by as close an English word as possible, and the original word has been given in parentheses and italicized, when it occurs first. The names of Iqbal's poems and books have been given in original and italicized with the English translation in parentheses, when referred to for the first time. The original names only have been used in all subsequent references.

The English translation of the verses from Iqbal's book *Asrar-i-Khudi* (The Secrets of the Self) have been taken from Maqbool Elahi, - *The Secrets of the Self - English Rendering of Iqbal's Asrar-i-Khudi*, published by the Iqbal Academy, Lahore, Pakistan, First Edition 1986, pp. iv+143", courtesy of the Iqbal Academy. All other translations are mine. References to the verses of the Holy Qur'an are according to "Ali, Abdullah Yusuf - *The Holy Qur'an, Text, Translation and Commentary*"; published by Khalil-Al-Rawaf at the Murray Printing Company, Cambridge, Massachusetts, U.S.A., 1946, pp. xx+a- 1+1849.

Regarding the subject matter, this learned discourse has brought out two important matters, viz: (1) a recapitulation of the struggle of the Indian sub-continent for independence with the Islamic perspective, and (2) the application of the philosophy of the Self ("Khudi") by Iqbal to prepare Muslims for the struggle. Some explanation of both is needed for adequate comprehension of their import.

Regarding the former it is important to remember that the struggle for the independence of the Indian sub-continent was concomitant with its occupation by the British, though it intensified in its manifestation in the war of independence of 1857 C.E. This war showed that the Muslims needed coordination, strength in material and military resources, and above all, organization and discipline to confront a world power, as the British were at that time. The purpose of the movement for giving Western education to Muslims, headed by Syed Ahmad Khan, was to prepare the Muslims, not only to take their rightful place in the Indian society of that time but also to

give them enough material strength to launch their struggle for freedom successfully and in a meaningful way, as well as to be able to establish and govern their free country, when achieved. Syed Ahmad Khan wanted the Muslims to reach these goals without losing their Islamic identity. This dual purpose could be achieved only by combining secular and Islamic educations. Unlike other educational institutions of India he combined secular education With Islamic education at Aligarh at all stages from the school to the graduate level. The need for learning Western science and technology by Muslim could not be denied at that time, nor can it be denied at present. At the same time it was a dilemma then, as it is now, for the Muslims to acquire the knowledge of Western science and technology without being influenced by the social, economic and political philosophies of the West and without being tainted by the West's social norms. The Western social, economic and political philosophies are surely un-Islamic and even anti-Islamic in many ways and so are their norms. Added to this, is the shrinking of the world on account of the present day communications and travel facilities resulting in the intermingling of cultures, philosophies and ways of life. However, the answer would be obvious with a little thought. The human digestive system in undoubtedly a marvel of biological efficiency on account of its well coordinated anatomical structures and biochemical functioning. The human mind and conscience is the most highly evolved of all- biological systems and is a master-piece of God's creation, with its capacity for discernment. If the human digestive system can extract from the human diet the life-giving nutrients, rejecting the refuse, the human mind and conscience can certainly extract the wisdom of Western science and technology and reject the philosophies and the social and economic norms of the West. Furthermore, the task of the human mind and conscience has been made easy by divine guidance through the ages present in true scriptures, culminating in the Holy Qur'an, to which Muslims have full access. To achieve this, the human mind needs the input of sound knowledge of the. Islamic social, economic and political thought and a developed and living Faith in its superiority. This input can come only from cultivation of an appreciation of "khudi"

(explained later), which is the main component of Iqbal's message. As has been said by the learned speaker in his address, with a few exceptions, the products of the religious as well as the secular educational systems failed to reach the goal, only because of the wrong and incomplete presentation of Islam. Islam was presented in the form of a "religion" in the Western sense. Observance of religious rites and ritual piety was overemphasized. Islam was not presented as a way of life. The aspect of Islam as a protest and struggle against materialism of the West and against all other evil (Jihad) was scarcely appreciated. The economic, social and political systems of Islam were presented very inadequately, if at all. This, naturally resulted in the ritual separation of "religion" from the problems of life, personal as well as corporate. Iqbal has lamented this throughout his works. Two verses are quoted as examples:

شکایت ہے مجھے یارب خداوندان مکتب سے
سبق شاہین بچوں کو دے رہے ہیں خاکبازی کا

O God I have a complaint against the administrators of schools, They are training the falcon's young in mud-slinging.

"I am not prepared to touch that knowledge and understanding with of straw which alienates the fighter for the truth (Ghazi) from battle field."

Regarding the latter topic a discussion of Iqbal's philosophy of 'khudi' requires volumes. However, stated in a nutshell this philosophy is an exposition and elucidation of the Qur'anic concept of Man and the Qur'anic prescription for the perfection of Man into the "Superman" (Insan-i-Kamil). Earlier philosophies, the prominent among which is the Greek philosophy, regarded Man as insignificant. The Christian philosophy, which has drawn

deeply from the Greek philosophy added on it the concept of “primeval sin” committed by Adam on account of which he was expelled from paradise. In complete negation and contradiction of this philosophy, Iqbal presented the Qur’anic view of the superiority of Man over the entire of God’s creation. Iqbal has explained the potential of Man for the high status of God’s vicegerency (khalifa), as stated in the Holy Qur’an Surah 2:30, Surah 6:165, Surah 15:29 and Surahs 95 and 103. Man owes this superiority to the God-given qualities of understanding, pious affections, spiritual insight and free will. This philosophy is excellently brought out in Iqbal’s poem called Milad-i-Adam (The Birth of Adam) in his book, Payam-i-Mashriq (A Message from the East). Man’s greatness is also expressed in the following verse, which I am quoting only as one example:

سبق ملا ہے یہ معراج مصطفیٰ سے مجھے
کہ عالم بشریت کی زد میں ہے گردوں

I have learnt this lesson from the Celestial Ascension (Miraj) of the Holy Prophet

That Man’s world transcends the celestial world.

However, Man has only the potential for attaining this high status, which can be achieved only by submission of Man’s will to the Will of God and by living a life of self-discipline, detailed by Iqbal in his famous book *Asrar-i-Khudi* (The Secrets of the Self). A natural consequence of “Khudi”, and in fact its very objective, is *Bekhudi* (Selflessness). *Bekhudi* is the merging of the individual’s Self in the Self of the ideological nation of the Muslims (Muslim Ummah). Iqbal has discussed this subject in his other book, called *Ramooz-i-Bekhudi* (The Signs of the Selflessness). Though the learned speaker has given extracts from both books a correct appreciating of this highly philosophical, but at the same time extremely practical, concept can be obtained and its depths and dimensions can be perceived only by a serious study of both these books and acquiring a comprehensive knowledge of the

Holy Qur'an and an appreciation of its powers. This study is strongly recommended to the reader.

At the end I express my sincere wish and hope-that this translation will faithfully and effectively convey the contents of the address to the reader and will add to his knowledge of our rich heritage and enjoyment of the same.

THE ADDRESS

Most sincerely I submit that I consider this day as one of the most exciting and memorable days of my life, when I witness this Conference for acknowledging Iqbal's greatness. That bright spark which used to remove frustration from the heart through his memory, his poetry, advice and teaching in the suffocating environment of the days of darkness, and used to present the blueprint of a bright future to us, is today the beacon which is fortunately attracting our nation's attention to itself.

It is sad that our people who were the first universal audience of Iqbal became acquainted with him very late. The special conditions prevailing in our country and in particular the sway of the dismal imperialist policies towards the end of Iqbal's life in the country he loved, i.e. Iran, were responsible for keeping him out of it at any cost.

This great poet of Persian, the greater part of whose poetry is in Persian rather than in his own mother tongue, never set foot in his beloved and longed for land of "Iran". And not only that he did not come to Iran, but the same politics against which Iqbal fought for long, did not permit his concepts, his ways and his teachings to reach the ears of the Iranian people, who were most anxious to hear them. I have the answer to the question as to why Iqbal never came to Iran.

At the time of the climax of Iqbal's glory and renown, when he was known to be a great thinker, philosopher, sage, connoisseur of mankind and

a sociologist in the different regions of the sub-continent and at the well-known world universities, such policies held sway in our country as could never tolerate Iqbal. Consequently, the possibility of his visiting Iran did not exist, and even his books were not published in Iran for years. In those days when the destructive flood of alien literature, culture and discourses was engulfing this country to annihilate the Iranian Islamic Personality, no poem or other work of Iqbal was presented to the people and their assemblies.

Today, Iqbal's wish i.e. "Islamic democracy" has become a reality in our country. Iqbal used to be sad due to the absence of humane and Islamic personality in people and looked upon the intrinsic insult and frustration of Islamic societies as a great danger. He, therefore, tried with all his might and main, to uproot this useless weed from the Eastern, and particularly the Muslim soul and substance. If he were alive today he would have witnessed a nation which is self-supporting, having been fully nurtured by its valuable wealth of Islam, is living a life of strength, heedless of the enticing Western opulence and values. Its life is purposeful and it is marching fast with love, towards these targets and goals and has freed itself from the confines of racism and nationalism. Iqbal's most ardent wish, which is apparent in all his valuable works, was the very desire to see such a nation here and I am glad to see, with all praise to Allah, such a nation is coming to life in our own environment. We have now got the opportunity, however belated, to try to acquaint our nation with this great thinker of the present age, this magnificent reformer, warrior in the cause of Truth (mujahid) and tireless revolutionary.

I would have preferred to participate in this congress free of protocol, so that firstly I could cherish his great and beloved memory, and secondly I could get the occasion and opportunity for presenting a part of my real feelings about Iqbal to the audience. I would still request my brothers and sisters to permit me to talk sincerely, like a person who has been a disciple of Iqbal for years, and who has passed his life with Iqbal at the intellectual level

so that I may be able to acknowledge his great benevolence to me and convey my feelings to this august gathering to some extent.

Iqbal is among those shining and elegant personalities of Islamic history whose qualities cannot be considered in one dimension only and who cannot be appreciated with respect to only one special feature and only one aspect. We will not do justice to Iqbal if we content ourselves with calling him a philosopher and a scholar. Iqbal is undoubtedly a great poet and is so accepted. The experts of Urdu literature and language consider his Urdu poetry as “the best”. Perhaps this appreciation of Iqbal is not adequate because the culture and poetry of the Urdu language is not wide-spread. There is, however, no doubt that Iqbal’s Urdu works immensely affected the residents of the sub-continent (Hindus and Muslims alike) at the beginning of the twentieth century and maximized their zeal in the struggle for independence, which was gradually gaining ground at that time. Iqbal himself says in the mathnavi, “*Asrar-i-Kbud*”.

باغبان زور کلام آزمود!
مصری کار یدد شمشیری ورود

The gardener tested the power of my poetry on the clay he -sowed a hemi-stitch but reaped a sword (not flowers gay).¹

And my deduction is that here he is talking about his Urdu poetry, which was then well-known to everybody in the sub-continent.

To me Iqbal’s Persian works are also among the miracles of poetry. In our literature there are many non-Iranian Persian poets but none of them can be pointed out to have the peculiarities of Iqbal in poetry. Iqbal was unacquainted with Persian conversation and usage and used to talk in Urdu or

¹ This means that the character and effect of Iqbal’s poetry is different from that of others. While poetry is sedative and burning, his poetry emphasizes action and struggle.

English in his home and with his friends. Iqbal was not familiar with Persian composition and prose, and his Persian prose has the same interpretations, which he has used in the early parts of “Asrar-i-Khudi” and “Ramooz-i-Bekhudi”. And you know that is difficult even for Persian knowing people to understand them. Iqbal had not studied Persian in any school in his young days and spoke Urdu in his father’s home. Therefore, he selected Persian because he felt that his thoughts and subject matter could not be moulded into Urdu. So, he learnt Persian. He learnt Persian from the poetic collections of Sa’adi and Hafiz, the Mathnavi of Maulana (Jalal-ul-Din Rumi) and the works of Indian poets like Urfi, Nazeeri and Ghalib of Delhi and others. Although he had neither lived in a Persian environment nor had studied in Persian institutions and was not in the company of Persian speaking people he presented the most ingenious, the most difficult, the most rare and acute subjects in the mould of his long (and some very elegant) poems. In my opinion this is a very high poetic talent and competence. The greatness of Iqbal will be obvious to you by scanning the Persian poetry of non-Iranians and comparing it with Iqbal’s works.

Some of Iqbal’s thoughts which he has expressed in a single verse are such as cannot be expressed in prose. We will have to try hard and long to explain one of his easily expressed verses into Persian prose, which is our own language also.

I am grateful to Dr. Mujtabavi for the verses he recited, and I request him to revive Iqbal’s works, because his works are the best way to introduce him, which cannot be done by any discourses.

Iqbal is a great poet and some of his Persian verses have reached the climax. Iqbal has written poetry in different styles, i.e. Hindi, Iraqi and even Khorasani style and has produced good verses in these styles. He has used various forms of versification, such as mathnavi, ghazal, qata’a do-baiti and rubai and has written good verses expressing elite ideas, as I have said earlier. Some of his works have attained maximum elegance and have achieved

distinction, although he did not speak or write in Persian, was not born in a Persian family and did not even attend a Persian institution. This is talent. Therefore, to praise Iqbal as a poet is really belittling him.

Iqbal is a great reformer and a lover of freedom. Although he occupies a very important position in the struggle for freedom and social reform he cannot be called a mere social reformer, because in this very sub-continent Iqbal's contemporaries, Hindus as well as Muslims are known as social reformers of India, most of whom we know. Their writings exist and their struggles are known.

Among the Muslims themselves there were distinguished personalities like Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, Maulana Muhammad Ali, Maulana Shaukat Ali, the late Quaid-i-Azam (Muhammad Ali Jinnah), whose lives resemble that of Iqbal. These persons belong to the same race and period and were included among freedom lovers and freedom fighters (mujahideen). But Iqbal is greater than all of them and the greatness of his work cannot be compared with any of them. We can give the greatest importance and respect to Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, who had a distinguished personality and certainly his importance should not be under-rated; or Maulana Muhammad Ali or Maulana Shaukat Ali. We acknowledge their worth but it is restricted to being tireless Muslim mujahids. who struggled for years to expel Britain from their country and fought very hard for it. But Iqbal's problem is not confined to India and is the problem of the Islamic world and the East. Iqbal points out in his mathnavi "Pas che bayad kard are Aqwami-i-Sharque" (So Whither O Nations of the East) how his keen sight is focusing on that part of the world which is the victim of tyranny. Also, he is interested in all the corners of the Islamic world. India's problem is not the only problem for Iqbal. So, even if we call Iqbal a universal reformer we will still not really describe his full personality. I cannot find the words and expressions to evaluate Iqbal appropriately. So, you see that this personality, this elegance, the soul of this great man and his acumen is much above the knowledge of our people. We are really grappling with the problem of understanding Iqbal.

In any case, this seminar is among the best things that have happened but we should not be satisfied with it. I request the Honourable Minister for Culture and Education and the brethren connected with universities to consider naming foundations, universities, halls and cultural institutions after Iqbal. Iqbal is linked with us, this nation and this country as is stated in the ghazal recited by Dr. Mujtabavi and heard by you. Iqbal describes his relations with the Iranian public and says:

چوں چراغ لاله سوزم در خیابان شما
اے جوانان عجم جان من و جان شما

As I light the tulip's lamp in your flower garden O Iranian youth, my soul and your soul and he says at the end:

A hero arrives who breaks the slave's shackles

I have seen through the window in your prison wall

And this supports my earlier stated reason for Iqbal not visiting Iran.

He considers this place a prison and is talking to the prisoners. There are many examples in Iqbal's works which show his frustration with India (at least the India of his time) and his inclination towards Iran. He desires that the torch lighted by him be made brighter in Iran and he is expecting a miracle here. This is his right on us and we should honour that right.

Regarding Iqbal's personality if we want to understand Iqbal and to recognize the greatness of his message we will positively have to understand the sub-continent of Iqbal's time and the age which ended with him, because without understanding these it is neither possible to understand the purport of his message nor his inner pathos. The sub-continent was passing through

the hardest time in Iqbal's days. As you know Iqbal was born in 1877 C.E. i.e. twenty years after the crushing of the Muslim revolution by the British.

In 1857 C.E. the British made a serious onslaught at the Islamic government and suzerainty in the sub-continent. A serious revolt was mounted in India and perhaps it lasted for two or three years. Its climax was reached in the middle of 1857 C.E. The British availed of this opportunity and dealt a sudden and decisive blow to the face of Islam, (though they had perpetrated that for seventy or eighty years earlier) and in their view had uprooted Islam from there. i.e. terminated the Islamic and Muslim government which was passing through the period of its decay, The single obstruction in the way of imperialism in the Indian sub-continent was the same Muslim government which they had weakened from all sides over a long period of time, had killed its brave leaders and great personalities so as to weaken the deep roots of Islamic culture in India. Then they suddenly demolished the isolated huge and old tree, whose roots had been weakened and which had lost its protectors. Then they made India a part of the British empire.

The year 1857 C.E. was the year of complete British success in India. After that, as the British formally annexed India to Britain and named the country British Indian Empire, the problem of India being a colony ended and India became one of Britain's provinces. Henceforth, they started thinking about their future so as to end the possibility of revival of every kind of revolt and national or religious resurgence. The only way to do this was to annihilate the Muslims completely, because the British knew that only the Muslims could confront them in India as they had already experienced.

The Muslims had confronted the British since the beginning of the nineteenth century and even earlier. Tipu Sultan was martyred by the British at the end of the eighteenth century, but the people, religious leaders and Muslim tribes fought against the British and their Indian supporters, who were Sikhs at that time, and the British knew this well. Those among the

British who were conversant with the Indian problem had declared that the Muslims were their enemies and should be annihilated. Therefore, from the very year of British success in India, i.e. 1857 C.E. a very cruel and merciless program of punishment of the Muslims was started, which has been described everywhere. Its repetition will only prolong this lecture. Those who want additional information can read the several books written in this connection. In short they were subjected to economic and social pressures and severe insults in social spheres. The British declared that those wanting employment should not be Muslims. They used to avoid employing Muslims even at low levels. They took over the management of all endowments which had been created for the functioning of mosques and Islamic schools. They were many. They provoked Hindu merchants to advance heavy loans to the Muslims so that they could usurp the Muslims' properties in exchange and could completely silence the feelings of the Muslims being connected with and owners of land and real estate. This continued for years and, ironically, this was the better part of their treatment of the Muslims. The worse was that they used to kill and imprison the Muslims without regret. They severely punished and annihilated all those people who were even remotely suspected of anti-British initiatives. After a passage of ten to twenty years of such hardships (the equal of which I have not seen in any Islamic country, though it may have existed. Wherever I have reviewed the conditions in the different parts of the world under imperialist rule, like Algeria and other African countries I have not found Muslims under as much pressure as in India) some people started thinking of seeking remedies and the process of confrontation of the British by the Muslims never ended. Something which India should never forget is that Muslims in India were the most conspicuous and real activists in confrontation with the British. India would be very ungrateful if it would ignore the favours of Muslims on it, because in the great revolution mounted there and in the struggles resulting in India's independence Muslims were never quiet due to their quest for freedom.

During the years following 1857 C.E. when quiet prevailed everywhere the Muslim elements struggling for freedom (mujahids) were busy in their work. There were two kinds of movements among them, i.e. socio-political or only social. These two movements were carried out as a means of seeking remedies. One of these two movements was conducted by religious leaders and the other by Sir Syed Ahmad Khan, and both these were opposed to each other. This is not a proper place for a detailed discussion but, briefly stated, the movement by the religious leaders was to confront the British, to sever relations with them, to keep away from their schools and to refuse help from them. On the other hand, the movement of Sir Syed Ahmad Khan, as opposed to this, was for compromising with the British, to benefit from their resources, to deal with them cheerfully and to cooperate with them. These two movements were opposed to each other, and it is sad that in the end both of them proved harmful to the Muslims. The first movement was that of the religious leaders and was led by great scholars ('ulamah') who were prominent personalities of Indian history. They were confronting the British and their struggle was right. But they abstained from those primary matters which would have helped the Islamic movement in India in benefiting from the programs of that time. For example, they would never permit the English language in their schools. Perhaps they were at that time justified to think so because the English language had been made the successor to the Persian language, which was the language dear to the Muslims and had remained the official language in the sub-continent for centuries. They considered English language to be the invader's language. Nevertheless not learning the English language and ignoring the new culture, which was after all entering the peoples' lives resulted in keeping the Islamic nation (ummah) and the Muslim society (millat) from the contemporary culture, knowledge, strengths and sciences which were useful for all societies advancing towards modernization. The Muslims distanced themselves from all these sciences.

But the movement of Sir Syed Ahmad Khan was even more dangerous than the above, and I want to present my final judgement on Syed Ahmad

Khan. It is possible that some of the brothers in the audience may not be convinced of this. Surely, Syed Ahmad Khan did not do anything in the interest of Islam and the Muslims in India, and I believe that the movement of Iqbal in India was a plaint against the activities initiated by Syed Ahmad Khan. Syed Ahmad Khan adopted cooperation with the British as his basis. He argued that after all Muslims had to enter the new culture because they could not be kept ignorant of and away from the new civilization for ever. So we must reconcile with the British so that they may not be hard on us, and our women, children and men may not have to bear hardships on account of British animosity.

He was simplistic in his thinking that humility, reconciliation and display of confidence in the British could draw the compassion of these skillful, wicked politicians and could reduce the harm apprehended from them. This was a serious mistake. The result was that through Syed Ahmed Khan himself and his close associates and the “enlightened people” surrounding him were protected from harm by the British the Muslims always suffered losses at the hands of the British till the independence of India in 1947 C.E. The British did whatever they could do against the Muslims during the ninety years (1857 C.E. to the year of India’s independence in 1947 C.E). So the strategy of Syed Ahmad Khan of appeasing the British resulted in disgracing the Muslims. In addition to this, another problem was created which influences understanding Iqbal and the spirit of his message. It is that for ordinary Muslims as well as for the Muslim intellectuals and the educated Muslims, who used to enter social circles, information, knowledge, wisdom, acquisition of knowledge and employment were important but Islamic personality was never accepted as such. Gradually the great Muslim society of India, which was among the greatest societies of the world, (and even now there is no country whose Muslim population equals the Muslim population of this sub-continent) did not have the feeling of Islamic personality and did not believe in having an Islamic personality for itself. Basically there was no hope for the future of the Indian Muslims. As they had borne many

hardships and had been disgraced, the every day incidents and common occurrences exhibited their frustration, bitterness in speech and unhappiness. Now disgrace became part of the Indian Muslim's personality and the feeling of disgrace and helplessness was considered a part and parcel of the personality of the Indian Muslim.

When Iqbal returned from Europe in 1908 or 1909, enriched with the civilization of the day his enlightened and friendly contemporaries (according to his own statement) had fixed their sights on the Western civilization. Like the Iranian personalities pointed out by Dr. Mujtabavi with reference to me, they regarded their credibility in placing themselves closest to the Western civilization and to manifest the system of Western values in their actions ways, dress, mode of talking and even in their thinking and outlook. Subservience to the machinery of the British government which was ruling in India with the iron fist was a pride to the Muslims. The Hindus who had adopted the same culture and the same manners and customs and who had become friendly with the British much earlier and for that very reason had infiltrated industrial, cultural and administrative fields a little earlier than the Muslims, had established credibility. The Muslims had to hear insults and hardships at the hands of the Hindus also.

Even the Sikhs, who were a small minority, and did not have in their lives the proud traditions inherited by the Hindus from their Upanishad² and their historical and cultural past also despised and insulted the Muslims. As you know this was a newly established religion, which was a conglomerate of Islam, Hinduism and other things also. This was the state of affairs of the Muslim society in the Indian sub-continent during Iqbal's days. Even in the University of Punjab, where Iqbal was educated and obtained the B.A. degree, we do not see any signs of the appearance of promising Islamic thinking. The biggest Islamic book there was Sir Thomas Arnold's book,

² It is the concepts of Iqbal, and not his language, which are difficult to understand, specially for the un-initiated, and particularly those not well versed in the Qur'an and Hadith.

named “Al-Da’awa al Al-Islam” (Invitation to Islam), which is in Arabic and recently has been translated into Persian. This work belongs to the period of the life of Sir Thomas Arnold when he was teaching at the Lahore University. This is certainly a good book and I do not want to discredit it. But his greatest skill is to relegate Islamic struggle for truth (jihad) to a secondary position. So the theme of the book is that Islam was spread by preaching and not by the sword and this is good. However, he has gone so far in this thought that in this book Islamic struggle (jihad) has assumed a secondary value and appears to be useless and redundant.

This alone is the sum and substance of the Islamic component of this book. Besides this, the ladies and gentlemen who have studied the books of Sir Thomas Arnold know that he is considered to be among the strongest protagonists of Islam and he is Iqbal’s preceptor and Iqbal is among his pupils. It is better that I acknowledge here the intelligence of this great man, in that Allama Iqbal, in spite of his ardent love for Sir Thomas Arnold was not unmindful of the political thought in his actions. Dr. Javid Iqbal has written this in his father’s biography one volume of which has been translated into Persian and I have read it. Iqbal warns his friend Syed Nazir Niazi, who considers Sir Thomas Arnold to be an Islamic scholar, and says, “What scholarship of Islam? Are you talking about his book “Al-Da’awa of Al-Islam”- He works for the British government”. Later Iqbal says to his friend, “When I was in Britain Arnold asked me to translate Edward Brown’s “History of Literature” but I did not want to do this work, because I had realized that his book was adulterated with political objectives”.

Having known Iqbal’s views about Edward Brown’s book let us look at the views of our literary people, Edward Brown’s friends and those who were proud of his friendship. I do not want to name these personalities at present, because after all they are men of letter and culture, though they are simple, misinformed and unaware of his political objectives. But Iqbal, that

intelligent man, who true to the Hadith, “The believer is intelligent”³ sees and recognizes the wicked imperialistic manipulations in the works of Thomas Arnold and Edward Brown, and this shows his greatness. At that time the Muslims of the Indian sub-continent were in such a state that the British government, their primary agents and their secondary agents (or those not occupying highly important positions) were mostly Hindus and the torch of India’s independence, which was initially lighted by Muslims, passed into the hands of the Congress party. Though the Indian Congress eventually performed heroic deeds in the struggle for freedom, in those days the anti-Islamic and anti-Muslim prejudice and inclination towards Hindus held sway over it. The intellectuals among the Muslims were westernized and were obsessed with the Western system; and the common people were the victims of shameful poverty and very hard life and could hardly eke out their daily bread. In addition to this they were lost in their surroundings and environments, which the British were increasingly dragging towards Westernization. The contemporary religious scholars among the Indian Muslims (ulamah), after initial defeats, had isolated themselves and were lost in incomprehensible thinking and manifestations of the freedom movement (except those in religious scholars). Iqbal lighted the beacon of khudi in the dark night in which the common Muslim people were passing life in the extreme hardships of this type; Islam was in political isolation and economic poverty, and the Muslim populace occupied the place of unwanted hangers-on in a night in which they had no guiding star. It is true that the condition described by me in India was not peculiar to India but prevailed over the entire Islamic world. That is why Iqbal thought of the whole world. However, Iqbal’s day to day life in Lahore and the unfortunate sub-continent had made him sensitive to everything. This happened in the circumstances that Iqbal had not visited Turkey, Iran and the Hijaz and had not seen many other places closely. But he was watching his country’s condition closely and that is why he started a social and political revolution. The foremost matter for Iqbal was to draw the attention of the Indian society towards Islamic

³ Each of the series of Sanskrit philosophical treatises forming a division of the Vedas

personality, Islamic benevolence and Islamic dignity, and in fact towards its own human dignity and to tell it that if it existed why was it so much down trodden? Why so much lost in the abstract? Recognize itself.

This was Iqbal's first mission. After all what else could he do? Could a nation of a hundred million, which had been severely suppressed by the tortures of the imperialists for years, which had been insulted to all possible limits, and which had been deprived of the possibilities of understanding, knowing and hoping, be suddenly told that it existed and that it acquires the feelings of existing? Was this possible? It was very difficult, and I think nobody could explain it to the extent and excellence of Iqbal.

Iqbal laid the foundations of a philosophy. The philosophy of "the Self" ("khudi") is not the type of philosophy envisaged by our comprehension. "Khudi" has a social and human meaning which has been explained by means of philosophical interpretation and in the form of philosophical declaration. It was necessary for Iqbal to state the concept of "khudi" philosophically in order to stress it as a concept and a principle in his ghazals and in his mathnavi. In his view "khudi" means understanding and realization of personality, self-cognizance, self-reflection and self-comprehension. However, he presents this in philosophical language as a philosophical concept. I have brought my notes so that I may recite some, if possible. Though the meeting has been prolonged I appeal to your forbearance.

In my opinion Iqbal first visualized the concept of "khudi" as a revolutionary thought and tried to convert this thinking to a philosophy later. And "khudi" is what was needed in India and collectively in the Islamic world. I mean that, though the Islamic nations were the custodians of the Islamic system they had forgotten it entirely, and being completely misled, had become enamored by and adherents of an alien system. It was necessary for them to turn back to themselves, i.e. to the Islamic values. This is the very concept for which Iqbal had worked hard. It was, however, not possible

to explain such a social concept in a way so as to impress it on the mind without philosophical statements. Hence, he moulded this concept in a philosophical form. Allow me to recite the passages noted by me.

Iqbal first conceived the concept of “khudi” in the form of a social and revolutionary thought. Gradually the decline and fall of personality and the spectacle of the intensity of adversity in the Eastern nations (particularly among the Muslims), as well as probing into and identification of their causes stabilized this thought in him and made it indisputable. In his search for finding a way to present this thought he came upon a philosophical and intellectual basis. This basis is the comprehension of the concept of “khudi” in the general form (similar to what our philosophers present as the concept of “the essence” i.e. a commonly understood concept which can also be explained philosophically). Actually “the essence” in different form “khudi” and to give “khudi” the meaning of “the essence” is, in my opinion, a grave mistake. (I have seen this in the notes written by some commentators of Iqbal’s poetry). Also, the unity in the plurality and the plurality in the unity, which has been repeated several times by Iqbal in Ramooz-i-Bekhudi is different from the theory of the unity in the plurality and the plurality in the unity of Mullah Sadrah and other philosophers. This is entirely different and, as a whole, the concepts of Iqbal’s views are a hundred percent human and collective concepts. However, my calling it “collective” does not mean exclusion of discussion about the individual, because the foundation of “khudi” is established in the individual, but the very presence of the Selfness or “khudi” in the individual and the stabilization of the personality of “khudi” in the individual is also one of the collective concepts of Islam, and collectivity and society is not firmly established unless that personality of “khudi” is established. In any case “khudi” has a different meaning from “the essence”. He first talks about the generalization of “khudi” in the language of scholars and then, like scholars, goes into interpretations.

The splendour of the world of existence is among the effects of “khudi”. All existing objects in the universe point to one manifestation of

“khudi”. (However, Iqbal has described these things in the titles of most of his poems, which I have described in different words. Some interpretations have been used by him in his poetry but his poetry is much better than these interpretations). The fountainhead of thought is also self-cognizance in the various manifestations of “khudi”. The affirmation of “khudi” in every creature is also the affirmation of every other creature. (When a person affirms his “khudi” it is in itself the affirmation of other things. His existence affirms his “khudi” as well as the existence of others). It is, therefore, affirmation of things outside himself. In other words the whole world is included in “khudi”. “Khudi” is also the cause of confirmation and, in fact “khudi” fights with each other. This wrangling creates perpetual warfare in the world. “Khudi” is also the selection of the more virtuous and perpetuation of the more honourable, and several “khudis” die for the perpetuation of one higher and more sublime “khudi”. The concept of the “khudi” is an abstract concept. It has strength as well as weakness. The strength and weakness of “khudi” of every creature on earth determines the extent of its stability. In this way Iqbal talks of a drop, wine, a goblet, a beloved, a mountain, a forest, a wave, a sea, light, eye, greenery, the extinguished candle, the melting candle, a jewel, the earth, the moon, the sun and the tree as examples, and estimates the content of “khudi” in each of them. For example, a drop has a fixed quantity of “khudi”, the river has a fixed quantity and the jewel which can be engraved has a fixed quantity of “khudi”. This is an abstract concept which can be doubted and is present in human beings and all articles in various quantities. Later, he surmises:

چون خودی آرد بهم نیروی زیست
می گشاید قلزمی از خوی زیست

As the Self (“khudi”) arrays together the strength and might of life

The little stream of life expands into the ocean (s'strife).⁴

Later, he presents the problems of procreation of aspirations and ideals. This is the thing which did not exist in the Islamic world of that period, i.e. the Muslims did not claim anything, they had no great yearnings and their desires were mundane and base desires.

He says that human existence depends upon having an objective and a yearning. A person's "khudi" is that he should have an objective and should move in search of the objective and this reminds me of the sentence "Surely, life is in faith and struggle"⁵). He describes the same subject and the same concept in a very vast and deep as well as elegant style, and says, "To yearn for something and to try to achieve it is itself an ideal, otherwise life will change into death". Yearning is the soul of the world and the pearl inside the nature's mother of pearl. The heart which cannot create a yearning is disabled and paralyzed it is yearning which confers stability on "khudi" and creates the waves like a stormy ocean. It is the pleasure of seeing which confers form upon the yearning eye. It is the saucy pace of the partridge which confers feet on it. It is the effort to sing which gives the beak to the nightingale. It is the flute in the hands and between the lips of the flute player which produces pleasure. Otherwise, practically nothing existed in the naught. Knowledge, civilization, systems, elegance and customs as well as principles have all come into existence from the yearning for which effort has been made. And, in the end he surmises:

ماز تخليق مقاصد زنده ايم
از شعاع آرزو تا بنده ايم

⁴ المومن كيس

⁵ انما الحيوۃ هي عقيدة و جهاد

We are alive because of creating ideals new

We are aglow and radiate desire's rays to view.

(Creation of ideals, creation of yearnings and creation of objectives)

Or, in another verse he talks about the same subject; Man is warm-blooded due to desire's branding stamp this dust is lit like fire by desire's burning lamp.

And, later he considers Love essential for human society and for stabilizing of humanity and "khudi" and says that "khudi" is not stabilized without Love in the individual and society and it is necessary that the Muslim nation (millat) and people who want to strengthen their khudi" should cultivate Love and that their pathos be produced by this fire. It is interesting that he himself finds a focus of Love for the Islamic ideological nation (ummah) and that is the Love of the Most Gracious Prophet Muhammad Mustafa. That is why one realizes how well this intelligent and intellectual person visualizes the needed for unity and revitalization of the Islamic world:

نقطه نوری که نام او خودی است
زیر خاک ما شرار زندگی است
از محبت می شود پاینده تر
زنده تر، سو زنده تر، تابنده تر
از محبت اشتعال جو پرش
ارتقاء ممکنات مضمزش
فطرت او آتش اندوز دز عشق
عالم افروزی بیاموزد ز عشق

در جهان ہم صلح و ہم پیکار عشق
آب حیوان، تیغ جوهر دار عشق
عاشقی آموز و محبوبی طلب
چشم نوحی، قلب ایوبی طلب

The focal point of luminous light known by the name of the Self
("khudi")

Beneath our dust, in fact, is the spark of life itself.

But Love it certainly becomes more lasting and more living

More burning with desire more radiating, glowing. Love adds fuel to fire
of the essence of the Self ("khudi")

It opens up hidden avenues of progress for the Self ("khudi").

The nature of the Self ("khudi") obtains its fire's store from Love

It learns illumination of the world from the light of Love. Love is at the
very root of peace, of war in here

Its furbished sword does also mean fountain of life (so clear).

So learn to Love and intensely beloved yours seek! The eye of Noah,
Job's heart (out of your loving eke).

Handful of dust through alchemy transmute into pure gold

For this achievement kiss threshold of the Man of perfect Mould.

Then he wants to know the personality of the beloved who should be the object of the Muslim's love

هست معشوقی نهان اندر دلت
چشم اگر داری بیا بنمایمت

Right, in your heart, hidden, beloved yours lies

Come, I shall show his glimpse to you if you have seeing eyes.

His lovers are more beautiful than the fairest of beloveds More pleasing and more comely most lovable of beloveds. The heart is rendered stronger and stronger by his love It makes this earth rub shoulders with Pleiades above. The soil of Nejd⁶ adorned itself by presence of his grace With which it was enraptured with skies stood face to face. And every Muslim's heart is the home of Mustafa⁷ Our glory is the reflection of the name of Mustafa. Sinai is but an eddy of the dust of the house of his For Ka'aba itself a Sanctuary his dwelling place is! A mat of rushes was obliged to him for use as bed

Although on crown of Chosroe his followers' feet did tread.

In night-abode of Mount Hera he stayed in solitude

Welded an Ummah, gave law, good government ('s beatitude).

Night after night his eyes remained deprived of wink of sleep

So that on the throne of Chosroes his Ummah may rest, sleep.

Then he elucidates the status of the Most Gracious Prophet and describes his attributes. Actually, one sees Love with the Holy prophet throughout Iqbal's poetry and other works, and is not restricted to any

⁶ A part of the Arabian Peninsula

⁷ The Selected one, the Chosen one. A title of the Holy. Prophet.

particular part of it. It is appropriate to mention here the name of an important and esteemed book written by a contemporary researcher titled, “Iqbal dar rah-i-Maulavi” (Iqbal on the Path of the Maulavi⁸). I came across this book during my present trip and I have benefited from it. It says,

“Whenever a poem or a verse was recited to Iqbal with the name of the Holy Prophet in it, tears used to flow involuntarily from his eyes. In fact he himself loved the Most Gracious Prophet”.

Indeed Iqbal has pin-pointed an important matter. What personage can the Islamic world hold dearer and more universally accepted than the Holy Prophet? And this focuses all the Loves of the Islamic world to one point. After talking on this to some extent he narrates the story of the daughter of Hatim of Tai. She was arrested in a battle and was brought before the Most Gracious Prophet. When he noticed that the head or the body of the prisoner girl had been exposed he did not like the nakedness of this girl of high and elevated descent and threw his mantle over her to save her from embarrassment. Then Iqbal says:

More bare are We than that lady of Tai’s tribe of old
Before the nations of the world we have no sheet’s fold.
On the Judgement Day will he alone
sole trustee ours be And in this world, here also, provides us cover he.

We who from bonds of homeland are, have been, ever free

Like sight - though light of eyes two - is one, shall ever be!

We are from Egypt, from Hijaz we are from Iran, yet

⁸ Maulana Jalal-ul-Din Rumi

Our smiling dawn in all these lands from same dew we beget.

With the cup-bearer of But-ha's⁹ eyes spell-bound are ever we

in this world, like the wine and flask united ever are we. A hundred-petalled rose are we yet we have perfume one Our Order's very soul is he, he only and else none.

In "Asrar-i-Khudi", he tries to revive the feeling of "khudi", i.e. the cognition of the human personality in the Muslim individual as well as in the Muslim society. Another topic of "Asrar-i-Khudi" is that "khudi" is weakened by making requests or begging, i.e. when an individual or a nation makes a humble request its "khudi" becomes weak and loses its steadfastness. There are other interesting and thought-provoking discussions also. There is the philosophy of "the Selflessness" (bekhudi) after the Self ("khudi"). This means that when we discuss our "khudi" and the strength of a person's personality it should not amount to insulating individuals from each other and passing life in isolation, but they should merge themselves in the totality of a society, i.e. the individual should establish an alliance with society. This book is "Ramooz-i-bekhudi" (Signs of the Selflessness) and this is another book of Iqbal, written and published after "Asrar-i-Khudi". It expresses Iqbal's views about the Islamic system. Though Iqbal's works are replete with his thoughts about the establishment of the Islamic system they are most strongly expressed in "Ramooz-i-Bekhudi". On the whole, the problems dealt with in "Ramooz-i-Bekhudi" are important and interesting topics and are worth considering for the organization of an Islamic society.

Today we see Iqbal's thoughts in "Ramooz-i-Bekhudi" which govern our Islamic society. The responsibility of the ideological nation based on most exciting concepts of Iqbal. In his view the Muslims and the Islamic ideological nation ("ummah"), which must propagate Islam must not rest, so

⁹ The valley of Makka

that the task may be completed. It is appropriate for me to recite some of his verses in this connection, which are very interesting.

He says that the organization of the Islamic society and the establishment of the Islamic ideological nation (“ummah”) was not an easy task. It has been after much troubles and tribulations and many trials of history that the world has been able to acquire the ideological nation based on Unitarianism (“ummat-i-tauhidi”), and an ummah has been born which is the bearer of Unitarian concept and Islamic thought.

این کهن پیکر که عالم نام اوست
ز امتزاج اسهات اندام اوست
صد نیستان کاشت تایک ناله رست
صد چم خون کرد تایک لاله رست
نقشها آورد و افکند و شکست
تابه لوح زندگی نقش تو بست
ناله با در کشت جان کاریده است
تانوای یک اذان بالیده است
مدتی پیکار با احرار داشت
با خداوندان باطل کار داشت!
تخم ایمان آخر اندر گل نشانند
با زیانت کلمه ی توحید خوانند
نقطه ادوار عالم لا اله
انتہائی کار عالم لا اله

چرخ را از زویه او گردندگی
مهر را تابندگی رخسندگی
بحر گوهر آفرید از تاب او
موج در دریا طپید از تاب او
شعله در رگهای تا از سوز او
خاک مینا تابناک از سوز او
نغمه بایش خفته در ساز وجود
جویدت ای زخمه در ساز وجود
صد نوا داری چه خون در تن روان
خیز و مضرابی به تار او رسان
زان که در تکبیر راز بود تست
حفظ و نشر لا اله مقصود تست
تا نخیزد بانگ حق از عالمی
گر مسلمانی نیا سای دمی
می ندانی آیه ام الکتاب
امت عادل ترا آمد خطاب
آب و تاب چهره ی ایام تو
در جهان شاید علی الاقوام تو
نکته سنجان را صدای عام ده

از علوم اسمی ای پیغام ده
اسمی ای، پاک از هوا گفتار او
شرح رمز "ماغوی" گفتار او
از قبای لاله های این چمن
پاک شست آلود گیهای کهن¹⁰

This old idol called the world

Its body is made by the union of elements.

A hundred deserts have been cultivated before one complaint was established

A hundred gardens have been destroyed before one tulip could be established.

Many a picture was brought and thrown away and destroyed

Before thy picture was fixed on the life's tablet.

Many a lamentation has been active in the field of life Before the birth of the melody of one sound (Adhan)¹⁰ For long a war had been waged with the nobles. Who had contact with the false gods.

In the end the seed of Faith was laid in the soil.

Then they uttered the Unitarian creed ("Kalima-i-tauhid") with thy tongue.

¹⁰ The call to the believers to assemble for prayer

The focus of the ages of the universe is “there is no god but God” (La Ilah-a-il-Allah)¹¹

The end of the functioning of the universe is. “there is no god but God” (La ilah–a-il-Allaha)

The celestial world derives its motion from it

The sun derives its splendour and brightness from it. The ocean created the pearl with its illumination The wave in the sea rose with its radiance.

The flame in the veins of the grape wine is from its heat

The essence of the blue jewel (khaki-i-meena) radiates from its heat.

Its (La Ilah’s) melodies are latent in the orchestra of ‘the essence’ (of God)

O plectrum player search for it in the orchestra of “the essence” (of God).

Thou hast a hundred songs running in thy body like the blood stream

Rise and apply thy plectrum to its strings.

If there was a secret in the magnificence of God (takbir) it is thou

The defence and -propagation of “there is no God” (La Ilah) is the purpose of thy creation.

So that the voice of Truth does not disappear from the world

If thou art Muslim, do not rest even for a moment. Doest thou not know the verse of the Holy Qur’an

¹¹ Short for the kalima-i-Tauheed. This verse means that the kalima-i-Tauheed is the Alpha and Omega of the universe, i.e. the purpose of its creation is the establishment of a system of life based on Kalima-i-Tauheed.

Thou wast given the title of the just ideological nation (Ummah)¹²

Thou art the dignity of the personality of time Thou art the witness over world's nations. Give an open invitation to the sagacious Give them the message of the Holy Prophet.

The unlettered (Prophet) whose discourse is not of his own desire

Whose discourse is the elucidation of ma hgava.¹³ From the tunics of the tulips of this garden

Cleanse off the contaminations of the times gone by.

After this, when he describes the Universality of Islamic ideology (in his book the concept of the universality of Islam and the Muslim and his supernational homeland occurs more than a hundred times) he again says, "O Unitarian nation" (ummat-i-tauhid) the flag is in thy hand, thou shouldst advance and carry it to the world". Later he says that this alluring idol of the present age, which has been created by the West, should be destroyed. Then he explains what this new idol is:

ای که میداری کتابش در بغل
تیز تر نه پا بمیدان عمل
فکر انسان بت پرستی، بت گری
پر زماں در جستجوی پیکری
باز طرح آذری انداخته است
تازه تر، پروردگاری ساخته است

¹² Allusion to several verses of the Holy Qur'an, Surah 53:2-4

¹³

کاید از خون ریختن اندر طرب
نام او رنگ است و هم ملک و نسب
آدمیت کشته شد چون گو سفند
پیش پای این بت نا ارجمند
ای که خوردستی زمینای خلیل
گرمی خونت ز صهبائی خلیل
بر سر این باطل حق پیرهن
تیغ لا موجود الّا هو بزن
جلوه در تاریکی ایام کن
آنچه بر تو کامل آمد، عالم کن

O thou who hast His book under thy arm

Strike a fast pace in the field of action.

Human thought is an idol-worshipper and an idol-maker Constantly in search of a material form.

It has again laid the foundation of Azar's¹⁴ ways It has again created a new deity.

It is happy with blood-spilling during merry making Its name is colour as well as country and race. Humanity has been sacrificed like a goat At the feet of this accursed idol.

¹⁴ Father of- the Prophet hadhrat Ibrahim (Abraham) who used to make idols.

O thou who hast drunk from the decanter of Khalil¹⁵ The warmth of thy blood is from the wine of Khalil. At the head of this falsehood in the garb of truth

Strike the sword of “None exist except Him” (la maujud illa hu)¹⁶

Produce light in this dark age.

Whatever has been revealed to thee make it common knowledge.¹⁷

This is Iqbal’s thought about propagation of Islam and abolition of the frontiers of nation-hood and homeland. The one topic which he stresses in “Ramooz-i-Bekhudi” is the need for the closeness of the individual with society and his eventual absorption in it.

He considers prophethood as the real foundation for the formation of a nation and says that a nation (millat) does not come into existence by the mere assemblage of individuals at a place. On the other hand, a thought is required to weave together the fabric of nationhood or millat and the best and the most basic thought is that of the institution of prophethood, which has been presented by God’s prophets. It is the best way to establish the foundation for the formation of the millat, because it confers thought, Faith and Unity on the society as well as endows it with discipline and perfection.

Another topic which he stresses is the negation of the subservience to the masters of the throne and the mosque (that is to the powers of temporal and religious authority). Some of his verses are very interesting. Listen:

بود انسان در جهان انسان پرست

¹⁵ The Prophet Hadhrat Ibrahim.

¹⁶ The creed of the Sufis who believe in the philosophy of Wahdat-ul-Wujud (The unity of Existence). This concept is contained in the Holy Qur’an, e.g. in Surah 31:30

¹⁷ Allusion to the Holy Qur’an, Surah 5:4

ناکس و نابود مندو زير دست
سطوت کسری و قيصر رهنش
بند ها در دست و پاد گردنش
کابن و پاپا و سلطان و امير
بهريک نخچيه صد نخچيه گير
صاحب اورنگ و هم پير کنشت
باچ برکشت خراب او نوشت
در کليسا اسنف رضوان فروش
بهر اين صيد زبون دامی بدوش
برهمن گل از خيابانش ببرد
خرمنش مغ زاده با آتش سپرد
از غلامی فطرت او دون شده
نغمه با اندر نئے او خون شده
تا اميني حق به حق داران سپرد
بندگان را مسند خاقان سپرد

Man was worshipping man on earth

Insignificant, subdued and vanquished.

The majesty of Kisra¹⁸ and Caesar¹⁹ were his robbers
Chains were on his hands, feet and neck.

¹⁸ A famous pre-Islamic emperor of Iran.

The Jewish priest, the Pope, the king and the nobleman A hundred hunters for one prey.

The master of the throne as well as the priest of the Church

Extracted tribute from his ruined cultivation. In the Church the bishop, the seller of paradise Carried the net on his shoulder for this helpless prey. The Brahman took away the flower from his garden

The Zoroastrian priest (Mug h) consigned his harvest to the fire.

His very nature was rendered mean by slavery His melodies were murdered within the flute.

Till the Trustee (Islam) restored the trust to the rightful claimants

Entrusted the emperor's throne to the slaves.

These verses deal with the formation of the prophethood of the Most Gracious Prophet, establishment of equality among men and the verse of the Holy Qur'an, which says, "Verily, the best among you in the sight of God is the one most pious among you",²⁰ as well as the brotherhood of Islam. Iqbal has discussed a large number of topics and subjects, but as my address has already become long it will be inappropriate to go into greater detail. Really speaking I do not understand which part to select for further discussion, because Iqbal has discussed so many interesting and good topics that it is difficult to decide which ones to prefer and discuss. It is not possible to propagate all these thoughts except by publishing Iqbal's works in our country. This is the type of work which should be done here, in Pakistan as well as in Afghanistan. Also, his works, the best of which are in Persian, should be published wherever people do or can understand Persian. As you know, nine thousand of the fifteen thousand of Iqbal's verses are in Persian

¹⁹ Any Roman emperor. Both terms are used to represent arrogant and repressive temporal power.

²⁰ The Holy Qu'ran, Surah 49:13

and his Urdu verses are much fewer than those in Persian. His best verses, and, at least in substance, his best works are those in Persian. His complete works which were published here perhaps twenty years ago need more effort.

I have realized the need for commentary and explanations of Iqbal's works ever since I became acquainted with them. Lack of adequate explanations has pained me. It is indeed necessary that this work be done and the thoughts and perceptions of Iqbal be explained to people, even to those whose mother tongue is Persian.

Many of Iqbal's messages concern us today and some of them concern the part of the world which has not yet adopted our ways and has not understood the message which we have understood.

Our nation has given practical shape, in the real world, to Iqbal's message of "khudi". Hence, our nation does not need to be advised to develop "khudi". We, the Iranian people feel with confidence that we are self-supporting, trust our culture and values, and can stabilize this civilization on our ideology and thinking. It is true that in the past we had been brought up on materialistic lines with alien support. But we will gradually cut away the alien supports and will use our own resources and we are confident of success.

Muslim nations, and specially Muslim individuals, political as well as cultural, need to understand this concept of "khudi". They need to understand Iqbal's message and to realize that Islam, in its essence and reality, is the bearer of the highest potentialities for maintenance of human societies, and does not depend upon others.

We do not plead for shutting out other cultures and not absorbing them. Yes, we should absorb them, but like a living body which absorbs the elements essential to it, and not like the dead and insensitive body into which anything can be forced.

We have the ability to absorb, and we acquire from other cultures and thoughts even if they are alien, all of what is appropriate and related to us and is useful for us. But, as Iqbal has repeatedly said, knowledge and thought can be acquired from the West but not pathos and life.

خرد آموختم از حکیمان فرنگ
سوز اندو ختم از صحبت صاحب نظران

I have acquired wisdom from the wise men of the West

But I have acquired pathos in the company of the people with insight.

There is no such thing as pathos and life in the education and culture of the Western civilization. This is the thing which Iqbal first realized and declared as a flag bearer.

The materialistic culture and civilization of the West is devoid of the spirit and substance, which is so essential for man. Hence, we take from the Western culture what is necessary for us.

It is gratifying that our country and our people have the feeling of “khudi” and Islamic personality to the maximum extent and our “neither the East nor the West” policy is the same as preached by Iqbal. Our love for the Holy Prophet and the Holy Qur’an and our advice for learning the Holy Qur’an as well as the concept of the Islamic basis for revolutions and objectives is precisely what were advised by Iqbal. But at that time all this fell on deaf ears.

In those days many people did not understand Iqbal’s language and message. Iqbal’s books and poems are replete with the complaint that his message was not understood and was not known and that all attention was turned towards the West. He complained of this in his “Introduction” of the -”Ramooz-i-Bekhudi”, and addressing the Islamic nation (millat) he says in

“Peshkash Ba Huzur-i-milat-i-Islamia” (A Present submitted to the Islamic Millat)

ای ترا حق خاتم اقوام کرد
بر تو هر آغاز را انجام کرد
ای مثال انبیاء پاکان تو
همگر دلها جگر چاکان تو
ای نظر بر حسن تر سا زاده ای
ای ذراه کعبه دور افتاده ای
ای فلک مشمت غبار کوی تو
"ای تماشا گاه عالم روی تو"
همچو موج، آتش ته پامی روی
"تو کجا بهر تماشامی روی"
رمز سوز آموز از پردانه ای
در شرر تعمیر کن کاشانه ای
طرح عشق انداز اندر جان خویش
تازه کن بامصطفی پیمان خویش!
خاطرم از صحبت تر سا گرفت
تا نقاب روی تو بالا گرفت!
هم نوا از جلوه اغیار گفت
داستان گیسو و رخسار گفت

O thou whom God made the last nation”.

On thee He terminated all that was initiated. Thy pious people are similar to prophets

Thy lovers are helpful to the people with pathos.

O thou that has cast thy vision on Christian (i.e. alien) beauty

O thou that hast been cast away from the Ka’aba.

O thou for whom the sky is like a handful of the dust of thy lane

O thou whose face is the object of joy for the universe. Like a wave thou art swift-footed

Where art thou going for entertainment

Learn the signs of pathos from the moth

Build thy abode in the spark.

lay the foundation of love in thy soul

Renew thy covenant with Mustafa.

For my sake rise from the companionship of the Christian (alien)

So that thy veil from thy face may be lifted.

A companion of the assemblage of the aliens said

He narrated the story of the hair and the cheeks. He surrendered at the door of the beloved He studied the history of the Zoroastrian people. I am the martyr of the sword of thine eye brow

I am the dust of thy lane and am satisfied with it. I am above dispensing praise

My head is held upright in every court.

(This means that O Islamic nation (ummah) I am not praising you so ardently because I am accustomed to praising).

از سخن آئینه سازم کرده اند

از سکندر بی نیازم کرده اند

باد احسان برنتاب از گردی نم
گلستان غنچه گردد دامنم
سخت کوشم مثل خنج در جهان
آب خود می گیرم از سنگ گرا²¹

I have been made the one who makes things clear with the help of poetry

And I have been made independent of Alexander. My neck has not borne the burden of obligations In the garden my lap becomes the flower bud. In the world I am hard working like the dagger I fetch my own water from the heavy rock.

Here he is talking of his freedom from want (Be-Niazi) and at the time when Iqbal, due to be-niazi, does not bow to anybody he is respectfully requesting the Islamic nation (ummah) to recognize itself, revert to itself and listen to the Qur'an.

بردت جانم نیاز آورده است
هدیه هی سوز و گداز آورده است
ز آسمان آبگون یم می چکد
بر دل گرم دما دم می چکد
من ز جو باریکتری سازمش
تابصحن گلشنت اندازمش²²

²¹ Allusion to the Holy Quran, Surah 33:40

²² Allusion to the miracle of Prophet Moses in which his palm had a shining, white egg shaped patch

REFUTATION OF
MATERIALISM IN THE
LIGHT OF MODERN SCIENCE
AND PHILOSOPHY
MAZHERUDDIN SIDDIQUI

In modern times Hegel, Feurebach, Darwin, Comte and John Dewey are those philosophers who principally contributed to the development of a materialistic outlook and a mechanistic world view. We do not include Karl Marx because he is not considered to be a philosopher by many scholars, although he is an archmaterialist. The inclusion of Hegel among materialists may seem surprising because he is known for his idealism, but he also had his share in the subsequent denial of religion and God. Let us hear Hoffding's opinion on Hegel.

“In Schelling things proceed from the Absolute which for that reason remains outside of them. In Hegel the absolute is the process itself, it does not produce life and movement, it is life and movement. it does not exceed the things but is wholly in them nor does it in any way exceed the intellectual capacity of man. If we mean by God the being transcending human reason, then Hegel is the most atheistic of all philosophers, for none has laid more emphasis affirming the immanency and perfect knowableness of the Absolute”. It should also be borne in mind that Hegel's idealism furnished the foundation for Karl Marx's materialistic interpretation of history.

Auguste Comte, the philosopher of positivism propounded the theory of three stages. The first stage was the theological stage in which facts were explained by supernatural means, the second stage was the Metaphysical stage. In the second stage facts were explained by abstract methods and in the third stage they were explained by the laws of cause and effect. This division of human history into three stages is absolutely out of keeping with facts. Except in the mythological stage, what Comte calls the theological stage is the stage when philosophical wisdom had begun to enlighten human mind. For example, the Qur'an appeals to man's rational faculty, proves the existence of God by rational arguments and gives rational explanations for many of its commands. Theology and philosophy overlap each other and sometimes it is hard to make a distinction between them. As regards the stage of positivism when things are decided on the basis of positive facts, what Comte forgets is that facts have to be interpreted and coordinated before they can lead to any conclusion.

If the protest of positivism against philosophy were just, then physics, chemistry and the natural and moral sciences would have to give up formulating universal theories, for every scientific theory is a relatively apriority hypothesis, so long as no new facts are adduced to

O my sweetheart I have brought a request to thy door I have brought to thee the gift of pathos.

An ocean is dripping from the clear sky

It is constantly dripping to my warm heart.

I have made it narrower than a brook

So that I may bring it to thy garden

If we recite his discourses and verses to the end, this discussion will take a different course and will take much time. This is only a summary of the personality of our dear and beloved Iqbal, who is undoubtedly the shining

contradict it and as this probability always exists, scientific theory cannot lay claim to the dignity of an axiom.

Positivists tend to forget that though absolute certainty concerning the first causes of the universe may not be easy, one can attain to a relative certainty or probability which approximates absolute certainty.

Now, let us come to the German philosopher, Feuerbach. According to him, in the present age, "religion can be preserved only by abandoning the religious other worldly form. The doctrine of God (theology) must be changed in the doctrine of man (Anthropology). Everlasting happiness will begin with the transformation of the Kingdom of heaven into a republic of earth"²

Commenting on this, Hoffding says "the negation of religion had begun with Hegel's transformation of theology into logic, it ends with Feuerbach's transformation of logic into anthropology"³

What Feuerbach ignores is that man is not an isolated being. He is part of the universe and unless the universe as a whole is understood, man himself cannot be understood. How can we have a republic of the earth without understanding man and his problems in the total context of his surroundings? But when we study man from this angle of vision, we touch upon the transcendental. Being of God, so that the understanding of man depends upon our understanding of God. Godless materialism with its terrible picture of the world coming to a standstill, offers no promise of the future. It destroys the spirit of helpfulness which Theism sustains. Discussing the picture of man and the universe, A. Burt writes:

star of the East, and it will not be inappropriate if we call Iqbal the shining star of the East in the true sense of the expression. In any case we hope to render our duty to Iqbal and to compensate for the nation's tardiness of the past forty to fifty years.

Iqbal died in 1358 A.H., i.e. 1938 C.E., and I think that during this period, i.e. during the long period of time which has elapsed since his death, the many seminars held, the books written and the lectures delivered on Iqbal were all like strangers, and with aloofness. Our nation has remained unaware of the reality, spirit and the love of Iqbal. God willing this shortcoming should be compensated for. The people concerned with this work, viz; poets, speakers, authors, magazines and government departments concerned such as the Ministries of Culture and Higher Education, Educational Training and Islamic Education should try their best to revive Iqbal as he is, and present his books to the people by including them in text and other books, they should publish his books and poetry separately - "Asrar-i-Khudi", "Ramooz-i-Bekhudi", "Gulshan-i-Raz-i-jadid" (The Garden of the new Secret), "Javid Namah" (The Book of Eternity). This kind of work has been done to some extent in Pakistan, but alas the people of Pakistan have not been able to benefit adequately from these interpretation, because Persian is not used there now as it was earlier. I hope this gulf will be bridged. Our Pakistani brethren who are present here, and in the same way all the literateure of the Indian sub-continent should consider it their duty to confront treacherous politics and to propagate the Persian language, which is the vehicle of the great Islamic civilization and gives expression to a great part of it in the Indian sub-continent, of which the Muslims constitute the main component. In my opinion this work should be speeded up in Pakistan specially. In our country also the different publications should continue. Artists should display their art based on Iqbal's work, should recite his verses, should prepare leading notes (dhuns), and, by propagating them, should convey them to the young and old.

We hope that God Most Exalted will enable us to discharge the duty that the Islamic nation (ummah) owes to Iqbal.

Wa Assalam-u-alaikum Wa Rahmatualla Wa Barakatuhu. THE COMPLEMENTARY MESSAGE

Dr. Mujtabavi, Chairman of the Committee for paying Tribute to Iqbal, Though only some aspects of Allama Iqbal's personality have been highlighted in today's lecture and most matters concerning this exalted Islamic personality of the present age have not been stated, there are two points ignoring which will be unfair to Iqbal.

The first point concerns the establishment of Pakistan, which is undoubtedly among the most prominent points of Iqbal's personality. It is really necessary to state that the founders of Pakistan, headed by the late Quaid-i-Azam, Muhammad Ali. He was a devout person, attached to the Qur'an, regular in the late night prayer (tahajjud) and abstaining from the things prohibited. He did not deviate from this path even during the educational period in Europe. He had so much faith in the Holy Qur'an that, according to his son Javid Iqbal, he used to give the verses of the Holy Qur'an written on tree leaves to the sick for recovery from illness. He had love for the Most Gracious Prophet, the Ka'aba and even the Hijaz, which was the centre of revelation. He had so much interest for Islamic learning that, towards the end of his life, he wanted to sell all his books and purchase those on Islamic jurisprudences (fiqh), Traditions of the Holy Prophet (Hadith) and exegesis (Tafseer). He had the pathos of the man with insight, constant in the late night prayer (tahajjud), accustomed to piety and contentment (Qana'at) and had other similar prominent qualities.

These were the two points which I considered necessary to state for the information of my countrymen as an epilogue to my address.

Notes

REFUTATION OF MATERIALISM

IN THE LIGHT OF MODERN SCIENCE AND PHILOSOPHY

Mazheruddin Siddiqui

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many of its commands. Theology and philosophy overlap each other and sometimes it is hard to make a distinction between them. As regards the stage of positivism when things are decided on the basis of positive facts, what comes forgotten is that facts have to be interpreted and coordinated before they can lead to any conclusion.²³

If the protest of positivism against philosophy were just, then physics, chemistry and the natural and moral sciences would have to give up formulating universal theories, for every scientific theory is a *relatively a priori* hypothesis, so long as no new facts are adduced to contradict it and as this probability always exists, scientific theory cannot lay claim to the dignity of an axiom.

Positivists tend to forget absolutely certainly concerning the first causes of the universe may not be easy, one can attain to a relative certainty or probability which approximates absolute certainty.

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Commenting on this, Hoffding says “the negation of religion had begun with Hegel’s transformation of logic into anthropology.”²⁵

What Feuerbach ignores is that man is not an isolated being. He is part of the universe and unless the universe as a whole is understood, man himself cannot be understood. How can we have a republic of the earth without understanding of man depends upon our understanding of God.

²³ Hoffding: A History of modern philosophy pp - 496,499

²⁴ Hoffding: Ibid p.269

²⁵ Hoffding: Ibid p.268

Godless materialism with its terrible picture of the world coming to a standstill, offers no promise of the future. It destroys the spirit of helpfulness which Theism sustains. Discussing the picture of man and the universe, A. Burt writes:

“That man is the product of the causes which had no pre-vision of the end they were achieving, that his origin, growth, his hopes and fears, his loves and his beliefs are but the outcome of the accidental collection of atoms, that no fire, no heroism, no intensity of thought and feeling can preserve an individual life beyond the grave, that all the labours of the ages, all the devotion, all the inspiration, all the moon-day brightness of the human genius are destined to extinction in the vast death of the solar system -- only within the scaffolding of these truths, only on the foundation of unyielding despair can the soul’s habitation henceforth be safely built”²⁶

Let us now come to Darwin. The American philosopher John Dewey has written an article “The Influence of Darwinism on philosophy”, in which he says that “Darwin’s origin of species introduced a mode of thinking that, in the end, was bound to transform the logic of knowledge and hence the treatment of morals, politics and religion tended to leave the impression that the issue was between science on the one hand and theology on the other. Such was not the case; the issue lay within science itself”²⁷

Darwin’s theory of Evolution did away with the need of a transcendental creator, because according to him, the species multiplied by a process of automatic reproduction. Each new generation of a particular species is not a replica of the preceding generation. It possesses some different qualities which Darwin calls chance variations. Any particular species which is fortunate enough to be born with favourable variations survives in the struggle for existence, while the species which lacks these favourable

²⁶ E.A. Burt, *Metaphysical Foundations of Modern Science*, London, 1950, pp.142, 143

²⁷ Perry Miller, *American thought - Civil War to World War I*, New York, 1954, p.224.

Please also see John Dewey’s article “Intelligence and Morals” in the same book.

variations dies out. John Dewey denies that there is anything pre-designed or purposive in the process of evolution. There is neither purpose nor design in the Universe. Everything goes on mechanically and automatically. Thus the need for an outside creator disappears.

Now, if we dispense with the need for a transcendental creator three questions remain unsolved which should be answered by Darwinists like Dewey. Firstly, when and how did life appear on this universe, was the appearance of life pre-designed by a transcendental creator did it emerge accidentally. Secondly, how did sexual differences appear in the species, since it is difficult to imagine that the multiplication or the evolution of species could have gone on with out sexual differences. Of course, at the lowest level of life there was a sexual reproduction but this could not have led to progress or evolution. Therefore, nature evolved two sexes. Was this not pre-designed by an outside creator? The third question, which the Darwinists have to answer is why did evolution stop at man? The very concept of evolution implies an unceasing upward trend. So after the appearance of man, evolution should have produced supermen or angels or other beings superior to man. The fact that evolution stopped at man shows that the creator had predesigned the course of evolution and so arranged it that it would stop at the appearance of man.

Le Comte du Nuoy criticizing the Darwinian theory of the survival of the fittest says: “in opposition to Darwin, the survival of the fittest can no longer be considered as the origin of the evolving strain and fittest of a certain line can eventually give birth to a species destined to disappear, if the external conditions (climate etc) are modified or if other individuals more apt from the biological view-point displace them”.²⁸

Bergson says about Darwinism, “Darwinism means presumably, the origin of new organs and functions, new organism and species by natural selection of favourable variations. But this conception hardly half a centry

²⁸ Le Comte du Nuoy, *Human Destiny*: New York, 1947, p.83.

old is already worm eaten with difficulties. How, on this theory, did the instincts originate? It would be convenient to conceive them as the inherited accumulation of acquired habits but expert opinion closes the door in our faces -- though some day that door may be opened. If only congenital powers and qualities are transmissible, every instinct must have been on its first appearance as it natively is now, it must have been, so to speak, adult in full panoply for action, else it could not have favoured its possessor in the struggle for existence if on its appearance it was weak, it could have achieved survival value only through that acquired strength which (by current hypothesis) is not inherited. Every origin is here a miracle. And as with first instincts, so with variations; one wonders how the change could have offered, in its first form, a handle to selection. In the case of such complex organs as the eye, the difficulty are discouraging; either the eye appeared at once full formed and competent (which is as Johnah's introspection of the whale) or it began as a series of "fortuitous" variations, which by a still more fortuitous survival, produced the eye. At every step the theory of the mechanical production of complicated structures by a blind process of variation and selection presents us with fairy tales that have all the incredibility of childhood lore and little of its beauty".²⁹

Now, let us examine what some of the modern philosophers have to say about the position and reality of matter in this universe. According to Grot, the knowableness of things is part and the most important part of their reality. Things are knowable he says, because they have in them the quality of adaptedness to reason". They can be known, in other words, because they are in themselves reasonable. This means that things (material objects) have mind in them.³⁰ Thus the distinction between mind and matter disappears.

Leibniz reduces matter to force. He asks the question; what are attraction and repulsion, heat and light, if matter is inert extension and

²⁹ Will Durant, London, Plato to Russel: outline of philosophy 1962, p.394.

³⁰ J. Passmore: Hundred years of Philosophy London, 1962, p. 52

nothing but that? Does not extension, which constitutes the nature of the body, presuppose an effort or force that extends itself a power both of resistance and expansion? Matter is essentially resistance and resistance means activity. What seems inertia or lack of power is in reality more intense action or active force. There is action every-where.³¹ Nobody without movement, no substance without effort. Thus the qualities ascribed to matter by Leibniz are very different from those ascribed to it by the materialists. In fact, the entire conception of matter has been changed by Leibniz.³²

Kant came to very nearly the same conclusion. According to him, the individual atoms are points of force, not small extended particles, and the fact that they act and react upon one another according to law proves that there is no original and absolute separation between them...their reciprocal action would be impossible if they were not collectively dependent on a common ground. In this common ground both the mechanical order and the purposiveness of their nature find their explanation.

Bertrand Russell is more emphatic on this point. He says: "The distinction between mind and matter is illusory. The stuff of the world may be called physical or mental or both or neither, as we please"³³ Again, explaining the concept of matter in modern science, Russell says, "The modern conception of the matter (is that it is) as a centre from which radiations travel. We do not know what is happening at the centre: The idea that there is a hard lump there, which is the electron or the proton is an illegitimate intrusion of common sense notions derived from touch. For aught we know the atom may consist entirely of radiations which come out of it.

"Modern physics, therefore, reduces matter to a set of events which proceed outward from a centre. If there is something in the centre itself we

³¹ Will Durant, *Op. Cit* pp. 346, 347

³² Hoffding: *Op. Cit*, pp. 42, 43.

³³ Bertrand Russell: *An outline of Philosophy* p.148.

cannot know about it and it is irrelevant to physics. The events that take the place of matter in the old sense are inferred from their effects on eyes, photographic plates and other instruments. What we know about them is not their intrinsic character but their structure and their mathematical laws.”³⁴

Heisenberg regards a piece of matter as a centre from which radiations travel outward, the radiations are supposed really to occur but the matter at the centre is reduced to a mere mathematical fiction.³⁵

In the De Broglie Schrodinger “system-matter consists of wave motion in this system also, we are led to construct matter out of some events which, just happen and do not happen “to” matter or “to” anything else” Writing about the notion of substance, Bertrand Russel says, “It was traditionally a property of substance to be permanent and a considerable degree matter has retained this property in spite of the loss of substantiality. But its permanence is only. approximate not absolute. It is thought that electron and proton can meet and annihilate each other. In the stars this is supposed to be happening on a large scale. And even when an electron or proton lasts, it has a different kind of persistence from that formally attributed to matter.”³⁶

Sir James Jeans denies all possibility of the knowledge of nature by man. He says “Thus our understanding of the ultimate-processes of nature is for ever beyond our reach; we can never be able -- even in imagination -- to open the case of our watch and see how the wheels go round. The true object of scientific study could never be the realities of nature but only our own observations on nature.”³⁷

Eddington is clearer than Bertrand Russel on the mental nature of matter. He says” “The stuff of the world is mind-stuff. The mind stuff, of

³⁴ Ibid, p.163

³⁵ Ibid p.289

³⁶ Ibid pp.290, 91

³⁷ The philosophers of science. Modern pocket Library, New York, p.365

course, is something more than our individual conscious minds, but we may think of its nature as not altogether foreign to the feelings in our consciousness. The realistic matter and fields of force of former physical theory are altogether irrelevant...The symbolic matter and fields of force of the present day theory are more relevant but they bear to it the same relation that the bursar's accounts bear to the activity of the college.³⁸

After studying Bertrand Russel, Sir James Jeans and Eddington's observations on the natural processes and the concept of matter in modern physics what remains of the old materialism on which Karl Marx and the scientific socialists have built their edifice of thought?

³⁸ Ibid, p.416.

TWO KINDS OF THINKING IN IQBAL'S PHILOSOPHY

Iqbal had a great admiration for rational thinking. His Lectures are an excellent example of rational and logical thinking. On the analytical side his thinking makes sabre-like thrusts on the doctrine or the position he wants to demolish. On the synthetic side he builds up arguments like a piece of architecture in which columns, arches and portals are aesthetically related. Apart from logic, one notices the aesthetic quality of his writing. He writes beautifully although the thoughts he wants to convey are sometimes difficult. Aesthetics is one quality which is very seldom noticed and appreciated by Iqbal's critics. I wish one could compose a treatise on Iqbal's Aesthetics--in which architectonic elements coalesce and make a beautiful structure. Very little has been written about Iqbal's structure. When I say structure, I mean a blend of thinking and feeling and the language which clothes it. The language by itself provides a clue to structure. This structure which it unfolds is the essence of Iqbal's PHILOSOPHY. The essence has a cadence which awakens consciousness, and stirs the unconscious, the archetypal structure of Iqbal's poetry and philosophy.

On the feeling side the archetypal structure is a blend of fear, love and knowledge. The question arises, how does thought come into it? The two kinds of thought penetrate to give a wholeness to Iqbal's philosophy.

M. Schuon has maintained that each Semitic religion has a dominant motif. The dominant motif in Judaism is fear. The dominant motif in Christianity is Love. The dominant motif in Islam is knowledge. This does not mean that all these motifs are not present in each of these religions. One motif is dominant. The other two have secondary importance. Iqbal's main concern in his Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam is the

adaptation of knowledge to Islam. According to Iqbal, there are three main sources of knowledge:-

1. History
2. Nature, and
3. Self

When Iqbal talks about History, he does not mean stories of exploits of kings and conquerors and feelings and thoughts of saints, poets and thinkers, but his main pre-occupation is the historical process.

When he talks about Nature, he not only discusses sense-perception which provides us with the raw material of scientific knowledge, but also Nature as a living force.

The third source of knowledge is the human personality. Iqbal thinks that in Muslim history only the sufis studied the human personality in its depth.

The emphasis on the value of the human personality gave us a great positive attitude. This is a life-affirming and life-giving philosophy. Indeed it gives supreme value to “man” who according to FOUCAULT, “is an invention of the 19th century”. Man, according to Iqbal, can elevate his ego to an extent that God Himself can ask man about the nature and direction of his Destiny. He goes so far as to address man as “the seed, the field, the harvest”. Man is the root, the soil and the fruit but he himself is the user the one who benefits from the fruit.

In many poems he tried to obviate the sense of devaluation among the colonized people. It is true that the awareness of the people had been mangled and severely damaged by the colonizers. Iqbal tried to heal the wounds of the Muslims who had not only lost a kingdom but were also groping for an awareness self-identity. What havoc this sense of self-

devaluation induced by the colonial rule can play has been portrayed by Frantz Fanon in his *Wretched of the Earth* in a masterly fashion! But colonization had inflicted wounds on the soul of the Muslims. The first balm applied to those wounds was to kindle memories of their own history, their own tradition, their own culture. Iqbal thus gave a spiritual “space” to the Indian Muslims, and gave them boundaries, a home which, by definition, is a place where one can daydream, have a reverie. Thus he gave them space-which they could cultivate, cherish and fertilize-in which they could live and breathe. Of course he gave them not only the idea of space but also provided them with an image of that space.

His glorification of Muslim history led to the realization that Induction as a method of scientific investigation was first propagated by Muslims. In fact Renaissance was the result of Muslim conception of Induction. This glorification was meant to awaken Muslims to an awareness of the present realities and to adapt themselves to the new ‘developments in Science and Technology. In this process of adaptation Iqbal quite often resorts to apologetics in his monumental work, *Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam*. Glorification of the Ego through a glorification of the past has its dangers. In a considerable portion of our past we encounter a very strong streak of patriarchal and too masculine a trend of thinking in which passion for mastery and conquest is evident. But the opposite of this trend is also found in the liberal and humanistic PHILOSOPHY of sufis, saints and poets. If one strengthens the ego on the first pattern, the ego can easily develop an inflated image of godlikeness. It can drive us to conquer, manipulate, subdue and oppress others.

Decasualization implies a total denuding of the nature of Beauty. The Holy Prophet Muhammad (peace be upon his soul) has said; “The whole world is a mosque.” In his lecture on “the Meaning of Prayer” Iqbal thinks that when a scientist observes nature he is praying. That is, he has an attitude of reverence towards nature. How far is it true of all scientists or all science we do not know?

Again in پیام مشرق he says:-

بمائے یقین کم کن گرفتار شکے باش
افتد تا علم کن گرفتار شکے باش
عمل خوابی یقین را پختہ تر کن
یکے ہیں، یکے جوئے، یکے باش

Here to know is not to pray. There in order to know one must involve oneself in doubt and decrease the intensity of faith. Iqbal admired the development of modern science, but could not swallow the Cartesian method of doubt. He, therefore, denounces خرد or thought, quite often.

In his poetry one encounters quite often a serious devaluation of thought-that it can reach nowhere. Similar denunciations are found among other sufis-for instance, Maulana Thanvi, in his Basair-ud-Dawair, thinks that all thinking is circular-it begins where it ends and again reaches the same end and so the vicious circle goes on.

But at other times one notices in Iqbal the vital importance of thought and thinking. For example, in Secrets of the Self, he relates a story about Sheikh Ali Hajveri and the young man from Merv:

I will tell a story of his perfection and enclose a whole rosebud in a single bud.

A young man, cypress tall

Came from the town of Merv to Lahore.

He went to see the venerable saint,

That the sun might dispel his darkness.

I am hemmed in he said, by foes;

I am as a glass in the midst of stones.

Do thou teach me, O sire of heavenly rank,

How to lead my life amongst enemies!

The wise Director, in whose nature

Love had allied beauty with majesty,

Answered: Though art unread in life's lore,

Careless of its end and its beginning

Be without fear of others!

Thou art a sleeping force: awake!

When the stone thought itself to be glass,

It became glass and got into the way of breaking,

If the traveler thinks weak,

He delivers his soul unto the brigand,

How long wilt thou regard thyself as water and clay? Create from the clay a flaming Sinai!

Why be angry with mighty men?

Why complain of enemies?

I will declare the truth "thine enemy to be a blessing from God. To the seed of man the enemy is thy friend:

His existence crowns thee with glory whosoever knows the states of the Self

Considers a powerful enemy is as a rain-cloud.

He awakens its potentialities.

If thy spirit be strong, the stones in thy way are as water: What recks the torrent of the ups and downs of the road?

The sword of resolution is whetted by the stones in the way

And put to proof by travelling stage after stage. What is the use of eating and sleeping like a beast?

What is the use of being, unless thou have strength in thyself?

When thou mak'st thyself strong with Self,

Thou wilt destroy thy world at the pleasure.

If thou wouldst pass away, become free of Self: If thou wouldst live, become full of Self!

Who is death? To become oblivious to Self,

Why imagine that it is the parting of soul and body? Abide in Self, like Joseph?

Advance from captivity to empire!

Think of Self and be a man of action

Be a man of God, bear mysteries within!

The story emphasizes two important points about human motivation.

No. I is the point that thinking determines the nature and conduct of your personality. He says: If you think, that you are weak, you will become weak, if you think that you are strong and powerful you will be strong and

powerful. If you seriously ascribe any moral quality to your ego, and think about it persistently you are bound to develop that quality. He maintains a similar position in his other poems such as? In which he ascribes the spiritual and material degeneration of the people of the East to their confused and timid thinking.

The second important point is that it is thinking which determines the nature of your emotions. 'As you think so will you feel' and not the converse that 'as you feel so shall you think'.

Thinking involves concepts. Without conceptual thinking, science, philosophy, in fact, no academic discipline, except perhaps the Fine Arts, is possible. All sufis denounce thinking in concepts when it is a question of being close to God. In fact they think that concepts are a veil which conceals the Absolute from us. Unless you dissolve the concepts into experience, you cannot reach the station of closeness to God,

When thoughts are expressed in images, poetic images, mythological images, then one experiences the thoughts of the heart. It is the heart which is and which can exercise "himma", and become capable of perceiving spiritual realities.

It seems to me that Iqbal attaches considerable value to thinking but he cannot outgrow the Bergsonian ternary of Instinct, Intellect and Intuition. The second category-the Intellect-has to be realized fully before you reach the station of Intuition, or Love. Intellect thus becomes the means to the stage of Intuition or Love. This is not the position of sufis. They think that you develop love by constant invocation of the Supreme Name, and reciting litanies and chanting hymns and prayers. Intellect does not seem to relish prayers, and stronger the ego, the greater is the resistance to prayer.

While reading Iqbal one gets the general impression that his attitude towards sufism was ambivalent. At one time he seems to condemn Sufism and the sufi institutions, but at other times he seems to be a devotee of

sufism regarding it as the sole way out of that desperate spiritual state which Rene Guenon called “Dispersion into multiplicity”. We have to find out exactly what he consistently condemns and what he admires or attaches value to in the sufi doctrines.

It might be a healthier approach to the problem if I start with a consideration of ‘Qalb’ or heart. According to the Chishti Saint, Hazrat Nizamud Din Aulia, heart is the abode of Allah. The point of beginning with this concept is that heart or love plays a central role in Iqbal’s PHILOSOPHY. Secondly, in modern times heart has become the organ which is most in danger. Harvey’s heart has an inherent dichotomy - right and left, and in modern times this cleavage, has caused an alarming increase in the diseases of the heart. Heart has become the killer, a palpitator, a robber of health and poise, a disturber of sleep and an organ which mysteriously fails. It is not this heart that Iqbal and sufism regard as the abode of Allah.

One function of Qalb or heart is that it is capable of perceiving the inner being of reality. It does so by developing ‘Himma,’ courage to break the conventional patterns of perception. ‘Himma’ develops when one dares to imagine, the highest stage of imagination is what Ibn-i-Arabi calls creative imagination. There is a valid distinction between true and false imagination. Day dreams, reveries, idle fantasies etc. are all instances of false imagination. True imagination is an instrument of perception, with which you perceive innermost being of Reality.

In Javed Nama, Iqbal tries to answer two questions:-What is Being? and what is good? Are you alive, or dead, or dying? For an answer to this question one must seek three witnesses:-

The first witness is Consciousness of self, to see oneself by one’s own light, the second witness is other people’s consciousness by whose light you see yourself. This other or others is vague. But it appears that Iqbal meant by other, one’s spiritual mentors, not the people around you. Third witness is the consciousness of the Essence of God, seeing oneself by the light of this

Essence. If you do not shake and tremble and collapse in front of this light, you will reach eternity and self-sustenance. This is the abode of yourself. his is real life. Life means seeing the essence unveiled. Momin, the man of God, is not satisfied with attributes. For Mustafa insisted on Sight.

Sight however means a longing for a witness who may testify thyself.

After giving the description of the development of spirituality, he writes a few verses which seem to contradict this description. He says: 'Thou seest the Lord through self and self through Him. Neither more nor less thou seest of God than that. Again in Piyam-i-Mashriq, he says:

“If you seek God, you will see nothing but yourself. If you seek yourself, you will find nothing but Him.

The contradiction is that in first stage of development, one sees oneself by one's own light. The point is that one cannot see oneself except by the light of God. this is also the sufi position. It is only through Mujahada that one can see God by looking into oneself; it is through introversion that Reality is revealed to you. We may take a term from SILBERER and call it intro-determination. Introversion can be natural state, but intro-determination implies that one is determined to look within, to confront the witnesses, the barrenness and the desert. This desert can only be converted into a perfumed garden if our efforts develop a response from 'Barakah', the divine grace.

What does Iqbal mean when he says that the first stage is when one sees one's self by one's own light. Surely he is talking about ego. Iqbal never makes a distinction between the ego and the self. The ego has its own light of sorts but it is different from the divine light. Very few people see the divine light without first receiving an injury to the ego. After the "I" is wounded they start looking for the spirit generally under the guidance of master or mentor-there is also a mystic saying "one who is not injured, does not know that it is to be healed." The fall of man contains the provision of his

redemption, Iqbal himself has his Master, Maulana Rumi, but he is a turbulent seeker, he makes nimble transitions from one Master to the other.

It has become fashionable especially in the Third world to label all spirituality as an escape. And Iqbal sometimes supports this view. It is very seldom specified as to escape from what to what. It is generally said it is an escape from reality. Which reality? Surely they mean escape from external reality - socio-economic, political conditions etc. But we seldom realize that a total preoccupation with socio-economic reality might be an escape from the reality within, which preoccupation might result in an escape from all intrinsic values, -Justice, Truth, beauty and Love. Which escape is more rewarding? It is a difficult question.

Surely there is nothing intrinsically wrong in escape. You sense the presence of a dangerous animal in the jungle, it would be wise to flee and take to one's heels.

Almost the first sentence in the prayer when we start praying is that we seek refuge with Allah from the accursed Satan. Marco Pallis writing in his fascinating book *Peaks and Lamas* states that he once asked the most venerable Lama in one of the monasteries in Tibet: What is the essence of Buddhism? the Lama gave a laconic reply "Refuge". B.F. Skinner in a thought-rovoking essay called "Flight from laboratory", contends that brilliant people succumb to the blandishments of popular acclaim when they desert laboratories and start doing social service and social welfare work: He criticizes Albert Schweitzer that he involved himself with social reform and wasted his talents which if they were expressed in a laboratory might have produced something which is beneficial to the entire humanity. But Skinner forgets that just as there are some people who flee from laboratories, there are others who flee into laboratories. They are so frightened of having contact with real people that they seek refuge in the closed walls of a laboratory. Sometimes thinking may be an escape from feeling.

Thought is one of the points on which Iqbal always dwells with eloquence but with a considerable degree of ambivalence. Quite early in his lecture on “Knowledge and Religious Experience” he maintains that in its deeper movement unfolding thought is capable of reaching an immanent infinite in whose self unfolding movement the various finite concepts are merely moments”. Later, he elevates the capacity for thinking to a still higher level. He says:- “Its movement becomes possible only because of the implicit presence in its finite individuality of the infinite which keeps alive within it the flame of inspiration and sustains it in its endless pursuit. It is a mistake to regard it as inconclusive for it too, in its own way, is a greeting of the finite with the infinite”.

Iqbal speaks about the unity of human consciousness. By unity, I think he means the inter-relatedness of mental events, My toothache is related to my frustrations and anxiety; that is, both belong to the same organic whole. My toothache cannot in the same way be related to another person’s anxiety, although his anxiety may be about my toothache. Iqbal says:-

“Devotional sufism alone tried to understand the meaning of the unity of human experience which the Quran declares to be one of the three sources of knowledge.

“In the higher sufism of Islam punitive 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 finite, as Rumi says:

علم حق در علم صوفی گم شود
این سخن کے بادر مردم شود

“Divine knowledge is lost in the knowledge of the saint. How is it possible for people to believe in such a thing.”

What is the difference between the finite being absorbed in the infinite, and the infinite flowing into the finite or the infinite embracing the finite. How does the latter unity differed from the unity attained in the former case?

Is it a difference between “Consciousness” and “Ecstasy”-Is it that in the former case, the general attitude of the person concerned is that of lassitude and passive fatalism and in the latter case it is dynamism, vigilance and initiative? Iqbal demands of sufism, a revolutionary outlook, which actively fights the evils of the world, takes up arms in defence of the oppressed and wipes out the sense of self-devaluation from their souls. Self-respect and self-regard are intrinsic values for him, and he does not like to see a human being bow before anyone but God. It is this picture of combativeness against oppression of keeping how to become aware of his dignity, which distinguishes Iqbal from other sufi thinkers.

Iqbal endorses Rumi when he says:

مصلحت در دین عیسی غار و کوه
مصلحت در دین ما جنگ و شکوه

The significant word is that is a strategy, and not the essence. The strategy in Islam is war and glory. The strategy in Christianity is caves and mountains.

Strategies differ in two religions, but not their essence. The essence is the same-both are manifestations of the Divine, revelations of the divine fountain head.

The interesting point is that sometimes Iqbal also glorifies the cave and the mountain. In his lovely poem he has a verse which says:

If the Independent beauty (God) likes to reveal itself in deserts, which is better, city or a desert?

The words which invite us to think are the greeting of the finite with the infinite. Is it a one-sided greeting and/or is it mutual? Does the finite only greet or does the infinite respond? But since infinite is potentially present in the finite thought, it becomes a greeting of the infinite with the finite, greeting of the potential with the actual.

One wonders here that Iqbal who consistently devalues thinking comparing it with Intuition or Love in his poetry, what kind of thought is he talking about. Is he talking about the thought of the heart, when thought is not the Harvey's heart which in the words of James Hillman is a killer. Or is it the Qalb, the heart which is the abode of God? When Qalb is moved by the 'Himma', it expresses itself in thought which perceives the imaginal and not the imaginary. It is the creative act of the Qalb or thought. It is certainly not the discursive thinking, or ratiocination of the mind, and it certainly does not express itself in concepts. It expresses itself in images which may later be embodied in concepts for purposes of logical statements.

Even in his poetry Iqbal assigns considerable value to thinking. He regards thinking as an agent of internal change, as a transformer of personality-almost like stoics and in our own times like Albert Ellis.

Throughout his poetry, however, he eulogises "Love", Love as "the great healer of all ailments". His eloquence is unsurpassed when he contemplates his "heart".

"O My heart, O my heart, my ocean, my ship, my harbour, Did you drop on my dust like dew, Did you reveal yourself like a blossom on May clay"? Love, when it fills a heart must lead to "the sacrifice of the superior function". Without this sacrifice nothing is achieved. I will cite here Iqbal's understanding of some of Rumi's verses:

"The sufi's book is not composed of ink and letters; it is not but a heart white as snow".

The scholars' possession-is pen-marks what is the sufis' possession-footmarks?

The sufi stalks the game like a hunter, he sees the musk deer's track and follows the footprint.

For some while the track of the deer is the proper clue for him, but afterwards it is the musk gland that is his guide.

To get to the stage guided by the musk gland is better than a hundred stages of following the track and roaming about”

Iqbal explains the verses in his own way:

“The scientific observer of Nature is a kind of mystic seeker in the act of prayer. Although at present he follows only the footprints of the musk-deer- his thirst for knowledge is eventually sure to lead him to footprints of the deer”.

According to- Jung, there are four functions which regulate man’s behaviour thinking, feeling, sensation and intuition. In struggle of existence, we have adapted to one function only and ignored the other functions. The function which dominates our adaptation is called the superior function. According to Jung if we do not sacrifice the superior function we cannot achieve the wholeness or individuation.

The inability to sacrifice one’s superior function has been very well described by Attar in Mantiqut-Tair

“The nightingale cannot leave for the quest of Seemurgh, because it is attached to the rose too much. The duck cannot leave water, because it is addicted to water. The hawk cannot leave its prey”.

These are examples of not being able to sacrifice the superior function. The concept of found in Iqbal emphasises the same aspect. But somehow Iqbal did not formulate clearly the concept of sacrifice of superior function for spiritual growth. There is a sufi saying:-

IQBAL REVIEW

The explanation of Rumi's verses does not seem to be in consonance with general trend of Rumi's thought, or for that matter, sufi thought. A scholar follows the footmarks by his thinking. According to Rumi, one who follows the footmarks-does so endlessly and wanders about. The transition is from the observation of the footmarks to the perception of the musk-deer's track. This change of perceptual mode is what we can call "sacrifice of the superior function". The scholars' approach is based upon the superiority of the thinking function. Rumi contends that the superior function has to be sacrificed so that other functions, which are consciously regarded as "inferior", are also awakened to enrich the life of the spirit; without this sacrifice, nothing can be achieved. It is this emphasis on sacrifice which is present as conversion of feelings into their opposites.

There is another ambivalence which projects itself into Iqbal's thought. Talking about Sheikh Ahmad of Sirhind, he quotes a passage from him which delineates stations of the Qalb (The Heart). After mentioning the first station, he goes on to say: "Beyond this there are other stations known as Ruh, Sir-i-Khafi and Sir-i-Akhfa; each of these stations, which together constitute what is technically called Alam-i-Amar has its own characteristic states and experiences after having passed through these stations. The seeker of truth gradually receives the illumination of "Divine Names" and "Divine attributes", and finally the illuminations of the "Divine essence".

Iqbal quotes this passage with approval but he castigates modern psychology for not having touched even the outer fringes of the subject. He looks to psychology for developing a new technique better suited to the temper of our times. It appears that Iqbal wants a psychological apologetic to be developed for religion. The concepts used by Sheikh Ahmad are archaic from his point of view. He demands that someone like Nietzsche should emerge - though he was a failure.

The antique of this passage shows Iqbal's contempt for tradition, and traditional nomenclature he does not say even once that modern Psychology,

since it is not supported by a metaphysics is concerned largely with trivialities or authoritarian techniques of controlling other human beings. No amount of apologetics will help, and the language used by Sheikh Ahmad is the language of the soul, suited to spiritual aspirations. True, when he says “Medieval mysticism has done greater havoc in the Muslim East than anywhere else” far from preparing the Muslims for participation in the march of history, it has taught him a false renunciation, and made him perfectly contented with his ignorance and spiritual thralldom.

This is a strong denunciation of mysticism. But it is not the mystic who obstructed the march of history but colonialism which infused a sense of self-devaluation among the people. Sufis are, perhaps, the only people who refuse to copy the modern West.

Hence they give the appearance of a smug quietude, which now and then erupts into states of ecstasy. For Iqbal, Nationalism is a menace, but sufis are the only people who openly proclaim ideal of Universal Love irrespective of cast, creed or nation. Iqbal himself waxes eloquent about the contrast between the wordly life and the spiritual life.

GHAZALS OF IQBAL

TRANS. BY DR. S. A. DURRANI

1. Be intoxicated by the Dervish spirit - and breathe it again and again:
And when you are ripe - take on the Emperor's might!

2. Powers that be said: Does our world agree with you? I said: No, it
does not. They said: Then go and smash it!

3. I saw that in the Tavern, there was no match for me; Go, challenge
the Rostams of the world - do not consort with the Ganymedes.

4. O tulip of the desert, do not burn in solitude: Take your fiery heart,
and burn a man's breast therewith.

5. You are its inner burning; you are the heat of its blood; If you do not
believe - go and rend the body of the Universe.

6. If Intellect is your lamp - put it by the wayside; If love is your wine-
cup, share it with one who knows!

7. Drop by drop I shed my heart's blood from my eyes; Each drop a
Ruby of Badakhshan - gather it and set it in your signet ring!

بانشہ درویشی در ساز و دما دم زن
چون پختہ شوی خود را بر سلطنت جم زن
گفتند جہان ما آیا بتومی سازد؟
گفتم کہ نمی سازد! گفتند کہ برہم زن!
در میکده با دیدم شائستہ حریفے نیست
بارستم دستاں زن با مغیچہ باکم زن
اے لالہ صحرائی تنها نتوانی سوخت
ایں داغ جگر تباے بر سینہ آدم زن
تو سوز درون او، تو گرمی خون او
باور نکنی؟ چاکے در پیکر عالم زن
عقل است چراغ تو؟ در رابگذارے نہ

عشق است ایام تو؟ باینده محرم زن
 لخت دل پر خونے از دیده فرو ریزم
 لعلے زبد خشانم بر دار و بخاتم زن

1. Life means: to create a pearl from your own inner oyster It is: to go into the heart of the flame, and not to melt down.

2. "Love" is: to fly out of this Dome, whose doors are all locked;

It is: to fling down the wine-glass Moon from the alcove of Heaven.

3. Kingliness is: to throw out of hand all the riches of heart and faith;

It is: with one throw of the dice to gamble away your life and to win the Cosmos.

4. Science and philosophy require the courage of a Man; It means: to draw the sword of intellect in front of this world and the next.

5. The religion of those with lively minds is not just a wild dream - It is: to build, out of this Dust, a Brave New World!

زندگی در صدف خویش گهر ساختن است
 در دل شعله فرورفتن و نگذاختن است
 عشق ازین گنبد در بسته برون تاختن است
 شیشه ماه ز طاق فلک انداختن است
 سلطنت نقد دل و دین ز کف انداختن است
 به یکے دا و جهان برون و جان باختن است
 حکمت و فلسفه را ہمتے مروے باید
 تیغ اندیشه بروے دو جهان آختن است
 مذہب زندہ دلان خواب پریشانے نیست
 از ہمیں خاک جهان دگرے ساختن است

1. May my tears of blood turn Arabia into a 'Tulip Garden-May my breath bring springtide to the faded rose of Pars!

2. Life is naught but burning, and burning is sans end; May all the atoms of my dust become so many throbbing hear'

3. Nor finds it rest by the wayside, nor at destination rest:

My heart! O my journeying heart! May God be your friend!

4. Beware of the intellect that paints all with hopelessness - It enchants our heart with a music that comes from a broken chord.

5. You are an unbaked youth - my song is all a flame May the Ghazal that I sing bring you perfection!

6. If you look into my soul, you find therein naught but the wish: - Oh! may your drops of dew turn into a boundless Sea!

7. May your soul find not a moment of rest! May the secret burning and yearning of Life be revealed unto you!

عرب از سرشک خونم ہمہ لالہ زار بادا
عجم رمیدہ ہو را نفسم بہار بادا
تپش است زندگانی، تپش است جاودانی
ہمہ ذرہ ہائے خاکم دل بے قرار بادا
نہ بہ جادہ قرارش، نہ بہ منزلی مقامش
دل من، مسافر من کہ خدائش یار بادا
حذر از خرد کہ بندہ ہمہ نقش نامرادی
دل ما برد بسازے کہ گسستہ تار باوا
تو جوان خام سوزے، سخنم تمام سوزے
غزلے کہ می سراہم بتو سازگار بادا
چو بجان من درائی دگر آرزو نہ بینی
مگر این کہ شبنم تویم بے کنار باوا
چو بجان من درائی دگر آرزو نہ بینی
مگر این کہ شبنم تویم بے کنار بادا
نہ شود نصیب جانت کہ دے قرار گیرد
تب و تاب زندگانی بتو آشکار بادا

1. by should I ask the learned: what was my beginning? For what troubles me is: where shall be my ending?

2. Raise your Selfhood so high, that before each destiny - God should ask his servant: how would you rather be?

3. Why debate with me whether I am an alchemist? The fire of my breath is all my alchemy!

4. I saw in them the depths of my fate; Ask me not, O companion, what I saw in those dark eyes,

5. Had that Frankish mystic (I) lived in my time

I, O Iqbal, would have explained to him the station of Godhead.

6. My morning-cry rent my heart, and made it bleed; What fault, O Almighty, was it that led to this chastisement?

خرد مندوں سے کیا پوچھوں کہ میری ابتدا کیا ہے
کہ میں اس فکر میں رہتا ہوں، میری انتہا کیا ہے!
خودی کو کر بلند اتنا کہ ہر تقدیر سے پہلے
خدا بندے سے خود پوچھے، بتا تیری رضا کیا ہے!
مقام گفتگو کیا ہے اگر میں کیمیا گر ہوں
یہی سوز نفس ہے اور میری کیمیا کیا ہے!
نظر آئیں مجھے تقدیر کی گہرائیاں اس میں
نہ پوچھ اے ہمنشیں مجھ سے وہ چشم سرمہ سا کیا ہے!
اگر ہوتا وہ مجذوب فرنگی اس زمانے میں
تو اقبال اس کو سمجھاتا مقام کبریا کیا ہے!
نوائے صبحگاہی نے جگر خوں کر دیا میرا
خدایا جس خطا کی یہ سزا ہے وہ خطا کیا ہے!

IQBAL'S PARLEYS WITH A BRITISH ECONOMIST

RIAZ HUSSAIN

On a spring afternoon in March, 1912 Hon'able Justice Mian Muhammad Shah Din was at home at his Lawrence Road residence to Prof. Stanley Webb, distinguished left-of-the Centre British Economist and Principal London School of Economics, Dr. Sheikh Muhammad Iqbal Bar-at-Law, Mian Fazal Hussain Bar-at-Law, Nawab Muhammad Ali Khan, Rais-i-Azam, Lahore, Mirza Jalal Din Barrister, Mr. Shah Nawaz Barrister, Munshi Mahboob Alam. Journalist, Mian Taj-ud-Din, Assistant Accountant-General and others.

A verbatim-English translation of the Press Report of the parleys on this occasion, published in Paisa Akhbar, Lahore of March 13,1912 is reproduced below:-

Mr. Stanley Webb and Parleys on the Problems facing India

Mr. Stanley Webb is Principal of the London School of Economics, who, accompanied by Mrs. Webb has been visiting various places in India for the last three months, during which time he has been observing the way of life and political conditions in various Provinces where he has been exchanging ideas with enlightened persons on a variety of Political, Social and Educational problems.

Last Monday evening at 4.30 Hon'able Justice Mian Muhammad Shah Din Sahib, Judge Punjab Chief Court, had invited the following distinguished Muslims of Lahore to meet Mr. Stanley Webb and Mrs Webb and exchange ideas with them. So the Parleys on various matters lasted for two hours.

Nawab Muhammad Ali Khan

Khan Bashir Ali Khan

Khan Sb Faqir Syed Zafar-ud-Din

Khan Sb Sheikh Khair-ud-Din

Sheikh Amir Ali Sh, Judge Small Cause Court

Mian Rahim Bux Extra Asstt. Commissioner

Mian Fazal Muhammad Khan Extra Asstt. Commissioner

Munshi Mahbub Alam Editor

Maulvi Insha Ullah Sh, Editor

Mirza Jalal-ud-Din, Barrister

Dr. Shaikh Muhammad Iqbal Barrister

Mr. Fazal Hussain

Mr. Haq Nawaz”

Mr. Shah Nawaz”

Mian Taj-ud-Din, Asstt. Accountant -General.

Syed Jalal-ud-Din Haider, Prof. Chiefs College.

Mr. Webb seems to be well-acquainted with the affairs and intricate problems of India, and his views are very liberal and enlightened. He wished to explore the best ways of granting more share to the Indians in the affairs of the Government and securing a more sympathetic treatment of the subjects by the Authorities. Regarding the prosecution of seditious newspapers by the Government, the best solution in his opinion would be

that a group of local leaders should shoulder the responsibility on behalf of the Government to admonish and bring to heel the newspaperman to whose attitude the Government takes exception.

On educational matters Mr. Webb's idea was that if instead of English which is after all a foreign language, the College Professors and School Teachers instructed the students in their mother tongue the subjects would be easily understood by the students and learning which remains superficial at present would become effective and the complaint would be removed. Mr. Webb expressed his surprise that the number of Muslim Professors even in the proposed Muslim University would be very small, and they would be lecturing in English.

On female Pardah Mr. Webb very hesitatingly gave his opinion that Pardah certainly appears to be a hindrance in female education and in the four walls of the home the girls cannot derive that benefit from Education which they would in regular Girl Schools staffed by competent lady teachers; and if in future Muslim girls failed to acquire good education like the Hindu girls, the Muslims certainly would fall far behind the Hindus. Therefore, he said just as the Begum Sahiba of Bhopal had travelled up to Europe while wearing Burqa, the Muslim girls also ought to go to school in Burqas.

Thereafter for a while the discussion centered round the question whether during the last twenty or thirty years the financial condition of India had improved or declined. Mr. Webb's view was that during the last three months he had seen large number of passengers boarding third class bogys on Indian Railways which is an evidence of their prosperity. Then topics like the general physical weakness of the Indian people, high-rate of infant mortality etc, were discussed. Mr. Webb told that in England too it was thought a few years ago that the physical condition of the people was steadily deteriorating. But when the Government appointed a Committee of Enquiry which went into the matter for three years, the conclusion it reached was that the English people are sturdier and stronger than before. In fact the coats of

mail of the old Knights are so small that modern people can hardly get into them. Mr. Webb stated how the people were expressing their surprise at the discovery that the Londoners enjoyed better health than the people living in the far-flung areas of England. The reason is that the country folk do not get adequate food. So when they come to London and become sturdier, their clothes have to be enlarged.

In short all kinds of academic matters relating to the reforming of the condition of the country came under discussion in which besides Mr. Webb, Mrs. Webb also took part with equal ability.

Similarly on another day Mr. and Mrs. Webb will hold parleys with the enlightened Hindus of Lahore. Really how fortunate it is that England has thousands of such able men and women as can, if they so wish, fully ascertain the views of the Indian people and convey them to their compatriots and can eliminate for ever such misunderstandings and defects as may be present in the Government of a foreign country, for in future an increasingly larger share in the government is bound to be granted to the people of this country. According to Mr. Webb if there is some defect in the Civil administration or any other system it would be idle to expect the Government to remove it of its own accord. The subjects must tell the Government where the shortcoming is and what reform can be introduced, it will then certainly provide the remedy. Mr. Webb stated regarding the Collector of Gorakhpur that during his tour he gathers the Numberdars, Mukhis and .Muqqadams of the villages and with great kindness holds counsel with them on matters of detail.

Would that there were ten or twenty more District Officers like the Collector Sahib! It is a pity that generally such people have access to the Collectors or Deputy Commissioners or they hold such people as reliable or trustworthy as are sycophants or self-seeking. Hence many Collectors cannot learn the deeper thoughts of the subjects and the true condition of the people of the country.

At any rate the assembly benefited from Mr. Webb's interesting views and it is hoped that the Muslim viewpoint was a useful accession to his own knowledge.

It would be interesting to discover what impression Prof. Webb's statements made on his audience. Regarding Iqbal it may at once be said that he viewed the whole proceeding with amusement and a sense of futility. He may indeed have been inwardly enraged also upon the Professors' rather over-clever attempt to play upon the credulity of the assembly.

What did Iqbal, for instance, think of the Professors' Eye-wash statement:

“during the last three months he had seen large number of passengers boarding third class bogys on Indian Railways which is an evidence of their prosperity.”

The question to which this statement was the answer was ‘whether during the last twenty or thirty years the financial condition of India had improved or declined.’ Now who has ever heard of the casual observance of the number of third class Railway Passengers as an Index of a country's prosperity! Clearly the Professor was evading an important question and making a deliberate attempt to hoodwink intelligent men.

We do not know about the others but Iqbal had a thorough grounding in Economics. At a time (1912) when Jinnah, Gandhi and Nehru were not yet public figures, Iqbal alone held the field as an intellectual who viewed the problems of the Indian people from an Economic, historical and international standpoint.

As early as 1903 he had been engaged in the study of Economics and fruit of his study was *Ilm-al-Iqtisad*. (“Science of Economics”). It was the first book on Economics in Urdu. Iqbal had probed into the causes of poverty in

India and opined that (“the study of Economics is almost a necessity of life, especially in India where poetry is widespread”).³⁹

Ilm-al-Iqtisad was no ordinary text book, but was a serious attempt to apply the principles of Economics to conditions in India and offer scientific solutions to Economic Problems.

After a masterly analysis of the Economic process the Book concludes that poverty could be removed only by equitable sharing of wealth between the landlords and tenants on the farms and capitalists and labour in industrial units. At the same time Iqbal regarded a truly national system of education as the sine qua non of Economic development.

The real causes of Indian poverty:

Economic Exploitation of raw material and labour by British Companies and their local agents, costly administration and unfavorable Sterling Exchange, were not hidden from Iqbal. Due to these causes millions of masses in the towns and villages were eking out a bare existence and if a few thousand Indians had enough surplus money daily to pay mostly short-distance fares on the Railways to attend to business, employment or family matters, that was no indication that general prosperity in India had increased.

On Educational matters Prof. Webb’s ideas were, to say the least, half-baked. Prof. Webb advised the adoption of vernacular as medium of instruction even at the College and University level. Was he, one wonders, playing to the gallery, for there was considerable public sentiment then, as it is now, in favour of vernacularizing higher education. But as far as the views of men like Iqbal on this subject were concerned, we may be sure that they were more realistic than sentimental. Iqbal, Fazl-i-Husain, Shah Din and others, we may be sure, were too conscious of the value of English as an avenue to modern science and technology and as a window on the world to

³⁹ Iqbal, Ilm-ul-Iqtisad, Preface, P.23. Karachi, 1961

subscribe to the idea of dropping it as the medium of instruction in higher seats of learning.

To his audience Prof. Webb's endorsement of pardah for Muslim girls must have sounded satisfactory. The others might have taken a traditional view of Pardah, but we know that Iqbal's thinking on the subject was more in consonance with the Qur'anic injunction:

Tell the believing men to lower their gaze and be modest ... And tell the believing women to lower their gaze and be modest..."⁴⁰

Abdullah Chaghtia reports that answering a question on pardah, Iqbal had told an assembly of women in Madras:

"Ghaz-a-Basr (i.e. lowering of the gaze should be practised and it is incumbent both upon men and women"

(Abdullah Chaghtia, Iqbal Ki Suhbat Mein (Lahore, Prof. Webb's side-tracking of the health issue was no less amusing (or deplorable). The 'Paisa Akhbar' report says:

"Then topics like the general physical weakness of the Indian- people, and high-rate of infant mortality were discussed".

No comment by Prof. Webb on low infant mortality rate is reported but on general physical weakness of the Indian people he made an evasive reply. Prof. Webb made no reference to total lack of Government health scheme for the people, under nourishment of the vast majority of men, women and children and general impoverishment of the country due to the exploitation of British Capitalism, administration and their indigenous agents. We know that in Al-Iqtisad, Iqbal had listed all these factors as responsible for the general poverty of the masses. He, therefore, must have concluded that there was a method in Webb's imperial effusions.

⁴⁰ Sura Al-Nur 30, 31

The Hindu and Muslim communities in 1912 had considerable grievances against the British Government. Consequently the whole outlook in India was full of dark forebodings for the British.

In 1911 the British, knuckling under the pressure of the Hindu terrorists, annulled the partition of Bengal, community as a whole felt deeply wounded not only at this blow to their interests but also at other affronts to their National identity.

In 1912 the Muslim demand for raising the M.A.O College to the level of an affiliating University was refused even though the Muslim community, Princes as well as the people had contributed the requisite funds for the scheme.

During the same year the Muslims were further outraged when a portion of a mosque at Cawnpore was pulled down to widen a public street. The Police opened fire on Muslim demonstrators killing and wounding several men. Jails were jam-packed with Muslim youth. The British were adamant and refused to restitute the mosque. On the international front Turkey's pitiable condition shook the Muslim masses to the core. Turkey was involved in a ruinous war against Italy in Tripoli. The Italian soldiers broke all rules of civilized warfare and their advance degenerated into an orgy of indiscriminate slaughter. Turkey was defeated largely because the British refused to allow Turkish armies to pass through Egypt. At this juncture when Turkey stood isolated and friendless the Indian Muslims launched a massive effort to relieve the Turks in their adversity. Large sums of money were collected and remitted to Constantinople. A Medical mission was dispatched to provide First Aid to the Turkish soldiers wounded in battle. Mosques rang with prayers for Turkey. From public stages rose strong voices of protest against British hostility to the Turks. Muslim Lawyers, Doctors and Professors talked

of nothing but the misfortunes of Turks. The banner lines of Muslim newspapers shrieked lamentations at the defeat of Turkey.⁴¹

The Muslim-British relations were in a state of crisis. It was against the backdrop of these events that a spate of British politicians and professors descended on India holding out vague promises of share in the government, and a liberal administration and making pleas for moderate press and public criticism of the British.

Posing as a liberal and left winger Webb sought to influence public opinion by academic chit-chat. Iqbal and he associates, however, were not swept off their feet by Webb' imposing academic authority as Head of the LSE, for his role as mouth-piece of Imperialism was quite visible to discerning eye the 'Paisa Akhbar news writer was voicing Iqbal's own opinion when he concluded his report with the remark:

“At any rate the assembly benefited from Mr. Webb's interesting views and it is hoped that the Muslim viewpoint was a useful accession to his own knowledge”.

⁴¹ Abdullah Chaghtia, Iqbal Ki Suhbat Mein pp.329 Lahore 1977.

MOHAMMAD IQBAL AND GERMANY

(A CORRESPONDENCE OF THE HEART)

BY: M.A.H. HOBOHM

It is well known that the poet and philosopher Mohammad Iqbal had a deep admiration for Germany, German thought and German poetry, and there are innumerable instances in his writings, poems, letters and in recorded conversations with him which indicate clearly that the works of German philosophers and poets have been a source of great inspiration to him.

Foremost among them was Goethe to whom he refers again and again, of whom he says, 'though not a prophet he has book, namely 'Faust' and whom he compares to Ghalib, the great poet of Urdu and Persian and to illustrious sage of the East, Maulana Jalalud -Din Rumi. In a poem in 'Payam-i-Mashriq' Iqbal imagines Goethe meeting Rumi in paradise and reciting Faust to him. Rumi listens and extols Goethe as one who has really understood the Great Secret. In bringing Goethe and Rumi together, Iqbal brought together not only two of the greatest spirits of the East and West, but also the two men who have influenced him more than anyone else in his career as a thinker and as a poet.

None other than Iqbal himself has told us so. In his preface to 'Payam-i-Mashriq', the book in which Iqbal's art probably reached the height of its power and perfection, he writes these lines: 'Payam-i-Mashriq owes its inspiration to the Western Divan of Goethe, the German 'Philosopher of Life', about which, Heine, the Israelite poet of Germany, says: "This is a nosegay presented by the West to the East as a token of high regard. This

Divan bears testimony to the fact that the West, being dissatisfied with its own spiritual life is turning to the bosom of the east in search of spiritual warmth.’

‘Payam-i-Mashriq’ is Iqbal’s response to Goethe’s ‘West- ostlicher Divan’, on the title page of which I should like to

recall to our memory Goethe had written in his own hand the following words in Arabic language and script: ‘Ad Divan

Sharqi lil Muallif il Gharbi’ An Eastern Divan by a Western Author.

Iqbal’s introduction to ‘Payam-i-Mashriq’ also contains a short but extremely interesting account of the ‘Oriental Movement’ in German literature. It serves to give us a glimpse of the extent of Iqbal’s contacts with German culture, just as his philosophical work, as for instance reflected in his ‘Six Lectures on the Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam’ reveals his profound knowledge of and his deep admiration for German thought, in spite of his frequent differences with German thinker as for instance Nietzsche. Though Iqbal was a great admirer of Nietzsche, and there is much that they both had in common, observes Justice Javaid ‘Iqbal, the poet’s son, in an essay on ‘Iqbal and Nietzsche’ ‘there are fundamental differences between the two, namely their sources of inspiration and, basic to their whole concept of, and outlook on life, their conception of God.’

In an article, entitled ‘Conversations with Iqbal’) by Syed Nazir Niazi, a close friend of Iqbal, who has had extensive conversations with him, which he recorded from time to time, we have another treasure trove of information on Iqbal’s preoccupations with German culture and German thought. Again it is Goethe who figures most prominently in their conversations. Writes Niazi: ‘Perhaps what life needs most are men who can understand its ultimate purpose. Goethe was such a man and so was Iqbal. And it was Iqbal who turned our attention to Goethe. It is a remarkable

episode in our history that Iqbal alone should have resisted the force of a whole literature and culture, namely English, which was dominating our life through political control. It is a fact that we accepted Goethe rather than Shakespeare. Shakespeare is, no doubt, admired but Goethe is the favourite. Shakespeare is a unique artist whom we all recognize, but Goethe is one of us - who has secured a place in our heart. If we bear this point in mind, a glimpse of the perfect man or Vicegerent of God or mo'min or Man of Faith, and his character and disposition as conceived by Iqbal, is seen to some extent in Faust a creature of Goethe's thoughts, and not for instance in the superman of Nietzsche.

The sources from which we can glean information on Iqbal's connections and contacts with Germany and the instances in his writings where he expresses himself on her poets and the thinkers are numerous and manifold.

It is my privilege today to contribute to that material by presenting to the public, for the first time, a report on a collection of letters written by Iqbal which have an immediate and direct bearing on his connections with, by Iqbal to his German language tutor in Heidelberg, Miss Emma Wegenast. Letters and postcards of which I possess are photostat copies and some are originals.

The collection is a gift which Miss Wegenast, the recipient, made in the early sixties, shortly before her death, to the Pakistan-German Forum, a bilateral cultural association of which, at the time, the late Mr. Mumtaz Hasan was President and I had the honour to be its honorary General Secretary.

The Pakistan-German Forum, being an organisation whose aim was and is to promote and strengthen cultural relations between the two countries, was fully aware that Mohammad Iqbal is the greatest cultural link that exists between Germany and Pakistan. It was only natural, therefore, that when Mr. Mumtaz Hasan and I were invited to visit Germany in the summer of 1959

we made it a point not only to visit the cities and universities of Heidelberg and Munich where Iqbal had stayed and studied in 1905 and 1906 but to make every effort and attempt to trace any person still alive who had met Iqbal during his days in Germany.

It was in the pursuit of this aim that with the help of friends we were able to find and contact Miss Emma Wegenast to whom our attention had been drawn by references to her in Begum Atiya Fyzee's book on Iqbal.

Although we could not meet Miss Wegenast personally a correspondence developed between Mr. Mumtaz Hasan and her. As a result of this correspondence she made over to the Forum the letters with the request to pass them on to any archive in Pakistan where they could be accessible to scholars engaged in research into Iqbal's life and work. Mr. Mumtaz Hasan was kind enough to prepare for me a complete set of Photostat copies which he gave to me along with two original letters. Since I had to leave Pakistan on transfer soon after the letters had been received, I do not know their present whereabouts.

But before examining the letters further, let me return once again very briefly to our visit to Germany which yielded yet another fruit: we succeeded in persuading Inter Nations, a German organization founded in Bonn in 1952 to promote intercultural relations and contacts with other nations, to locate the original thesis submitted by Iqbal to the University of Munich for his Ph.D. and to have it copied for the Forum. The thesis was found and thanks to the late Dr. Richard Monnig, the Director of Inter Nations, who himself had taken a keen interest in Iqbal, some 30 photo mechanical reprints of the thesis were produced.

The thesis is preceded by a 'Lebenslauf', a curriculum vitae, presumably compiled by Iqbal himself, and signed by him, in which he gives his date of birth as the 3rd of Dhu Qa'd 1294 A.H., with the year 1876 in brackets. The method of calculation which led to this year of the Christian era was probably the one widely used by Orientalists in Germany and elsewhere at

that time. It follows the formula: year A.H. minus year A.H. divided by 33 plus 622 equals the year of the Christian era.

The thesis was submitted with the approval of Professor Dr. Friedrich Hommel, Iqbal's supervisor or doctor-father as he is called in Germany, the Faculty of Philosophy, Section I (respectively II) of the Ludwig- Maximilians University at Munich. It was published in London in 1908 by Luzac & Co., and was printed by E.J. Brill of Leiden in Holland. I should like to add the remark that at the time when Iqbal obtained his degree in Munich it was quite customary, even obligatory at German universities to submit Ph.D.-Theses, or 'Inaugural Dissertation' as they are called in German, in print, and in a set fairly large number of copies to be distributed to important libraries and relevant research Centres in the country and abroad.

But let me now turn to the letters. They are altogether 27 in number including two postcards. They cover two distinct periods, namely the year from 1907 to the outbreak of the Great War in 1914 and the years from 1931 to 1933. The long silence between these periods is only interrupted once by a letter written in 1919.

There is every possibility that I may have lost some of my photostat copies in the course of several moves from one continent to another and that the original collection is larger than mine. I have a faint recollection that there were altogether more than 40 letters plus some photographs.

As I already mentioned, the person to whom the letters were addressed is Miss Emma Wegenast. She was Iqbal's German Language tutor in Heidelberg at the 'Pension Scherer' one of those highly respectable boarding houses for students so common in German university towns before the advent of the students hostel towerblocks.

'Pension Scherer', or the Heidelberg School, as Iqbal calls it is one of his letters, seems to have been a boarding house mainly for foreign students, which explains the tutorial facilities. Fraulein Wegenast was in her twenties

when she and Iqbal met, and we have it on the authority of Begum Atiya Fyzee that she was a very beautiful and highly accomplished and polished young lady.

Iqbal was very fond of her there is no doubt about that but as the letters reveal, it was a pure and innocent fondness. I have the feeling when reading the letters, that to Iqbal Fraulein Emma Wegenast was the embodiment of all that he loved and respected, of all that he was so strongly attracted by, in German culture, in German thought, in German literature, perhaps in German life as a whole.

Iqbal addresses her throughout very formally as 'Mein liebes Fraulein Wegenast' or 'My dear Fraulein Wegenast', with only the 'Mein' hinting at his fondness for her. But it is fondness coupled with respect, for in all the letters written in German, and they all belong to the first period then his memories of her were the freshest and his feelings for her must have been the strongest, he always uses the formal and respectful 'Sie' in addressing her, not once lapsing into the intimate 'Du'.

The letters do not reveal anything sensational. They are rather ordinary letters as any two friends would exchange among themselves: no deep thoughts, no poetry, and yet they answer some of the questions about Iqbal which were still open and they certainly throw further light on Iqbal's feelings for my country.

The first question answered is the one posed by Syed Nazir Niazi in his essay on his conversations with Iqbal when he writes: 'I had always been curious to find out how far Iqbal had studied the German language ... I personally believe he had made a deep and penetrating study of German literature in original. He must have been well-versed in the German language. But he never used any German word in his conversations, not even at the time when his children were under the care of a German governess who lived in his house.'

Well, the letters certainly provide an answer to this question. All his letters written before the outbreak of the Great War except two are written in German. And although Iqbal complains in them time and again about severe shortcomings in his knowledge of that language and of his inability to express himself in the way he would like to, even apologizing for insulting the reader by his 'schlechte Deutsch', his bad German, I can only say that when Iqbal does so, he is much too modest. I find it remarkable how well he expresses himself in that language, a language after all, in which he has had tuition for only a relatively short time. No, he knew German alright, as the letters reveal, though in later years his active knowledge of that language must have progressively faded away, and quite understandably so.

In his first detailed letter after his return to his native country, dated Lahore, 11th January 1909, he gives a very lucid and fluent account in German of the overwhelming welcome accorded to him by his countrymen.

As a by-product, so to say, the letters yield another and hitherto unknown piece of information: the addresses at which Iqbal stayed in London in 1908 and again in 1931 and 1932 when he attended the Round Table Conferences. They are 49, Elsham Road in Kensington in 1908, 113 A St. James Court, Buckingham Gate in 1931, and lastly Queen Anne's Mansion, St. James Park in 1932. Now that these addresses are known the Buildings Advisory Committee of the Greater London Council should be requested to put up a blue plaque at one of these addresses, in commemoration of him, who is one of the greatest sons of Pakistan, if not the greatest.

However much I should like to do so, the -time at my disposal today does not permit me to quote extensively from the letters. I feel, however, that I owe it to you to read out one passage at least which is particularly expressive:

On receipt of the news that Fraulein Wegenasts' father had died, he sent her the following message of condolence:

‘Dear Miss Wegenast,

I am extremely sorry to hear the sad news of your father’s death; and though my letter must reach you a good many days after this sad event, yet neither time nor distance can make my sympathy with you in your bereavement any the less warm. The news has pained me very much indeed, and I pray that Almighty God may be pleased to shower his choicest blessings on the venerable old man, and to give you strength to endure your sorrow. ‘Verily we are for God and to God we return.’ This is the sacred text that we recite when we hear the news of death. And I recited this verse over and over again on reading your painful letter. Such events though, do happen in everybody’s life, and we must meet our troubles like those who left us their lives to imitate. You remember that Goethe said in the moment of his death

‘More Light!’. Death opens up the way to more light and carries us to those regions where we stand face to face with eternal Beauty and Truth. I remember the time when I read Goethe’s poems with you, and I hope you also remember those happy days when we were so near to each other so much so that I spiritually share in your sorrow. Please write to me when you feel inclined to do so. I wish I had been in Germany to convey my sympathy to you personally. May God be with you.

Yours ever,

Mohammad Iqbal.’

‘I remember the time when I read Goethe’s poems with you, and I hope you also remember those happy days when we were so near to each other spiritually speaking’. Here it is: Fraulein Wegenast, that is Goethe and Heine and Kant and Schopenhauer, it is Heidelberg, the Neckar, Germany it is those happy days! And that is the leitmotif of Iqbal letters to Emma Wegenast. ‘My body is here, my thoughts are in Germany’. ‘It is impossible for me to forget your beautiful country where I have learned so much’. ‘My

stay in Heidelberg is nothing now but a beautiful dream. How I'd wish I could repeat it!" I am very fond of Germany. It has had a great influence on my ideals, and I shall never forget my stay in that country.' 'Never shall I forget the days I spent at Heidelberg when you taught me Goethe's Faust and helped me in many ways. Those were happy days indeed'. 'I'd wish I could see you once more at Heidelberg or Heilbronn whence we shall together make a pilgrimage to the sacred grave of the great master Goethe.' 'The other day I was reading Heine, and I thought of the happy days when we read the poet together.'

And a final quotation: 'Germany was a kind of second home to my spirit. I learned much and I thought much in that country. The home of Goethe had found a permanent place in my soul.'

Yes indeed! the *Wegenast*, that is Goethe and Heine, Kant and Schopenhauer, Heidelberg, the Neckar, Germany, those happy days. And those happy days, Germany, the Neckar, Heidelberg, Schopenhauer and Kant, Heine and Goethe that to Iqbal was *Fraulein Wegenast*, as this correspondence not of the mind, not of the intellect but of the heart reveals.

VIOLENT PROTESTS AGAINST THE WEST IN IQBAL'S LYRICAL POETRY

PROF. DR. M. RIAZ

One of the most significant features of Iqbal's writings is his protests against certain attitudes of the West. Iqbal mostly criticizes and condemns the materialistic out-look, fake diplomacy and destructive modes of the sciences of the Westerners. Iqbal's remarks are spread over a span of 30 years. In his poetry he has been raising his forceful voice against the West in almost all the forms, yet his criticism in a few dozen couplets of the lyrics; sometimes of quatrain pattern; of both Persian and Urdu, is felt more coercive. The reason is obvious: lyric or 'Ghazal' is the most delightful and delicate form of poetry and its all themes become effective. Allama Iqbal was a poet with messages; he has conveyed his feelings to the readers in all the forms of his poetry, may it be a lyric or some else format, still some scholars of Iqbal Studies have abhorred this style of including cynic subjects in sweet and melodious ghazals. Iqbal's couplets would reply to such critics:

اے کہ نوشم خوردہ ای، از تیزی نیشم مرنج
نیش ہم باید کہ آدم را رگ خوابے زند⁴²

O thou who didst my sweet wine take,

Grieve not at my sharp sting;

It needs my sting, that I may wake

Man from his slumbering.⁴³

⁴² Zabur-e Ajam part-II Lyric 44. Kulliyat-e-Iqbal Farsi ed. 1973 Lahore page-503.

⁴³ Persian Psalms Eng.T. of (Zabur-e-Ajam) Prof. A.J. Arberry, Lahore, Sh. Muhammad Ashraf Publications, P. (3rd 1968 ed).

چمن میں تلخ نوائی مری گوارا کر
کہ زہر بھی کبھی کرتا ہے کار تریائی⁴⁴

My bitter notes with patience harke,
That I utter in this part:
Bear it in mind that Passion too
Oft can work like Elixir true.⁴⁵

Mercantile mentality

While in Europe, Iqbal had expressed his doubts about positive outcome of deep mercantile and business minded mentality of the Westerners though apparently by dint of this very quality they had gained imperialistic ground in many parts of the world. Iqbal thus addressed the Westerners in a Urdu lyric in March 1907⁴⁶:

“Western people! God’s world is not a shop” what you think pure gold, it will now be a base coin. Your civilization will commit suicide with its own dagger. The nest made on delicate bough shall remain undurable”⁴⁷

Iqbal was fully convinced that the Westerners were great hindrance in the ethical advancement of the mankind⁴⁸ and hence they couldn’t solve the

⁴⁴ Bal-e-Jibreel part-II Lyric-45 Kulliyat-e-Iqbal (Urdu) ed. 1973 Lahore P.358.

⁴⁵ Gabriel’s wings Eng. Tr. by S.Akbar Ali Shah Modern Book Depot, Islamabad (1979.) P.130

⁴⁶ Bang-e-Dara part-II, Kulliyat-e-Iqbal (Urdu), P.141.

⁴⁷ Eng. Tr. by the writer.

⁴⁸ The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam ed. by M. Saeed Sheikh, Institute of Islamic Culture Lahore 1986 P.142.

problems of the world. The point is explicitly clear in Iqbal's Masnavis;⁴⁹ but in his lyrics also he beautifully refers to the decaying culture of the Westerners emerging out from their limited world vision; a vision which is one-sided and based on selfish motives:

اگر درد دل جہانے تازہ داری، بروں آور
کہ افرنک از جر احتہائے پنہار بسمل افتاد است⁵⁰

If a New World thou hast
In thy bosom, declare thy faith
Wounded in heart and breast,
Europe is night to death.⁵¹

فرنگ اگرچہ ز افکار تو گرہ بکشاد
بجرعہ دگرے نشہ ترا افزود⁵²

Though Europe many knots united
That chained thy thought,
Intoxication magnified
Her next draught brought.⁵³

جسے کساد سمجھتے ہیں تاجران فرنگ

⁴⁹ Particularly in Javid Nama and Pas Chih Bayid Karl.

⁵⁰ Zabur-e-Ajam. Kulliyat Farsi P.495

⁵¹ Persian Psalms P.95

⁵² Zabur-e-Ajam Kulliyat (Farsi) P.510

⁵³ Persian Psalms P.107

What Frankish Dealers take For counterfeit and fake, Is true and real art
Not valued in their Mart.⁵⁵

After the First World War (1914-18), the Western Countries had become totally hollow though outwardly their grandeur was glittering on, Allama Iqbal, was perhaps one of a few sages in the world who had glanced the declining position of the Westerners. The post-world war-years not only reflected economic crisis but also led to Westerners' political downfall which resulted in retrenchment of their colonial imperialism. In a few years the dominated countries of the continents of Africa, Asia and elsewhere began to get their freedom one after the other. Still it was not easy to predict the decline of the West when it was on the zenith of its outward progress and power. Nevertheless Iqbal never satiated in proclaiming the approaching of a new war and lessening altogether imperialistic design of the West. I quote below a few prophetic couplets from Iqbal's Persian and Urdu works:

یہ حوریاں فرنگی، دل و نظر کا حجاب
بہشت مغربیاں، جلوہ ہائے پا برکاب⁵⁶

The Houris of West delude both heart and sight

Vanish too soon the visions of its Eden bright!⁵⁷

خیرہ نہ کرسکا مجھے جلوۂ دانش فرنگ

⁵⁴ Bal-i-Jibreel, Kulliyat (Urdu) P.339.

⁵⁵ Gabriel's' Wings P.88

⁵⁶ Bal-i-Jibreel. Kulliyat (Urdu) P.328.

⁵⁷ Gabriel's Wings P.88

سرہ ہے میری آنکھ کا خاک مدینہ و نجف⁵⁸

The Lore of West, spite glaring light,

Could not ever blight my sight:

For dust of Yathrab and Najaf

Is Surmeh (collyrium) for my eyes enough.⁵⁹

اعجاز ہے کسی کا یا گردش زمانہ

ٹوٹا ہے ایشیا میں سحر فرنگیانہ⁶⁰

This wonder by some elance is wrought, Or Fortune's Wheel has come full round: At last the Frankish charm has broke, The Fast by which was whilom bound.⁶¹

ڈھونڈ رہا ہے فرنگ عیش جہاں کا دوام

وائے تمنائے خام، وائے تمنائے خام⁶²

Some cure the West is seeking fast The wordly bliss may ever last: Woe betide this yearning raw! Woe betide this yearning raw!⁶³

خبر ملی ہے خدایان بحرور سے مجھے

⁵⁸ Bal-i-Jibreel. Kulliyat (Urdu) P.332

⁵⁹ Gabriel's Wings P.72

⁶⁰ Bal-i-Jibreel, Kulliyat (Urdu) P.346.

⁶¹ Gabriel's Wings P.103

⁶² Bal-i-Jibreel. Kulliyat (Urdu) P.354

⁶³ Gabriel's Wings P.121

فرنگ رہگذر سیل بے پناہ میں ہے⁶⁴

This news I have received from those Who rule the sea and land

That Europe lies on course of flood 'Gainst which no one can stand.⁶⁵

بیا کہ ساز فرنگ از نوابر افتاد است

درون پردہ او نغمہ نیست، فریاد است⁶⁶

Beware, The Frankish Harmonium is no more in tune; Behind its notes, wails emerges not melodies.⁶⁷

خود افزود مرا درس حکیمان فرنگ

سینہ افروخت مرا صحت صاحب نظراں⁶⁸

Bad Intentions

Iqbal raised his woes and cries against the West because he thought that these privileged and advanced people have bad intentions of keeping the weak and un-privileged people in their slavery and are not the well wishers of the progress and prosperity of the humanity at large. Westerners cause new problems of different type in the world and so the humanity is permanently in agony owing to their evil designs. He laments this attitude of the West in his works Payam-e-Mashriq Zabur-e- Ajam and Zarb-e-Kalim vividly:

⁶⁴ Bal-i-Jibreel, Kulliyat (Urdu) P.361

⁶⁵ Bal-i-Jibreel, Kulliyat (Urdu) P.362

⁶⁶ Masnavi Musafir, on the mausoleum of Babir Kulliyat Farsi P.86.

⁶⁷ Eng. Tr. by the writer.

⁶⁸ Piyam-e-Mashriq, Kulliyat Farsi P.315.

The teaching of the West' philosophers

Increased my wisdom's fund

The company of seers lit up

My being's very core.⁶⁹

فرنگ گرچه سخن با ستاره می گوید

حذر که شیوه او رنگ جوزنی دارد⁷⁰

Although the West converses with the stars, Beware,

There is in all it does

A taint of sorcery⁷¹

فرنگ شیشه گری کرد و جام و مینار یخت

بجیر تم که ہمیں شیشه را پری داند⁷²

The West makes glass.

And fashions jars and cups.

I am surprised it thinks the glass itself

To be "the fairy in the glass".⁷³

⁶⁹ A Message From the East, Eng. Tr. of Piyam-e-Mashriq by M. Hadi Husain, Lahore, Iqbal Academy (2nd 191 ed), P .106

⁷⁰ Piyam-e-Mashriq Kulliyat P.333

⁷¹ A Message From the East P.128

⁷² Piyam-e-Mashriq, Kulliyat P.345

⁷³ A Message From the East P.143

فتنه را کہ دو صد فتنہ باغوش بود
دخترے ہست کہ در مہد فرنگ است ہنوز⁷⁴

A tumult in whose swelling breast Two hundred tumults wait
That maiden is, who dwells caressed In Europe's cradle yet.⁷⁵

Fool Is there then such hope in thee
Of winning Europe's sympathy?
the falcon grieves not overmuch
About the bird that's in his clutch.⁷⁶

اہل نظر ہیں یورپ سے نوید
ان امتوں کے باطن نہیں پاک⁷⁷

Men with vision bright!

For West have hope so slight: The hearts of West aren't chaste For
actions good haven't taste.⁷⁸

Secular and Godless Education

⁷⁴ Zabur-e-Ajam. Kulliyat P.462

⁷⁵ Persian Psalms P.61

⁷⁶ Zabur-e-Ajam. Kulliyat P.521 Persian Psalms P.116

⁷⁷ Zarb-e-Kalim, Kulliyat-i-Urdu P.576

⁷⁸ The Rod of Moses, Eng. Tr, of Zarb-e-Kalim by S. Akbar Ali Shah, Iqbal Academy, Lahore 1983, P.69.

The secular, Godless and ill-based Western Education and knowledge have been the main target of Iqbal's criticism. He was deadly opposed to destructive motives of sciences which have been causing destruction and spreading terror in the world. His violent protest in the Masnvi form can be seen in his Piyam-e-Mashriq and Pas Cheh Bayid Kard Aye Aqwam-e Sharq. In Persian and Urdu lyrics also he has deep condemnation for such education and knowledge which does not open the world vision and explore no sympathy in the hearts for the humanity. Only that knowledge is worthwhile which brings the hearts of the people together. The destructive weapons created and applied by the Westerners by dint of their advancement in knowledge and technology cannot be appreciative. However, advancement in technology and education can bring solace to the hearts of the people only if these are applied for peaceful purposes. Iqbal appreciates the advancement of the Western policy in various domains of human activities; the honest researchers and historians of the West also accept that the Muslims in the by gone centuries of their advancement had positive effects on the world particularly on the Western people who have been paving the new methods of marching ahead for the last four centuries. Iqbal thus ascribes the positive elements of Western culture to Islam i.e. the faith of the humanity.⁷⁹ But still his criticism of secular Western knowledge and culture as reflected in his lyrics is of permanent importance and the East and West may get good lessons from the inferences of the poet philosopher of Islam. Here under are a few citations from Iqbal's lyrics:

مکدر کرد مغرب چشمه ہائے علم و عرفان را
 جہاں را تیرہ تر ساز دچہ مشائے چہ اشراقی⁸⁰

Alas, the Western mind hath soiled The springs of knowledge undefiled;
 Stoic alike and Platonist

⁷⁹ The Reconstruction... P.6

⁸⁰ Zabur-e-Ajam. Kulliyat P.420

Have shrouded all the world in mist.⁸¹

زمینائے کہ خوردم در فرنگ اندیشه تاریک است
سفر ور زیدہ خود را نگاہ را بینے دہ⁸²

I drank the West's enamelled bowl, And darkness settled over my soul;
O give me sight to see the way And where I went so sore astray.⁸³

قدح خرد فروزمے کہ فرنگ داد ما را
ہمہ آفتاب لیکن اثر سحر ندارد⁸⁴

Lo, the goblet mind-illuming That the West hath given me, All the sun's
aglow within it; Of the dawn no sign I see.⁸⁵

ز علم و دانش مغرب ہیمن قدر گویم
خوش است آہ و فغان تا نگاہ ناکام است⁸⁶

Of the science of the West

This much I will speak:

Sweet are sighs and tears experts While the gaze is weak.⁸⁷

⁸¹ Persian Psalms P.21

⁸² Zabur-e-A jam, Kulliyat P.422

⁸³ Persian Psalms P. 23

⁸⁴ Zabur-e-Ajam Kulliyat P.449

⁸⁵ Persian Psalms P.49

⁸⁶ Zabur-e-A jam. Kulliyat P.458

⁸⁷ Persian Psalms P.58

از کلیمے، سبق آموز کہ دانائے فرنگ
جگر بحر شگافید و بہ سینا نرسید⁸⁸

To Moses' lesson list;

For Europe's scientist

Though ocean's depth he plumb, Could ne'er to Sinai come.⁸⁹

دل بیدار ندادند بد انائے فرنگ
این قدر ہست کہ چشم نگرانے دارد⁹⁰

Wakeful heart was never given Europe's scientist by heaven; All that
God has marked him by Is the speculative eye.⁹¹

عذاب دانش حاضر سے باخبر ہوں میں
کہ میں اس آگ میں ڈالا گیا ہوں مثل خلیل⁹²

The Scourge of present Science and Thought,

To me, no doubt, is fully known, Like Abraham, the Friend of God, In
its flame I have been thrown.⁹³

مجھے وہ درس فرنگ آج یاد آتے

⁸⁸ Zabur-e-Ajam Kulliyat P.482

⁸⁹ Persian Psalms P.83

⁹⁰ Zabur-e-A jam. Kulliyat P.483

⁹¹ Persian Psalms P.83

⁹² Bal-e-Jibreel, Kulliyat P.355

⁹³ Gabriel's Wings, Kulliyat P.123

ہیں

کہاں حضور کی لذت، کہاں

دلیل⁹⁴

حجاب

Still to mind I can recall,

In Europe what I learnt by heart:

But can the Veil of Reason match

With joy that Presence can impart?⁹⁵

سرور و سوز میں ناپائدار ہے، ورنہ

مے فرنگ کا تہ جرعہ بھی نہیں ناصاف⁹⁶

The joy that Frankish wine does give Lasts not for long nor always live,
Though scum at bottom of its bowl Is always pure and never foul.⁹⁷

وہ آنکھ کہ ہے سرمہ افرنگ سے

روشن

پرکار و سخن ساز ہے، نمناک

ہے⁹⁸

نہیں

⁹⁴ Reference 51 above.

⁹⁵ Reference 52 above.

⁹⁶ Bal-e-Jabreel Kulliyat P.370

⁹⁷ Gabriel's Wings P.159

⁹⁸ Bal-i-Jibreel, Kulliyat P.325

The eye whose light and lustre rest On Collyrium brought Grown West:
Is full of art, conceit and show, It gets not wet at others woe.⁹⁹

In a lyric of Zabur-e-Ajam Iqbal condemns the bad elements of the culture of the East and West alike; the East' devoid of vigour and West led astray:

خادر که آسمان به کمند خیال اوست
از خویشتن گسسته و بی سوز آرز دست
در تیره خاک او تب و تاب حیات نیست
جولان موج را نگران از کنار جوست
بت خانه و حرم همه افسرده آتشی
پیر مغان شراب هوا خورده در سبوست
فکر فرنگ پیش مجاز آورده سجود
بینای کور و مست تماشای رنگ و بوست
گردنده تر ز چرخ و رباینده تر زمرگ
از دست او بدامن ما چاک بے رفوست
خاکی نهاد و خوز سپهر کهن گرفت
عیار و بی مدار و کلان کار و تو بتوست
مشرق خراب و مغرب از آن بیشتر خراب
عالم تمام مرده و بی ذوق جستجوست

⁹⁹ Gabriel's Wings P.59

ساقی بیار باده و بزم شبانه ساز
مارا خراب یک نگه محرمانه ساز¹⁰⁰

The East, that holds the heavens fast within the noose its fancy cast, its
spirit's bonds are all united, the flames of its desire have died.

The burning glow of living birth
Pulses no more in its dark earth;
It stands upon the river side
And gazes at the surging tide.

Faint, faint the fires of worship be
In temple and in sanctuary;
The Magian still his cup would pass,
But stale the wine is in his glass.

The vision of the West is blind,
Illusion fills the Western mind;
Drunken with magic scent and hue,

¹⁰⁰ Zabur-e-A jam Kulliyat P.P.441-442

It bows before the great untrue.

Swifter it spins than heaven's sphere;

Death is a gentler ravisher;

Its fingers have so torn my soul,

Never again can it be whole.

Of the earth earthy, it would try

To emulate the ancient sky;

A rogue, a cheat, of works immense,

With pivot none, and little sense.

The East is waste and desolate,

The West is more bewildered yet;

The ardent quest inspires no more,

Death reigns supreme the whole world o'er.

Bring me the wine of heart's delight,

And spread the banquet of the night;

Give me the bold, adventurous eye,

And in love's transport let me die.¹⁰¹

Similarly in a Ghazal of Bal-e-Jibril the poet speaks of the Westerners tactics in a few successive couplets. The sum total of these couplets is that the Westerners are causing economic disparity in the world and they are unjust in their general attitude:

یا رب یہ جہان گذراں خوب ہے لیکن
کیوں خوار ہیں مروان صفاکیش و ہنر مند؟
گو اس کی خدائی میں مہاجن کا بھی ہے ہاتھ
دنیا تو سمجھتی ہے فرنگی کو خداوند
تو برگ گیا ہے ندھی اہل خرد را
او کشت گل و لاله بخشد بہ خرے چند
حاضر ہیں کلیسا میں کباب دمے گلگوں
مسجد میں دھرا کیا ہے بجز موعظہ و پند¹⁰²

O God, this fleeting world of
Thine Is, no doubt, superb and fine:
But why the people do despise
The true, the honest and the wise?

¹⁰¹ Persian Psalms P.P.104-105

¹⁰² Bal-i-Jibreel, Kulliyat P.312

Though the rich and bankers' band In his godhead have a hand,
Yet the men with one accord
Hold the Man of West as Lord.

Thou dost not grant a blade of grass To men with talents high, alas!

The man of West with generous hand Bestows on fools Squares of
Land.

With meat and wine like ruby red The Faithful Fold at church is fed:
There is nothing in the Mosque, But sermons dry and painful task.¹⁰³

The Climax

Iqbal's two lyrics or quatrains in the Mustazad form in Zabur-e-Ajam may be termed as the climax of his protest against the West. Whereas the poet touches other relevant issues being faced by the Muslims and the humanity at large, he strongly cries against the polluted policies of the West which were directed against the dominated and weak countries of the world. These verses should be studied in the context of 1927, when this book was first published. By that time the First World War had ended a few years before. The Ottoman Empire had scattered in the form of many Eastern and Western states. The sub-Continent of India was in the grip of destructive

¹⁰³ Gabriel's Wings P.31

riots of the Hindus and Muslims and there was no accord among political parties of this vast territory. There was a general chaos in the world and the West could not claim that it had no hand in the disorder of the affairs prevailing everywhere in the world. Thus Iqbal's violent and forceful protests echoed and mused in the new forms of Persian poetry, in the domains of all Persian knowing spheres. The English rendition by late Prof. Dr. A.J. Arberry is also forceful and alarming and our short article ends with this clamour:

خواجه از خون رگ مزدور ازد لعل ناب
از جفای ده خدایان کشت دهبانان خراب

انقلاب

انقلاب ای انقلاب

شیخ شهر از رشته تسبیح صد مومن بدام

انقلاب

انقلاب ای انقلاب

واعظ اندر مسجد و فرزند او در مدرسه
آن به پیری کو دکی این پیر در عهد شباب

انقلاب

انقلاب ای انقلاب

میر و سلطان نرد باز و کعبتین شان دغل
جان محکومان زتن بردند و محکومان نجواب

انقلاب

انقلاب ای انقلاب

ای مسلمانان فغان از فتنه های علم و فن
اهرمن اندر جهان ارزان ویزدان دیرباب

انقلاب

انقلاب ای انقلاب

شوخی باطل نگر! اندر کمین حق نشست
شیر از کوری شیخونی زند بر آفتاب

انقلاب

انقلاب ای انقلاب

در کلیسا ابن مریم را بدار آویختند
مصطفی از کعبه هجرت کرده با امّ الکتاب

انقلاب

انقلاب ای انقلاب

من درون شیشه های عصر حاضر دیده ام
آنچنان زهری که از وی مار ها در پیچ و تاب

انقلاب

انقلاب ای انقلاب

باضعیفان گاه نیروی پلنگان می دهند
شعله شاید بروی آیدز فانوس حباب

انقلاب

انقلاب ای انقلاب

Of the hireling's blood outpoured

Lustrous rubies makes the lord;

Tyrant squire to swell his wealth

Revolt, I cry! Revolt, defy! Revolt, or die!¹⁰⁴

City Sheikh with string of beads Many a faithful heart misleads,
Brahman baffles with his thread Many a simple Hindu head.

Revolt, I cry!

Revolt, defy!

Revolt, or die!¹⁰⁵

ای غنچه خوابیده، چو نرگس نگران خیز
کاشانه مارفت بتاراج غمان خیز
از ناله مرغ چمن، از بانگ اذان خیز
از گرمی هنگامه آتش نفسان خیز
از خواب گران، خواب گران خواب گران خیز
از خواب گران خیز

¹⁰⁴ Zabur-e-A jam. Kulliyat P.P.486-488

¹⁰⁵ Persian Psalms P.P. 86-88

خورشید که پیرا یه بسیماب سحر بست
آویزه بگوش سحر از خون جگر بست
از دشت و جبل قافله با رخت سفر بست
ای چشم جهان بین بتماشای جهان خیز
از خواب گران خواب گران خواب گران خیز
از خواب گران خواب گران خیز
خاور همه مانند غبار سر راهی است
یک ناله خاموش و اثر باخته آپی است
هر ذره این خاک گره خورده نگاهی است
از هند و سمرقند و عراق و همدان خیز
از خواب گران خواب گران خواب گران خیز
از خواب گران خواب گران خیز
دریای تو دریاست که آسوده چو صحراست
دریای تو دریاست که افزون نشد و کاست
بیگانه آشوب و نهنگ است چه دریاست
از سینه چاکش صفت موج روان خیز
از خواب گران خواب گران خواب گران خیز
از خواب گران خواب گران خیز
این نکته گشاینده اسرار نهان است

ملک است تن خاکی و دین روح روان است
تن زنده و جان زنده ز ربط تن و جان است
با خرقة و سجاده و شمشیر و سنان خیز
از خواب گران خواب گران خواب گران خیز
از خواب گران خیز
ناموس ازل را تو امینی تو امینی
دارای جهان را تو یساری تو یمینی
ای بنده خاکے تو زمانی تو زمینی
صهباى یقین در کش و از دیر گمان خیز
از خواب گران خواب گران خواب گران خیز
از خواب گران خیز
فریاد از افرنگ و دلاویزی افرنگ
فریاد ز شیرینی و پرویزی افرنگ
عالم همه ویرانه ز چنگیزی افرنگ
معمار حرم باز به تعمیر جهان خیز
از خواب گران خواب گران خواب گران خیز
از خواب گران خیز

Prince and Sultan gambling go, loaded are the dice they throw. Subject
soul from body strip while their subjects are asleep,

Revolt, I cry! Revolt, defy! Revolt or die!

Preacher's at the mosque, his son

To the kindergarten gone'

Grey bird is a child, in truth,

Child a grey bird, spite his youth.

Revolt, I cry!

Revolt, defy!

Revolt, or die!

Brother Moslems! woe to us

For the havoc science does;

Ahriman is cheap enough,

God is rare, scarce-offered stuff.

Revolt, I cry! Revolt, defy! Revolt, or die!

See how Falsehood's blandishment

Shadows Truth, with ill intent,

How the Bat, with blinded eyes,

Plots against the Sun to rise

Revolt, I cry! Revolt, defy! Revolt, or die!

In the Churches, Jesus Christ
On the Cross is sacrificed,
With God's Book Muhammad too
Revolt, I cry! • Revolt, defy! Revolt, or die!

I have seen into the bowls
Furnished by this age for souls;
Such the venom they contain,
Serpents twist and writhe in pain.

Revolt, I cry! Revolt, defy! Revolt, or die!

Yet the weak are given at length
Lion's heart and tiger's strength;
In this bubbling lantern, lo!
Haply yet a flame will glow.

Revolt, I cry! Revolt, defy! Revolt, or die!¹⁰⁶

¹⁰⁶ Zabur-e-A jam, Kulliyat P.P.473-475

Little flower fast asleep,

Rise narcissus-like'm and peep; Lo, the bower droops and dies
Waster by cold grief's; arise! Now that birdsong fills the air
And muezzins call to prayer, Listen to the burning sighs

Of the passionate hearts, and rise!

Out of leaden sleep,

Out of slumber deep

Arise!

Out of slumber deep

Arise!

Now the sun, that doth adorn with his rays the brow of morn, Doth
suffuse the cheeks thereof With the crimson blush of love. Over mountain,
over plain Caravans take route again;

Bright and world-beholding eyes, Gaze upon the world, and rise!

Out of leaden sleep,

Out of slumber deep

Arise!

Out of slumber deep

Arise!

All the Orient doth lie

Like strewn dust, the roadway by, or a still and hushed lament
And a wasted sigh and spent: Yet each atom of this earth is a gaze of tortured birth.
Under Ind's and Persia's skies, Through Arabia's plains, O rise!

Out of leaden sleep,

Out of slumber deep

Arise!

Out of slumber deep Arise!

See, thy ocean is at rest, Slumberous as a desert waste; Yea, no waxing or
increase E'er disturbs thy ocean's peace. Ne'er thy ocean knoweth storm Or
Leviathan's dread swarm: Rend its breast and, billow-wise Swelling into
tumult, rise!

Out of leaden sleep,

Out of slumber deep

Arise!

Out of slumber deep Arise!

Listen to this subtlety

That reveals all mystery: Empire is the body's dust; Spirit, true Religion's
trust' Body lives and spirit lives By the life their union gives.

Lance in hand, and sword at thighs,

Cloaked, and with thy prayer mat, rise!

Out of leaden sleep, Out of slumber deep Arise

Out of slumber deep Arise!

Thou art true and worshipful Guardian of eternal Rule,

Thou the left hand and the right Of the World-possessor's might.
Shackled slave of earthy race, Thou art Time, and thou art Space: Wine of
faith that fear defies

Drink, and from doubt's prison rise!

Out of leaden sleep, Out of slumber deep Arise!

Out of slumber deep Arise!

Against Europe I protest,

And the attraction of the West: Woe for Europe and her charm, Swift to
capture and disarm! Europe's hordes with flame and fire Desolate the world
entire; Architect of Sanctuaries, Earth awaits rebuilding; rise!

Out of leaden sleep,

Out of slumber deep

Arise!

Out of slumber deep Arise!¹⁰⁷

Notes

¹⁰⁷ Persian Psalms P.P.73-76

EDUCATION OF THE YOUTH IN THE LIGHT OF IQBAL'S PHILOSOPHY

MRS. RAZIA ABBAS

In this age of decadence of moral values when we are faced with all kinds of hypocrisy, dishonesty and lowliness, it is vitally important to analyse what different aspects of character building should be cultivated and encouraged in our young generation. I propose to examine, in this paper, the implications of the philosophical ideas of Allama Muhammad Iqbal, who was a great poet and thinker, not only of his time but still is a guiding force for our nation. His poetry, like any other fine arts, has a great message to impart. It is not only a lyrical expression of the poets' emotional experiences and moods but it lends itself to the philosophical discussion and guiding principles of character building. His poetry like all fine arts is genuine and significant. It impinges dynamically on life, deepening its meaning, quickening its pulses and interpreting its fundamental purpose.

اے اہل نظر نوق نظر خوب ہے لیکن
جوشے کی حقیقت کو نہ سمجھے وہ نظر کیا؟
مقصود ہنر سوز حیات ابدی ہے
ایہ ایک نفس یا دو نفس مثل شرر کیا؟

Valuable is the taste for art, ye, man of vision

But vision that perceives not the Reality, is useless.

The goal of art is the flame of immortal life

Not this fleeting breath transitory like the spark.¹⁰⁸

Iqbal is primarily a thinker and a philosopher not concerning himself with abstract and remote issues and speculations which have no bearing on the living problems of the present, but bringing his intelligence and trained mind to concentrate on real problems of life and to suggest their solutions. Iqbal was not an educationist, in the limited every day meaning of the word. He was never engaged except for a comparatively brief period-in teaching. He has not put anywhere, in a consistent form, any comprehensive study of education. But there is a justification for undertaking the implementation of his philosophy in education. Firstly as education, in its correct significance, must be visualized as the sum total of all the cultural forces which play on life of a person or a community. If this is conceded and accepted, it follows that the contribution of an outstanding creative thinker, who has a distinctive message to impart, is a phenomenon of the greatest interest for the educationist. Secondly every philosophy of life, in so far as it throws any light on the problems of life, implies and postulates a philosophy of education since both are concerned, from their own angles, with similar issues and problems. They both touch the meaning and purpose of human life, the relation of the individual to the community and environment and to the problems of values. Any coherent system of ideas, which provides guidance in facing these problems or offers a critical view of existing cultural institutions, social practices and ways of credence must necessarily modify (in so far as we accept that school of thought) the basis of our educational theory and practice. Education is viewed as a process through which one generation transmits its acquired knowledge, experience, competencies, beliefs, traditions and attitudes to the next generation. In this way it is a means of evaluating and effectively transmitting the cultural heritage.

In this paper I shall be referring mostly to Iqbal's collection of Urdu and Persian poems. Poetry, by its nature, is much more flexible and sensitive medium of expression than prose. But it does not possess the same objectivity or precision of thought as a piece of a careful, systematic prose. It lends itself to a greater variety of interpretation but I will be careful to attach

to Iqbal's verses the meaning which the general trends of his ideas seem to justify. Every important verse has a definite meaning and it can, if properly understood, be fitted into the general system of his ideas.

The Concept of Individuality

No one can develop any intelligent theory of education without consciously having some concept of the nature of the individual to be educated. For the essence of the education process, reduced to its most elementary terms, is the fact of a living human organism. The organism which is in constant interaction and contact with a vast and complex environment, and which keeps on changing and growing as a result of this continuous inter-communication. Like a philosopher, the educator must necessarily inquire into the characteristic nature of these two terms of his activity the individual and the environment which ultimately determine the solution of all his problems.

In order to grasp Iqbal's concept of the nature and the function of the individual who is the object of the educator's attention we must try to explain his concept of "Ego" or "Individuality" which is the central idea of his philosophy. This was presented by him in a popular but forceful form in his famous Persian masnavi *Asrar-i-Khudi* (The Secrets of Self) published in 1923, it has been developed in his poetical works and more systematically in his lectures.

To, him ego or khudi is a real and pre-eminently significant entity which is the centre and the basis of the entire organization of life. For Iqbal the movements which deny the reality of the self are dangerous in their social consequences and misleading as intellectual hypotheses. Iqbal affirms that the negation of self, or its absorption into some Eternal self, should not be man's ideal. He should, instead, strive to retain his infinitely precious

individuality and strengthen it by developing greater originality and uniqueness.

“The End of the Ego’s quest is not emancipation from the limitations of individuality; it is, on other hand, a more precise definition of it.”¹⁰⁹ He points out that the true interpretation of human experience” is not the drop slipping into the sea but the realization and bold affirmation of the reality and permanence of human ego in a more profound personality”.¹¹⁰

This movement towards the achievement of a profound individuality is not confined in the development of all living organism. He believes that all living organisms are struggling to achieve a more or less complex individuality. In man, the creative impulse has succeeded and he has developed powers which have opened up before him the possibilities of unlimited growth and freedom.

ہر چیز ہے محو خود نمائی
 ہر ذرہ شہید کبریائی
 ہے ذوق نمود، زندگی موت
 تعمیر خودی میں ہے خدائی
 اک تو ہے کہ حق ہے اس جہاں میں
 ہے نمود سیمیائی!

Everything is preoccupied with self expression

Every atom a candidate for greatness,

Life without this impulse spells death

By the perfection of his individuality man becomes like God

Thou alone art the reality in two

Universe All the rest is a mirage (Optical illusion).¹¹¹

¹⁰⁹ Lectures, Page 198

¹¹⁰ Ibid, Page 91

¹¹¹ Kulliat-e-Iqbal (Urdu) P 345

Of all the living creatures, man had achieved the highest measure of individuality and is most conscious of his own reality.

“It is with the irreplaceable singleness of his individuality that the finite ego will approach the infinite ego to see for himself the consequences of his past action and judge the possibilities of his future.”

Thus, according to Iqbal neither education nor other social and cultural institutions can have any higher aim than that of strengthening the individuality of the educates for the realization of their limitless possibilities. It was profound study of decadence of the Eastern Nations, which made him concentrate so strongly on the doctrine of individuality. He was driven to the conclusion that this feeling of defeat and despair, this loosening of the fibers of national life was due to the conscious or unconscious adoption of paralyzing doctrine of self negation. He, therefore, preaches the doctrine of the fullest development and affirmation of the self in this world with all its forces material, cultural and spiritual. Self is always in the making and is a reservoir of yet untapped powers and possibilities. Its development requires that the individual should throw himself open to all kinds of formative and challenging experiences. If he withdraws from the world of strife, his individuality will shrink and whither.¹¹²

This note of self-realization runs through his poetry and his philosophy, and he regards the cultivation of individuality as the first and the highest goal of all social and educational efforts.

The question arises, how does this -individuality grow? What are the conditions, external and internal, which favour its development? Iqbal frequently stresses this point that the self or individuality is not born in itself but is an achievement. The fruit of a constant effort and struggle against the forces of the external environment as well as the disruptive tendencies within man himself. Iqbal explains.

¹¹² Lectures, P. 117

“The life of the Ego is a kind of tension caused by the Ego invading the environment and the environment invading the Ego.”¹¹³

Therefore, it is essential that the living intimacy of the relationship between the individual and his environment should be preserved. A life of solitary, self sufficient contemplation which cuts him from the stimulus and vigorous currents of social life, is apt to make him egocentric and limited in his interest and sympathies.

Iqbal also defines the nature of the environment which would be favourable to the growth of the self. True self-expression, whether of the individual or of the community can be secured only when the self feeds on, and draws its inspiration from ones own cultural heritage and achievements. People must have the capacity for the active understanding, assimilation and reconstruction of the existing culture. Only then they can shape for themselves an individuality which is both original and enduring. Any form of education which ignores this fundamental truth is foredoomed. That is why Iqbal has repeatedly stressed that سوال (asking dependence on others, slavish imitation of ideas and culture) always weakens the self and that unless the individual as well as the community develops self-reliance and inner richness of their own being, their potentialities will remain repressed.

Iqbal’s poetry gives this message as the second condition for education again and again.

تاڪے	پروانه	نارائي	دلا
تاڪے	مردانه	شيوه	نگيرى
سوز	خويشتن	بسوز را	يڪے خود
تاڪے	بيگانه	آتش	طواف

How long, O heart, this burning like the moth?

How long this aversion to the ways of true manhood?

¹¹³ Ibid, P. 97

Burn thyself once for all in thy own flame,

How long this fluttering around the stranger's fire?¹¹⁴

Again:

ز خاک خویش طلب آتشی که پیدانیست
تجلی وگرے در خور تقاضانیست

Look into thy own clay the fire that is lacking the light of another is not worth striving for.¹¹⁵

He criticizes those who, without appreciating the true values of Western culture, try to imitate it by coping its externals only.

علم و فن را اے جوان شوخ و شنگ
مغز می باید نہ ملیوس فرنگ
اند رہیں رہ جز نگہ مطلوب نیست
ایں کلہ یا آن کلہ مطلوب نیست
فکر چالا کے اگر داری بس است
طبع ذرا کے اگر داری بس است

Arts and sciences O lively and eager youth,

Requires a keen intellect not Western clothes

What is needed in this quest is Vision?

Not this or that particular head-dress.

If you have a subtle intellect and a discriminating mind they would suffice to guarantee success.¹¹⁶

When education is organized under the inspiration of a healthy ideology, it will aim at strengthening people's individuality and culture it will use its best efforts to quicken their creative activity.

¹¹⁴ Kulliat-e-Iqbal. Persian P. 199

¹¹⁵ Ibid p. 705

¹¹⁶ Ibid p. 760

The third condition which Iqbal regards essential for the education of true individuality is Freedom. He believes that life cannot unfold all its possibilities. nor can the individual develop all his latent powers, except in the atmosphere of Freedom.

بندگی میں گھٹ کے رہ جاتی ہے اک جوئے کم آب
اور آزادی میں بحر بیکراں سے زندگی!

Enslaved, life is reduced to a small rivulet

Free, it is like the boundless ocean.¹¹⁷

Unfolding of an individual's latent possibilities can best take place in an atmosphere of freedom. He further makes the significant point that creativity, which is the highest attribute of man and links him with God and originality which is a condition for all progressive change of a society, also demands freedom as a pre-requisite for all cultivation.

Iqbal exhorts his readers not to be intellectually timid but to go out boldly to conquer new domain of knowledge. The student should be unafraid of the pitfalls and dangers which beset the way and be a threat to the established institutions.

تراش از تیشہ خود جادہ خویش
براه دیگران رفتن عذاب است
گر از دست تو کار نادر آید
گنا ہے ہم اگر باشد ثواب است

Cut your path with an axe of your own

It is a sin to tread the beaten paths of other

If you achieve something unique and original

Even a sin becomes a virtue¹¹⁸

¹¹⁷ Kulliat-e-Iqbal (Urdu) p. 259

Such a view of intellectual education demands the rejection of all those elaborate, foolproof strictly logical and graded methods of teaching which eliminate initiative and ingenuity. The method which does not allow making mistakes and learning from them is not good. Though Iqbal is conscious of the significance of intelligence and knowledge he does not believe in blind worship of the intellect which gives one sided view of reality.

He is with those modern thinkers who sound a note of warning against an “Over intellectualistic” conception of education. He holds a balanced view which gives due weight to all the elements of experience-cognitive, psychomotor and affective, which make up life.

Another factor which Iqbal considers important in the development of individuality is the formation of new purposes and objectives to determine the direction of our activity and control the evolution of the “self”. It is the ceaseless quest for new and greater creative purposes which adds zest and meaning to life and disciplines the growing powers and activities of individuals. This yearning for the unattainable or striving for it is the mark of a true artist.

چو نظر قرار گیرد بہ نگار خویروئے!
 تپداں زماں دل من پئے خوب تر نگارے
 ز شرر ستارہ جویم ز ستارہ آفتابے
 سرمنزلے ندارم کہ بمیرم از قرارے
 طلبم نہایت آن کہ نہایتے ندارد
 بہ نگاہ ناشکیبے بہ دل امید وارے

When the eye beholds an object of beauty

The heart begins to yearn for a more beautiful for

From the spark of the star, and then from the star to the sun

Is my quest;

I have no desire for a goal

For me rest spells death¹¹⁹

With an impatient eye and a hopeful heart I seek for the end of that which is endless.

His entire philosophical thought is an eloquent plea for a life of strenuous activity and endeavour in which the self interacts with its material and cultural environment. Action is the pivot of life. Man grows to his full stature and realizes his great destiny through a life of strenuous activity.

From it follows that if education is to be a preparation for life, it must be achieved through active participation in life. The growth of individuality demands intense and manifold activity on the part of the growing individual, in vital contact with the culture of his group.

The Individual and the Community

Stress on individuality raises several questions. What is the nature of the relationship between the individual and society? Does the cultivation of the individuality means that educated men and women will be unmindful of their social obligations and their dependence on the cultural achievements of their people? What is the respective importance of the individual and of the group of which he is a member? Should the development of the individual be regarded as the supreme end of life process and the community an instrument of his development? Iqbal attaches the highest value to the individuality. But he does not take an extreme position and duly recognizes the importance of the culture pattern of community life. He does not overlook the fact that the growth of a full and free personality is impossible

¹¹⁹ Ibid p 297

only when it draws its spiritual substance from the culture of the group to which it belongs.

فرد قائم ربط ملت سے ہے تنہا کچھ نہیں
موج ہے دریا میں اور بیرون دریا کچھ نہیں

The individual exists in relation to the community Alone he is nothing

The wave exists in the river, outside the river it is nothing.¹²⁰

Iqbal explains how, through such relationship, the individual may even transcend mortality and gain an every abiding significance. The individual who loses himself in the community, in the service of its great and worthy ideal and purposes, reflects both the past and future as in a mirror so that he ‘transcends mortality and enters into the life which is infinite and ever lasting.

It may be asked what is the right basis for the unity of a community? Iqbal is strongly opposed to the ideas of race and colour and to a narrow nationalism and patriotism because they obstruct the development of a broad humanitarian outlook. Unity of emotions and outlook of purpose and endeavour and the merging individual selves in the service of great, cooperative ideals and objectives unite a collection of individuals into a perfect community. When such unity of outlook has been achieved, it becomes good or evil, and a source of unlimited power for individual as well as the community. Without such unity the community becomes disorganized, feeble and dead.

زنده فرد از ارتباط جان و تن
زنده قوم از حفظ ناموس کہن
مرگ فرد از خشکی رود حیات
مرگ قوم از ترک مقصود حیات

The individual exists through the relation of the body to the mind

¹²⁰ Kulliat-e-Iqbal (Urdu) p 190

The nation exists through conserving the honour of its past

The individual dies if the river of life goes dry

The nation dies if it lets go off the purpose of life.¹²¹

Iqbal also holds that in the periods of decadence a people can gain new vitality by turning to the healthy sources of their past culture. By striking their feet firmly on the ground of their culture, they gain fresh power and inspiration.

مضمحل گردد چو تقدیم حیات
ملت از تقلید می گیرد ثبات
بحر گم کردی زیان اندیش باش
حافظ جوئے کم آب خویش باش

When the texture of life has become weak and worn out

The community gains stability through imagination

Thou hast lost the ocean, learn to count thy loss

Guard carefully the water in the small stream.¹²²

When community becomes lazy, slothful and averse to change, some great individual is born to give a new impetus:

تا خدا صاحب دلے پیدا کند
کو ز حرفے دفترے املا کند
ساز پردازے کہ از آوازہ
خاک را بخشد حیات تازہ
تازہ انداز نظر پیدا کند
گلستان در دشت و در پیدا کند
بند ہا از پاکشاید بندہ را
از خداوندان ربا ید بندہ را

God then brings into being some inspired person

¹²¹ Kulliat-e-Iqbal (Persion) p 118

¹²² Ibid p 124

Who expands one word into a volume
A player who, with his musical notes
Endows this clay with a new life
He creates new lines of insight
And brings the garden to blossom in desert
He strikes off the fetters from the feet of the slaves
And frees them from the tyranny of gods.¹²³

In an over-organized society an individual is altogether crushed out of existence. He gains the whole world of social thought around him and loses his own soil. Thus false respect for past history, constitutes no remedy for the people's decay. The only effective power, therefore, that counteracts the forces of decay in a society is rearing the self concentrated individuals.

Iqbal has faith in his fellow beings and in the power of the right ideology and right education to transform them by developing their inner richness. We find a note of optimism about the future of mankind, at least, as frequent as disappointment with his actual achievements.

ز انجم تا به انجم صد جہاں بود
خرد ہر جا کہ پرزد آسماں بود
و لیکن چون بخود نگرستم من
کران بے کراں در من نہاں بود

There are a hundred worlds from star to star
Whenever Intellect flies, it finds new skies
But when I look deep into myself

¹²³ Ibid p 89-90

Lo a boundless ocean was hidden within me. ¹²⁴

The Concept of Good Character

It is necessary for every system of educational philosophy to define clearly the type of human being which it aims at producing. The ethical value of any particular educational theory depends ultimately on the quality and character of the individuals produced under its inspiration. I propose to sketch briefly the portrait of the “good man” as it emerges from a study of Iqbal’s writings.

Firstly the life of a good man must be a life of active efforts and struggle, not one of withdrawal or stagnation. This activity must not run into routine pattern instead it must be creative and original. For Iqbal creativity is the most valuable and distinctive gift of God through which man has been able to transform his crude world and fill it with order and beauty it can claim.

دمبدم مشکل تر و آسان گزار
دمبدم نو آفرین و تازه کار

It is ever welcoming the difficult, ever rejecting

Ever creating, ever achieving new thing¹²⁵

Iqbal exhorts his readers to strengthen their Ego, abandon their dependence on others and achieve a respected and self respecting individuality.

Secondly the “good man” must learn to apply his intelligence increasingly to the exploitation of the forces of Nature, adding to his knowledge and power.

¹²⁴ Ibid p 220

¹²⁵ Ibid p 134

ہر خاکی و نوری پہ حکومت ہے خرد کی
بابر نہیں کچھ عقل خداداد کی زد سے
عالم ہے غلام اس کے جلال ازلی کا
اک دل ہے کہ ہر لحظہ الجھتا ہے خرد سے

Intellect reigns over all beings of clay and light

Nothing is beyond the reach of God-given mind

The entire world bows to its eternal glory

The heart alone challenges its sway at every step.¹²⁶

Intellect gives power, but this power can be utilized constructively for the good of humanity only if it is guided and controlled by Love. This Love is not a mere vague humanitarian sentiment. It is an active force which gives a quality to Individuality when it is pressed into the service of worthy ends.

In order to develop a character which has both sensitiveness and strength (the sensitiveness to the good of humanity and to ideal values, and strength in carrying out his purposes) there are three other qualities which education should cultivate Courage, Tolerance and Faqr (فقر).

Iqbal believes that the cultivation of an attitude of courage is essential for the proper education of character. He considers Fear to be one of the most degrading emotions. Just as Love strengthens the self, Fear which is the negation of Love, weakens it and becomes the source of all kinds of corruption in the individual's character.

لابہ و مکاری و کین و دردغ
ایں ہمہ از خوف می گیرد فروغ
پر شربنہاں کہ اندر قلب تست
اصل او بیم است اگر بینی درست

Flattery, treachery, cunning and spite

Are all nurtured in the bosom of fear

Every hidden evil, nestling in our heart

Is the product of fear it' your will rightly regard.¹²⁷

His exhortation to our generation is:-

خوف	حق	عنوان	ایمان	است	و	بس
خوف	غیر از	شرک	پنهان	است	و	بس
فارغ	از	اندیشه	اغیار	شو		شو
قوت	خواهی	بیدار		شو		شو

Fear of God is the beginning of faith

The fear of others is veiled idolatry

Relieve yourself of the fears of others

You are a power-asleep, shake yourself awake.¹²⁸

The second quality which Iqbal considers to be essential constituent of the good character is Tolerance. It is necessary factor in any scheme of thought which lays stress individuality. “The principle of the ego sustaining deed”, remarks “is respect for the Ego in myself as well as in others which clearly implies that unless education strengthens in us sense of respect for others’ individuality-their opinions a beliefs, their thought and behaviour, their differences with us our own individuality will remain weak, distorted incomplete. Iqbal’s tolerance is born out of strength, not of weakness. It is the tolerance of a man of strong faith, who possesses strong convictions of

¹²⁷ Kulliat-e-Iqbal (Persian) p 96

¹²⁸ Ibid p 99

his own, realizes that respect is due to others. Iqbal considers tolerance to be the bases of true humanity.

حرف بد را بر لب آوردن خطا است
کافر و مومن همه خلق خدا است
آدمیت احترام آدمی!
باخبر شو از مقام آدمی!
بنده عشق از خدا گیرد طریق
می شود بر کافر و مومن شفیق
کفر و دین را گیر در پنهان دل
دل اگر بگریزد از دل، وائے دل
دل اگر بگریزد از دل، وائے دل
گرچه دل زندانی آب و گل است
این همه آفاق، آفاق دل است

It is a sin to utter harsh words

For the believer and non-believer are both children of God

What is humanity? Respect for man

Learn to understand the dignity of man

The man of Love learns the ways of God

And is benevolent alike to the believer and the non-believer

Welcome faith and unfaith alike to the heart

If the heart flees from the heart, woe betide the heart

The heart, no doubt, is imprisoned in water and clay

But the whole of the universe is the domain of heart.¹²⁹

¹²⁹ Ibid p 52

The third quality Faqr has come in with great stress in the writings of Iqbal. There is not one single word, in the English language, which could convey its full and concise significance.

Iqbal rejects the idea of renunciation and advocates an active way of life.

But he is keenly conscious of the fact that the highest aspirations of man are apt to become stifled by the weight of his material possessions. Riches often curtail the growth and expansion of the spirit.

گرچه باشی از خداوندان ده
فقر را از کف مده، از کف مده
اے بسا مرد حق اندیش و بصیر
می شود از کثرت نعمت ضریر
کثرت نعمت گداز از دل برد
ناز می آرد، نیاز از دل برد

Even if you belong to the lords of the Earth

Do not forego the grace of Faqr

Many a man who understand truth and possess vision

Becomes corrupt by an excess of riches

The excess of riches steals compassion from the heart

And substitutes pride for humility.¹³⁰

Iqbal believes that while man is engaged in the conquest of this world, he should retain an inner attitude of detachment and superiority to the material possession. Only then can he guard himself against becoming a slave to them and use them for the service, instead of the exploitation of his fellowmen. Faqr is also the satisfaction not in an increase of material possession but in the selfless service of some great purpose and leading a life of voluntary poverty and self denial.

¹³⁰ Ibid p 793-4

Now we can sum up the character of a “good man” in educational terms. He is a man who develops all his powers and strengthens his individuality through active contact with his material and cultural Environment. This strong individuality, sharpened through a life of active experience in an atmosphere of freedom, is dedicated to the service of human being by conquering the world. He is strong enough to stand aloof from temptations which weaken the moral fibre. His self-respect gives him courage. His tolerance and respect for others, make him sensitive to the claims which the common humanity makes on him. In the pursuit of his ideal he is strong enough to defy the interests and forces which stand in the way of its realization. This is Iqbal’s challenge to mankind.

یہ عالم یہ ہنگامہ رنگ و صوت
یہ عالم کہ ہے زیر فرمان موت
یہ عالم یہ بت خانہ چشم و گوش
جہاں زندگی ہے فقط خورد و نوش
خودی کی یہ ہے منزل اولیں
مسافرا! یہ تیرا نشمین نہیں
جہاں اور بھی ہیں ابھی ہے نمود
کہ خالی نہیں ہے ضمیر وجود
پر اک منتظر تیری بلغار کا
تری شوخی فکر و کردار کا
یہ ہے مقصد گردش روزگار
کہ تیری خودی تجھ پہ ہو آشکار
تو ہے فاتح عالم خوب و زشت
تجھے کیا بناؤں تری سرنوشت
فروزاں ہے سینے میں شمع نفس!
مگر تاب گفتار کہتی ہے بس!

This world which is a riot of colour and sound

This world which is under the sway of Death

This world which is an idol-house of sight and hearing

Where life is naught but eating and drinking

It is only the first stage in perfection of Ego

Traveller! it is not thy goal
There are many worlds still unborn
For the mind of existence is not a void
All are awaiting thy triumphant advance
And the subtlety of thy thought and action
What is the purpose of this whirling of time?
Than thy Ego may be revealed to thee.¹³¹
Than art the conqueror of the world of good and evil
I dare not reveal thy great destiny
My heart is aflame with the light of inspiration
But the power of my speech confesses its defeat.¹³²

Notes

¹³¹ Ibid p 794

¹³² Kulliat-e-Iqbal (Urdu) p 420-21

A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF IQBAL AND SHAWQI

MAJEED JAMI

Ahmad Shawqi, a modern poet of Egypt, is one of those who revived classical Arabic poetry. He was a contemporary of Muhammad Iqbal, the poet-philosopher of the Indo-Pak sub-continent who wrote Persian poetry in the style of the great classical masters. It is doubtful if they ever met or studied each other's writing. Nevertheless, similarities between them are numerous enough to warrant a closer look.

Shawqi was born in 1868 in a fairly wealthy family of mixed Arab, Turkish, Circassian and Greek origins. Iqbal was born in 1877 in a modest Muslim family of Hindu origin which had migrated from the princely state of Kashmir to the neighbouring town of Sialkot in British India. Referring to his family origin, Iqbal calls himself the only Brahman who understands Islam.

Both of them started early education in secular schools of their home towns but received at the same time a firm grounding in religious learning. Iqbal got it from Shams-ul-Ulema Sayyid Mir Hasan, an acknowledged scholar of Arabic and Persian. Completing his undergraduate studies at the Scotch Mission (now Murray) College in Sialkot in 1895, he took a master's degree in philosophy from Government College, Lahore, in 1899. Shawqi had just finished secondary education in Egypt when Khedive Tawfiq sent him to Europe for higher studies, granting him adequate funds and taking full responsibility for his financial needs there. He studies law and literature in France, spending two years in Montpellier and two years in Paris. Iqbal's education abroad was financed with the meagre resources of his elder brother. He obtained a Ph.D. in philosophy from Munich University in

Germany, a Bachelor of Arts degree from Cambridge University, and qualified as a barrister-at-law from Lincoln's Inn, London.

On his return to Egypt in 1891, Shawqi was appointed to a high office in the courtland, became the favourite bard of Khedive Abbas Hilmi. Iqbal returned from Europe in 1908 and was appointed first as reader in the Punjab University Oriental College and then as assistant professor at Government College, Lahore, with permission to practice law at the High Court. He continued writing poetry while carrying on his two professions. Resigning his teaching job after some time, he continued legal practice which allowed him more time for poetry.

The early poetry of both poets appeared in newspapers, and literary information on Ahmad Shawqi is taken from the very interesting article written by Dr. Z.I. Oseni of the University of Ilorin in Nigeria and published in *Iqbal Review* (vol. 28, No. 1) for spring 1987 long before it was compiled and published in book form. In the case of Shawqi, these periodicals included *al-Ahram*, *al-Mu'ayyad*, *al-Liwa*, *al-Majallat al-Misriyyah*. *Ukaz* and *al-Zuhur*. His poems were later published in four volumes under the title of *al-Shawqiyyat*. He also wrote a number of other works in poetry and prose. Iqbal's poems first appeared in *Makhzan*, *Inqilab*, *Haq*, *Zahan*, *Khudang-e-Nazar*, *Ma'arif*, *Zamindar*, *Kashmiri Gazette*, *Panja-e-Faulad*, *Deccan Review* and *Zamana*. The first collection of his Urdu poetry, *Bang-e-Dara*, was compiled long after the appearance of his three books in Persian but was followed by a few others in both languages. In fact, his Persian poetry is more voluminous than the one in Urdu. Each poet has one book published after death. For Shawqi it is *al-Arab wa Uzama'al-Islam* (The Arab States and the Notables of Islam, Iqbal's book is called *Armaghan-e-Hijaz* (The Gift of Hijaz).

The recurring theme of the poetry of Iqbal and Shawqi is their love for Islam as a way of life. Both glorified the past achievements of Muslims, lamented over their present plight and yearned for their bright future. Both

were deeply devoted to the Holy Prophet (PBUH) and expressed their devotion in sublime poetry. Both composed special petitions addressed to him, in the manner done by Busiri, the 13th century Egyptian poet author of the well-known Qasidah al-burdah entitled al-Kawakib al-Durriyyah fi Madh Khayr al-Barriyyah (The Brilliant Stars in Praise of the best in the World). Busiri wrote this eulogy of 162 verses while suffering from paralysis. He is reported to have recovered after dreaming that the Prophet (PBUH) covered him with his mantle (burdah in Arabic and hence the title of the poem). Shawqi composed 190 verses in 1910 and named them Nahj al-Burdah (In the Path of Burdah). Iqbal wrote two petitions in Persian in the same style containing 62 and 65 verses. In both petitions, he refers to Busiri and prays for his own recovery. In his introductory note prefacing the second petition, he states that on the night of 3 April 1936, while staying at Bhopal, he saw Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan (the founder of Aligarh Muslim University) in a dream, advising him to appraise the Prophet (PBUH) of his illness.

Though devoted to the teachings of Islam, neither Shawqi nor Iqbal had the privilege of performing the pilgrimage. Despite his poem entitled Arafat Allah (To God's Arafat), Shawqi refused the chance when visiting Mecca in 1911 at the pilgrimage time in the royal party of the Khedive. Iqbal yearned for the honour but did not go to Mecca during his trip to Europe, explaining that he preferred to undertake the journey at his own expense and not while travelling on behalf of the Government. Later his health did not permit travel abroad. His posthumous book is full of poetry describing his imaginary travel in the Holy Land.

Both poets spent some time in Spain. Shawqi was exiled there for a few years during World War I by the British Government for criticising its deposing of Khedive Abbas and annexing Egypt. Iqbal paid a short visit in the course of his London trip of 1932. Both describe with considerable pride and pleasure the glory of Muslim Spain. Shawqi tells the story of Abd al-Rahman al-Dakhil, the first Umayyad ruler of Spain also known as Abd al-Rahman al-Awwal. Iqbal writes about the first date palm, planted on the

Spanish soil by the same ruler. He also translated into Urdu an Arabic poem of Mu'tamid, the imprisoned ruler of Saville. Shawqi was particularly fond of Ibn Zaidun, a classical Arab poet of Spain, to whose poem on the fall of Granada Iqbal refers in his own lamentation on Sicily (though he inadvertently calls him Ibn Badrun). Iqbal's poem on Masjid Qurtabah has been translated into English and Arabic.

Other world figures sharing the attention of Iqbal and Shawqi include Kamal Ata Turk, Tolstoy, Napoleon Bonaparte and Kitchener. Both condemned Ata Turk's abolition of the caliphate and composed verses after their visits to Napoleon's grave. Both used the Arabic version (Kishnar) of Kitchener's name. Shawqi titled his poem 'Masra' al-Lurd Kitshinar (Fall of Lord Kitchener). In Javed Namah Iqbal depicts him in the company of the Pharaoh, calling him Zul Khartum (which can be elephant's trunk as well as the Sudanese capital), and has the following message for him from Mehdi:

گفت اے کشز اگر داری نظر
انتقام خاک در ویشے نگر
آسمان خاک ترا گور نے نداد
مرقدهے جز دریم شورے نداد

He (Sudani) said. "If thou

Has sight, O Kitchener, see a dervish's dust Has been avenged. The sky denied to thee

A grave save in the ocean's depths." (Mahmud Ahmad's translation)

Both poets criticized the anti-Muslim policies of one and the same colonial power which dominated their countries. Both represented their nations in international forums, Shawqi at the orientalist conference held in Geneva in 1894 and Iqbal at two round table conferences convened in London in 1931 and 1932. Both earned public esteem and admiration for their political and literary achievements. Shawqi was conferred the title of Amu al-Shu'ara (king of the poets) in 1927 at a gathering of scholars from all over the Arab world. Iqbal was addressed as Hakim al-Ummah Mufakkir-e-

Millat and Sha'ir-e-Mashriq (poet of the east) and became the most respected leader of the Indian Muslims.

When Iqbal visited Egypt after attending the Round Table Conference in London, he was not well known to the Arabs. Umm Kulsum had yet to sing his message in her melodious voice and only a few of his poems had been rendered into Arabic. He met selected literary figures to whom he was introduced by Abdul Wahhab Azzam. In his preface to the Arabic translation of Payarn-e-Mashriq, Azzam admits that he was not familiar with Iqbal until he heard Muhammad Akif (a Turkish poet visiting him at Halwan) reciting his Persian poetry. They studied his verses together, pondering over many of them. Azzam became so fascinated with Iqbal that he acquired more of his writings and started translating them into Arabic. On the other hand, nothing of Shawqi's poetry has been rendered into Urdu and he never visited India.

Iqbal and Shawqi shaped the thinking of their countrymen and aroused them for the freedom struggle. In it both made the best use of classical idioms and poetic terms to express modern ideas and politics. Iqbal took active part in politics and was an elected member of the Punjab Legislative Council from 1926 to 1930.

Shawqi died on 14 October 1932 before Iqbal's visit to Cairo. Iqbal died on 21st April 1938. Although contemporaries with similar ideas, the twain had no apparent links. Despite this lack of contact, their poetry testifies that great men think alike.

EXISTENCE ('UJUD) AND QUIDDITY (MAHJYYAH) IN ISLAMIC PHILOSOPHY

SEYYED HOSSEIN NASR

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE SUBJECT

There is no issue more central to Islamic philosophy and especially metaphysics than wujud (at once Being and existence) in itself and in its relation to mahiyah (quiddity or essence). For eleven centuries Islamic philosophers and even certain Sufis and theologians (mutakallimun) have been concerned with this subject and have developed on the basis of their study of wujud world views which have dominated Islamic thought and have also had a deep influence upon Christian and Jewish philosophy. Islamic philosophy is most of all a philosophy concerned with wujud and hence with its distinction from mahiyah. To understand the meaning of these basic concepts, their distinction and relationship, is, therefore, to grasp the very basis of Islamic philosophical thought.¹³³

It is true that Islamic metaphysics places the Absolute above all limitations, even beyond the ontological principle as usually understood. It knows that the Divine Essence (al-Dhat al-ilahiyah) stands above even

¹³³ The distinction between 'quiddity' and 'existence' is undoubtedly one of the most basic philosophical theses in Islamic thought. Without exaggeration the distinction may be said to constitute the first step in ontologico-metaphysical thinking among Muslims: it provides the very foundation on which is built up the whole structure of Muslim metaphysics." T. Izutsu. "The Fundamental Structure of Sabzavari's Metaphysics." Introduction to the Arabic text of Sabzavari's *Sharhi-i rnanzumah* edd. M. Mohaghegh and T. Izutsu (Tehran: McGill Univ. Institute of Islamic Studies, Tehran Branch, 1969), p. 49.

Being, that it is Non-Being or Beyond-Being¹³⁴ in that it stands beyond all limitation and even beyond the qualification of being beyond all limitation. Nevertheless, the language of this metaphysical doctrine remains in most schools of Islamic thought that of wujud. Hence, the discussion concerning the choice between wujud and mahiyyah remains central to Islamic metaphysical thought even if the Muslim gnostics and metaphysicians have remained fully aware of the supra-ontological nature of the Supreme Reality and have not limited metaphysics to ontology.

Only too often the concern of Islamic philosophers with wujud and mahiyyah has been traced back solely to Greek philosophy and especially to Aristotle. There is, no doubt concerning the debt of al-Farabi, who was the first Muslim philosopher to discuss fully the distinction between wujud and mahiyyah to the Stagirite. The manner, however, in which he and especially Ibn Sina, who has been called the “philosopher of being” par excellence,¹³⁵ approached the subject and the centrality that the study of wujud gained in Islamic thought have very much to do with the Islamic revelation itself. The Quran states explicitly, “But His command, when He intendeth a thing, is only that he saith unto it: Be! and it is (kun fa-yakun)” (XXXVI;82); it also speaks over and over of the creation and destruction of the world. This world as experienced by the homo Islamicus is, therefore, not synonymous with wujud. It is not “an ontological block without fissure in which essence, existence and unity are but one.”¹³⁶

¹³⁴ For the metaphysical distinction between Being and Non-Being, see F. Schuon, *From the Divine to the Human*, trans. G. Polit and D. Lambert (Bloomington: World Wisdom Books, 1982), part one: and his *Survey of Metaphysics and Esoterism*, trans. G. Polit (Bloomington: World Wisdom Books, 1986), part one. Schuon writes, “Beyond-Being or Non-Being is Reality absolutely unconditioned, while Being is Reality insofar as It determines Itself in the direction of Its manifestation and in so doing becomes personal God.” *Stations of Wisdom*, trans. G.E.H. Palmer (London: John Murray, 1961), p.24, n.I.

¹³⁵ ‘See A.M. Goichon, “L’ Unite de la pensee avicennienne.” *Archives Internationales d’ Histoire des Science* 20-21 (1952), 29ff.

¹³⁶ E Gilson, *L’Etre et l’ essence* (Paris: J.Vrin, 1948), p.90; also quoted in Izutsu, “The Fundamental Structure....” pp.54-55.

Moreover, the origin of the “chain of being” is not simply the first link in the chain but is transcendent vis-a-vis the chain. The levels of existence (maratib al-wujud) to which Aristotle and Theophrastus and before them Plato refer are, therefore, from the Islamic point of view discontinuous with respect to their Source which is above and beyond them. The Quranic teachings about Allah as Creator of the world played a most crucial role in the development of Islamic philosophy as far as the study of wujud is concerned. On the one hand, it made central the importance of the ontological hiatus between Being and existents and, on the other hand, bestowed another significance on the distinction between wujud and mahiyyah by providing a meaning to the act of existentionation or the bestowal of wujud upon mahiyyah other than what one finds in Aristotelian philosophy as it developed among the Greeks.

A HISTORICAL SURVEY OF THE STUDY OF WUJUD AND MAHIYYAH

Already in his *Fusus al-hikmah*,¹³⁷ Al-Farabi distinguishes clearly *huwiyah*, which in the terminology of early Islamic philosophy means that by which something is actualized, hence *wujud*, from *mahiyyah*. Ibn Sina, deeply influenced, by al-Farabi, makes this distinction the cornerstone of his ontology and treats it amply in many of his works, especially the metaphysics of the *Shifa'* and the *Najat* as well as in his final major philosophical opus, *al-Isharat wa'l-tanbihat*.¹³⁸ Fakhr al-Din al-Razi, although a theologian,

¹³⁷ Although some scholars have doubted the attribution of this work to al-Farabi and consider it to be by Ibn Sina (see S. Pines, "Ibn Sina et l'auteur de la *Risalat al-fusus fi'l-hikma*," *Revue des Etudes Islamiques* [1951], 122-124). I see no convincing reason to doubt the view of Islamic philosophers held during the past millennium that the work is by al-Farabi. S.H. Nasr, *Three Muslim Sages* (Delmar, NY: Caravan Books, 1975) p. 136.

¹³⁸ On Ibn Sina's views concerning *wujud* and *mahiyyah*, see A.M. Goichon, *La Distinction de l'essence et de l'existence d'après Ibn Sina (Avicenna)* (Paris: Desclée, 1937), and M. Rahman, "Essence and Existence in Avicenna," in *Mediaeval and Renaissance Studies*, vol. IV (London: Warburg Institute, 1958), pp. 1-16. For Ibn Sina's discussion of *wujud* in

continues his concern for the issue while his contemporary Shihab al-Din Suharwardi, the founder of the school of Illumination or Ishraq, constructs a whole metaphysics of essence which would be inconceivable without the basis established by Avicennan ontology.¹³⁹ A century later in the seventh/thirteenth century, both Nasir al-Din al-Tusi and his student 'Allamah al-Hilli deal extensively with the question of wujud and mahiyyah even in their theological writings¹⁴⁰ as do most of the major philosophical figures between Tusi and the Safavid period such as Qutb al-Din Shirazi, Ghiyath al-Din Mansur Dashtaki, Ibn Turkah, and Jalal al-Din Dawani.¹⁴¹

Finally, with the Safavid renaissance of Islamic philosophy in Persia and the founding of what has now come to be known as "The School of Isfahan,"¹⁴² Islamic metaphysics, based upon the question of wujud, reaches its peak with Mir Damad and especially Sadr al-Din Shirazi (Mullah Sadra) who in his *al-As faral-arba'ah* has provided the most extensive discussion of

general, see S.H.Nasr, *An Introduction to Islamic Cosmological Doctrines* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1978), pp. 197ff.

¹³⁹ On Suhrawardi's metaphysics, see S.H.Nasr, *Three Muslim Sages*, chapter 2; H. Corbin, *En Islam Iranien*, vol. II (Paris: Gallimard, 1971).

¹⁴⁰ See *Kashf al-murad-Sharh tajrid al-i tiqad*, of which the text is by Tusi and the commentary by Hilli, ed, with trans, and commentary by Abu'l-Hasan Sha'rani (Tehran: Islamiyyah Bookshop, 1 351 [A.H. Solar/1972], chapter I.

¹⁴¹ On this most obscure period in the history of Islamic philosophy, see S.H. Nasr, *Islamic Life and Thought* (Albany: Suny Press, 1981), pp 75ff; and H. Corbin (in collaboration with S. H. Nasr and O. Yahya), *Histoire de la philosophie islamique* (Paris: Gallimard, 1986), especially Part Two written entirely by Corbin; and M. Cruz Hernandez, *Historia del pensamiento'en el mundo islamico*, 2 (Madrid: Alianza Univ., 1981)

Needless to say the Peripatetic school of the Maghrib which survived from the time of al-Ghazzali to the beginning of this period also dealt extensively with the question of wujud and mahiyyah, as can be seen in the commentary of Ibn Rushd upon the *Metaphysics* of Aristotle as well as in many of Ibn Rushd's other works.

¹⁴² On the School of Isfahan, see H. Corbin, *En Islam iranien*, vol. IV (Paris: Gallimard, 1972), pp.9-201; and S.H. Nasr, "The School of Isfahan," in M.M.Sharif (ed.), *A History of Muslim philosophy*, vol. II (Wiesbaden; O. Harrassowitz, 1966), pp.904-32.

wujud to be found in the annals of Islamic philosophy.¹⁴³ This sage founded a new school of hikmah called the “transcendent theosophy” (*al-hikmat al-muta’aliyah*) which became the most dominant, although not the only, philosophical school in Persia especially as far as the question of wujud and mahiyyah and their relations are concerned.¹⁴⁴

From the generation of Mullah Sadra’s students such as ‘Abd al-Razzaq Lahiji and Fayd Kashani to the Qajar revival of this school by Mullah ‘Ali Nuri Haji Mulla Hadi Sabziwari, and Mulla ‘Ali Mudarris Zunuzi,¹⁴⁵ numerous works dealing with wujud and mahiyyah continued to appear in Persia while there was no less of an interest in this subject in India where the foremost thinkers like Shah Waliullah of Delhi, dealt extensively with the subject.’ In fact, the centrality of the question of wujud and mahiyyah in Islamic philosophy persists to this day wherever authentic Islamic philosophy

¹⁴³ Mullah Sadra devoted the whole of the first book of his *Asfar* to the discussion of wujud to which he returned in several of his other works, especially the *Kitab al-masha’ir* and *al-Shawahid al-rububiyah*. See H. Corbin’s introduction to his edition of the *Kitab al-masha’ir* (*Le Livre des penetrations metaphysiques*) (Tehran/Paris: A.Maisonneuve, 1964); the introduction of S.J.Ashiyani in Persian and of S.H. Nasr in English to Ashtiyani’s edition of *al-Shawahid al-rububiyah* (Mashhad: Mashhad Univ. Press. 1967); S. H. Nasr, *Sadr al-Din Shirazi and His Transcendent Theosophy* (Tehran: Imperial Iranian Academy of Philosophy, 1978); and F. Rahman, *The Philosophy of Mullah Sadra* (Albny; Suny Press, 1976).

¹⁴⁴ See S.H. Nasr, “Sabziwari,” in Sharif, pp. 1543-56; and Nasr, “The Metaphysics of Sadr al-Din Shirazi and Islamic philosophy in Qajar Persia,” in E.Bosworth and C. Hillentbrand (edd.), *Qajar Iran* (Edinburgh; Edinburgh Univ. Press, 1983), pp.177-98. See also M.S. Shoha, *A Bio-Bibliography of Post-Sadr ul-Muti alihin Mystics and Philsophers* (Tehran: Islamic Iranian Academy of Philosophy, 1980)

S.J. Ashtiyani has also dealt with the figures of this period in several introductions to their works, especially those of Sabziwari and two Zunuzis. See, for example, Mullah ‘Abdallah Zunuzi, *Lama’at-i ilahiyah* (*Divine Splendours*) (Tehran: Imperial Iranian Academy of Philosophy. 1976). Persian prolegomena of Ashtiyani and English and Persian introductions of S.H. Nasr. See also the long Persian introduction of Ashtiyani to his edition of Mullah Sadra’s *Shawahid*.

¹⁴⁵ See, for example, his *faysalat al-wahdat al-wujud wa wahdat al-shuhud* (Delhi, n.d.); and his *Lamahat*, in *Sufism and the Islamic Tradition*, trans. G.N. Jalbani and ed. D.B. Fry (London: The Octagon Press, 1980).

has survived, as in Persia where several major works have dealt with the issue over the past few decades.¹⁴⁶

Traditional teachers of Islamic philosophy begin the teaching of hikmat-i Ilahi (literally theo-sophia), or natural theology as it is called in Persian,¹⁴⁷ by instilling in the mind of the student a way of thinking based upon the distinction between wujud and mahiyah. They appeal to the immediate perception of things and assert that man in seeking to understand the nature of the reality he perceives can ask two questions about it: 1) Is it (hal huwa)? and 2) What is it (ma huwa)? The answer to the first question is wujud or its opposite ('adam or non-existence) while the answer to the second question is Mahiyah (from the word ma huwa or ma hiya which is its feminine form).

Usually in Islamic philosophy terms are carefully defined, but in the case of wujud it is impossible to define it in the usual meaning of definition as used in logic which consists of genus and specific difference. Moreover, every unknown is defined by that which is known, but there is nothing more universally known than wujud and therefore nothing else in terms of which wujud can be defined. In traditional circles it is said that everyone, even a small baby, knows intuitively the difference between wujud and its opposite, as can be seen by the fact that when a baby is crying, to speak to it about milk is of no avail, but as soon as "real" milk, that is, milk possessing wujud, is given to it, it stops crying.

¹⁴⁶ Such works as 'Allama Sayyid Muhammad Husayn Tabataba'i's *Usul-i falsafah wa rawish-i ri'alism*, with commentary by Murtada Mutahhari, 5 vols. (Qum: Dar al-Ilm, 1332 [A.H.solar]/1953); Sayyid Muhammad Kazim 'Assar, *Wahdat-i wujud wa bada* (Mashhad: Mashhad Univ. Press, 1350 [A.H. solar]/ 1971); Sayyid Jalal al-Din Ashtiyani, *Hasti az nazar-i falsafah wa 'irfan* (Mashhad: Khurasan Press, 1379 [A.H. lunar]/ 1960); and Mehdi Hairi Yazdi, *Hiram-i hasti* (Tehran: Cultural Studies and Research Institute, 1363 [A.H. solar]/1984); and M.R. Salih Kirmani, *Wujud az nazar-i falasafa-yi islam* (Qum. n.d.), bear witness to the living character of traditional Islamic metaphysics in general and the study of wujud or hasti in Persia in particular.

¹⁴⁷ Metaphysics or the science of Ultimate Reality is called ma'rifah or 'irfan in the Islamic esoteric tradition or Sufism. In the philosophical tradition, it is called al-hikmat al-ilahiyah in Arabic or hikmat-i ilahi in Persian.

Rather than define wujud, therefore. Islamic philosophers allude to its meaning through such assertions as “wujud is that by virtue of which it is possible to give knowledge about something” or “wujud is that which is the source of all effects.”¹⁴⁸ As for mahiyyah, it is possible to define it clearly and precisely as that which provides an answer to the question “what is it?” There is, however, a further development of this concept in later Islamic philosophy which distinguishes between mahiyyah in its particular sense (bi'l-ma'na'-akhas), which is the response to the question “what is it?”, and mahiyyah in its general sense (bi'l-ma'na'/-a'amm), which means that by which a thing is what it is. It is said that mahiyyah in this second sense is derived from the Arabic phrase ma bihi huwa huwa (that by which something is what it is). This second meaning refers to the reality (haqiqah) of a thing and is not opposed to wujud as is the first meaning of mahiyyah.¹⁴⁹

As far as the etymological derivation of the term wujud is concerned, it is an Arabic term related to the root wajd which possesses the basic meaning to find or come to know about something. It is etymologically related to the term wijdan, which means consciousness, awareness, or knowledge, as well as to wajd, which means ecstasy or bliss.¹⁵⁰ The Islamic philosophers who were Persian or used that language also employed the Persian term hash, which is of Iranian origin and is related to the Indo-European terms denoting being, such as “1st” in German and “is” in English.

Wujud as used in traditional Islamic philosophy cannot be rendered simply as existence. Rather, it denotes at once Being, being, Existence, and existence, each of these terms having a specific meaning in the context of

¹⁴⁸ See S.H.Nasr, *Islamic Life and Thought*, chapter 17, “The Polarization of Being,” pp. 182-87.

¹⁴⁹ P. Izutsu quite justifiably translates mahiyyah in the first sense as quiddity and in the second as essence. See his “The Fundamental Structure” p.73.

¹⁵⁰ It is remarkable how the three terms wujud, wijdan, and wajd resemble so closely the famous sat. chit, and ananda in Hinduism where their combination satchitananda is considered as a name of God and the metaphysical characterization of Reality. See. S.H. Nasr, *Knowledge and the Sacred* (New York: Crossroad, 1981), p.1

Islamic metaphysics. The term “Being” refers to the Absolute or Necessary Being (Wajib al-Wujud), “being” is a universal concept encompassing all levels of reality, both that of creatures and that of the Necessary Being Itself. The term “Existence” refers to the first emanation or effusion from the Pure or Absolute Being, or what is called al-fayd al-aqdas, the Sacred Effusion in later Islamic philosophy, while “Existence” refers to the reality of all things other than the Necessary Being.

Technically speaking, God is, but He cannot be said to exist, for one must remember that existence is derived from the Latin *ex-sistere*, which implies a pulling away or drawing away from the substance or ground of reality. The very rich vocabulary of Islamic philosophy differentiates all these usages by using the term *wujud* with various modifiers and connotations based upon the context, whereas the single English term “existence,” for example, cannot render justice to all the nuances of meaning contained in the Arabic term. Thus throughout this essay we have used the Arabic term *wujud* rather than a particular English translation. There are also terms derived from *wujud* which are of great philosophical importance. Especially the term *mawujud* or *existent* which Islamic philosophy, especially of the later period, clearly distinguished from *wujud* as the “act of existence.” Muslim metaphysicians knew fully well the difference between *ens* and *actus essendi* or *Sein* and *Dasein*, and therefore followed a path which led to conclusions very different from those in the West which finally led to modern Western *Existenz Philosophic* and *existentialism*.¹⁵¹

THE DISTINCTION BETWEEN WUJUD AND MAHIYYAH

¹⁵¹ In his introduction to Mullah Sadra’s *Kitab al-masha’ir*, H, Corbin, who was the first person to translate M.Heidegger into French, has made a profound comparison between the Islamic philosophy of being and Heidegger’s thought.

The starting point of Islamic ontology is not the world of existents in which the existence of something, that something as existent, and the unity of that thing are the same as is the case with Aristotelian metaphysics. For Aristotle the world could not exist. It is, an ontological block which cannot conceivably be broken; thus the distinction between wujud and mahiyah is not of any great consequence. For Islamic thought; on the contrary, the world is not synonymous with wujud. There is an ontological poverty (faqr) of the world in the sense that wujud is given by God who alone is the abiding Reality, all “other” existents coming into being and passing away. The conceptual distinction between wujud and mahiyah,, therefore, gains great significance and, far from being inconsequential, becomes in fact the key for understanding the nature of reality.

According to traditional Islamic philosophy, the intellect (al-'aql) is able to distinguish clearly between the wujud and mahiyah of anything, not as they are externally where there is but one existent object, but in the “container of the mind.” When man asks himself the question “what is it?” with respect to a particular object, the answer given is totally distinct from concern for its existence or non-existence. The “mind” has the power to conceive of the quiddity of something, let us say man, purely and completely as mahiyah and totally distinct from any form of wujud. Mahiyah thus considered in itself and in so far as it is itself (min haythu hiya hiya) is called in Islamic philosophy, and following the terminology of Ibn Sina, “natural universal” (al-kulli al-tabi'i). Mahiyah can also appear in the mind, possessing “mental existence,” and in the external world in concerto, possessing external existence; but in itself it can be conceived completely shorn of any concern with wujud,¹⁵² such as when the “mind” conceives of the mahiyah of man which includes the definition of man without any consideration as to whether man exists or not.

¹⁵² These three ways of envisaging quiddity, namely in itself, in the mind, and in its actualization in the external world are called al-i'tibarat al-thalathah. See Izutsu, “The Fundamental Structure”p.65”.

Moreover, mahiyyah excludes wujud as one of its constituent elements. Or to use traditional terminology, wujud is not a maqawwim of mahiyyah in the sense that animal, which is contained in the definition of man as rational animal, is a constituent or muqawwim of the mahiyyah of man. There is nothing in a mahiyyah which would relate it to wujud or necessitate the existence of that mahiyyah. The two concepts are totally distinct as are their causes. The causes of a mahiyyah are the elements that constitute its definition, namely, the genus and specific difference, while the causes of the wujud of a particular existent are its efficient and final causes as well as its substratum.¹⁵³ For a mahiyyah to exist, therefore, wujud must be “added to it, “that is, become wedded to it from “outside” itself.

In the history of Islamic thought, not to speak of modern studies of Islamic philosophy, there has often been a misunderstanding about this distinction and about the relation between wujud and mahiyyah. It is essential, therefore, to emphasize that Ibn Sina and those who followed him did not begin with two “realities,” one mahiyyah and the other wujud, which became wedded in concrete, external objects, even if certain philosophers have referred to existents as “combined pairs” (zawj tarkibi). Rather, they began with the single, concrete external object, the ens or mawjud, which they analyzed conceptually in terms of mahiyyah and wujud and which they studied separately in their philosophical treatises.¹⁵⁴ These concepts, however, were to provide a key for the understanding of not only the relation between the ‘suchness’ and “is-ness” of existents, but also the ontological origin of

¹⁵³ For a clear Avicennan expression of the distinction between wujud and mahiyyah, see his *al-Isharat wa'l tanbihat* (Cairo: Dar al-Ma'arif, 1960), vol. I, pp. 202-203.

¹⁵⁴ Classical works on Islamic philosophy usually have in fact separate sections or chapters devoted to the principles pertaining to wujud (ahkam al-wujud) and those pertaining to mahiyyah. The ahkam al-wujud, moreover, are divided into the affirmative (al-ijabiyah) and negative (al-salbiyyah), the first dealing with unity and multiplicity, causality, potentiality and actuality, and the like, and the negative with such themes as the fact that wujud has no definition, that it has no parts, etc. As for ahkam al-mahiyyah, they are concerned with such issues as whether a mahiyyah is simple (basit) or compound (murakhab), the question of species, genus or specific difference, etc. See S.H. Nasr, *Islamic Life and Thought*, Chapter 17.

things and their interrelatedness, as we see in the “transcendent theosophy” of Sadr al-Din Shirazi.

THE QUESTION OF THE “ACCIDENTALITY” OF WUJUD

One of the problems which concerned philosophers who followed in the wake of Ibn Sina was whether wujud is an accident (‘arad) which occurs to mahiyyah, or not. Fakhr al-Din al-Razi and other later Muslim thinkers took Ibn Sina to task for calling wujud an “accident,” while in the Latin West on the basis of an erroneous interpretation by Ibn Rushd of the Avicennan thesis as stated in the *Shifa*¹⁵⁵ and elsewhere, such philosophers as the Latin Averroist Siger of Brabant and even St. Thomas himself understood Ibn Sina to mean that wujud is an “accident” which occurs to mahiyyah. If one understands accident in the ordinary sense of, let us say, a color being an accident while the wood which bears that color is the substance upon which the accident alights from the outside (or *ens in alio*, as the Scholastics would say), then insurmountable problems arise. In the case of the wood which is the place or locus where the accident occurs, the substance exists whether the accident occurs to it or not. The wood remains wood and possesses a concrete reality whether it is to be painted red or green. The wood has a subsistence and only a later stage does the accident of color occur in it.

In the case of wujud, the question would arise as to what state would the mahiyyah be in “before” the occurrence of the “accident” of wujud. If it is already an existent, then wujud must have occurred to it before and the argument could be carried back *ad infinitum*. If mahiyyah were non-existent,

¹⁵⁵ It is the famous sentence from the *Shifa*, “These quiddities (mahiyat) are by themselves ‘possible existents’ and existence (wujud) occurs (ya’rid) to them from the outside” (

‘L W_14’ which has been the main source of this misunderstanding. See Izutsu, “The Fundamental Structure ...” pp. 109-10. In section 6 of this work entitled “Is Existence an accident?” Izutsu has given an excellent summary of this question and the reason for the misunderstanding that followed Ibn Sina’s assertion of the “accidentality” of wujud.

then it could not possess any reality like that of wood which would later be painted red or green.

This type of interpretation of Ibn Sina, which would understand “accident” in the case of wujud to mean the same as the ordinary sense of the word ‘accident,” is due partly to the fact that Ibn Sina did not fully clarify the use of the term ‘arad used in relation to wujud in the *Shifa*. In his *Ta’liqat*, however, which, although not known in the Latin West, had a profound influence upon post-Avicennan philosophy in the Eastern lands of Islam and especially in Persia, Ibn Sina makes clear that by ‘arad as used in relation to wujud and mahiyah he does not mean accident in relation to substance as usually understood, and he asserts clearly that wujud is an ‘arad only in a very special sense. Ibn Sina writes,

The ‘existence’ of all ‘accidents’ in themselves is their ‘existence for their substrata’, except only one ‘accident’, which is ‘existence’. This difference is due to the fact that all other ‘accidents’, in order to become existent, need each a substratum (which is already existent by itself), while ‘existence’ does not require any ‘existence’ in order to become existent. Thus it is not proper to say that its ‘existence’ (i.e. the existence’ of this particular ‘accident’ called ‘existence’) in a substratum is its very existence’, meaning thereby that ‘existence’ has ‘existence’ (other than itself) in the same way as (an ‘accident’ like) whiteness has ‘existence’. (That which can properly be said about the ‘accident’ like) whiteness has ‘existence’.

(That which can properly be said about the ‘accident’-‘existence’) is, on the contrary, that its ‘existence in a substratum’ is the very ‘existence’ of that substratum. As for every ‘accident’ other than ‘existence’, its ‘existence in a substratum’ is the ‘existence’ of that ‘accident.’¹⁵⁶

¹⁵⁶ Izutsu, “The Fundamental Structure....” pp. 110-11. It is interesting, as far as the later history of Islamic philosophy is concerned, to note that this very passage was quoted by Mullah Sadra in his *Kitab al-masha’ir*.

What is essential to note is that this whole analysis is conceptual and not based upon the external world where no mahiyyah is ever to be found without wujud. In contrast both to Latin interpreters of Ibn Sina and to such Muslim thinkers as Fakhr al-Din al-Razi and Ibn Rushd who misunderstood Ibn Sina on this point, Nasir al-Din al-Tusi was fully aware of Ibn Sina's intentions when he wrote, Quiddity can never be independent of 'existence' except in the intellect. This, however, should not be taken as meaning that 'quiddity' in the intellect is separated from 'existence', because 'being in the intellect' is itself a kind of 'existence', namely, 'mental existence' [wujud dhihni], just as 'being in the external world' is 'external existence' [wujud khari ji]. The above statement that mahiyyah is separated from wujud in the intellect (al-'aql) must be understood in the sense that the intellect is of such a nature that it can observe 'quiddity' alone without considering its 'existence'. Not considering something is not the same as considering it to be non-existent.¹⁵⁷

To understand the question of the accidentality of wujud as understood in the later tradition of Islamic philosophy which followed Ibn Sina's teachings, it must be remembered that in the "container of the mind," or as the intellect analyzes the nature of reality in itself and not in the external world, mahiyyah can be conceived purely as itself to which then wujud is "added" or "occurs" from the outside. In the outside world, however, it is in reality the mahiyyat which are added to" or "occur in" wujud, at least according to the school of the principality of wujud (asalat al-wujud) to which we shall soon turn. Mahiyyat (plural of mahiyyah) must be understood not as extrinsic limitations or determinations of wujud, but as intrinsic ones which are nothing in themselves and have a reality only in relation to wujud which alone possesses reality.

¹⁵⁷ From Tusi's *Sharh al-isharat*, trans. by Izutsu, p. 105. We have made a slight change by translating wujud dhihni by "mental existence" rather than "rational existence" which Prof. Izutsu prefers in the text although he refers to "mental existence" an alternative translation in one of his footnotes.

NECESSITY CONTINGENCY, IMPOSSIBILITY

One of the fundamental distinctions in the Islamic philosophy of being is that between necessity (wujud) contingency or possibility (imkan), and impossibility (imtina'). This distinction, which, again, was formulated in its perfected form for the first time by Ibn Sina and stated in many of his works,¹⁵⁸ is traditionally called "the three directions" (al-jahat al-thalathah) and is basic to the understanding of Islamic metaphysics. It possesses, in fact, at once a philosophical and a theological significance to the extent that the term wajib al-wujud, the Necessary Being, which is a philosophical term for God, has been used throughout the centuries extensively by theologians, Sufis, and even jurists and ordinary preachers.

If one were to consider a mahiyah in itself in the "container of the mind," one of three conditions would hold true:

1. It could exist or not exist. In either case there would be no logical contradiction.
2. It must exist 'because if it were not to exist, there would follow a logical contradiction.
3. It cannot exist because if it were to exist, there would follow a logical contradiction.

The first category is called mumkin, the second wajib, and the third mumtani'. The vast majority of mahiyat are mumkin, such as the mahiyah of man, horse, or star. Once one considers the mahiyah of man in itself in the mind, there is no logical contradiction, whether it possesses wujud or not. Everything in the created order in fact participates in the condition of

¹⁵⁸ See, for example, the *Ilahiyyat of the Shifa'* (Tehran, 1305/1887), pp.597ff; and the *Najar* (Cairo, 1938), pp.224ff.

contingency so that the universe, or all that is other than God (ma siwa'Llah), is often called the world of contingencies ('alam al-mumkinat)¹⁵⁹

It is also possible for the mind (or strictly speaking al-'aql) to conceive of certain mahiyat, the supposition of whose existence would involve a logical contradiction. In traditional Islamic thought the example usually given is shank al-bari', that is, a partner taken unto God. Such an example might not be so obvious to the modern mind, but numerous other examples could be given, such as a quantity which would be greater than the sum of its parts, for the supposition of that which is impossible in reality is no itself impossible.

Finally, the mind can conceive of a mahiyah, which must possess wujud of necessity, that mahiyah being one which is itself wujud. That Reality whose mahiyah is wujud 'cannot' not be; it is called the Necessary Being or wajib al-wujud. Furthermore, numerous arguments have been provided to prove that there can be but one wajib al-wujud in harmony with the Quranic doctrine of the Oneness of God. The quality of necessity in the ultimate sense belongs to God alone, as does that of freedom. One of the great masters of traditional Islamic philosophy of the beginning of this century, who was devoted to the school of the "transcendent unity of being," in fact asserted that after a life time of study he had finally discovered that wujud or necessity is none other than wujud itself.

This analysis in the "container of the mind" might seem to be contradicted by the external world in which objects already possess wujud. Can one say in their case that they are still contingent? This question becomes particularly pertinent when one remembers that according to most

¹⁵⁹ Contingency or possibility also has another meaning which is related to potentiality which can become actualized and which refers to the potentialities latent in an existent. It is interesting to note that both potentiality and possibility are derived from the same Latin root posse, which, furthermore, bears the meaning of power. In this sense possibility is related to the latent creative power of the Divinity. For an indepth discussion of this basic metaphysical issue which cannot, however, be expanded here, see F.Schuon. From the Divine to the Human, "The Problem of Possibility," pp. 43-55.

schools of Islamic philosophy what exist must exist and ‘cannot’ not exist. Nasir al-Din al-Tusi summarizes this doctrine in his famous poem:

That which exists is as it should be,

That which should not exist will not do so.¹⁶⁰

The answer to this problem resides in the distinction between an object in its essence and as it exists in the external world. In itself as a mahiyyah, every object save God is contingent, a mumkin al-wujud. It has gained wujud, and so for it to exist necessarily requires the agency of reality other than itself. Existents are, therefore, wajib bi'l-ghayr. necessary through an agent other than them-selves. They are necessary as existents by the very fact that they possess wujud, but are contingent in their essence in contrast to the Necessary Being which is necessary in Its own Essence and not through an agent outside itself.

The distinction between necessity and contingency makes possible a vision of the universe in perfect accord with the Islamic perspective where to God alone belongs the power of creation and existention (ijad). It is He Who said “Be!” and it was. Everything in the universe is “poor” in the sense of not possessing any wujud of its own. It is the Necessary Being alone which bestows wujud upon the mahiyyat and brings them from the darkness of non-existence into the light of wujud, covering them with the robe of necessity while in themselves they remain forever in the nakedness of contingency.

THE CONCEPT AND REALITY OF WUJUD

هر چیز که هست آنچنان می باید¹⁶⁰

آن چیز که آنچنان می باید هست

Islamic philosophy followed a different course from Western philosophy in nearly ever domain despite their common roots and the considerable influence of Islamic philosophy upon Latin Scholasticism. In the subject of ontology most of the differences belong to later centuries when Islamic and Western thought had parted ways. One of these imporant differences concerns the distinction between the concept (mafhum) and reality (haqiqah) of wujud which is discussed in later Islamic metaphysics in a manner very different from that found in later Western thought.

There are some schools of Islamic philosophy similar to certain Western schools of philosophy, which consider wujud to be merely an abstraction not corresponding to any external reality which consists solely of existent. The most important school of Islamic philosophy, however, which flowered during the later centuries under the influence of Sadr-al-Din Shirazi distinguishes clearly between the concept of wujud”and the Reality to which it corresponds. The concepts “being” is the most universal and known of all concepts, while the Reality of wujud is the most inaccessible of all realities although it is the most manifest. In fact, it is the only Reality for those who possess the knowledge that results from illumination and “unveiling.”¹⁶¹

All later discussions of wujud and mahiyah must be understood in light of the distinction between the concept of wujud which exists in the “mind,” and the Reality of wujud, which exists externally and can be known and experienced provided mart is willing to conform himself to what Being demands of him. Here, philosophy and gnosis meet and the supreme

¹⁶¹ In one of the best known verses of the Sharh-i manzimah, Sabziwari says,

مفهومه، في اعرف الاشياء

وكهنه، في غايت الخفاء

Its notion is one of the best-known things. But its deepest reality (kunuh) is in the extremity of hiddenness. The Metaphysics of Sabsavari, trans. M.Mohaghegh and T.Izutsu (Delmar, NY: Caravan Books, 1977), p.31. The term (kunuh) is used by Sabziwari as being synonymous with haqiqah.

experience made possible through spiritual practice becomes the ever present reality that underlies the conceptualizations of the philosophers.

It is also in the light of this experience of wujud that Islamic metaphysics has remained always aware of the distinction between ens and actu essendi and has seen things not merely as objects which exist but as acts of wujud, as esto. If Islamic philosophy did not move, as did Western philosophy, towards an ever greater concern with a world of solidified objects, or what certain French philosophers have called “la codification du monde,” it was because the experience of the Reality of Being as an ever present element has prevented the speculative mind of the majority of Muslim philosophers either from mistaking the act of wujud for the existent that appears to possess wujud on its own while being cut off from the Absolute Being, or from failing to distinguish between the concept of wujud and its blinding Reality.¹⁶²

THE UNITY, GRADATION, AND PRINCIPIALITY OF WUJUD

1. The Transcendent Unity of Being (wahdat al- wujud)

The crowning achievement of Islamic philosophy in the domain of metaphysics and especially in ontology is to be found in the later period in Persia in the school which, as already mentioned, has now come to be known as the School of Isfahan,¹⁶³ whose founder was Mir Damad and whose leading light was Sadr al-Din Shirazi. It is in the numerous writings of this veritable sage that the vigorous logical discussions of al- iambi and Ibn Sinn,

¹⁶² In his introduction to Mullah Sadra’s *Kitab al-ma.sha’ir*, besides dealing with the thought of Heidegger, Corbin provides an excellent comparison between the course of ontology in the history of Islamic thought and that of the West.

¹⁶³ During the past few years with the rise of interest in Shi’ism, a politicized usage of the term “School of Isfahan” has come into vogue employing the term originally coined by Corbin and myself, but in a very different context.

the critiques of al-Ghazzali and Fakhr al-Din al-Razi, the illuminative doctrines of Shihab al-Din Suhrawardi. and the supreme experiential knowledge of the Sufis as formulated by such masters of gnosis as Ibn 'Arabi and Sadr al -Din al-Qunwai became united in a vast synthesis whose unifying thread was the inner teachings of the Quran as well as the Hadith and the sayings of the Shi'ite Imams.¹⁶⁴ All of the discussions about wujud and mahiyyah which were going on for some seven centuries before the advent of the School of Isfahan in the tenth/sixteenth century (and which have been summarized above) are to be found in the grand synthesis of Sadr al-Din whose metaphysical doctrine is based upon the unity (wahdah). gradation (tashkik). and principiality (asalah) of wujud.

As far as the “transcendent unity of Being” or wahdat al-wujud is concerned. it must be said at the outset that this doctrine is not the result of ratiocination but of inner experience. If correctly understood, it stands at the heart of the basic message of Islam which is that of unity (a/-tawhid) and which is found expressed in the purest form in the testimony of Islam, La ilaha i//a'L lah, there is no divinity but Allah. This formula is the synthesis of all metaphysics and contains despite its brevity the whole doctrine of the Unity of the Divine Principle and the manifestation of multiplicity which cannot but issue from that Unity before whose blinding Reality it is nothing. The Sufis and also Shiite esoterieists and gnashes have asked what does divinity (i/ah) mean except reality or wujud By purifying themselves through spiritual practice, they have come to realize the full import of the testimony and have realized that Reality or wujud belongs ultimately to God alone, that not only is He One, but that He is the only ultimate Reality and the source of everything which appears, to possess wujud. All wujud belongs to God while Ile is transcendent vis-a-vis all existents. The Quran itself confirms this esoteric doctrine in many ways, such as when it assert that Gad is “the First

¹⁶⁴ On Sadr al-Din Shirazi (Mullah Sadra), see in addition to sources mentioned in footnote 11, Corbin, *En Islam iranien*, vol. IV, pp.54-122; Nasr, “Sadr al-Din Shirazi” in Sharif, pp. 932-60; and J.Morris (trans.). *The Wisdom of the Throne. An Introduction to the Philosophy of Mullah Sadra* (Princeton: Princeton Univ. Press, 1981).

and the Last, the Outward and the Inward” (LIII;3) or when it says, “Whosoever ye turneth, there is the face of God.”¹⁶⁵

The experience of the “oneness of being” or the “transcendent unity of Being” is not meant for everyone. Rather, it is the crowning achievement of human existence, the supreme fruit and also goal of gnosis or divine knowledge attainable only through arduous spiritual practice and self-discipline to which must, of course, be added the grace of God and Ilk affirmation (ta’yid).¹⁶⁶ Yet, the possibility of this experience has always been present throughout the history of Islam. Its realization could a not but have the deepest effect upon philosophy which must of necessity be related to and concerned with the fruits of experience. But how different are these fruits in a civilization such as that of the-modern West where experience is limited to what is derived from the external senses and based upon existents considered as mere objects or things, and in traditional Islamic civilization where the supreme experience has been not of existents but of Pure Being which can be reached through the inner faculty of the heart and whose act causes the existentionation of all quiddities.

Yet, because the doctrine of wahdat al-wujad is by nature an esoteric one reserved for the intellectual elite (al-khawas0, it has met opposition from within the ranks of exoteric ‘ulama’ throughout the history of Islam while encountering bewildering misunderstandings on the part of Western orientalists during the modern period. Some among the former have accused the followers of wandat al-wujud of incarnationism, lack of faith, infidelity

¹⁶⁵ On the doctrine of wahdat al-wujud, see M. Lings, *A Sufi Saint of the Twentieth Century* (Los Angeles: Univ. of California Press, 1071), chapter 5; T. Burkhardt, *An Introduction, to Sufi Doctrine*, trans. D.M.Matheson (Wellingborough: D.M. Matheson, 1976), chapter seven; and T.Izutsu. “The Basic Structure of Metaphysical Thinking in Islam,” in M. Mohaghegh and H. Landolt (edd.). *Collected Papers on Islamic Philosophy and Mysticism* (Tehran: McGill Univ. Institute of Islamic Studies. Tehran Branch. 1971), pp. 39-72.

¹⁶⁶ There have been of course those who have* grasped the knowledge of wahdat al-wujud intuitively without the corresponding spiritual discipline, but they are the exceptions bound to be present, for the “spirit bloweth where it listeth.”

(kufr) and the like, while the latter have used their favourite pejorative categories such as pantheism, monism. and the like, used in a Western philosophical context and with all the theological anathema that is attached to such terms in Christian theology.

The early Sufis and gnostics spoke of *wahdat al-wujud* only through allusions or in daring theophanic locutions (*shath*)¹⁶⁷ Only from the sixth/twelfth and seventh thirteenth centuries with such figures as ‘Ayn al-Qudat Hamadani, Abu Hamid Muhammad al-Ghazzali, and especially Ibn ‘Arabi did this doctrine become more explicitly formulated, soon to become the dominant metaphysical doctrine in Sufism. Of course it was not accepted by all Sufis. Some simply remained silent on the subject and thought that the doctrine of *wahdat al-wujud* which is the fruit of “presential knowledge” (*al-‘ilm al-huduri*), of divine unveiling (*kashf*), and of illumination (*ishraq*), should not be expounded explicitly beyond a certain degree. Such an attitude is to be seen in some of the greatest masters of gnosis. such as Shaykh Abu’l-Hasan al-Shadhili, the founder of the Shadhiliyyah Sufi Order, which remains to this day one of the most important of Sufi orders from Morocco to the Yemen. Others, while being attached to a Sufi order, openly opposed the doctrine, one of the most famous examples being Taqi al-Din Ibn Taymiyyah who was a Qadiri Sufi yet strongly opposed Ibn ‘Arabi’s formulations.

There were also those who opposed the doctrine of *wahdat al-wujud* by substituting the pole of subject for the object, formulating the doctrine which is known as *wahdat al-shuhud* or “unity of consciousness.” This school, founded by ‘Ala’ al-Dawlah Simnani in the eight/fourteenth century, was to attract many followers in India including Shaykh Ahmad Sirhindi who in the tenth/sixteenth century provided one of the most widely accepted formulations of *wahdat al-shuhud* in the Indian sub-continent. In fact, much of the intellectual history of Muslim India revolves around the debate between the doctrines of *wahdat al-wujud* and *wahdat al-shuhud* with

¹⁶⁷ See C. Ernst, *Words of Ecstasy in Sufism* (Albany: SUNY Press, 1985).

immense repercussions not only in the domain of religion but also in the social and political life of the I Jami community.¹⁶⁸

In the central lands of the Islamic world itself, the doctrine of *wahdat al-wujud* received extensive treatment in the hands of the later commentators of Ibn ‘Arabi and of his immediate student Sadr al-Din Qunawi, such figures as Mu’ayyid al-Din al-Jandi.¹⁶⁹ ‘Afif al-Din al-Tilimsani, Da’ud al-Qaysari, ‘Ahd al -Rahman Jami, and others.¹⁷⁰ This doctrine also began to attract the attention of philosophers and even theologians, especially ‘Shi’ite figures such as Sayyid Haydar Amuli¹⁷¹ a and Ibn Turkah Irfahani.¹⁷² In fact, as Islamic philosophy became ever more closely wedded to gnosis and the experiential knowledge associated with it.¹⁷³ Philosophical expositions of *wahdat al-wujud* became more prevalent until with Sadr al-Din Shirazi, *wahdat al-wujud* became the keystone of his whole metaphysics.

¹⁶⁸ On these two doctrines and an attempt at their synthesis, see Mir Validdin, “Reconciliation between Ibn Arabi’s *Wahdat al-Wujud* and the Mujaddid’s *Wahdat al-Shuhud*,” *Islamic Culture* 25 (1951), 43-51. This* attempt at reconciliation goes back to Shah Waliallah himself.

¹⁶⁹ See al-Jandi, *Sharh fusus al-hikam*, ed. S.H. Ashtiyani (Mashhad: Mashhad Univ. Press, 1361 [A.H. solar]/1983). Ashtiyani’s own work *Hasti az nazar-i falsafah wa’irfan* contains a fine summary of various view on *wahdat al- wujud* and demonstrates how much the issue has remained alive to this day.

¹⁷⁰ W.Chittick has devoted numerous studies to this school including his introduction to Jami’s *Naqd al-nusus fi sharh, naqsh al-fusus* (Tehran: Imperial Iranian Academy of Philosophy, 1977). See also his “Mysticism versus Philosophy in Earlier Islamic History: The al-Tusi, al-Qunawi Correspondence,” *Religious Studies* 17(1979), 87-104; also his “Ibn ‘Arabi and His School” in S.H. Nasr (ed.). *Islamic Spirituality*, vol.20 of *World Spirituality: An Encyclopedic History of the Religious Quest* (in press).

¹⁷¹ Himself a major commentator of Ibn ‘Arabi and his doctrine of *wahdat al-wujud*. See H. Corbin, *En Islam iranien*, vol. III, pp. 149-213; and Corbin and O.Yahya (edd.), *La Philosophie shi’te* (Tehran/Paris: A. Maisonneuve, 1969), which contains the text of Amuli’s *Jami’ al-asrar* as well as his *Fi ma’rifat al-wujud* (On the Knowledge of Being).

¹⁷² His *Tamhid al-Qawa’id*, ed. S.H.Ashtiyani with Persian and English introductions by S.H.Nasr (Tehran: Imperial Iranian Academy of Philosophy, 1976). shows clearly the philosophical concern for this gnostic doctrine.

¹⁷³ By gnosis is meant ‘irfan or ma’rifah, that is. that knowledge which transforms and illuminates, and not the sectarianism of the early history of Christianity.

There are, to be sure, several different interpretations of *wahdat al-wujud*. Nothing else even possesses *wujud* so that the question of how the *wujud* of a particular existent is related to Absolute Being does not arise. For Mullah Sadra and his followers. However, *wahdat- al-wujud* means that the Absolute Being bestows the effusion of *wujud* upon all *mahiyyat* in such a manner that all beings are like the rays of the Sun of Being and issue from It. Nothing possesses any *wujud* of its own. A vast and elaborate philosophical structure is created by Mullah Sadra to demonstrate *wahdat al-wujud*. But the aim of the sage is really to guide the mind and prepare it for a knowledge which ultimately could be grasped only intuitively. The role of philosophy is in a sense to prepare the mind to receive this illumination and to gain a knowledge which in itself is not the result of ratiocination (*hahth*) but of the “tasting” (*dhawq*) of the truth.

2. Gradation (*tashkik*)

As for gradation or *tashkik*, it is closely related to the Dadrrian interpretation of *wahdat al-wujud* and must be understood in its light although the doctrine itself had a long history before Mullah Sadra. The idea of gradation or the “chain of being” is already to be found in Greek thought, especially in Aristotle and his Alexandrian commentators, and has played a major role in the history of Western thought.¹⁷⁴ Western medieval and Renaissance philosophers and scientists envisaged a universe in which there was a hierarchy stretching from *materia prima* through the mineral, vegetable, and animal kingdoms, man and the angelic realms, and leading finally to God, Each creature in the hierarchy was defined by its mode of being. the more perfect standing higher in the hierarchy.

¹⁷⁴ The history of this idea was treated in the famous work of A.Lovejoy, *Great Chain of Being* (Cambridge: Harvard Univ. Press, 1936).

This scheme, attributed in the West to Aristotle, v, as not in fact completed in its details until the time of Ibn Sina who in his *Shifa'* dealt for the first time with the whole hierarchy, encompassing all the three kingdoms together in a single work. The *De Mineralibus* attributed for centuries to Aristotle. a work which complemented the works of Aristotle and Theophrastus on animals and plants, respectively, was actually a translation' of Ibn Sina's chapter on minerals from the *Shifa'*. The idea of the hierarchy or "chain of being" (*maratib al-wujud*) was in fact central to his thought and to Islamic philosophy in general, the doctrine of the hierarchy of beings having its roots in the teachings of the Quran and Hadith.¹⁷⁵

In *al-Hikmat al-muta'aliyah* or the "transcendent theosophy" of Sadr al'Din Shirazi and later Islamic philosophy in general, this universally held doctrine of gradation gained a new meaning in light of the doctrine of the transcendent unity (*wandah*) and principiality ((*Isaiah*) of *wujud*. According to this school, not only is there a gradation of existents which stand in a vast hierarchy stretching from the "floor" (*farsh*) to the Divine Throne ('*arch*), to use a traditional metaphor, but the *wujud* of each existent *mahiyyah* is nothing but a grade of the single reality of *wujud* whose source is God, the Absolute Being (*al-wujud al-mutlaq*). The Absolute Being is like the sun and all existents like points on the rays of the sun. These points are all light and are distinguished from other lights not by a specific difference (*fasl*) as one would have in Aristotelian logic, but by nothing other than light itself. What distinguishes the *wujud* of various existents is nothing other than in different degrees of strength and weakness.¹⁷⁶ The universe is nothing but the

¹⁷⁵ On Ibn Sina's teachings concerning the "chain of being," see Nasr, *An Introduction to Islamic Cosmological Doctrines*, pp.203 ff; see also pp.51 ff. of this work for the significance of this idea in the *Rasa'il* of the *Ikhwan al-Safa'*, Ibn Sina devoted numerous pages to this doctrine in many of his works and in addition wrote a treatise entitled *Risalahdar. haqiaqat wa kayfiyyat-i silsila-yi mawjudat wa tasalsul asbab wa musabbabat* (Tehran Univ. Press, 1952).

¹⁷⁶ The Sadrian exposition of this doctrine is very similar to what Suhrawardi states concerning the nature of light. The light of the sun and a candle are distinguished from each

gradation (tashkik) of the single reality of wujud in innumerable degrees of strength and weakness stretching from the intense degree of wujud of the archangelic realities to the dim wujud of the lowly dust from which Adam was made. Gradation is characteristic of wujud while mahiyyah cannot accept gradation. To understand the meaning of gradation as it pertains to wujud is to gain the key to the comprehension of that reality which is at once one and many, which is Unity and at the same time the multiplicity that issues from and returns to that Unity.

3. Principality of Wujud (Asa/at al-Wujud)

From the time of Mullah Sadra, Islamic philosophers have been deeply concerned with the question of the principality of wujud or mahiyyah and in fact have carried this debate backwards to embrace the whole of the history of Islamic philosophy. The basic question asked by later Islamic philosophies is the following: Granted that there is a basic distinction between the concepts of wujud and mahiyyah, which of these concepts is real in the sense of corresponding to what is real in the concrete object that exists in the external world? The answer to this question is not as simple as it might at first appear, for not only is there the question of wujud and mahiyyah, but also of the existent or mawjud and the central problem of the relation between the wujud of various existents.

The whole of Islamic philosophy has been divided into two schools on the basis of this distinction. and numerous treatises have been written by the champions of asalat al-wujud against asalat al-mahiyyah and vice versa. The great champions of asalat al-mahiyya are usually considered to be Suhrawardi and Mir Damad who hold that the mahiyyat are real and wujud is merely posited mentally (i tibari); Mullah Sadra and Ibn Sina, along with his followers

other by nothing other than light. What unites them is the same as what distinguishes them from each other.

such as Nasir al-Din al-Tusi, have been considered to be followers of *asalat al-wujud*. because Ibn Sina did not accept the unity and gradation of *wujud* in the Sadrian sense, however, his *asalat al-wujud* is in a sense similar to *asalat al-mahiyah*. Mullah Sadra himself wrote that at the beginning of his life as a philosopher he was also a follower of the school of *asalat al-mahiyah* and that only after receiving special divine guidance and inspiration did he come to see the truth of the position of *asalat al-wujud*.¹⁷⁷ Thus it might be said that there are two grand versions of Islamic metaphysics, one “essentialistic” or based on *asalat al-mahiyah* and identified mostly with the name of Suhrawardi, and one “existentialistic” or based on *asalat al-wujud* and associated with the name of Mullah Sadra. Needless to say, both owe a very great deal to the basic works of al-Farabi and especially Ibn Sina.¹⁷⁸

Suhrawardi, while interpreting Ibn Sina’s thesis that *wujud* is an “accident (‘*arid*), considers it to be merely posited in the mind (*i tibari*) without corresponding to any reality in the external world; hence his defense of the correspondence of the concept of *mahiyah* to the reality of an object. Mullah Sadra, on the contrary, after his conversion to the truth of the

¹⁷⁷ “In the earlier days I used to be a passionate defender of the thesis that the ‘quiddities’ are *asil* and ‘existence’ is *i’tibari*, until my Lord gave me guidance and let me see His demonstration. All of a sudden my spiritual eyes were opened and I saw with utmost clarity that the truth was just the contrary of what the philosophers in general had held. Praise be to God who, by the light of intuition, led me out of the darkness of the groundless idea and firmly established me upon the thesis which would never change in the present world and the Hereafter.... As a result (I now hold that) the ‘existences’ (*wujuddat*) are primary ‘realities’, while the quiddities ‘are the ‘permanent archetypes’ (*a’yan thabitah*) that have never smelt the fragrance of ‘existence’. The ‘existences’ are nothing but beams of light radiated by the true Light which is the absolutely self-subsistent Existence., except that each of them is characterized by a number of essential properties and intelligible qualities. These later are the things that are known as ‘quiddities,’ “(Izutsu, “The Fundamental Structure....”pp77- 78).

¹⁷⁸ There have been a few men such as Shaykh Ahmad Ahs’i who have sought to accept the views of both schools as being valid, but their claims have not been intellectually satisfactory and have not been favourably received by the most eminent representatives of the various schools of *hikmat-i ilahi*.

doctrine of *asalat al-wujud*, raised this principle to the very center of his metaphysical teachings, bringing about a profound transformation in Islamic philosophy which H. Corbin has called a revolution in Islamic thought. In the *Asfar* he takes the followers of *asalat al-mahiyah* to task and provides numerous arguments to prove his position, some of the most important being based on the unity of the external object and the impossibility of gradation in the *mahiyat*. Some of the arguments were later summarized by Sabziwari in rhyming couplets in his *Sharh-i manzumah* and have become common knowledge among students of traditional Islamic philosophy in Persia.¹⁷⁹ basis of acceptance of *asalat al-wujud* by Mullah Sadra, Sabziwari, and other masters of this school resides, however, not in rational arguments but in the experience of the Reality of *wujud* in which the intellect itself functions on a level other than that of ordinary life, even if it be the life of a philosopher of great rational powers and analytical acumen.

The acceptance of the unity, gradation, and principiality of *wujud* together constitutes a veritable transformation of earlier schools of Islamic thought. Associated with the name of Mullah Sadra, this perspective in which *wujud* is seen as the single reality possessing grades and modes from which the *mahiyat* are abstracted has also come to be identified with the Khusrawani or Pahlawi sages and philosophers (*khusrawaniyyun* and *pahlawiyyun* in Arabic). These terms refer to the ancient sages of Persia and are derived from the writings of Suhrawardi who saw in their teachings the perfect combination of rational and intuitive knowledge which he identified with the theosophers (*sing ha/am muta'allih*).¹⁸⁰ It might appear paradoxical that, although Suhrawardi is identified with the School of *asalat al-mahiyah* the followers of *asalat al-wujud* should be called the Pahlawi sages, using the terminology of the master of the School of Illumination. This paradox

¹⁷⁹ See Sabziwari, *The Metaphysics of Sabzavari*, edd. M.Mohaghegh and T. Izutsu, pp.32ff Two of these arguments have been summarized by Izutsu in his "The Fundamental Structure..." pp.80ff.

¹⁸⁰ It must not be forgotten that one of the titles of Mullah Sadra was *Sadr al-muta'allihin*, literally foremost among the theosophies.

disappears, however, if one remembers that although Suhrawardi considered wujud to be merely “mentally posited” (i tibari), he bestowed all the attributes of wujud upon light (al-nur), while Mullah Sadra and other later philosophers of his school who accepted the unity, gradation, and principiality of wujud often identified wujud with light and in fact used the term kathrah muraniyyah (luminous multiplicity) when they referred to the multiplicity resulting from the gradation, of wujud.

THE STRUCTURE OF REALITY

The analysis of the previous pages can be summarized as follows: External reality appears as one ontological block as it presents itself to man through his immediate experience but can be conceptually analyzed into wujud and mahiyyah. As far as wujud is concerned, one can distinguish between the concept of wujud and its reality.¹⁸¹ Furthermore, the concept or notion of wujud is either of absolute wujud or of a particular mode of existence called portion (hissah) of wujud in Islamic philosophy. As for the reality of wujud, it refers either to the all-embracing and general Reality of wujud (fard ‘amm) or to particular “units” of the reality of wujud (fard khass).

The structure of reality is envisaged differently by different schools of Islamic thought depending on how they conceive of these four stages or meanings of wujud. The Ash’arite theologians simply refuse to accept these distinctions, whether they be conceptual or belonging to the external world. The school of Mullah Sadra, at the other end of the spectrum of Islamic thought, makes a clear distinction between all four meanings of wujud. Certain philosophers accept only the concept of wujud and deny its reality, while certain Peripatetics accept the reality of wujud but identify the multiplicity in the external world not with the multiplicity of existents but

¹⁸¹ See the masterly analysis of Izutsu in his “The Fundamental Structure”section 7.

with that of wujud itself so that they identify wujud not with a single reality with grades but with realities (haqa'iq). Then there are those thinkers identified with the "tasting of theosophy" (dhawq al-ta'alluh), especially Jalal al-Din Dawani, who believe that there is only one reality in the external world to which wujud refers and that reality is God. There are no other realities to which wujud refers. Finally, there are several schools of Sufism with their own doctrines concerning the relation between the concept and reality of wujud. The most metaphysical of these views sees wujud as the absolute, single Reality beside which there is no other reality; yet there "are" other realities which, although nothing in themselves, appear to exist because they are theophanies of the single Reality which alone is as the absolutely unconditioned wujud.

Later Islamic philosophy, following upon the wake of the teachings of Ibn Sina, displays a remarkable richness of metaphysical, philosophical, and theological teachings concerning the structure of reality, the rapport between unity and multiplicity, and the relation between wujud and mahiyah. All of these schools have sought to demonstrate the unity of the Divine Principle, and the relation of the world of multiplicity to that Principle.¹⁸² Among these schools, which include not only the Ash'arites and the Peripatetic but also Isma'ili philosophers and theologians, ishraqi theosophies, and the various schools of Sufism the "transcendent theosophy" associated with Mullah Sadra represents a particularly significant synthesis of vast proportions. Therein one finds the echo of centuries of debate and analysis concerning wujud and mahiyah and the fruit of nearly a millenium of both the thought and spiritual experience of Muslim philosophers and gnostics.

¹⁸² See S.H. Nasr, "Post-Avicennan Islamic Philosophy and the Study of Being," in P. Morewedge (ed.). *Philosophies of Existence* (New York: Fordham Univ. Press, 1982), pp. 337-42. See also R.M. Frank, "Attribute, Attribution, and Being: Three Islamic Views," pp.258-78, and P. Morewedge, "Greek Sources of Some Near Eastern Philosophies of Being and Existence," pp.285-336, in the same volume.

In this school there is but one Reality, that of wujud. There are not existing objects related to other existing objects.

The very existence of objects is their relation to that one wujud which partakes of modes and gradation as do rays of light, modes and gradation from which the mind abstracts the mahiyyat. There is in the universe nothing but the Reality of wujud.

It might of course be asked how in such a perspective one can avoid identifying the world with God and what happens to the central thesis of the transcendence of God emphasized so much by Islam. The answer is provided by the distinction that the “Pahlawi sages” make between the “negatively conditioned” (bi-shar la), “non-conditioned” (la bi-shar!), and “conditioned by something” (bi-shar-shay’) stages of wujud. These aspects were originally applied by Nasir al-Din al-Tusi to mahiyyah which can be considered as “negatively conditioned.” that is. in a complete purity in itself, or as “non-conditioned.” as indeterminate in the sense that it can or cannot be associated with something, or as “conditioned by something,” that is, associated with some other concept.¹⁸³

These distinctions have been applied by the “Pahlawi philosopher” to wujud. Considered as such, “negatively conditioned” wujud is the Absolute, Pure, and Transcendent being ‘of God. “Non-conditioned” wujud is the expansive mode of wujud which is indeterminate and can determine itself into various forms. It is identified with the act of existention and the “Breath of the Compassionate” (nafas al-rahman) of the Sufis and is sometimes called the expansive wujud (al-wujud al-numbast!). Finally, as “conditioned by something,” wujud refers to the actual stages and levels of wujud in particular existents. Moreover, these three levels of wujud are hierarchical. “Negatively conditioned” wujud is the Source and Origin of the Universe, the Reality that is transcendent and yet from which everything issues. “Non-Conditioned” wujud stands below that supreme source and is

¹⁸³ See Izutsu, “The Fundamental Structure”pp.143-44.

itself the immediate source for the wujud of the existentiated order. Finally, wujud “conditioned by something” comprises the whole “chain of being” from the angels to the pebbles along the seashore.

The Sufi metaphysicians have gone a step beyond the “Pahlawi sages” and criticized them for identifying “negatively conditioned” wujud with God since negatively conditioned still implies a limitation and a condition. The Absolute Being cannot be conditioned or limited in any way even by the condition of being negatively conditioned. They identify, therefore, not “negatively conditioned” but “non-conditioned” wujud with God. Herein lies a major distinction between the metaphysics of the Sufis and of the later philosophers. Nevertheless, the basic structure of reality envisaged by them is the same in that both see beyond the multiplicity of the world a unity which transcends yet determines that multiplicity and in fact is that multiplicity in a coincidentia oppositorum that can be grasped only by that intellectual intuition which provides the immediate knowledge granted only to those whom the traditional Islamic sources, following the terminology of the Quran, call people of vision (ahl al-basirah), those who in the words of the Quran are “deeply versed in knowledge.”

THE EXPERIENCE OF WUJUD

Man lives in the world of multiplicity; his immediate experience is of objects and forms, of existents. Yet he yearns for unity, for the Reality which stands beyond and behind this veil of the manifold. One might say that the mahiyyah of man is such that he yearns for the experience of wujud. It is in the nature of man, and in this realm of terrestrial existence of man alone, to seek to transcend himself and to go beyond what he “is” in order to become what he really is. Man’s mode of existence, his acts, his way of living his life, his inner discipline, his attainment of knowledge, and his living according to the dictates of Being, affect his own mode of being. Man can perfect himself in such a manner that the act of wujud in him is intensified until he ceases to

exist as a separate ego and experiences the Supreme Being, becoming completely drowned in the ocean of the Reality of wujud.

Man's spiritual progress from the experience of existents to that of the Absolute Reality of wujud can be compared to seeing objects around a room whose walls are covered with mirrors. Soon the observer looking at the walls realizes that the walls are mirrors and he sees nothing but the mirrors. Finally he sees the objects, yet no longer as independent objects but as reflections in the mirror. In the ascent towards the experience of wujud, man first realizes that objects do not have a wujud or reality, of their own. Then he experiences wujud in its Absoluteness and realizes that he and everything else in the universe are literally "no-thing" and have no reality of their own.

Finally, he realizes that all things are "plunged in God," that the "transcendent unity of Being" means that wujud is one yet manifests a world of multiplicity which does not violate its sacred unity.

The vast metaphysical synthesis of Islamic sages and philosophers has for its aim the opening of the mind to the awareness of that reality which can only be experienced by the whole of man's being and not by the mind alone. Yet, the doctrines in their diverse forms serve to prepare the mind for that intellection which is supra-rational and to enable the mind to become integrated into the whole of man's being whose center is the heart. Only the person who is whole can experience that wholeness which belongs to the One, to wujud in its Absoluteness.

These Islamic doctrines have also created a philosophical universe of discourse in which the inner dimension of things has never been forgotten, where the act of wujud has been an ever present reality, preventing the reduction of the world to objects and things divorced from the inner dimension as has happened with postmedieval philosophy in the West leading to dire consequences for the human condition. The message of Islamic philosophy, as it concerns the study of wujud and mahiyyah, is therefore of great significance for the contemporary world which is

suffocating in an environment of things and objects which have overwhelmed the human spirit. This philosophy is also of great significance for a world which lives intensely on the mental plane at the expense of other dimensions of human existence, for although this philosophy speaks to the mind it draws the mind once again to the heart. The heart is the center of the human being and seat of the intellect, where man is able to know experientially that Reality of wujud which determines what we are, from which we issue, and to whose embrace we finally return. It is only in experiencing wujud, not this or that wujud but wujud in its pure inviolability, in its absoluteness and infinity, that man is fully man and fulfills the purpose for which he was drawn from the bosom of wujud to embark upon this short terrestrial journey, only to return finally to that One and Unique wujud from which in reality nothing ever departs.

THE LIVING WORLD OF HAFIZ

PROF. USLOOB A. ANSARI

غزل گفتمی و در سفتی، بیا و خوش بخوان حافظ
که بر نظم تو افشاند فلک عقد ثریا را

Hafiz's claims to greatness based on his lyrical exquisiteness and intensity are indisputable: he stands undoubtedly at the apex of Persian lyrical poetry for a variety of reasons. In spite of expressing his genius in a form that had been hallowed or, perhaps, become state by the practice of acknowledged masters over the ages he is yet able to say something which strikes a responsive chord in the average reader's heart and has also an esoteric aspect to it, and this is paradoxical, indeed. The common man finds, a sympathetic interlocutor in him and the mystically-inclined regards him as 'the interpreter of mysteries'. What is most distinctive of Hafiz is not his luminous diction alone or the multiple levels of meaning he offers, but his total integrity. Emphasis has too frequently been laid and wrongly, I should think, on the hedonistic element in his poetry as if he were really asking us to abandon all serious concerns of life before the allurements of the senses and the bouts of drinking and revelry. The bacchanalian quality of it, in other words, has been unduly stressed and insisted on unjustifiably. This has been countered by the claim that the glorification of the senses is only a camouflage for making us look to a higher order of reality: it is only a ladder for reaching up the heights of Divine Beauty and Love. A preoccupation with mere epicureanism cannot guarantee the kind of greatness that Hafiz indubitably possesses and there are clear indications in his poetry that he wishes, every now and then, to outgrow the merely erotic experience which

might have been his starting-point, something that initiated him into and irradiated his vivid and expansive world. He is capable, simultaneously, of playing variations on the conventional themes of love for poetry and looking through the sensuous experience to realities that lie behind and beyond it. His ambivalence is, therefore, traceable to the erotio-mystic character of his poetry.

It would be futile to deny that Hafiz's poetry of the ghazal offers fine discriminations on the theme of love and in a tone of voice which is intimate, vibrant and exalting and hardly ever melancholy and depressing. The dialectic of love as conceived and presented by him seems to rest on a tripartite basis: the dispenser of the treasure of love, the fact of love itself and the heart that is ravaged and vulnerable. To confine oneself to the finesse with which the fact of love has been visualized and communicated one may keep spotlight in mind the following instances:

صبا بلطف بگواں غزالِ رعنا را
 کہ سر بکوه و بیابانِ تو دادہ ما را
 اے صبا گر بجوانانِ چمن باز رسی!
 خدمتِ ما برساں سرود گل و ریحان را
 چو کحلِ بینشِ ما خاکِ آستانِ شماست
 کجا رویم بفر ما ازین جناب کجا
 بیادِ چشم تو خود را خراب خواہم ساخت
 بنائے عہدِ قدیم استوار خواہم کرد
 مژدہ اے دل کہ مسیحا نفسے می آید
 کہ ز انفاسِ خوشش بوے کسے می آید
 مستم کن آنچناک، ندانم ز بیخودی
 در عرصہ خیال کہ آمد کدام رفت

اشکِ من رنگِ شفق یافت ز بے مهری یار
طالع بے شفقت بین کہ دریں کارچہ کرد
زور د دوست نگویم حدیث جز باد دست
کہ آشنا سخن آشنا نگہ دارد
از صبا پرس کہ مارا ہمہ شب تا دم صبح
بوئے زلفِ تو ہماں مونسِ جانست کہ بود
کشتہ غمزہ خود را بزیارت می آئی
ز آنک بیچارہ ہماں دل نگر انست کہ بود
گداے میکده ام لیک وقت مستی بین
کہ ناز بر فلک و حکم بر ستارہ کنم
نقشِ خیالِ روے تو تا وقتِ صبحدم
برکار گاہ دیدہ بے خواب می زخم
ندانم ازچہ سبب رنگِ آشنائی نیست
سہی قدانِ سیہ چشمِ ماہ سیمارا
ہر دم از روئے تو نقشے زندم راہ خیال
باکہ گویم کہ دریں پردہ چہامی بینم
ہوئے مژدہ وصلِ تو تا سحر شبِ دوش
براہ باد نہادم چراغِ روشنِ چشم
بربوے عیدِ وصلِ چو نظارگانِ ماہ
چشمِ امل بر آن خمِ ابرو نہادہ ایم
نظیرِ دوست نہ دیدم اگرچہ از مہ و مہر
نہادم آئینہ ہا در مقابلِ رُخِ دوست
من گدا تمنائے وصلِ او میہات
مگر بخواب ببینم خیالِ منظرِ دوست

بنود نقشِ دو عالمِ که رنگِ اَلفِ بود
 زمانه طرحِ محبتِ نه این زمانِ انداخت
 صبا تونکھتِ اَن زلفِ مشکبو داریق
 بیادگارِ بمانی کہ بوی او داری
 بلطفِ خال و خط از عارفاں ربودی دل
 لطیفہائے عجب زیرِ دامِ ودانہ تست
 جاں میدہم از حسرتِ دیدارِ تو چون صبح
 باشد کہ چو خورشیدِ درخشاں بدر آئی

This poetry reflects a sort of exuberance and ecstasy that is not met with in other poets and to the same degree. This is brought out in three whole ghaals, sharing a unity of impression all along, and whose opening couplets are as follows:

کرشمہ و بازارِ ساحری بشکن
 بغمزه رونق و ناموسِ سامری بشکن
 اے کہ با سلسلہٴ زلفِ دراز آمدہ
 فرصتِ باد کہ دیوانہ نواز آمدہ
 اے دل گراز از اَن چاہ زرخداں بدر آئی
 ہر جا کہ روی زودِ پشیمان بدر آئی
 رسید مژدہ کہ ایامِ گمِ نخواہد ماند
 چنان نماںد و چنیں نیز ہمِ نخواہد ماند
 سرودِ مجلسِ جمشید، گفتہ اند، این بود
 کہ جامِ بادہ بیادر کہ جمِ نخواہد ماند
 بیخود را شعلہٴ پر تو ذاتم کردند
 بادہ از جامِ تجلائے صفاتم دانند

آن دوچه فرخنده شبی چه مبارک سحرے بو
 شب قدر که این تازه برائے دادند
 خیز و در کاشه زر آب طربناک انداز
 پیشترز آن که شود کاسه سر خاک انداز
 چشم آلوده نظر از رخ جانان دور ست
 بر رخ او نظر از آنه، پاک انداز
 خرم آن روز کزین منزل ویراں بردم
 راحت جاں طلبم و ز پیے جانان بروم
 چون صبا با تن بیما و دل بی طاقت
 بهوا داری آن سرو خرامان بردم
 بهوا داری او ذره صفت رقص کتاں
 تالب چشمه خورشید درخشاں بردم
 دوش دیدم که ملایک در میخانه زدند
 گل آدم بسر شتند و به پیمانہ زوند
 فاش میگویم و از گفته خود دلشادم
 بنده عشقم و از هر دو جہاں آزادم
 طاہر گلشن قدسم چه ہم شرح فراق
 کہ درین وامگہ حادثہ چون افتادم

But it is worth noticing that this exuberance is not just frothy and ephemeral but is the product of experience that has been assimilated and become mellow and poised. Symbols like ;b,d.4dG,.L..”j).’]though conventionalized to satiety, have been invested ‘by Hafiz with a new and creative potential. To focus attention on just three of these: or tavern is the symbol of conviviality, of the bracing atmosphere of out-of-doors life and of togetherness, it is a place which is barred against inhibition-mongers, and

گل، بلبل، صبا، ساقی، می خانه are symbolic of accusers, inquisitors, traffickers in religion and those who are possessed of a selfhood vision and are promoters of a reductionist ethics. And, v) or J4) is a word of polyvalent connotations; Z) is not only the non-conformist, reviler of the established cannons, an idol-breaker but also one who is capable of exercising a certain degree of lively lucidity and brings into play a self-conscious disengagement with the superficialities of life. His behaviour is sometimes undoubtedly shocking and scandalous and this is the means of disorienting the most composed and solidly self-complacent spirits. He also scoffs at the expense of those who pride themselves on their narrowly-conceived idealisms and their habit of exclusivizing of things. His inspired libentirism is aimed at the rejection of all those social taboos that are restrictive and life-denying and he recommends by his own precept and example a kind of abandonment and suppleness that the convention-bound members of society are timid to approve. He is also starkly opposed to all forms of hypocrisy and cannot put up with any facade of religiosity and priggishness. With it, perhaps, also goes freedom from dogma, sectarianism and those hide-bound prejudices which prevent us from encountering Reality courageously. And he is one who is intoxicated with the passion to catch a glimpse of the Divine and to him falsity in behaviour is a cardinal-isin.

Apart from the ecstatic tone and the outward-looking atmosphere of the ghazals, Hafiz is also a master craftsman, capable of matching image with rhythm, handling pairs of opposites and tonalities of modulation with deftness, making striking concision of paradoxes, displaying an iridescence of colours and in a way exploiting all the subtleties and virtuosities of the Persian language to the farthest extent. His power of organization is brought out in the chiselled clarity of phrase, a marmoreal smoothness and a sense of perfect adequacy in the modalities of expression, extracting from words all their potential suggestibility. He is fascinated by the task of presenting the beloved and the experience of love in terms that are evocative of an aesthetic delight. The whole of the variegated physical world around him, the whole

panorama exposed to the senses, and the sentient life in all its fecundity to which he is keenly sensitive are all drawn on and have their impact on his power of visualization:

بلبلے برگِ گلے خوش رنگ در منقار داشت
اندر آن برگ و نوا خوش نالهائے زادداشت
گفتمش در عین وصل این ناله و فریاد چیست
گفت مارا جلوہٴ معشوق در این کار داشت
خیز تا بر کلکِ آن نقاش جاں افشان کنیم
کاین ہمہ نقشِ عجب در گردشِ پرکار داشت
جمالت آفتابِ ہر نظر باد
ز خوبیِ روے خوبت خو بتر باد
ہمارے زلفِ شاہین شہپرت را
دلِ شاہانِ عالم زیرِ پر باد
دلے کو عاشقِ رویت نباشد
ہمیشہ غرقہ در خونِ جگر باد
نفسِ بادِ صبا مشکِ فشانِ خوابد شد
عالمِ پیرِ دگر بارہ جوانِ خوابد شد
ارغوانِ جامِ عقیقی بسمنِ خوابد داد
چشمِ نرگسِ بشقایقِ نگرانِ خوابد شد
رسید مژدہ کہ آمد بہار و سبزہ دمید
وظیفہ گر برسد مصرفش گلست و نبید
صفیرِ مرغِ برآمد بسطِ شرابِ کجاست
فغانِ فتاد بہ بلبلِ نقابِ گل کہ کشید
زروے ساقیِ مہوشِ گلی بچیں امروز

که گردِ عارضِ بستانِ خطِ بنفشه دمید
در حلقهٔ گلِ وه مل خوش خواند دوش بلبل
هات الصّبو ببوا یا ایّها السّکارا
نشانِ عهدو وفا نیست در تبسمِ گل
بنال بلبلِ عاشق که جائے فریا دست
بنفشه طرّهٔ مقتول را گره میزد
صبا حکایتِ زلفِ تو درمیان انداخت
در گلستانِ ارم دوش چو از لطفِ هوا
زلفِ سنبل به نسیمِ سحری می آشفست
شبِ تاریک و بیمِ موج و گردابی چنین حائل
کجا دانند حالِ ما سبکبارانِ ساحلها
میذمد صبح و کله بست سحاب
القبوح القبوح یا اصحاب
میچد ژاله بر رُخ لاله
المدام المدام یا احباب
شگفته شد گل حمرا اوگشت بلبل مست
صلائے سرخوشی اے صوفیانِ باده پرست
نثارِ روے تو هر برگِ گل که در رچمنست
فدایِ قدِ تو هر سرو بن که بر لب جوست
سحر بلبل حکایت با صبا کرد
که عشقِ روے گل با ما چها کرد
خوشش باد آن نسیمِ صبحگاهی
که دردِ شب نشینان را دوا کرد
نقابِ گل کشیده زلفِ سنبل

گرہ بندِ قبا چوں غنچہ وا کرد

One cannot help feeling that the elemental images, of گل، بلبل are not used by Hafiz for purposes of embellishment but because of his intimate and close contact with palpable reality and for distancing his own emotional predicament. Of very frequent occurrence in his poetry is the image of صبا which, in particular, serves a dual purpose: it is the symbol of spirit and inspiration and it also is the medium of communication between the lover and the beloved, acquainting the latter with the anguish and desolation of the former. And similarly, symbolic of grace and stateliness, with the addition of the suffix خوامان is evocative of the dynamic personality of the beloved. صبا also performs the function of the insinuator or غماز and carries with it the subtle suggestion of the intermediary; it scatters, moreover, the aroma of the beloved in far-flung corners of the earth. In order to emphasize the livingness of the present Hafiz is sometimes given to linking it with the past and revivifying it through the act of reminiscing thus:

یاد باد آنکہ نہایت نظرے با ما بود
رقم مہر تو بر چہرہ ما پیدا بود
یاد باد آنکہ رخت شمع طرب می افروخت
دیں دل سوختہ پروانہ نا پروا بود
یاد باد آنکہ چو یاقوت قدح خندہ زد
درمیان من و لعل تو حکایتہا بود
یاد باد آنکہ در آن بزمگہ خلق و ادب
آنکہ او خندہ مستانہ زدے صہبا بود
یاد باد آنکہ سرکوی تو ام منزل بود

دیده را روشنی از خاکِ درت حاصل بود
راست چون سوسن و گل از اثرِ صحبتِ پاک
بر زباں بود مرا آنچه ترا در دل بود
آه از آن جو رو نطاول که درین دا مگه است
آه از آن سوز و نیازے که در آن محفل بود

It is evident that Hafiz is deeply intrigued by man's existence in this world of space and time, his participation in the glories and triumphs of his earthly sojourn, his involvement in its vicissitudes at every point and his savouring of sensual delights, in all their keenness and intensity, so long as he can afford them in accordance with the emotional temperature of his life. It may, however, be added that this harking back to the past may also amount to a sort of nostalgia for the primordial mode of existence from which there has been a descent into this world.

Though equable, suave and mild-toned on the whole Hafiz is also given to challenging the status quo, his ebullient and combative spirit will not let him take things on their face value. Being a poet of massive energy and infinite resilience he proposes the restructuring of the universe around him and will have no commerce with either facile rationalism or illusionism created by our own fancies. His passionate protest against decadence and the struggle to emerge out of it is brought out even by the ringing tones of his voice. Come, he seems to be saying, let us split open the domed ceiling of the firmament, think of laying out a new world, pour heady wine into the goblet, scatter rose-petals and sweets into the incense-bearer, cross hands and feet in a sort of jazz movement, put the record of our doings straightaway before the Creator in the hope of getting a fair deal and engage صبا as a mediator: all these are, perhaps, gestures and strategies proposed for unfolding a new scheme of things as against the monotonous, soulless and mechanized routine of daily life. Mounting a powerful assault on things as they are Hafiz

wishes to insinuate artfully his own vision of things. The juxtaposition of distinct and sometimes discordant images, hammering his view-point with insistent concern and denunciation of those who merely indulge in day-dreaming or pettifogging and have not enough courage to face the stark realities of life leave their imprint on Hafiz's readers. He would like to create his own universe whose outline, however, nebulous at the moment, is likely to ensure the maximum freedom from the tyranny of the dogma. In an excellent, oft-quoted ghazal which is marked by the swirl of passion, the resonance of the soul and the energy of its kinetic images all the notions dwelt on just now have been fervently communicated and the reader cannot help falling under the spell of their creative verve and excitement:

بیاتا گل بیفشا نیم و مے در ساغر اندازیم
فلک را سقف بشگافیم و طرح نو در اندازیم
اگر غم لشکر انگیزد که خونِ عاشقان ریزد
من و ساقی بهم تازیم و بینا دش بر اندازیم
شرابِ ارغوانی را گلب اندر قح ریزیم
نسیم عطر گردانرا شکر در مجسمه اندازیم
چو در دستت روودی خوش بزن مطرب مرودی خوش
که دست افشان غزل خوانیم و پاکوبان سر اندازیم
صبا خاکِ وجودِ مابداں عالی جناب انداز
بود کان شاهِ خوبان را نظر بر منظر اندازیم
یکی از عقل می لافد یکی طامات می بافد
بیا کاین داور بهارا به پیش دوار اندازیم
بهشتِ عدن اگر خواهی بیابا ما به مے خانه
که از یائے خمت روزے بحوضِ کوثر اندازیم
سخن دانی و خوش خوانی نمی ور زنددر شیراز

بیا حافظ کہ تا کود را بملکہ دیگر اندازیم

What is particularly noticeable here is the emotional pressure, built up little by little, and the superabundant energy at his disposal and its exploitation both for purposes of struggle and resistance and the eloquence of his utterance is climaxed h) saying:

بیا حافظ کہ تا کود را بملکہ دیگر اندازیم

The polarization of the world of the senses and of the spirit is something which is distinctive of Hafiz: his mind travels freely, and untrammelled, from one to the other; in other words, there is always the possibility that while his gaze is fixed on the mundane world he is really looking beyond its opaqueness to the transparency of the cosmic domain. Despite his firm grounding in the academic disciplines of the day, especially the Islamic sciences, Hafiz shows some awareness of the Kantian limits to human cognition, and human existence is therefore for him a riddle that defies comprehension. Following the lead of the merciless and exclusivizing logic, based on verifiable propositions, all our intellectual explorations are bound to land us ultimately in a blind alley whereas the grasp of the unfathomable Mystery depends upon some sort of inner impulse or supra-sensuous approach to things. While contemplating the paradoxes and ambivalence of life - the mingled yarn of good and evil - Hafiz has grown convinced that 'the circle of our human understanding is a very restricted area' and we are wrapped in a 'cloud of unknowing'. Despite straining our capacities to the utmost we are still unable to make any sense of the great enigma and hence the vien of scepticism in Hafiz that is often revealed thus:

کس ندانست کہ منزل گہ مقصود کجاست
این قدر ہست کہ بانگِ جر سے می آید
آن کہ پر نقش زد این دائرہ مینائی

کس ندانست که در گردش پر کارچه کرد
نه شوی واقفِ یک نکته ز اسرارِ وجود
گر تو سرگشته شوی دائره دوران را

جنگ هفتاد و دو ملت همه را عذر بنه
چون ندیدند حقیقت ره افسانه زدند
هر دم در انتظار و درین پرده راه نیست
یا هست و پرده درآ نشانم نمی دهد
دید مش خرم و خندان قدح باده بدست
و اندر آن آنه صد گونه تماشا می کرد
گفتم این جامِ جهان بین بتو که داد حکیم
گفت آن روز که این گنبدِ مینای کرد

The second half of the first couplet underscores the strictly limited scope of the categories of knowledge: in the second O half of the fourth one, a distinction has been set up between Appearance and reality and in the fifth one the fact that man has been deliberately kept under delusion is no less apparent. Along-side these, may also be put the following couplets:

مادر پیاله عکسِ رخ یار دید ایم
اے بیخرز لذتِ شرکِ مدام ما
حدیث از مطرب دی گوو رازِ دهر کمتر جو
که کس نکشود و نکشاید بحکمت این معمارا
چیست این سقفِ بلندِ ساده و بسیار نقشق
زین معما هیچ دانا در جهان آگاه نیست
رازے که بر غیر نگفیم و نگوئیم
با دوست بگوئیم که او محرمِ راز ست

بروای زاید خود بین کہ ز چشم من و تو
رازِ این پرده نہان است و نہاں خواہد بود
خیز تا بر کلکِ آن نقاش جان افشاں کنیم
کایں ہمہ نقشِ عجب در گردشِ پرکار داشت

Here it is worth pointing out that are by an inversion of the accepted connotations, esoteric symbols of the intuitive processes of immediately apprehending Reality and جام جہاں بین, in particular, is the means through which the inner secrets of the cosmos are laid bare to whoever is capable of handling it. Similarly may رندان مست بادہ فروش far from being the seller of wine and the intoxicants, are mystic appellations for those who have mastered these intuitive processes. This lends credence to the contention made earlier that the use of poetic symbols makes possible ambiguity in expressiveness and the couplets of Hafiz may not be tied to any literalist interpretation. And with this lack of definite commitment go also his tolerance of schism, his idealization of love as a creative impulse, and a cementing and cohesive force, his power of empathy and his imaginative openness, and all these seem to inhere into a broad and universal outlook on life. It may be added that the term 'humanism' as I applied to Hafiz does not imply just a substitute for religion as morality, art and mysticism are substitutes for many other thinkers and creative artists. In his case this concept rests on two premises: lack of intellectual acceptance of the dogma of institutionalized religion and faith in the goodness of human nature, and a corollary to it is adherence to the notion of individual freedom. Hafiz does scoff at the dogmatists but at bottom his sensibility is activated by a deeply religious consciousness which is reflected in his poetry in subtle and devious ways.

With the buoyancy of spirit that is pervasive in the ghazal of Hafiz and that contributes to the livingness of his world also goes his sparkling wit and

the arched flight of his imagination in ridiculing the **واعظ** and the **محتسب**.

He is all the time engaged in deflating the self-appointed custodians of religious and moral ordinances whose malfunctioning is attended upon by bigotry and purblindness. Far from being indignant and vociferous Hafiz indulges in ironic effects with a view to exposing those who put on the cloak of hypocrisy or **خرقة سالوس** alas he suggestively designates it: (hypocrisy should in all fairness be included among the seven Deadly Sins as visualized by the European Medievalists) with a certain sting of wry and lethal humour. What provokes his contempt and hatred of them is the wide and unbridgeable chasm which seems to yawn between their pretensions and actual practices in daily life. They are, moreover, formalists and accusers (and that way Satan's accomplices and allies) as also unashamed apologists for the Church and the State, supporting their policy of repression and allowing hardly any latitude to the legitimate urges and cravings of the natural man. The pose of the non-conformist is struck by Hafiz for purposes of denouncing those who have turned religion into a commodity, thus denuding it of all its inner content - its moral and metaphysical postulates and imperatives. Those who impede or frustrate the life of love, whether Divine, that is, of man to God or profane, that is, of man to man, offer themselves as vulnerable to his scathing sarcasm, By temperament Hafiz is not inclined to express savage indignation against this class of sanctimonious divines: on the contrary, not unlike Ghalib, his withering scorn which results in bringing about their utter humiliation, is very often, though not always, expressed tangentially; they come to look, through Hafiz's demolition of them, as stuffed men, incapable of genuine religious faith. Putting it differently, one might uphold that in Hafiz's poetry, the coalescence of the witty and the shocking effects is achieved at the expense of those who suffer from sterility of faith and who do not hesitate to exploit the common believer with all the trickery and adroitness at their command:

واعظان کیں جلوہ بر محراب و منبری کند
 چون بہ خلوت میر دندان کارِ دیگری کند
 این خرقہ کہ من درام در رہن شراب اولی
 وین دفتر بے معنی غرقِ مے ناب اولی
 بیابہ میکده و چہرہ ارغوانی کن
 مرو بہ صومعہ کانجا سیاہ کار انند
 اے دل طریق رندی از محتسب بیا موز
 ہست است و در حق اوکس این گمان ندارد
 بادہ با محتسبِ شہر نہ نوشی زنہار
 بخورد بادہ ات و سنگ بجام انداز
 برد اے زاہدِ خودبیں کہ ز چشم من و تو
 رازِ این پردہ نہان است و نہاں خواہد بود
 بمستوران مگو اسرارِ مستی
 حدیثِ جان مپرس از نقشِ دیوار
 یا رب آن زاہدِ خود بیں کہ بجز عیب ندید
 دودِ آبیش ور آئینہ ادراک انداز

The world of Hafiz's poetry is radiant, alive and tingling with energy and movement, and he tends to accept life without any mental or moral inhibitions. He recognizes the sanctity and divinity of the life affirming impulses of man and does not reject anything which is likely to contribute to his happiness through self-realization. His poetry abounds in images of light and colour and the beauty of the phenomenal world feeds and nourishes these images. Of frequent occurrences are images of smell the acutest of man's physical senses and these are the source of the peculiar fragrance in his poetry. All the luxuriant growth of a Persian garden: the roses, the jasmine, the tulips, the cypresses and the early morning breeze rustling through them

and scattering their smells and odours far and wide - all these which are evocative of a powerful response seem to be reflected in the ghazals of Hafiz. In him however, there is hardly any concern with the interplay of light and shade and this may be accounted for, as in the case of Iqbal, too, by the Islamic emphasis on light alone as the fountain-head of all creative energy which propels the universe. As all fictional works are human artifacts so is the poetry of Hafiz and its architectonics has been designed with a degree of finesse and sophistication not witnessed in any other major Persian poet of repute. This poetry has a taste of earthiness about it and it is penetrated by flashes of light and a kind of sinuous movement. It is not inward looking but smacks of the out-of-door life and is presented in the form of incandescent images and the lilt of harmony:

ندانم از چه سبب رنگِ آشنائی نیست
 سہی قدانِ سیہ چشمِ ماہ سیمارا
 باز پر سید ز گیسوئے شکن در شکنش
 کایں دلِ غمزده سرگشته گرفتار کجاست
 شربتے از لبِ لعلش پخشیدیم و برفت
 روے مہ پیکرِ او سیر ندیم و برفت
 شد چماں در چمنِ حسن و لطافت لیکن
 در گلستانِ و صالحش نچمیدیم و برفت
 خون شد دلم بیادِ تو ہرگہ کہ در چمن
 بندِ قبائے غنچہ گل میکشاد باد
 ہر سرو کہ در چمن در آید
 در خدمتِ قامتت نگوں باد
 چشمے کہ نہ فتنہ تو باشد
 چون گوہرِ اشک غرقِ خون باد

شبِ ظلمت و بیابان بکجا توان رسیدن
مگر آنکه شمع رویت به دہم چراغ دارد
چو شمع صبحد مم شد ز مہر او روشن
کہ عمر در سر این کاروبار خواہم کرد
گل بے رُخ یار خوش نباشد
بے بادہ بہار خوش نباشد
طرفِ چمن و طوافِ بستان
بے لالہ غدار خوش نباشد
نفسِ بادِ صبا مشک فشان خواہد شد
عالمِ پیرِ دگر بارہ جواں خواہد شد
خوشش بادِ آن نسیم صبح گاہی
کہ دردِ شب نشیناں را دوا کرد
نقابِ گل کشیدہ زلفِ سنبل
گرہ بندِ قباچوں غنچہ وا کرد
بہار و گل طرب انگیز گشت و توبہ شکن
بشادی رُخ گل بیخِ غم زدل برکن
رسید بادِ صبا غنچہ در ہوا داری
زخود برون شد و برخود درید پیراہن
بدورِ لالہ قدح گیرد بے ریای باش!
ببوئے گل نفسے ہمد صبا می باش!
زرؤے دوست دلِ و دشمنان چہ دریا بد
چراغِ مردہ کجا، شمعِ آفتاب کجا
در آن زمین کہ نسیمی و ز دز طرۂ دوست
چہ جائے دم زدن نافہائے تا تاریست

باز آی کہ بے روئے تو اے شمعِ دل افروز
ور بزمِ حریفاں اثرِ نورو صفا نیست
زیں آتشی نہفتہ کہ در سینہٗ من ست
خورشیدِ شعلہ ایست کہ در آسمان گرفت
می خواست گل کہ دم زنداز رنگ و بوئے دوست
از غیرتِ صبا نفشش در وہاں گرفت
اشکِ من رنگِ شفق یافت ز بے مہری یار
طالع بے شفقت بیی کہ دریں کارچہ کرد
در ازل پر تو حسنت ز تجلی دم زد
عشق پیدا شد و آتشیں بہمہ عالم زد
عقل می خواست کزان شعلہ چراغ افروزد
برقِ غیرت بدرخشید و جہاں برہم زد
تنورِ لالہ چناں بر فروخت بادِ بہار
کہ غنچہ غرقِ عرق گشت و گل بجوش آمد
آتشی رخسارِ گل خرمنِ بلبل بسوخت
چہرہٗ خندانِ شمعِ آفتِ پروانہ شد
بہواداری او ذرہٗ صفتِ رقصِ کناں
تالیخِ چشمہٗ خورشیدِ درخشاں بروم
گرچنیں چہرہٗ کشاید خطِ زنگاری دوست
من رُخِ زردِ بخونابہٗ منقشِ دارم
اے گل تو دوشِ داغِ صبحی کشیدہٗ
ما آن شقایقیم کہ باداغِ زادہٗ ایم
یا رب آن شاہِ وش، ماہِ رخ، زہرہٗ جبین
دُرِّ یکتای کہ و گوہرِ یک دانہٗ کیست

آن روز شوقِ ساغرِ مے خرمم بسوخت
 کآتش ز عکسِ عارضِ ساقی در آن گرفت
 بر برگِ گلِ بخونِ شقایقِ نوشته اند
 کآنکس که پخته شد مئے چون ارغوان گرفت
 جان می دهم از حسرتِ دیدارِ تو چون صبح
 باشد که چو خورشیدِ درخشان بدر آئی

In the universe of Hafiz we do get the self-image of the lover as much as the portrayal of the beloved and in it the dominant images are those of dignity and power, or of self-awareness, in other words. He is given neither to self-abnegation nor self-prostration before the beloved: his bearing towards him bespeaks self-containedness and he goes to meet him on a footing of equality. Unlike the Petrarcian lover as also unlike the self-capitulating and dismal, conventional lover of Urdu poetry Hafiz is all the time conscious of his strength and dignity in the bargain of love. He is, however, not unmindful of his ravaged heart and sometimes feels nostalgic about the past. It is also worth pointing out that in Hafiz's poetry the love of sentient as well as amorous life, with all the sensuousness clinging to it, co-exists with the lure of some sort of transcendence. References to life in pre-²eternity or J;³ (anteriority without beginning) and in post-eternity or, AI (posteriority without end) are of frequent occurrence and so are those to some kind of hypothetical, primordial alliance or pact designated by him as پیمانہ الست Man seems to have a foothold both in this and the other world.

He nostalgically recalls the life of love lived by the translucent soul in that other region and that seems to serve as a paradigm for the impetuous, physical love experienced here and now in this mundane context. It is not for nothing that the epithet (as in the famous couplet:

دوش دیدم که ملانک در میخانه زدند
 گل آدم بسر شنند و به پیمانه زدند

is reiterated so often and with such haunting cadence and it seems to imply not simply a backward-looking glance at the recent past but connotes, I should think, some sort of primordial existence at a not viable point of duration. One might as well uphold that through it the series of mere events is turned into the unity of vision. Life in its temporal focus or in the immediate mundane context is referred to as one which had started in the deserted cloister or منزل ویران. The keen and intense desire to renounce it and undertake the backward journey to Jif provides a creative stimulus to the mind of the poet and keeps him in a state of flurry. He seems to be constantly oscillating between the temporal and the transcendental worlds, occupying a permanent station in neither. Similarly words like حضوری (Presence) and the, point of time called (retreat) and phrases like

روز وصال (Day of Union) and شب هجران (Night of separation) are also repeated very often, and significantly, and these connote separation from and union with the Divine, respectively. These two poles of Attraction and Repulsion, Contiguity and Distance form part of the cycle of being just as drunkenness and its accessories and Nothingness and its coordinates are portion of the theophany of the Divine effusion: Further, solitude and nostalgia are the two perennial motifs in Hafiz's poetry, and Hafiz did have an experience of the intoxication with and exaltation of the Infinite, and gazing at the face of the beloved reflects the unappeasable longing to catch a glimpse of the Divine effulgence:

از کران تا به کران لشکرِ ظلمتِ ولے
از ازل تا به ابد فرصتِ درویشانِ ست
نه این زماں دلِ حافظ بر آتشِ ہوس است
کہ داغِ دارِ ازل ہمچو لالہٗ خود روست
سر ز مستی برنگیرد تا بصبحِ روزِ حشر

هر که چون من در ازل یک جرعه خورد از جام
 دوست
 نا امیدم مکن از سابقهٔ لطفِ ازل
 تو پس پرده چه دانی که خوبست و که زشت
 ره رو منزل عشقیم و ز سرحدِّ عدم
 تا به اقلهم وجود این همه راه آمده ایم
 گفتی ز سرِّ عهدِ ازل نکتهٔ بگومی
 آنکه بگویمت که دو پیمانہ در کشم
 سلطانِ ازل گنج غم خویش بما داد
 تاروی درین منزلِ ویرانه نهادیم
 روزی که سر زلفِ تو دیدم، گفتم
 که پریشانیِ این سلسله را آخر نیست
 به بیچ روی نخواهند یافت بشیارش
 چنین که حافظِ ما مستِ بادهٔ ازل است
 جلوهٔ کر دُرخت روزِ ازل زیر نقاب
 این همه نقش در آئینهٔ اوہام افتاد
 در خراباتِ طریقت ما بهم منزل شویم
 کاین چنین رفت ست در عهدِ ازل تقدیر ما
 در ازل پر تو حسنت ز تجلی دم زد
 عشق پیدا شد و آتشد بهمہ عالم زد

To conclude one may maintain that Hafiz's poetry, in spite of being tethered to the earth and reflecting as it does, the beauty and heterogeneity of the temporal setting and its concerns seems, nevertheless, to celebrate the effort and the triumph attendant upon it to transcend its limitations and priorities whenever possible.

ESCHATOLOGY AS PORTRAYED IN FI ZILALI'L QUR'AN OF SAYYID QUTB

I.O. OLOYEDE

INTRODUCTION

One of articles of faith in Islam is the belief in the hereafter. Through this belief a Muslim is aware of the ephemeral nature of the present life and the reality that life does not terminate with death; rather death is the transitory stage between the present life and the last life since death is considered, in Islam, as a means to an end. The Qur'an lays title stress on what transpired between the time of death and the day of resurrection. This day of reckoning is the end of the journey and it is described vividly by various verses of the Qur'an.

This day of reckoning is known by various names among which are 'al-Yamu I-Akhir - the last day,¹⁸⁴ or the last abode (ad-daru 'l-'Aakhirah),¹⁸⁵ alyawmul-Qiyamah - the day of rising; as-sa'ah - the hour; Yawmu'd-din the day of Requital; Yawmu'l-fasl the day of decision or Yawmu'l-hisab - the day of reckoning. From these names, the purpose of the day is distinctively apparent i.e. to decide man's fate in accordance with his deeds before his death.

Al-Mujassirun¹⁸⁶ have no option but to express their opinions, in human terms, about the day because no less than two hundred verses mentioned and described the day. Thus the last day is one of the topical Qur'anic issues over

¹⁸⁴ The Holy Qur'an chapter 2 verse 62.

¹⁸⁵ Ibid Chapter 28 verse 77.

¹⁸⁶ Commentators on the Holy Qur'an.

which every Qur'anic commentator has to express his own understanding. Sayyid Qutb¹⁸⁷ is one of such Qur'anic commentators.

Hardly can one find two Qur'anic Chapters without a complete description of this most dreadful day; therefore an essay on the last day" which is to be based on twenty chapters - 10 to 29 - of the Qur'an cannot, in any way, cover all relevant verses within the chapters concerned.

It is equally important to note that Sayyid Qutb who spent his life, seeking the comfort of the hereafter, waging a complete "campaign of struggle"¹⁸⁸ against giving preference to this world over the hereafter, could not have surrendered his present life for brutal termination without his having a clear picture of the "life after death" which he must have considered more rewarding than this present life. This is strengthened by the fact that he was said¹⁸⁹ to have written a book entitled "Mushahidatu 'l-Qiyamah Fi-Qur'an: (The Day of Resurrection in the Qur'an), a book which would have been of immense value but on which, regrettably, the present writer was unable to lay his hand.

The topic shall be viewed from the dimensions of Qutb's view on verses that give warning about the imperativeness of the day; the description of the day; justice which shall be maintained, on the day, the atmosphere of the day, description of the consequences of the day and lessons which the author teaches through the Qur'anic verses concerning the day.

¹⁸⁷ Qutb Sayyid: *Fi Zilali 'l-Qur'an, 'l-tirath 'l-'Arabi*, Beirut 1967. This book contains Qutb's commentary on the Qur'an.

¹⁸⁸ Qutb'Sayyid: *In the Shade of the Qur'an*, Translated by M. Adil Salahi and Ashur A. Shamis; MWH London Publishers, London 1979; Vol.30: p.xi. This book is an English translation of *Fi Zilali 'l-Qur'an*. Ibid.

¹⁸⁹ Qutb Sayyid: *Islam and Universal Peace*, Translated by M.A. Saud et al, American Trust Publications, 1977, in the introduction by Siddiqu MM. P ix.

SAYYID QUTB AND HIS FI ZILALI 'L-QURAN¹⁹⁰

Sayyid Qutb, the great Islamic scholar of the twentieth century, has been briefly and captivatingly introduced as:

“...a foremost Muslim thinker of the latter half of this century. Born in 1906, he came from a deeply religious Egyptian Background. He started his career as a literary man, and progressed to become one of the most original thinkers of the contemporary Islamic movement. He wrote with a profound sense of conviction”¹⁹¹

Sayyid Qutb who wrote a number of books, believed that revolutionary education is as important, if not more important than the Islamic law. He said:

No renaissance of Islamic life can be effected purely by the law or statute, or by the establishment of a social system on the basis of the Islamic philosophy. Such a step is only one of the two pillars on which Islam must always stand. The other is a production of a state of mind imbued with the Islamic theory of life, to give permanence to external forces leading to this form of life and to give coherence to all the social, religious and civil legislation

And the natural method of establishing; that philosophy is by education...¹⁹²

This concept is vividly demonstrated in the opinions of Qutb in fi zilali 'I-Qur'an, on Qura'nic verses. He, as one would expect, ran into conflict with the Egyptian authorities and was sentenced, along with other members of the Ikhwanu 'l-Muslimin, to fifteen ears imprisonment, and he spent his period of incarceration to write most parts of the fi -zilali 'l-Qur'an. No wonder,

¹⁹⁰ Qutb, Sayyid: Fi zilali 'l-Qur'an, Op. Cit.

¹⁹¹ Qutb, Sayyid: In the shade, op. cit. back page

¹⁹² Mitchell, R.P: The Society of the Muslim Brothers, O.U.P., London 1969; p.284.

every line of his, in the work reflects his antagonism to the temporal rulers of Egypt and in fact all despots all over the world. He was released in 1964 only to be sentenced to death and executed in 1966 by the government of Jamal-u-deen Abdul Naser.

This work of his - *Fi zilali 'I-Qur'an* - contains a lot of revolutionary ideas into which sufficient insight is yet to be given to the English audience, except for a translation of one thirtieth of the work which was styled volume thirty.¹⁹³

Attempt is here being made to call the attention of the English audience to another important section of the book.

WARNING AGAINST THE DAY

The Holy Qur'an chapter 22 verses 5-7 fore-warns about the day:

“O mankind if you have a doubt about the resurrection, (consider) that We created you out of dust. Then out of sperm then out of a leach - like clot, then out of a morsel of flesh, partly formed and partly unformed in order that We may manifest (Our power to you; And We cause whom We will, to rest in the wombs for an appointed term, then do We bring you out as babes, then (foster you) that may reach your age of full strength; and some of you are made to die, while some are sent back to the feeblest old age, so that you know nothing after having known (much), And you see the earth barren and lifeless, but when We pour down on it, it is stirred (to life), it swells, and it puts forth every kind of beautiful growth. This is so, because God is the Reality: it is He Who gives life to the dead and it is He Who has power over all things. And surely the hour will come there can be no doubt about it, or about (the fact) that God will raise up all who are in the graves.”

¹⁹³ Qutb, Sayyid: In the shade, Op. cit,

This passage provides enough philosophical and scientific arguments to convince man of the reality of the day of judgement Sayyid Qutb, while commenting on this passage, calls attention to the fact that the raising of the dead “is a simple and non difficult task,”¹⁹⁴ and that any one who doubts the day does so in ignorance.¹⁹⁵ He calls attention to a Qur’anic verse which emphasises the fact that God’s ‘desires’ become reality by God’s command of “be” and it will be.¹⁹⁶

Still on this verse, Qutb calls attention to the fact that God, appeals to man’s intellect, personal experience, and recalls man’s lowly origin to convince man of the ease at which God can make man resurrect after death. Man’s initial nothingness, and his being from the dust are used to ring into man’s hearing the possibility of his being made to become dust after death. The natural phenomenon of bringing life to dead-land is used to demonstrate God’s ability to bring a dead man to life, particularly when it was the same God that brought man into existence out of nothing. God, Who can create man out of nothing would surely find it easier to re-assemble the bones and remnants of a dead man in order to bring him once again into life.¹⁹⁷ Qutb concludes by asserting that reasoning supports the necessity of the day of reckoning. The passage, through man’s intellect and experience, establishes not only the possibility but also the reality of “the day.”

The Qur’an commands: “But warn them of the day of distress when the matter will be determined, for they are negligent and they do not believe.”¹⁹⁸ Qutb explains that “the day of distress” is a day which shall appear to man as if it is specially made to be a bundle of regrets and disappointments. And above all no family or friend could bail man out of the regrets of the day,

¹⁹⁴ Qutb, Sayyid: (Fi zilali) op. cit. Vol.5 p. 579.

¹⁹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁹⁶ The Holy Qur’an, 36:82.

¹⁹⁷ Qutb S.: (Fi zilali) op. cit. Vol. 5 pp. 578 - 584.

¹⁹⁸ The Holy Qur’an, 19:39

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The regret, according to Qutb, will be occasioned by the fact that the day shall come sooner than man can imagine, and man shall be made to witness the day while he is still in doubt about the reality of the day. It shall come as a surprise to man.¹⁹⁹

On the day man, according to the Qur'an,²⁰⁰ shall be subjected to ridicule and shame through man's late realisation of the powerlessness of those "powers" which they relied upon as substitutes to God. Qutb explains that the awfulness of the day shall lie in the fact that man, despite his arrogance denial of the reality of the last day, shall be made to stand in trial before God. On the day, while God shall query man about his denial of the day, man shall "keep quiet in shame"²⁰¹ but the believers shall have a free day to make mockery of the unbelievers whose arrogance would have terminated with their being made to witness a day which they laboriously denied while alive in the world. The day shall definitely be unfavourable to the unbelievers.

The Holy Qur'an further implores man to fear "the convulsion of the hour" which shall be "very terrible."²⁰² "A day" according to the Qur'an, "when you shall see that every nursing mother shall forget her suckling-babe, and every pregnant female shall drop her load, when you shall see mankind as if in drunken riot, yet not drunk but dreadful is the wrath of God."²⁰³

The passage depicts a picture of confusion and disorderliness which shall prevail on the day. Qutb explains that the word "Zalzalah"²⁰⁴ itself connotes all sorts of confusion which shall include detaching baby from his

¹⁹⁹ Qutb 5: (Fi zilali) op. cit. Vol. 5. pp. 436ff.

²⁰⁰ The Holy Qur'an, 16:27.

²⁰¹ Qutb S; Fi zilali op. cit. Vol.5 p.245.

²⁰² The Holy Qur'an, 22:l

²⁰³ Ibid: 22:2

²⁰⁴ Arabic word for convulsion which is used in the Arabic original of chapter 22:l of The Holy Qur'an.

or her loving mother, inability of man to see, and abnormal reaction of man to the situation which shall make man confused to an extent that fear would intoxicate him to a level of madness. According to Qutb, the “woman and her child” the “premature delivery of foetus and “appearance of drunkenness” are figurative expressions of confusion and pandemonium. The expressions also convey the independent individual responsibility of the day.²⁰⁵

Qutb here stresses that God uses human experience to explain in a dramatic form the unprecedented confusion of the day.

JUSTICE AND FAIRNESS OF THE TRIAL:

The Qur’an states that despite man’s helplessness and God’s absolute supremacy on the day, man shall not in any way be unjustly treated. Man’s absolute helplessness shall not constitute any hindrance to his being given a fair trial, rather he shall be adjudged according to his performances while on earth.

The Holy Qur’an²⁰⁶ holds man responsible for the outcome of the day: “Every man’s fate, we have fastened to his own neck, on the day of judgement We shall bring out for him a scroll which he will see spread open. (He shall be told): Read your record; sufficient is your soul, this day, to make an account against you. Who ever receives guidance, receives it for his own benefit; who ever goes astray does so to his own loss.”

Here again, Qutb states that the passage contains figurative expressions which picture vividly “man’s inability to abandon on the day, his deeds, neither shall he be able to conceal his bad deeds which shall, by then, be glaringly obvious.”²⁰⁷ The drama, according to Qutb, is apparent when God

²⁰⁵ Qutb, S: (Fi zilali) op. cit. Vol.5 p.578.

²⁰⁶ The Holy Qur’an 17:3-15.

²⁰⁷ Qutb, S: Fi zilali: op. cit. Vol. 5 p.316

commands “Read “, as if it is now being directed at the men, whereas the day is yet to come. Qutb lays emphasis on individual sorrow and calamity of the day in order to buttress his (Qutb’s) life-long admission that collectivity should not deceive man to believe that the sorrow of the day, if at all it comes, shall be shared among many people.”

Commenting on Chapter 21 verse 47, the author removes any iota of misplacement of justice on the day. He also emphasised that God, being the absolute controller of the day, shall mercifully consider every man’s case and none shall receive but a commensurate result of his deeds.²⁰⁸

GENERAL ATMOSPHERE OF THE DAY:

Qutb emphasises that God uses some terms which are based on human reasoning to explain to man the general atmosphere of the day.²⁰⁹

For instance, the Qur’an states. “Not the slightest sound will they hear of Hell; what their soul desired, is what they shall dwell in for ever”²¹⁰ as a means of convincing man that not even the minutest disturbance shall accidentally stray into those who are not found to be due for the disturbance.

“Sound,” is used to convey “disturbance,” unavoidable but unwarranted suffering.²¹¹

The confusion of the day is beautifully dramatised in chapter 21 verse 104 thus”.

²⁰⁸ Ibid. Vol.5 p 535

²⁰⁹ Ibid. Vol.5 p 566

²¹⁰ The Holy Qur’an 21:102.

²¹¹ Qutb, S: Fi zilali op. cit. vol. 5 p. 566

“The day that we roll up the heavens like a scroll, rolled up for books (completed) - even as we produced the first creation so shall We produce a new one: a promise We have undertaken: Truly shall We fulfill it.”

Qutb calls attention to the fact of the rolling of the heavens, and this, according to him, signifies the end of a world, and” thus (we are in) new world and new existence”²¹² under new dispensation.

Commenting on “The day the heaven shall be rent asunder, with clouds, and angels shall be sent down, descending. That day, the dominion, as of right and truth, shall be (wholly) for (God) Most Merciful: it will be a day of due difficulty for the disbelievers”²¹³ Qutb referred to a number of other Qur’anic verses which convey the reversal of the natural sequence of things, he also called attention to the fact that the abnormal occurrences shall affect not only the earth but the whole universe which shall mark the termination of a world of injustice, foul-play and deceit and the commencement of an era of justice, reality and eternity. The passage according to Qutb provides a vivid “picture of the regret of the unjust who has, gone astray” where an ingrate “shall bite his finger in shame and regret.”²¹⁴

Having shown that justice shall prevail on the day despite the prevailing disorganisation of natural phenomenon, it is pertinent to consider the consequences of the judgement of the day: hell and Paradise.

INHABITANTS OF HELL AND PARADISE:

The Qur’an²¹⁵ describes the condition of the people of hell as Prone-on their faces, blind, dumb and deaf; their abode will be Hell:

²¹² Ibid

²¹³ The Holy Qur’an, 25: 25 - 26.

²¹⁴ Qutb, S: Fi zilali op. cit. vol. 6. p. 156

²¹⁵ The Holy Qur’an: 17:97.

Every time it shows abatement We shall increase for them the fierceness of the fire” and “Verily Hell is the promised abode for them all: To it are seven gates for each of those gates is a (special) class assigned.”

On these passages, Qutb emphasises that it is the shame or disgrace of the day, for people of hell, that God conveys to man through the picture of “a blind”, “a dumb.”²¹⁶

The “seven gates” referred to above, is seen not as conveying number or actual physical gates but as different types, grades and intensity of punishment which may depend on different conditions and periods for individual inhabitants of hell in accordance with individual deed or misdeed.²¹⁷ The “gate,” according to Qutb, might be a metaphorical mode of emphasising the reality of the day.”

The inhabitants of paradise are described as “the heirs”²¹⁸ “who will inherit paradise, they will dwell therein for ever.”²¹⁹ Analysing this divine statement Qutb simply says “that is the peak of salvation which God had decreed for the believers, after which their is no other goal for which an eye or imagination may long.”²²⁰ This conveys the notion of unprecedented enjoyment and undescrivable pleasant situation which include a satisfaction “which man may not even know of, but which God has prepared for his faithful servants.”

The flowing of “rivers in the gardens of bliss”²²¹ signifies calmness, coolness and freshness. The Qur’an states that:

²¹⁶ Qutb, S: Fi .zilali, op. cit. Vol.5 p.361.

²¹⁷ Ibid Vol.5 p.207.

²¹⁸ The Holy Qur’an, 23:10

²¹⁹ The Holy Qur’an, 23:11

²²⁰ Qutb, S: Fi zilali op. cit. vol.6 p.14.

²²¹ The Holy Qur’an, 10:9 among other verses.

“Their call there-in is “Glory to you! O God”; and Peace will be their greeting therein and their last call will be “praise be to God the Cherisher and Sustainer of the worlds”.²²²

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Qutb, while commenting on the verse explains that, the passage calls attention to the preoccupation of the inhabitants of paradise which shall not be wealth, glory protection nor attainment of any position. They are contented with what they are provided by God, but their duty is glorifying God, thanking Him and exchanging greetings with one another and with the angels”.²²³

CONCLUSION:

We have been able to illustrate Sayyid Qutb’s opinions about different stages and aspects of the day of reckoning. This we did, in connection with some Qur’anic verses which fall within our area of study.

It is obvious that Qutb’s commentary on Qur’anic passages on the last day constantly highlights the fact that the “mighty” ones of the present world shall be powerless on the last day and dependence on them shall not be of any advantage in the hereafter. This lesson was used by Qutb to generate in his audience enough courage to oppose those who appear very powerful in this world, for in the hereafter their power shall be terminated and the oppressed would laugh at.

²²² The Holy Qur’an, 10:10

²²³ Qutb, S: Fi zilali op. cit. Vol.4 p.314

While showing the awfulness of the day, Qutb emphasises the bliss of the day for those who are able to place high value on the heavenly bliss more than the present ephemeral mundane pleasure. This is probably done by Qutb to generate strong hope and pleasant expectation in his audience. These hopes and expectations would sustain and increase man's devaluation of mundane pleasure and increase his longing for eternal bliss.

Qutb uses scientific and philosophical arguments to prove the reality of the hereafter. He explains how reasonable it is to think that evaluation must come after performance and how ignorance of a thing or situation does not actually remove the existence of such a thing or situation. He challenged the critics of the reality of the last day to prove their point of view.

Qutb considers some Qur'anic expressions about the last day as allegories or metaphors. The mention of some physical objects or some illustration is considered by him as a means of entrenching in the mind of man, certain qualities of the day. For instance river conveys coldness and freshness; food refers to satisfaction and happiness while gates refer to various levels of intensity.

Qutb refers to all the activities after death till eternity as An-'Nash 'atu 'l-'Aakhirah. He, unlike some other commentators, avoided the issue of life in the grave before the day of resurrection. A scholar²²⁴ aptly summaries the use to which Sayyid, Qutb puts the Qur'anic passages about the last day thus: He also describes the scenes of the hereafter, because the Qur'an paints these in great detail as they are important means to awaken the religious conscience of man and to establish a dual relationship between Allah and man, based on two strongest and parallel feelings in man, namely, fear and hope."

²²⁴ Qutb, M: in his "Introduction" to Qutb S: In the Shade of the Qur'an (Op. Cit.). p. xv. He is a professor of Islamic studies at King Abdul Aziz University, Makka - Saudi Arabia and a brother of Sayyid Qutb.

SOME REFLECTIONS ON
THE CLASSIFICATION
SCHEME FOR IQBAL
STUDIES
KHADIM ALI JAVID

Prelude:

In May 1987, when I undertook the responsibility of reorganizing the library of The Iqbal Academy Pakistan, as its newly appointed librarian, my assignment included, apart from the routine duties of a librarian, the challenging tasks of filling the gaps in our “Iqbal Collection” and preparation of a classification Scheme for a proper arraignment and organization of works on “Iqbal Studies”. It had to be comprehensive and systematic enough to encompass all the works published on different aspects of Iqbal’s life and thoughts. Problems entailing the re-organization of a library are well known to those who have been through the ordeal; particularly when it includes the completion of a collection like “Iqbal studies”; its items becoming rare shortly after their publication. The task becomes more complicated when a proper Classification Scheme is also required for it.

During the last three years, our efforts in both these directions have been proved fruitful. The Iqbal Academy can now rightly take pride in claiming that its library is perhaps the richest library in Indo-Pakistan as far as the holdings on different aspects of Iqbal’s life and thoughts are concerned. The library contains approximately 4000 books published in different international languages such as English, Persian, Urdu, Arabic, French, Dutch, Italian, Spanish, Turkish, Russian, German, Bengali. Sansikirit, Hindi as well as in various regional languages of Pakistan such as Punjabi, Sindhi, Pushto, Buluchi, Brahavi, Bultistani, Kashmiri and Saraiki. Nearly two hundred special issues of various journals dedicated to Iqbal studies are also

available. Photocopies and originals of eight hundred letters and manuscripts of Iqbal's works have been preserved as "Iqbal materials".

Moreover, since 1987, a clipping service for material published on Iqbal in different magazines and newspapers has been introduced. This is a part of our wider scheme of library automation which is nearing its culmination and would shortly offer its services to our users through its unique true multilingual software specially designed for our specialized library.

As mentioned earlier, this remarkable collection in the library could only be of proper use if it had been arranged under a classification scheme which encompassed all its aspects completely. Since no international scheme in vogue could have met this demand, so at the final stage of re-organization, the preparation of the above mentioned classification scheme was started. It was an uphill task. Very little guidance was afforded by the existing systems of classification and there was hardly any material available which could serve as a precedent in this regard.

In the preparation of this classification scheme I had to make an extensive study of works of/on Iqbal and seek help from senior professionals and experts in Iqbal studies. I resorted to English terms for the sake of depth and comprehensiveness and used English alphabets. However, alphabets of Oriental languages have also been given along with the English ones as alternatives. Urdu terms have also been used where they were found better than the English ones for the sake of convenience.

In the following pages I submit an outline of the actual classification scheme which has finally emerged from this long process of thinking, experimenting and consulting in order to bring it to the consideration of a wider readership. Since there is always room for improvement in these pioneering efforts, I would request our readers to let us know about their comments. Suggestions for improvements and modification would be greatly appreciated as they would enable us to standardize and improve our scheme and make it more useful for the prospective users of our library.

CLASSIFICATION SCHEME FOR IQBAL STUDIES

8U1.66 Dr. Sir Muhammad Iqbal

8U 1.66A () Mementos

8U1.66B () Biography

8U1.66C () Comparative Study

8U1.66D () Aphorisms, Quotations

SOME REFLECTIONS ON THE CLASSIFICATION SCHEME FOR IQBAL STUDIES

8U1.66E () Critical Appraisal (Class critical appraisal of individual works in J-Z.)

8U1.66F () Adaptations, Tazmin,

8U1.66G () Lectures, thesis, Special Numbers on Iqbal

8U1.66H () Societies, Academies, Institutions

8U1.66I (i) Bibliographies, Indexes, Concordances

8U1.66J-Z (do') Works (Individual and Collective)

Use the first numeral following the

alphabets for the text, second for

translation and the third for des-

cription and critical appraisal. 8U1.66J-K (c.' .}) Urdu Poetry

8U1.66J1-2-3 (cf) Bang-i-Dara

8U1.66J4-5-6 (j) Bal-i-Jibril

8U1.66J7-8-9 (y) Zarb-i-Kalim

8U1.66K1-2-3 (~y) Armughan-i-Hijaz

8U1.66K4-5-6 (j;') Kuliyyat-i-Urdu

8UI.66L-N (-t) Persian Poetry

8UI.66L1-2-3 (P) Asrar-o-Ramooz

8UI.66L4-5-6 (~,y) Payam-i-Mashriq

8UI.66L7-8-9 (,f) Zaboore-i-A jam

8UI.66M1-2-3 (u°)Javed Nama

8UI.66M4-5-6 (cj°) Pas Che Bayed Kard

8UI.66M7-8-9 (c,i°) Armughan-i-Hijaz

8UI.66N1-2-3 (b) Kuliyyat-i-Farsi

8UI.660 (b') Kuliyyat-i-Baqiyyat

8UI.6601-2-3 () Baqiyyat-i-Urdu

IQBAL REVIEW

8UI.66 04-3-5 (b) Baqiyyat-i-Farsi

8UI.6607-8-9 (b) Selections from Poetry (Intekhab)

(Selection of individual works in J-0.) 8UI.66P () Khutbat
(Addresses, Lectures)

8UI.66PI-2-3 (ti) Single

8UI.66P4-5-6 (t) Collective

8UI.66Q () Taqqareer (Speeches)

8UI.66Q1-2-3 (t) Single

8UI.66Q4-5-6 (.) Collective

- 8UI.66R (c') Bayanat (Statements)
- 8UI.66R1-2-3 (J) Single
- 8U1.66R4-5-6 () Collective
- 8U1.66S (J) Maqalat (Theses)
- 8U 1.66SI-2-3 (J) Single
- 8U1.66S4-5-6 (J) Collective
- 8U1.66T (J) Madamin (Articles)
- 8U1.66T1-2-3 (f) Single
- 8U1.66T4-5-6 (J) Collective
- 8U1.66U (J) Makateeb (Letters)
- 8UI.66UI-2-3 (J) Single
- 8U1.66U4-5-6 (J) Collective
- 8UI.66V (r) Selections other than Poetry.
- (Selection of individual works in P-U.)
- 8U1.66W (i.) Ilm-ul-Iqtisad
- 8U1.66X () Notes and Reflections
- 8U1.66Y-1-2-3 () Edited Works
- 8U1 66X1-2-3 () Syllabus
- 8U1.66X7-8-9 (iv) Others
- 8U1.66Z-1-2-3 (S) Complete Works.

Use this No. for the titles representing Iqbal's viewpoint on different subjects, topics, themes etc. Dewey's No.001-999 can be used for this purpose e.g. Iqbal and Politics, 8UI.6632

Notes

1. English alphabets have been used in the original scheme but in case of oriental languages their own alphabets should be used. However for this purpose the serial Nos. of the alphabets of the respective language should be followed, instead of phonetic affinity, otherwise the filing will become erroneous.

2. Due to less use of these alphabets of Oriental Languages they can be omitted while counting serial Nos. of the alphabets.

3. To differentiate the Iqbal collection in different languages, alphabets of the respective language should be used above the classification No. e.g. "A" for Arabic and "P" for Persian etc.

OBITUARY

The sad demise of Dr. Khawaja Abdul Hameed Irfani occurred on Sunday the 11th March, 1990 at his native place in Sialkot city. Dr. Irfani was born on 4th Nov., 1907 in the Mohallah of Mughlanwali of this city. He came of a business family of Kashmir. Dr. Irfani got the degrees of Masters in Arts in Persian and in English and started his career as a lecturer of these languages in the Government College, Quetta from 1931. The Government of those days deputed him as Liaison Officer of Education in the Consulate of Meshhad in 1945 but at the time of partition in 1947 he was called back. The Government of Pakistan deputed him as its first Cultural and Press Attache at the Embassy of Tehran in 1949. He continued his appointment upto 1955 and after his return to Pakistan he was appointed editor of Persian quarterly Hilal in 1955 but after 3 years he was re-deputed to Iran on his formal post in 1958 from where he retired in 1963. After his retirement from Iran he paid several private and official visits to his dear country. Moreover he worked very efficiently as the Principal, Islamia College, Gujranwala for several years. Dr. Irfani was a great scholar of Persian language and literature, a staunch Pakistani Muslim and a deep scholar and lover of Allama Iqbal. He was conferred the degree of Ph.D. in Persian language and literature by the University of Punjab, Lahore at his dissertation on the life, works and thoughts of Malik-i-Shura Bahar of Iran. He tried his level best to introduce and popularize Allama Iqbal to the Iranians elite. He was an effective poet and writer in Persian and besides several articles a number of his works have been published in Pakistan and Iran. His following works on Allama Iqbal are noteworthy:

1. Rumi-e-Asr being a detailed introduction of Allama Iqbal's life works and thoughts in Persian.

2. Persian translation of Allama Iqbal's Urdu poetic work Zarb-i-Kaleem.

3. Sayings of Rumi and Iqbal, being selected from the couplets of these two sage poets alongwith the English translation of the those.

4. Iqbal-e-Iran, an introduction of Allama Iqbal's Popularity among the Iranians as envisaged by the writer.

5. Iqbal from the points of view of the Iranians (Urdu). A selection from the prose and poetry of great Iranian contemporary scholars about Allama Iqbal's impact on them (Persian text with Urdu translation).

Dr. Irfani was a very social, agile and fast moving personality. But he has been suffering from sugar for about a quarter century and this told upon his health. Still he remains busy in various social activities and as a founder Chairman of Bazm-e-Rumi, Sialkot till his death. May his ever anxious soul rest int eternal peace (Amen).

TOWARDS UNDERSTANDING THE QUR'AN ENGLISH VERSION OF TAFHIM AL-QUR'AN

BY SAYYID ABUL A'LA MAWDUDI TRANSLATED AND EDITED

BY ZAFAR ISHAQ ANSARI

The Islamic Foundation: Leicester. Vol.I: 1988, Pp.396; Vol.II: 1989, Pp.368. Each volume: HB L 14.94; PB L5.95.

Mawlana Mawdudi's Tafhīm al-Qur'an (1942-1972) apart from being one of the most widely read works on tafsir in Urdu, is also the key to his life and mission. Since its earlier English translation *The meaning of the Qur'an* (Lahore, 1973-1988) left much to be desired, Zafar Ishaq Ansari and the Islamic Foundation, Leicester have done a commendable job in bringing out an excellent English version of this outstanding work. The Tafhīm al-Qur'an, based on fundamental beliefs of Islam, is a work of superb quality that sustains an intellectual and spiritual movement begun some two hundred years before by Shah Waliullah (1703-1762). Before him, study of the Qur'an had been the privilege and preserve of the 'Ulama. He turned against this tradition in order to revive Islam in the Indo-Pak subcontinent by launching the Qur'anic movement through his Rahimiyya Madrasa, founded by his father Shaikh 'Abd ar-Rahim (1644-1718). Shah Waliullah translated the Qur'an into Persian as early as 1737. His two sons, Rafi'ad-Din (1749-1817) and 'Abd al-Qadir (1753-1827) translations and commentaries appeared thereafter from Delhi, Lucknow and Hyderabad. The most popular was that of Shaikh al-Hind Mahmud Hasan (151-1920), published in 1933. His

commentary, as far as Surah Ni.sa' was completed by his disciple, Mawlana Shabbir Ahmad 'Uthmani (1887-1949).

Another popularly accepted tafsir (1908) was that of Mawlana Ashraf 'Ali Thanawi (1863-1943) entitled Bayan al-Qur'an. Written in easy and simple Urdu, it corrected the mistranslations of Deputy Nazir Ahmad and of Mirza Hayat, and was praised by Mawlana Daryabadi (1892-1977) as the crown (taj) of all translations. Daryabadi used it as well as the translation of Shah Rafi'ad-Din for his own Tafsir Majidi which appeared in 1962.

A new era of translation and commentary was begun by Abut Kalam Azad (1889-1959). His Tarjuman al-Qur'an in 18 parts as far as Surah Mu'minin (1931) revolutionized Muslim thought and fired the enthusiasm of believers that only the Qur'an could remove the barriers of tribalism, racialism, communalism and unify mankind. The work was completed by Ghulam Rasul Mehr under the title of Baqiyat-e-Tarjuman al-Qur'an (3rd volume, Lahore, 1961, new editions in 1964-66). Syed Abdul Latif of Hyderabad translated this tafsir into English. Asad's translation is idiomatic and figurative with explanatory notes in brackets.

Mawdudi's Tafhim brought the translation and tafsir literature to its peak. The work spanned a lifetime's active commitment: Mawdudi believed in and projected Islam as a practicable way of life for all mankind. He rejected the division between religion and politics and like Shah Waliullah lived and died for the political revival of Islam. He founded Jama'at-i-Islami in 1941 and led it actively until 1972, when he retired on health grounds. His Jihad fil-Islam (1930) demolished the foundations of the Qadiyanis who, in league with the British, sought to abolish Jihad. His Urdu journal, Tarjuman al-Qur'an, launched in 1932, revolutionized the religio-cultural taste of the Muslims. Islam to him was no mere academic pursuit, nor a set of antiquated rituals; it was a dynamic way of life, fit for the whole of mankind. His penetrating criticism of Western culture opened the eyes of Muslim thinkers in India and abroad. The blueprint for an Islamic state which ranged from

transformation of the Muslims' general ideas to practical realities, developed from his insight into the Qur'an.

A reader of Tafhim will not fail to recognize that Mawdudi's Tafsir is a seminal work on Tafsir literature. Mawdudi has been remarkably successful in making the Qur'an relevant to the present-day human life, its concern and anxieties, its issues and problems, its fears and hopes. And yet in so doing he loses nothing of the timelessness of the Qur'an. What is all the more striking in this context is that Mawdudi accomplishes this task without abandoning the invaluable traditional understanding of the Qur'an as handed down by the Companions and succeeding generations of Muslim scholars. Far from bringing the traditional and the contemporary into any conflict, Tafhim represents an amalgam of the classical and the modern.

In Tafhim Mawdudi approaches the Qur'an mainly as a book of guidance (hidayah); he therefore presents the Qur'an as a living message. Not confined merely to an exposition of the legal injunctions and literary niceties of the Qur'an, Tafhim constantly invites the reader to the Qur'anic exhortation - 'run unto God and live in total submission to Him. This highly laudable effort to bring out and develop an understanding of the Qur'an as the only source of guidance in all spheres of human activity would certainly help the reader respond enthusiastically to the message of the Qur'an. For the Tafhim presents the-Qur'an as a book to be lived by, a mission to be lived for and a duty that the reader can no longer evade, or postpone.

In pursuance of the above aim, Mawdudi rightly emphasizes that the Qur'an is a book of an ideological movement. Apart from furnishing guidance to mankind through prescribing norms and commandments, the Qur'an invites the whole human race to embrace its world view,, organizes those who respond to this call into an ideological community and entrusts to this community the task of the socio-moral reconstruction of humanity, both individually and collectively. Through his copious notes Mawdudi brings home the point that the Qur'an constitutes a guide-book. This point is

corroborated rightly with reference to the career and mission of the Prophet Muhammad (peace be upon him). In sum, throughout Tafhīm Mawdūdī looks upon the Qurʾān as the guide-book for this movement of Islamic reconstruction.

For Mawdūdī the style and methodology of the Qurʾān are quite unique and distinct in that these reinforce its purpose and mission. Discussing extensively the subject matter, historical background and circumstantial setting of each Surah and the relationship between verses within each Surah, Mawdūdī points out how they are directed to the main objective of the Qurʾān - to develop a new consciousness of reality and to generate a new ideological movement. A sense of historical unity is achieved by linking all the Surahs to the progress of the Prophet's mission. The Tafhīm thus offers a new, convincing vision about the style and methodology of the Qurʾān.

Explanatory notes in Tafhīm, as explained by Khurshid Ahmad in the foreword, are functional and not merely ornamental in that apart from elucidating the import of the Qurʾān, supplemented with historical and other useful information, they highlight the relevance of a verse to injunctions. In these extensive notes Mawdūdī draws on the developments of modern knowledge, principles of historical criticism, comparative religion and contemporary ideologies. It is therefore no wonder that these notes go a long way in dispelling the doubts that agitate a modern-educated Muslim. Moreover, these notes bring out in full the Qurʾānic world view, along with the suggestion how it can be translated into the reality of the present time.

No doubt, Tafhīm represents a revivalist and revolutionary trend in Tafsīr literature. Far from taking liberties with the Word of God or equating the Qurʾānic concepts to modern ideologies, it is characterized by respect for tradition. It stands out pre-eminently as a call for a purposive change in the heart and life of its readers, directing them to the Way of God in total surrender.

The Tafhīm was written in fluent, modern Urdu, accessible to all. Zafar Ishaq Ansari has remarkably succeeded in rendering Mawdudi's Urdu version with a fluency and accessibility in English which matches that of the original. The first, immediate benefit will be to expel the misconceptions, distortions, deviations and erratic judgements, committed by the contemporary English translators of the Qur'an, such as Muhammad Asad, Muhammad Ali Lahori, and others, whether conformist or non-conformist.

The two volumes that have so far appeared are excellent in style and format. The first volume covers Surahs al-Fatihah, al-Baqarah and Al'Imrah. The second volume contains Surahs al-Nisa', al-Ma'idah and al-An'am. Both volumes have maps, and, uniquely, a glossary of terms, biographical notes: and bibliography not included in the Urdu original. The subject and general index serve as virtually a concordance for these surahs of the Qur'an.

Adequate documentation both from other scriptural literature and from the Hadith are also provided. Ansari has followed the system of A.J. Wensinck in his Hadith concordance. Biblical citations are from the Revised Standard Edition. Thus the translation can rightly claim to be regarded as the most standard and authentic English version now available. It has, along with the translation, the Arabic text, signally missing in several English translations, including that of T.B. Irving (1985). The Arabic text and not the translation is the 'Revealed' Book. Unlike the Bible, which comprises only translation in any language of the world, the Qur'an proper is in Arabic alone. Ansari has avoided the misleading innovations into which other modern English versions have lapsed, and adhered, with sound good taste, to classical traditions. Muhammad Asad, in the introduction to his translation, suggested three directives to translators of the Qur'an, to avoid erratic judgements in choice of interpretation. He advises the translator to follow the meaning of each Arabic word as it was used and understood in the time of the Prophet, for many words have since undergone semantic change. The translator should follow the balaghah and i'jaz of the Qur'anic style and not translate literally, else he would lose the force of the original and destroy its

organic unity and thematic development. Finally, the translator should understand the terms of the Qur'an as they were understood at the time of the Revelation. Unfortunately, Asad himself has not followed these criteria in that he has departed from common translations of many words. His translations of words such as al-Aya as message (ar-Risala), of Taghu(as forces of evil, of jinn merely as 'invisible', of Tabut as Qalb (heart), etc, are innovations. The denial of the miracles of the Qur'an by Asad has led him to deviate from orthodox beliefs of the ahl-as-sunna wa al-jama'a. Consequently he has translated many Arabic words against the accepted linguistic usage of the Arabs. The descent of the angels on the Day of Badr, according to Asad, is metaphorical or allegorical and not actual. It was spiritual expression in order to strengthen the hearts of the Muslims. The miracles of Jesus, according to Asad, were also metaphorical (tamthil Maazji). According to him, he cured people who were sick spiritually and not physically diseased. In other words he revived the spiritually dead. Above all Asad believes in the death of Jesus and not in his physical Ascension. Such misconceptions spread by the contemporary translators among the English reading public, are refuted in this English translation of Mawdudi's Tafhim al-Qur'an.

Muhammad Marmaduke Pickthall, a leading English translator of the Qur'an, did not deny either the miracles of the Qur'an or the existence of jinns or the angels as creation of God. His translation has inspired many orthodox Muslim translators including Yusuf Ali and 'Abd al-Majid Darybadi as they themselves have acknowledged. Uniquely Pickthall does not use 'God' because it does not correspond to the Arabic 'Allah'. Ansari, however, has translated 'Allah' as 'God'. Pickthall's choice remains more sound. There are many differences between Ansari's and Yusuf Ali's approach. The latter preferred blank verse with many archaisms and difficult turns of syntax; Ansari's has stuck to clear, modern English prose. Yusuf Ali does not translate the Arabic word 'Rabb' as 'Lord' because of its association in all Western languages with 'Lord Jesus', and has opted for 'Sustainer and Cherisher' which more clearly denotes the attributes meant by the Arabic

‘Rabb’. Ansari has translated Rabb al-Alamin as ‘Lord of the entire Universe’. The approach of Yusuf Ali seems to us more reliable.

The impact of this English translation will weigh most against the heretics and non-conformists. The Qadiyani translation have, in league with the colonial powers, misguided the Muslim Ummah, Ghulam Ahmad Pervez, Mirza Bashir Ahmad (the son of Mirza Ghulam Ahmad) and Muhammad Ali Lahori are among these misguiders. Khawaja Kamal ad-Din wrote his tafsir to prove the industrial and technological revolution in Europe; he interpreted dukhan (smoke) and hadid (iron) as symbolizing Western industrial culture. he interpreted the haraka (movement) as air service, etc. Such absurdities baffled both the Orientalists as well as Muslim scholars.

Muhammad Ali Lahori’s deviations also merit mention. He is a Qadiyani-style reformist. He first projected and amplified the death of Jesus in order to justify the claim of Mirza Ghulam Ahmad to the Prophethood. The existence of angels and jinns was denied by him. They, according to him, symbolize the forces of good (khair), (or the will of God) and the forces of evil (sharr) respectively. Paradise is not real; it signifies the pleasure of God and Hell His wrath, Muhammad Ali, like Asad, rejected the mu’jizat (miracles) and strained Arabic grammar to justify his point. It is against such unorthodoxies that the Tafsir al-Qur’an, now accessible in good, clear English, must be welcomed for its restoration of the paramountcy of the Holy Book. Ansari has translated the ashab al-Janna as ‘people of the garden’ and ashab al-jahim as ‘people of the blazing flame’: nothing could be more unequivocal.

The possible variations in translating even a single ayah of the Qur’an, the danger of thereby misleading the readers, even unintentionally, let alone intentionally, are very great. It is urgent that the learned men and women of the Ummah devise a set of guidelines by which translators could keep their work on the right path. In the meantime, we have the first two volumes of

this excellent and most reliable translation into English of Mawlana Mawdudi's great work.

Durban, South Africa S. Habibul Haq Nadvi

THE SUFI PATH OF KNOWLEDGE: IBN AL-'ARABI'S METAPHYSICS OF IMAGINATION

WILLIAM C. CHITTICK

Publisher: State University of New York Press. Albany, New York, 1989

The Sufi Path of knowledge is one of the latest of the dozen or so translations of Ibn al-'Arabi's works in European languages. Chittick's translation and commentary on parts of Ibn al-'Arabi's magnum opus, *Al-futuhāt al-makkiyya*, is the fruit of a growing scholarly, infrastructure over the past decades. Some of the important contributions include: Professor Suad al-Hakim's *Al-mu'jam al-sufi: al-hikma fi hudud al-kalima*, (Beirut, 1981) which illustrates 706 of Ibn al-'Arabi's technical terms in a 1311 page volume, Osman Yahia's preparation of a new edition of the *Futuhāt* with scholarly apparatus which will run into an estimated 17,000 pages, and the creation of a Muhyiddin Ibn al-Arabi Society in Oxford, England with a scholarly journal devoted to Shaykh al-Akbar.

An outcome of this, sustained effort is that Ibn al-'Arabi is starting to be presented in the religious context of Islam instead of being portrayed through comparative works (Christian, Hindu, Taoist or Buddhist) which have dominated western language studies of Ibn al-'Arabi. Chittick's work is a milestone in this regard because it decisively shows how Ibn al-'Arabi's work is integrally related to unfolding the inner meanings of the Qur'an, the central role of the Prophet Muhammad (S), his *sunnah*, and adherence central to Islamic Law (*Shari'ah*). This obviously does not facilitate easy

accessibility to a non-Muslim audience unless the translator is also an accomplished commentator.

Nor does this fact necessarily imply that a Muslim audience will automatically have easy access to Ibn al-'Arabi. For the last six hundred years, especially in the eastern Islamic World, Qunawi's interpretation of Ibn al-'Arabi's *Fusus al-hikam* has concentrated on the metaphysical and theological aspects of Ibn al-'Arabi's writing. This one-dimensional school of thought has been closely associated with the philosophy of Nasir ud din Tusi and Fakhrud din Razi and has ignored Ibn al-'Arabi's emphasis on spiritual practice and his constellation of spiritual visions communicated in the *Futuhāt*. Thus some Muslim readers may have to suspend certain presuppositions concerning Shaykh al-Akbar to understand his thought in a larger context.

A third difficulty is that of paradigms. The vast majority of people reading a sophisticated book of this type in English have been educated with modern assumptions which put complete unquestioning faith in reason while ignoring all other modalities of perception, which one assumes were more prevalent in the thirteenth-century world of Ibn al-'Arabi. William Chittick masterfully bridges this "paradigm gap" while simultaneously elucidating the Islamic nature of Ibn al-'Arabi's writing to the non-specialist.

To date, the only other translation of any part of the *Futuhāt* in European languages is Stephane Ruspoli's translation of chapter 167, *bonheur L'alchimie du parfait* (Paris: Berg International 1981), which without commentary has limited usefulness. However, what does one do with a text like the *Futuhāt* which contains innumerable inexplicable allusions that are probably explained somewhere else in the text, which Osman Yahia probably will not have read and annotated until the year 2000. It would be humanly impossible to examine the hundreds of other books written by Ibn al-'Arabi to explain these allusions.

William Chittick has provided the reader, in his own words, “with a few table scraps” by dividing his material into chapters ranging from ‘The Names of God’ and ‘Existence and Non existence’ to ‘Understanding the Koran’ and ‘Pitfalls of the Path’. Few will not be satiated by Chittick’s banquet of table scraps even though less than one-percent of the Futuhat is in The Sufi Path of Knowledge.

Throughout the work, the translation approach and word choice are explained in a way to clarify the text to specialists and non-specialists alike. However, this book is no light reading. The author resorts to such terminology as ‘tenuities’ (p.261), ‘hylic entities’ (p.90) and ‘non-delimited thrall’ (p.371) to explain certain concepts. Perhaps this is a subtle way of reminding the reader that Ibn al-’Arabi’s texts were written for a limited audience who had a spiritual guide explaining the text in such a way to lead them to an actual spiritual experience.

THE SUFI PATH OF KNOWLEDGE:

It is an anomaly that such a masterful translator as William Chittick would employ such loaded terms from a Christian religious context, e.g., Gnostics, saints, which western scholars have already recognized as being inappropriate in a non-Christian context. In addition, many scholars in the academic community would strongly object to the so-called non-gendered use of man. These details aside, The Sufi Path of Knowledge has set a new standard in the study of Ibn al-’Arabi that is not likely to be surpassed in the near future.

Arthur F.Buehler

ISLAMIC SPIRITUALITY

*A VOLUME IN THE SERIES \WORLD/SPIRITUALITY AN
ENCYCLOPEDIA OF THE RELIGIOUS QUEST"*

SEYYED HOSSEIN NASR.

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An important function has been served by this collection of essays devoted to the spiritual dimensions of the Islamic Tradition. For Muslim and non-Muslim alike, the book contains invaluable insights into the deeper meanings and spiritual import of central aspects of the Faith; the essence of the religion is elucidated in such a manner as to reveal, on the one hand, the universal characteristics of the spiritual heart of Islam, and on the other, to make comprehensible the specific forms of the Islamic faith which flow from this heart and lead back to it. Despite the considerable range of themes discussed, the book does not cover all aspects of Islam that have spiritual meaning - nor does it intend to do so - but rather; it succeeds in illuminating the fundamental spiritual, principles of the religion, in the light of which the secondary phenomena can be more clearly appreciated and accorded appropriate degrees of significance; for it is only in relation to the spiritual essence that outward forms have any meaning, and only in terms of the principle of Unity that the phenomena of multiplicity can be truly understood.

In a very useful and clear introduction, S. H. Nasr defines Islamic spirituality in terms of this I Unity or

“The essence of Islamic spirituality.. is the realization of Unity as expressed in the Qur’an, on the basis of the prophetic model and with the aid of the Prophet”.

Since the principle of Unity governs all facets of Islamic life, the quest for spirituality in Islam is therefore not restricted to some narrowly conceived domain, apart from the general life of the community; what distinguishes the spirituality of Islam from the religion taken as a whole, then, is “the dimension of depth or inwardness”, so that the forms of the religion are interiorised, rather than opposed; and the journey from the form to the essence which it expresses can be conceived as the movement from the outward to the inward, the periphery to the centre, which is the locus of realized Unity. This is a good definition of Islamic spirituality, which we shall see developed and complemented in the book.

Another important point made in this introduction is that one must treat Islamic spirituality within its own terms, and not impose criteria of scholarship drawn from the western tradition of rationalism and positivism; this means recognising that there is a living tradition of spirituality in Islam, in which oral transmission of sources has a respected status, complementing and elucidating the written tradition, and the aim of which is to bring about - in conjunction with the appropriate practices - the ‘realisation’ of wisdom, rather than simply establish factual accuracy. This is precisely the perspective which dominates the essays in this volume, which accurately reflect the current state of authentic Islamic scholarship,

“...rooted in its own spiritual experience with its accumulated spiritual wisdom, reflected upon through its classical scholarly traditions, and employing Western methods of scholarship to the degree that these methods do not distort the authenticity of the Islamic tradition”. The result is a volume which is both intelligible to a Western audience, and completely authentic in terms of the tradition; such a synthesis is far from easy, and the editor must be congratulated on having succeeded admirably in this regard.

This volume (No.19 of the series: ‘World Spirituality: An Encyclopedic History of the Religious Quest.’) has four parts: “The Roots of the Islamic Tradition and Spirituality”, dealing with the Qur’an, the Prophet and the essential rituals; “Aspects of the Islamic Tradition”, looking at the main schools of Islam, and an essay on female spirituality; “Sufism: The Inner Dimension of Islam”; and finally “Knowledge of Reality”, addressing itself to doctrines of the Divine, cosmological, natural and eschatological orders. (The second volume - No.20 of the series - will deal with the manifestations of Islamic spirituality as expressed through Islamic history and culture.)

The first chapter, by S.H.Nasr, establishes the primacy of the Qur’an, as the basis of Islamic-spirituality; all else is by way of elaboration upon the Revealed Word of God to His final messenger, Muhammad. I would like to retain the ‘salawat’). The Qur’an contains, implicitly or explicitly, all doctrine and method, not simply in terms of its literal meaning or dogmatic content, but also, and pre-eminently, by virtue of the sacred presence, inhering in the very sounds of the revealed words, which enters into and transforms the soul of the sincere believer:

“The chanted Qur’an is the prototype of all sacred sound. It is the divine music that reminds man of his original abode and at the same time accompanies him in his dangerous journey of return to that abode; for the Qur’an although chanted in this world, reverberates through all the cosmic levels to the Divine Presence from which it has issued”.

Referring to the names which the Qur’an has for itself, such as ‘al-Furqan’ and al-Huda’ (the ‘Discernment’ and ‘Guide’, respectively), Nasr shows how all metaphysical doctrine is contained in the formulae of the Qur’an, in particular that of the first testimony of Islam, ‘La ilaha illa’Llah’- ‘There is no divinity but God’ - and how the all-encompassing doctrine of Tawhid is derived therefrom; if the Qur’an thus objectively discerns between truth and falsehood, its name ‘dhikr Allah’, ‘remembrance of God’, indicates

its role in terms of methodic assistance to the believer in the quest for realizing the truth of Tawhid.

In a concise and highly effective manner, Nasr explains how the episodes of sacred history found in the Qur'an can be interpreted in a spiritual fashion: such history" .. is in reality the epic of the life of the soul. The forces of good and evil are to be found within ourselves, and even the prophets are the external and objective counterparts and complements of the inner Intellect, which illuminates the heart and mind of man". Without such an understanding, the full spiritual potential of the Qur'an remains untapped.

As well as being an indispensable element in the spiritual path, the Qur'an is also the supreme source of Islamic law, thus comprising within itself the pre-requisites for both outward and inward activity, whereby the former must express the latter, and be dominated by it. This theme is continued by the late A.K. Brohi's essay, ("The Spiritual Significance of the Qur'an") which stresses the relationship between simple, obediential faith, on the one hand, and the realisation of higher levels of being and truth, on the other. Man is initially called upon to obey the Law, and submit to the Will of God, this constituting the essential condition for the awakening of man's "inner resources"; these are ingrained in Fitrah', the original nature of man, which calls upon man to transcend himself, Quoting from the Qur'an on the spiritual stages through which the soul must pass in its struggle against its earthly tendencies, and commenting upon various aspects of the relationship between man and God, Brohi concludes thus:

".. a man who witnesses the awakening of his inner resources also witnesses within himself, by a gift of direct awareness, the true meaning of religious truths that he had earlier accepted on premises of faith".

While Brohi focusses selectively on particular verses of the Qur'an and derives valuable insights through reflection thereupon, the essay by A.Habil ("Traditional Esoteric Commentaries on the Qur'an") analyses in a more systematic fashion the levels of symbolism in the science of ta'wil, the

hermeneutical interpretation of the Qur'an. The word ta'wil literally means to take back to the origin ('awwal); and four levels are identified on which this symbolic process operates. The first level of symbolism concerns the Qur'an as a whole: the Sacred Book itself is the most direct symbol of the Spirit and, as seen in the first essay by S.H.Nasr, assists in concrete realisation; any ta'wil of particular verses thus emerges as the fruit of this spiritual process of interiorisation.

The second level of interpretation pertains to the natural signs in the cosmos; the Qur'an abounds in references to these objectively existing signs of the Creator and invites man to reflect upon them. These phenomena of nature are not to be considered as sentimental similes of some subjective feeling or another, but on the contrary, are symbolic in the true sense of the word, namely, "...they lead back to the higher realities they symbolize and participate in them independently of any choice or agreement on our part". This is an extremely important point and must be fully grasped, not just in the context of the exegesis of sacred scripture, but also in terms of spirituality as such, its doctrines and methods: in one respect, the symbol is other than what is symbolised, but in another respect, by virtue of its essential content, it is mysteriously identified with the supra-formal principle which it expresses on the plane of formal manifestation.

The third level of symbolism involves particular symbols referred to in the Qur'an, such as the 'Pen' (al-Qalam) and the 'Tablet' (al-Lowh), and which are the subject of different esoteric interpretations.

Finally, the very letters of the Qur'an are interpreted according to esoteric principles; out of this type of interpretation emerged the science of jafr, the numerical symbolism of all the letters of the alphabet.

In addition to the above, one must not forget that, according to prophetic tradition, each verse of the Qur'an contains at least seven levels of meaning. Habil refers to the Sunnah of the Prophet as the second source of esoteric commentary of the Qur'an, the first being the Qur'an itself; and,

among the companions of the Prophet, the esoteric commentary of ‘Ali ranks as the most significant in terms of transmission, chiefly through the Shiite Imams. It is of note, in this context, that Imam Ja’far al-Sadiq “.. played the most important role in the whole history of esoteric commentaries upon the Qur’an in both its Shi’ite and Sunni facets”.

The development of the tradition of esoteric commentary is then traced historically, in the context of Sufism, then within the domain of the Islamic philosophers, and finally in Shi’ite gnosis; these sections are richly annotated and invite the interested reader to go further into this vast, and very largely unexplored field. Habil concludes the essay by giving an example of esoteric exegesis, analysing the deeper meanings of the “two seas” as found in different contexts, traversing the orders of nature, metaphysics, cosmology and eschatology; the main point being that the different levels of symbolism correspond objectively to the hierarchy of being, and subjectively to the profundity of awareness: by virtue of the theurgic power of the Qur’an, this awareness means the transformation of the soul as well as illumination of the mind.

“According to ‘A’ islah, the ‘favourite wife’ the soul of the Prophet is similar to the Qur’an”. In the light of this idea, one makes the transition from the Qur’an to the remarkable essay by Frithjof Schuon: “The Spiritual Significance of the Substance of the Prophet”. “We find piercing insights into the meaning of the Prophetic virtues, profound esoteric commentary upon key Qur’anic verses and the illumination of the inner meanings of important Prophetic sayings.. One is conscious of the principle of Tawhid permeating the varied and profound ideas expressed here. the elaboration of meanings in different domains, within the framework of unity, and always reminding the reader of this oneness”. For example, in the analysis of the Prophetic Substance, Schuon makes use of the symbolism of numbers and the four cardinal points of space:

“The north is negative perfection, which is exclusive and surpasses or transcends; the south is positive perfection, which is inclusive and vivifies and deepens; the east is active perfection, which is dynamic and affirms, realizes and is, if need be, combative; and the west is passive perfection, which is static and peace-giving”.

This quaternary very effectively establishes a framework for understanding not simply the prophetic substance, but indeed spirituality as such, with which the former coincides; but such a view is by no means held up as the only possible one, for Schuon emphasises that the qualities of the prophet’s soul are “.. in principle innumerable, given that it is always possible to subdivide them and extract new modes from them”. On the other hand, the Unity of the Prophetic Substance, conceived in terms of “pure substantiality is none other than the love of God in the widest as well as the deepest meaning of the word.” Thus it is this love of God which stands at the summit of all possible modes of spiritual perfection, the source of the virtues which deploy it on different levels. This unity of the soul and the totality of its love is precisely what is demanded by the Unity of the object loved: the oneness of the Beloved requires a corresponding noneness, totality and exclusivity of love from the lover. If this constitutes the summit and source, why, one might ask, the need to elaborate any further? Without it any way detracting from this principle of unity, the following reason is given, succinctly and with profundity: “We are then at the source, but lacking differentiated points of reference which could impart to us the internal riches of this love”.

And Schuon does indeed impart to us glimpses of this internal radiation of love complementing the previously noted geometric and relatively abstract set of coordinates with a description of the fundamental virtues which combines poetic expression with the most elevated intellectual conceptions. The relationship between virtue and spiritual realization is clearly identified; summing up, in his unique, direct and powerful style, Schuon says:

“The sincere ‘yes’ to that which transcends us always presupposes beauty of soul, just as the capacity of a mirror to reflect light presupposes its purity”.

In the ensuing discussion of faith, the nature of “that which transcends us”, and its relation with the knowledge one can have of it, is highlighted. The relative subject cannot know everything, since the object known is inexhaustible, and “.. the more one dissects and systematizes it abusively, the more it will avenge itself by depriving us of its ‘life’, namely that something which, precisely, is the gift of the object to the subject.” If this is by way of comment on the “obscure merit of faith”, then the following reminds one of the absolute primacy of metaphysical Truth:

“Total knowledge exists, certainly, for otherwise the very notion of knowledge would lose all its meaning, but it is situated beyond the complementarily between subject and object, in an inexpressible ‘beyond’ whose foundation is the ontological identity of the two terms”.

Schuon also illustrates the connection between the Prophetic Substance and Sufism; this is achieved through elaborating the meaning of the hadith in which prayer is one of the things “made lovable” to the Prophet, and relating this to relevant verses of Surat al-Muzzammil, which enjoin night vigils, the recitation of the Qur’an and the remembrance of God: “The difference between the two practices - the recitation of the Qur’an and the invocation of the Divine name - is the difference between the qualities and the essence, the formal and the non-formal, the outward and the inward, thought and heart. And it is this passage concerning the two nocturnal practices which basically inaugurates the Sufic tradition. It is to be noted that the recitation must be done ‘with care’ (tartila), whereas the invocation demands that the worshiper ‘devotes himself totally’ (tartila) to God. The first expression refers to the zeal that satisfies the requirements of the formal place, and the second, to the totality of dedication needed for the realization of the supraformal element, this being the Essence, or the immanent Unity”.

Sufism is thus to be understood as the crystallization of this total dedication to the Essence, the expression of this most fundamental quality of the Prophetic Substance, from which it derives all its efficacy and authenticity.

A wealth of ideas - penetrating and illuminating - are found here, but the value of this essay can hardly be gauged by selective quotations; rather it requires - and most richly rewards - careful study and deep reflection. There follows a chapter on the life of the Prophet and his Sunnah and Hadith; the first part written by Ja'far Qasimi and the second by S.H.Nasr. The contribution by Qasimi provides the volume with important background for the spiritual themes explored, without which much of the material would be difficult to assimilate for the reader unacquainted with the Islamic tradition. It is written in a fine and engaging narrative style, based completely on the earliest traditional sources, and indeed reminds the Muslim reader of the inspiring nature of these early accounts of the major events in the spiritual history of Islam; of particular note in this connection is the striking description of the Night of Ascension (Laylat al-Mira j) by al-Suyuti.

S.H.Nasr explains the importance of the Prophetic Sunnah in terms of both inner virtue and outward comportment, governing every aspect of the Muslims life, and complementing in a concrete manner the ordinances of the Qur'an. The Sunnah thus acts as the framework for socializing the everyday life of the Muslim in accordance with the spirit of the Qur'an. In terms of the spiritual life a crucial point is made:

“There is no Islamic spirituality possible without the Sunnah, for the gate to the higher worlds was opened for the Islamic sector of humanity by the prophet alone during his nocturnal journey. It is He alone who holds the key to those gates and who alone can guide the Muslim on the path of spiritual realization” (p102). This is a firm rebuttal to those calling themselves ‘sufi’, whilst claiming to have no need of the Sunnah, in the name of an ostensible commitment to essence over form; Nasr shows, in keeping with

our dominant theme of Unity, that the soul in its entirety must be molded by the spirituality of the Prophet - which is nothing other than the radiation of the Word of God - which means imitation of the Prophet in outward action, on the foundation of the inner virtues emanating from his spiritual Substance; and if the outward practice is to some extent contingent on external circumstances the inward assimilation of the virtues is a universal imperative.

In the discussion of Hadith, important points are made in relation to the status of the sayings of the Prophet, serving as a critique of the Western methods of scholarship in this field. Nasr also refers to the 'Divine Sayings' (al-ahadith al-qudsiyyah) in which God speaks in the first person through the mouth of the Prophet; central aspects of Sufi doctrine and method are derived from these sayings, which open up the inner aspects of worship and reveal the nature of the Divine response to the sincere prayer - taken in its widest and deepest meaning - of the believer.

It is to inner worship that the essay by Syed Ali Ashraf addresses itself. Entitled "The inner Meaning of the Islamic Rites: Prayer, Pilgrimage, Fasting, Jihad", it gives a brief description of the formal practices associated with each rite, and then interiorize them by elaboration upon their symbolic meanings. In discussing prayer, the basic principle is that unless the outward action is accompanied by a sincere heart, it remains a mere show. He quotes the Prophet's saying: "Prayer without the Presence of the Lord in the heart is not prayer at all", and continues: "Regular formal prayer should be an external manifestation of this internal prayer".

Many important points are revealed in this discussion, which practising Muslims would do well to reflect upon, and thus deepen the significance of everyday practices; without this depth, prayer can all too easily slip into an unthinking routine devoid of that central function. implied in another saying of the Prophet: "Prayer is mi'raj (ascent) for the mu'min (faithful)".

Fasting is explained on different levels, with its highest significance determining and giving meaning to the abstentions enjoined on the lower levels: this is "...fasting in which the individual abstains physically, mentally and spiritually from anything that draws a veil between him and the Lord".

Ashraf's explication of the rites of pilgrimage is particularly illuminating, connecting each rite with its symbolic meaning, and highlighting the relationship by referring to relevant Qur'anic verses and Prophetic sayings with insights into their symbolic meaning. In discussing the sacrifice, however, one is justified in questioning- his assertion that this "...spiritually symbolizes the sacrifice of al-nafs ul-mutma'innah at the altar of God the Qahhar,; the earlier statement that is the nafs (self) that is being symbolically sacrificed is less problematic: that one can sacrifice the lower tendencies that constitute the worldly ego is beyond dispute, but can the soul imbued with the quality of 'itmi'nan' - signifying the complete serenity of absolute certitude, a pure grace from Heaven and pertaining to the very essence of God - can such a soul be the subject of a sacrifice?

Turning to jihad, the essential distinction between the inner struggle against one's lower self and the outer struggle in the cause of Islam is given paramount importance. As we saw in the previous chapter by Nasr, the internal dimension is universal, whilst the external is subject to conditions; the internal, again, being the more essential, in accordance with the famous Prophetic saying that this is the jihad al-akbar, the greater holy struggle; all other struggles - whether military, political or social - being 'lesser'.

Ashraf concludes by comparing the martyrdom achieved through the two forms of jihad; he argues that the ascetic who has 'killed' his nafs is as much a martyr as one who dies on the battle-field in the cause of God. With this much we can agree; but rather more debatable is the statement that "...through the lesser jihad one may achieve the benefits of the greater jihad..."; for this appears to overlook the higher degrees of spiritual realisation possible in this world through victory over the self in the greater

jihad, stages along the Path involving not simply a complete submission of the will, but also a sublimation of the subject through total knowledge of and love for the Supreme Self, with which it realises its inner identity; these distinctions being reflected, moreover, in the ascending degrees of Paradise. (to which reference is made by Abu Bakr Siraj ed-Din later in this volume).

The central theme of this chapter is continued in A.K.Brohi's second contribution, "The Spiritual Dimensions of Prayer." Different aspects of the canonical prayer, forms of supplication and the relationship between prayer and other religious duties are discussed, drawing principally from the Qur'an. Emphasis is placed on unceasing prayer of the heart, the invocation of the Divine Names, and the recitation of the Qur'an as the "sure means to reach a higher level of spiritual exaltation".

Chapters on the three main branches of Islam follow: Abdur-Rahman Ibrahim Doi gives a relatively straight-forward account of the majority Sunni school; Syed Husain Jafri's description of the second major Islamic tradition of Twelve-Imam Shi'ism - brings out very well the distinctive and very moving dimension of spiritual passion in Shi'ism, exemplified by extracts from the supplications of the first and the fourth Imams; and Azim Nanji shows the rich esoteric aspects of Isma'ilism, the emphasis on ta'wil and the inner meaning (batin) of Qur'anic verses, as well as a very interesting and elaborate hermeneutical interpretation of ritual prayer according to Nasir Khusraw.

The contemporary world of Islam is much in need of the kind of material presented by Saadia Khawar Khan Chishti in her essay "Female Spirituality in Islam". In a climate dominated by materialism and individuals, it is important to reassert that the equality of men and women in the spiritual domain means infinitely more than any material conception of equality between the two, which regards worldly success as the goal, and self assertion as the means; to this must be opposed the universal goal of spiritual advancement by means of mastery over the self. This essay stresses that this

form of equality not only exists in principle in Islam, but female spirituality of the very highest order has existed in practice, continually exerting its benefic influence, whether chronicled or not: “Several works on women in Islamic history mention distinguished women saints outstanding in their spiritual character - sapiential knowledge, perfection, wisdom, graciousness, and magnanimity - but the light of the hidden jewel of the inner personality of hundreds of women saints whose shrines are found all over the Islamic world has not shone on the pages of Islamic history, and the memorial to their truly spiritual way of life has not as yet been built”.

Combining relevant Quranic verses with details of women saints in particular, the remarkable Rabi’ah al-Adawiyah - the writer effectively establishes the spiritual criteria and role-models which should guide women in their lives. If it is possible for some women to become saints, and thus realise the whole purpose and intention of religion, it is consequently possible, and necessary, that all women infuse their lives with spiritual principles to the extent of their capabilities, and in accordance with the qualities of femininity with which the Creator has endowed them; qualities which complement, rather than compete with the qualities of masculinity, and which find their principal roots in the attributes and names of God, whence their entire reason for being.

The next four chapters deal with the Sufi tradition, beginning with Abu Bakr Siraj ed-Din’s excellent essay, “The Nature and origin of Sufism.” The status of Sufism as the esoteric core of Islam is established through quoting and commenting upon the most significant Quranic verses and ahadith. The distinction between the pious or righteous believers on the one hand, and the ‘slaves’ of God the ones ‘brought nigh’ (muqarrabun) or the ‘foremost’ (sabiqun) on the other, as found in the early Meccan surahs, is shown to clearly refer to a spiritual minority among the believers who are distinguished by their totality of dedication and intensity of worship. And it is to this minority that one must look for the most proud realisation of the spiritual principles of Islam. This means, on the one hand, that the entire body of

Islam derives its spiritual nourishment, whether knowingly or not, from the working of this mystical 'heart'; and, on the other hand, the dimensions of primordality and universality proper to the Islamic Revelation as a whole are given their deepest and widest meaning. As the last Revelation to mankind, Islam completes a cycle and this finality re joins, in a certain sense, primordality, which Abu Bakr Siraj ed-Din illustrates through Quranic verses urging man to be ever-conscious of the miracle of creation itself, and referring to Islam as the primordial religion, "God's original upon which He originated mankind"; and, again by virtue of its finality, Islam is universal, even on the exoteric level, in a way which earlier Revelations could not be, summing up all the Messages preceding it. After quoting and commenting upon the relevant verses which indisputably establish this universality and hence the intrinsic legitimacy of other authentic religions, the writer asserts that, due to the inevitable limitations of the exoteric mentality, it falls upon Sufism to do full justice to the twin aspects of primordality and universality: "However, few members of the Sufi orders are in fact able to escape sufficiently from the contagious limitations of the exoterism that surrounds them".

What is being expressed here is a key element which distinguishes the inner, esoteric path - the tariqah' - from the exoteric path, or shari'ah. Earlier in this volume we have seen S. H. Nasr's definition of Islamic spirituality as being Islam in depth or inwardness, and in line with this definition, the contributions of A. K. Brohi and S. A. Ashraf have shown the element of continuity between the outer and the inner, the interiorisation or inward prolongation of the form in the direction of the essence. Complementing this view of the relationship between form and essence, Abu Bakr Siraj ed-Din's essay implies the esoteric truth that as one approaches the essence, one sees all forms mysteriously contained therein, including the diverse forms of religion itself; each religious form thus expressing the essence, on the one hand, and being transcended by it, on the other. There is, consequently, both continuity and contrast as between form and essence.

Lest it be thought that such expressions involve a weakening of commitment to the Islamic form, it must be stressed that an understanding of the relativity of all forms in the face of the Absolute in no way diminishes the necessity of adherence to one's particular form as the pre-requisite for advancement along the path to the Absolute: the outward form is inwardly transcended, never outwardly abolished, it being recognised that form has its rights on the level to which it corresponds.

This point becomes all the more important in the light of the discussion of primordality. Abu Bakr Siraj ed-Din gives a profound rendering of the meaning of fitrah, the original nature of man and the fall from this state:

“To use the traditional symbol of the tree the first men were profoundly and directly aware of being attached to their Divine Root, and they extended this subjective certainty to all that surrounded them. Everything was an object of wonder, in virtue of the Transcendent Reality which it manifested, the Hidden Treasure which it had to make known. The failure to live up to that attitude - the failure to maintain the consciousness of the symbolic nature of each object, the choice of something for its own sake regardless of its archetype - was the cause of the fall”.

If it is incumbent on the Sufi to return to this primordality, it is also necessary to realise that fallen man has need, precisely, of the formal elements of religion as the God - given framework in which to regain that unceasing remembrance of the Divine. Therefore, the formal rights of orthodoxy are underlined by this view of primordality, whilst aspirations are directed to That which transcends all form.

Also, if it is through a recognition that the origin and goal of all authentic religions is God that esoterism can be called universal, it remains nonetheless true that Islamic esoterism necessarily takes a certain shape and flavour in terms of its doctrines and methods, which are firmly rooted in the sources of the Islamic Revelation. Earlier, S.H.Nasr had stressed that there can be no Islamic spirituality outside the Sunnah; and Frithjof Schuon

showed how the virtues of the Prophetic Substance continue to guide Muslims along the path of perfection; so it can be said that it is the Prophetic barakah that vivifies all those essential Sufi practises which are genuinely aimed at spiritual realisation.

In conclusion, Abu Bakr Siraj ed-Din underlines the strongly conservative role of Sufism, retaining the most essential aspects of the Islamic heritage whilst giving them renewed expression; if the Sufis have “added” to the body of Islamic doctrine, these acquisitions have been “...not with regard to the principles themselves, but by way of analytical formulations...”

This idea forms one of the central themes of the following chapter by Victor Danner, “The Early Development of Sufism”. Tracing its origins from the time of the Prophet, through to the middle of the sixth/twelfth century, he analyses the process by which Sufism developed from its embryonic state into a fully fledged body of doctrines and methods, becoming, thereby identified with the spiritual Path of Islam. After identifying six major factors deemed responsible for the growing institutionalization of Sufism in the early period, he draws attention to the conflicts between the masters of the Way - or tariqah - and the doctors of the Law - shari’ah - leading up to the grand synthesis of the two domains by al-Ghazzali, who himself embodied this synthesis, being both a pre-eminent theologian and an enlightened Sufi. In his influential work, *The Revival of the Religious Sciences*, confirming the necessity of the tariqah as well as the shari’ah in the framework of Islam, “...al-Ghazzali describes the illuminative knowledge of the path, which confers immediate certitude and graces, as the very summit of the believer’s life. In brief, the Shari’ah did not suffice unto itself, nor did the religious authorities have any competence in the affairs of the tariqah, which was the domain of the Sufi Shaykhs. After his day, it would not be easy for any knowledgeable religious scholar to reject the tariqah without exposing his ignorance about the spiritual contents of the Islamic message”.

This work by al-Ghazzali, apart from its providential character, expresses a degree of analytical elaboration which is in marked contrast to the elliptical and concise statements made by the earlier Sufis; concomitant with this was the increased diversification of Sufi methods and practises. Confirming the point made above by Abu Bakr Siraj ed-Din, Danner emphasises the continuity in principle of the essential elements of the integral path of Islam - the doctrine of Tawhid and the practice of dhikr: “Indeed, it would seem that one of the important functions of Sufism has been to furnish these elements of the path to its seekers in the right proportions and in accordance with the needs of each generation”.

In the following essay by J.L.Michon (“The Spiritual Practices of Sufism”) the centrality of the practice of dhikr is underlined. After briefly describing the nature of Islamic mysticism, he gives a very useful account of the principal operative aspects of the tariqah: the meaning of initiation. the role of the shaykh, the kinds of meeting of the Sufis and the litanies and other forms of worship which are practised; all of these practices can, in one sense, be described as forms of dhikr, it being noted that dhkr means, in addition to its primary meaning of remembrance, to mention, to invoke and also to glorify, all of which is with a view to bringing about consciousness of God. In this light, dhikr can be seen as a possible resolution of the tension between the exoteric and esoteric domains; bearing in mind Nasr’s earlier definition of Islamic spirituality, the practice of dhikr can be regarded as the counterpart, in the operative domain, to that element of continuity in principle between formal, outward Islam and its inner, esoteric content:

“ the dhikr is the becoming aware by the creature of the connection that unites him for all eternity to the Creator. Seen in this way, the dhikr constitutes the very essence of religion, as much in its exoteric dimension (when man remembers God as his Master and transcendent and omnipotent Judge) as in the esoteric order (where the Divine Presence reveals itself as the inner dimension of the human being)”.

One may add that the illumination of this inward Presence in no way contradicts the Divine Transcendence, since the Immanent Self infinitely transcends the limitations of the empirical ego.

Michon quotes extensively from the Qur'an, ahadith and Sufi sources in this very well researched essay, opening up to the reader a wealth of literary on this important subject.

In the next chapter, "The Sufi Science of the Soul", by Mohammad Ajmal, the authoritative writings of various Sufis on the nature of the soul are introduced and contrasted with modern psychology. (Of particular note is the work by Moulvi Ashraf 'Ali Thanvi, a Sufi of the Indo-Pakistan Sub-continent whose writings certainly deserve more attention than they have received.)

Describing the stages through which the soul passes in the course of its spiritual development, the key to his process is regarded as the working of the Spirit within the soul; the objective principle of the Spirit thus serves as the basis on which to assess and remedy the failings and weaknesses of the personality passively determined by the arbitrary and chaotic ways of the world. Various traditional course of the soul are mentioned, dealing with different kinds of imbalance, leading up to the pre-eminent role of the spiritual master as the most direct representative or embodiment of the world of the Spirit, and thus the most objective judge of the needs of the disciple. By contrast, modern psychology is revealed as a science lacking any objective terms of reference, a case of the blind leading the blind:

"Only a science such as the Sufi science of the soul can succeed in curing the soul's diseases and in being an effective psychotherapy. Only the Spirit can cure the soul of its ills..."

The final section of the book, "Knowledge of Reality", begins with another very valuable contribution by S.H. Nasr. Entitled "God", this chapter serves as a summary of a great deal of the material preceding it, as

well as opening up a link with the four chapters following it, on the different dimensions of reality, all stemming from and leading back to the Divine. Nasr again emphasises the concept of tawhid, this time bringing forth its operative consequences, both in the context of the Sufi “knowledge of the heart” - wherein pure unity is realised - and also with regard to the objectivation of the One Supreme Subject - the radiation of the Self. The oft-quoted hadith qudsi “I was a hidden treasure and I loved to be known, so I created the world”, sums up this process whereby God makes Himself known to His creation, with man at its summit, endowed with a knowledge of all the ‘Names’ and created in the very image of God. This ingrained knowledge of the ‘Names’ - or the archetypal essences - within man is intimately connected with the cosmological unfolding of the creation. Nasr explains how God manifests the universe through His Names and Qualities and that “...the goal of Islamic spirituality is to rediscover through these manifestations their unique Source and to recognize God’s sovereignty over all that is contained in the bosom of time and space”.

Here we have the spiritual dimension of the objective world; but to inwardly realise the unity whence spring these manifestation, man’s virtual knowledge must be made actual, and it is precisely in naming His Qualities that God makes Himself known not simply in terms of doctrine but also in terms of concrete experience; and this leads ineluctably back to dhikr - the remembrance of God through invocation of His Names, which are woven into the very substance of man’s soul. In a powerful passage, Nasr underscores the centrality of dhikr at the highest level of Islamic spirituality, which is “.. nothing other than being transmuted by the invocation of the Divine Name until one lives in constant remembrance of God, until man ceases to be separative consciousness and becomes nothing other than the reverberation and echo of His Name whose power transforms the creature
“.

This chapter also contains an important commentary on other aspects of the Divine Nature, such as the relationship between transcendence and

immanence, the Names of Mercy and Rigour, and concludes with a remarkable section on the “Face of God “The Angels” is the title of the next chapter, by Sachiko Murata. This important domain has been overlooked by recent generations and deserves renewed study, given the fact that belief in the angels enters into the very definition of faith, and that the Qur’an, abounds in references to angels - explicit and implicit - in connection with nearly all functions in the spiritual universe. Murata gives a full account of the angelic hierarchy, the different types of angels and their respective roles; drawing from traditional spiritual authorities who used the revealed sources as the foundation for their own inspired insights, she shows the importance traditionally ascribed to the angelic realm. One particularly revealing dimension opens up with the conception of angels as the exterior counterparts to the “.. spiritual faculties of the perfect man, who is the prototype of both mankind and the universe”. It is to such authorities as Ibn ‘Arabi, al-Qunawi and Farghani that one must look for elaboration on this complementary, microcosmic understanding of the angels, -which, far from denying their macrocosmic role - as would the modern mind, so prone to confusing simile with symbolic analogy - establishes, on the contrary, a dynamic correspondence between the internal mechanisms of man’s soul and the external cosmic functions of the Universal Spirit.

This theme is central to the following chapter, again by Nasr, on “The Cosmos and the Natural Order”. Writing as an eminent authority in this field, he illuminates the spiritual facets of the relationship between man and the world around him., The Qur’an exhorts man to reflect on the ‘signs’ in nature as well as on the ‘signs’ within himself; and the same word-ayah - refers also to the verses of the Holy Book-itself, thus pointing to an underlying unity between these inter-related orders of reality. The emphasis, in terms of spiritual development, is strongly placed on the illumination of the inward ‘signs’: “To the extent that man turns to the spiritual world within, nature unveils her inner message to him and acts as both support and companion in his spiritual journey”. Thus, while again underlining the

primacy of inwardness, the outward world of nature is given a sacred significance in Islam and is even favourable contrasted to man himself - man insofar as he is dwarfed by nature on the one hand, and manifests his 'unnatural' rebellion against the Creator, on the other. Nature can therefore function as an aid in the spiritual life since "...she abides in her perfect surrender to the One in her perpetual state of being Muslim".

This conception of nature finds its appropriate place in the overall context of Islamic cosmology, which acts as a bridge connecting pure metaphysic with the particular branches of science dealing with the empirical world. Nasr briefly outlines the main features of the different schools of cosmology in Islam - Peripatetic, Ismaili, Sufi - whilst integrating them into their common source and unifying principle: "These cosmologies differ in their language and form but not in content, which is always the assertion of the Unity of the Divine Principle, which is the origin of the cosmos, the reality of the hierarchy of cosmic and universal existence, and the interdependence and interrelation of all orders of cosmic reality and various realms of nature".

Charles Le Gai Eaton's essay, "Man", is addressed to the existential ambiguity inherent in the human being, a creature compounded of clay on the one hand, and viceregal dignity, as God's representative on earth, on the other. The coexistence of these two aspects gives rise to a necessity - at first sight paradoxical - of man's realisation of his nothingness, his 'slavehood' before the majesty of his Creator, as the essential condition for rising above himself and thus fulfilling his function as vicegerent of God. His existential nothingness is thus eclipsed by the Divine Light that is reflected in the mirror of his purified heart, that light by which he contemplates God's Names and Qualities; it is thus not man that rises above himself, but the Divine Principle - the Divine Breath breathed into man at his creation - that is brought into operation, by a gift of Grace, which requires that man remove the obstacles created by his ego and his 'natural' inclination to attribute all positive qualities to himself:

“In this context humility is no longer a moral or sentimental concept, but neither more nor less than the most favourable existential attitude for any one wishes to receive what is given”.

Eaton proceeds, in a highly engaging style, to explain the consequent imperative for Muslims to use as model for this receptivity to the Divine, the “excellent example” of the Prophet. Here we find echoes of the earlier contributions by Schuon and Nasr; in this essay, we find these ideas applied rather more concretely, and illuminated through the contrast between man’s principal state of essential perfection - exemplified by the Prophet - as opposed to his actual state of corruption. Eaton also highlights the Islamic conception of man through juxtaposing the believer both to the kafir and to modern conceptions of man; we are thus given a concise and revealing critique of humanism, along with a trenchant attack upon certain profane attitudes prevalent in today’s world: in particular, the “.. tendency to detect feet of clay in every hero...” and” ...the assumption that, in discovering some minor flaw in an otherwise virtuous man, we have succeeded in exposing flasehood and bringing truth to light”.

A stark contrast to such attitudes is presented by the Islamic ideals which emerge naturally out of the implicit viceregal dignity of every man; the notion of respect is strongly emphasised, while every attempt is made to overlook and forgive the inevitable shortcomings of one’s neighbour: “In its deepest sense .. respect for others derives from the hiddenness of each being’s true identity; and since this identity is intimately linked to its Source, its Creator and Owner, we dare not presume that it is worthless. However misshapen the outer husk may appear, we know that the kernel is present within it; the husk is corruptible but the kernel is inviolable”.

If Schuon and Nasr had earlier pointed to the intrinsic universality of the Prophetic virtues in principle, Eaton elaborates upon the extrinsic and existential dimensions implicit in that universality, by emphasising the necessity of applying the virtues despite all the ambiguities, failings and

weaknesses of our fellow creatures - and our own selves - in practice. “He who shows no mercy will have no mercy shown unto him”, according to a Prophetic hadith.

The final chapter of the book deals, appropriately, with eschatology. William Chittick gives an excellent presentation of the material; the reality of the after-life is most effectively brought home and shines clearly in the light of the eschatological doctrines surveyed here. The various aspects and stages of the beyond are discussed with reference to a wealth of traditional sources, spanning the Sufi masters and poets, the sages of the Ishraqi school of gnosis, the peripatetic philosophers and also representatives of the classical tradition of theology - both Sunni and Shi'i.

The link between doctrines of the Hereafter and the spiritual life here and now is firmly established at the outset. After listing and briefly commenting upon the principal elements of eschatological doctrine as found in the Qur'an and Hadith literature, Chittick refers to al-Ghazzali's assertion that this data - concerning the 'Hour', the 'Book', the 'Weighing' etc., - must be taken as given and incontrovertible, while nonetheless allowing “.. spiritual insight and inward contemplation ..” to illuminate aspects of the Hereafter which have not been explicitly mentioned - and, one could add, may not be accommodated in the framework of human language. Here we have a good example of one of the ways in which spirituality deepens the understanding of revealed doctrine, firstly basing itself entirely on these revealed sources, and then giving rise to inward assimilation of the truths to which the doctrines refer; it must be-borne in mind that the purpose of sacred doctrine is not to exhaust the Reality it describes, but rather to open out onto that reality of which it gives an adequate picture and presentiment. The “spiritual insight and inward illumination” referred to above therefore must be seen as leading to a realisation in depth of pure and universal principles, in terms of which the realities of the beyond can be intuited, in themselves, by the awakened faculty of the intellect. Chittick dwells at some length on the nature of the human soul, taking further into the spiritual domain the preceding

discussion by Eaton of man being made in the 'image' of God. This is done in order to clarify the meaning of the 'origin' and 'return' of the soul, the cycle of ontological possibilities through which the soul passes before coming to rest in the Centre. In this context the barzakh assumes a significant meaning. This barzakh is the intermediate reality, corresponding to the period between death and the Day of Resurrection - also referred to simply as the period in the 'grave' by many authorities. Ibn 'Arabi calls this realm the 'world of imagination', separating the level of pure spirits from the world of sensible, material phenomena; it thus "...gives meanings corporeal shapes and makes sensory objects into subtle realities". It is on this ontological plane, then, that the soul experiences the consequences of its earthly state of existence. Chittick refers thus to the conclusion of al-Ghazzali on this point:

"In death, man finds nothing but his own attributes, no longer veiled by the corporeal body but revealing themselves to him in forms appropriate to his new abode .. Man awakens to the realities of his own words, acts and moral qualities; his moral substance whether good or evil, assumes corporeal shape. Everything that had been hidden in the lower world becomes outwardly manifest".

In his account of the Lesser Resurrection, Chittick reminds us of the principle of analogy already referred to many times in this volume, and provides a key for interpreting scripture in this domain:

"The experience of death for the microcosm corresponds to the coming of the Hour for the macrocosm. Hence the Quranic accounts of the end of the world can also be understood as referring to the death of the individual".

The final section deals with the Greater Resurrection and contains material which powerfully expresses the overwhelming reality and inexorability of these events and puts our earthly existence into its true perspective. It is in this sense, above all, that the spiritual implications of

eschatological teachings become most compelling. Chittick's concluding words are indeed appropriate for bringing this volume to an end:

“..through the very majesty of his freedom and responsibility..(man)..is able to cut himself off from the effusion. of Mercy and Light that fills the universe. Whether he experiences God's Mercy or Wrath, the next stage of his existence depends upon his own choice”.

To conclude: one is left feeling both grateful that such an authentic volume has been published in this field, and inspired by the profundity of its content. In the wide range of themes it covers, and in the palpable authority of its contributors, the books serves as a veritable touchstone of authenticity in the vast realm of Islamic spirituality, guiding the seeker not just to the appropriate sources, but also providing him with vital keys with which to unlock the inner depths of these sources, and thus bring about a corresponding deepening of consciousness and being. The book is remarkable in this respect, being both comprehensive in scope and profound in depth, concise without being dry, and assimilable without simplifying the supernal truths to which it addresses itself; on the contrary, one feels inspired to delve further into the sources of these truths that are given such fine expression in the book, and thereby to come into a more direct contact, for oneself, with that domain of the Spirit which is inexpressible, wherein knowledge and being are unified, and Truth is the sole Reality.

R.S. AL-FARABI: LIFE, WORKS AND SIGNIFICANCE

OSMAN BAKR

Publisher - The Islamic Academy of Science, Kuala Lumpur (1988)

This is a concise and readable book which, despite its brevity, constitutes a significant contribution to the study of al-Farabi, as well as offering valuable methodological principles for the study of traditional Islamic thinkers, and also serves to highlight the importance of making such studies in the context of the quest for a revival in Islam. One of Osman Bakr's main aims is to guide the reader through the current state of what is called "Farabian Studies"; and indeed the book is extremely well researched, with foot-notes and a bibliography comprehensively covering the important works in this area, both traditional and modern. In addition to this, he makes a useful critique of modern western methods of scholarship when applied to al-Farabi in particular, and, implicitly, to traditional thinkers in general. Rooted in doubt, the typical orientalist approach is all too prone to pedantry and rigidity, leading to an excessive pre-occupation with minor problems and apparent contradictions; against this, Osman Bakr emphasises the need to understand the thinker from within his own universe of meaning, so as to arrive at an integrated view of the relationship between different categories of thought, and thus resolve such apparent contradictions through comprehending the flexibility of concepts and perspectives. Such a comprehension escapes the narrow-minded orientalist, whose empiricist/positivist paradigm leads almost invariably to a mania for literalism and the compartmentalization of meanings within the narrow parameters defined by his own impoverished vision of things. The author hopes that his work will stimulate scholars into conducting more research on this monumental thinker, and calls attention to the vast wealth of wisdom

and knowledge waiting to be re-discovered, since comparatively few of al-Farabi's works have been seriously studied in recent times, the majority remaining still in manuscript form. In addition to serving this scholarly function, he also offers the non-specialist an accessible account of the philosopher's life and a breath-taking overview of the vast canvas of his thought.

Al-Farabi's title, "the second teacher" (mu'allim al-thani; the first being Aristotle) is due in large part to his instrumental role in the definition of the sciences, the setting of limits for each, and their inter-relationship, a schema which not only paved the way for the future development of these branches of knowledge, but also helped to ensure that this development would continue within the framework of faith and not lead away from it. In his famous book "Ihsa al 'ilum (The Enumeration of the Sciences) he listed the sciences under eight headings: linguistics, logic, mathematics, physics, metaphysics, politics, juridical science and theology. It is of note that al-Farabi himself has written on all of the above subjects, with the sole exception of juridical science. However, it was in the domain of logic that al-Farabi exerted the bulk of his effort, and for which he has become most renowned. He wrote commentaries on the entire Organon of Aristotle, explicating the system of logic in terms which could be readily grasped by the Arab and Islamic peoples; this was an extremely significant - if not providential - function, for thenceforth the tenets of the faith could be more rigorously defended by logical means against the arguments posed by non-Muslims; also, the process by which faith and reason came to reside in an harmonious and complementary relationship was greatly enhanced. A clear Arabic terminology for the science of logic was thus expounded and bequeathed as an abiding heritage to all the other branches of learning, allowing them to benefit from these invaluable tools of analysis. In a lucid and authoritative manner, then, al-Farabi rendered logic intelligible at the same time as revealing it as intrinsically Islamic insofar as the cause of the

faith can be served therewith, on the one hand, and to the extent that logic inheres in the very nature of Truth, on the other.

Turning to other areas, al-Farabi's work on politics were of such import that he is considered the very founder of political philosophy in Islam. In his elaboration of the principles of government he achieved a unique synthesis between the views of the Greek sages - in particular, Plato - and Islamic concepts derived from the Qur'an and Sunnah, and drawing from features of the Medinan state. The significance of his political treatises is further underlined, in today's world, by the sheer confusion which prevails in the domain of political ideology.

AL-FARABI: LIFE, WORKS AND SIGNIFICANCE

Even in the realm of music, al-Farabi stands as an undisputed authority; his work *Kitab al-musiqa al-kabir* was considered a significant advance on the music theory of the Greeks, and was hailed as the greatest work on musicology in the Middle Ages.

Osman Bakr refers to al-Farabi's metaphysical writings as the crown of his work; indeed, one can regard his metaphysical understanding as the substance of his entire endeavour, for it was this which furnished him with the ability to harmonise the various facets of knowledge into a coherent whole; and it could even be said that it was this metaphysical discernment which was able to see and then integrate the essential truths contained in other systems of thought, such truths emanating from the one sole Truth that which is implied, at a profound level, in the very notion of Tawhid. One can indeed feel, in this survey of al-Farabi's work, the principle of Tawhid to be in operation: the unification of apparent diversity, through harmonising the principles involved in the different domains of knowledge, so that in expanding in different directions, the emphasis is always on the Divine origin

and end of all things, and the oneness of the Creator can be continuously affirmed by the harmony inherent in the diversity of His creation.

One also feels that this profound awareness permeated the entire soul of al-Farabi, and was not restricted to the domain of the mind alone; his musical compositions and his versatility as a performer should be recalled in this regard, as well as the fact that, as a practising Sufi, he lived concretely in accordance with the supernal truths which he expounded doctrinally. In this there is another important lesson for the present generation of Muslims, for whom solutions lie “out there”, in the world, rather than beginning in one’s own soul; indeed, one must turn to the spiritual world within as the necessary condition for working on the world without, in accordance with the prophetic designation of this condition as the Jihad al-Akbar, which continues throughout our lives; herein lies one answer to the question posed by Usman Bakr in his introduction, namely, the relevance of al-Farabi to today’s world.

One could say that this spiritual imperative is implicit in Osman Bakr’s assertion, in response to his own question:

Just as al-Farabi responded to the urgent needs of the Islamic world in coming to terms with intellectual challenges from non-Muslim sources,”... It is now our turn to formulate a veritable Islamic response to the challenge of our times, namely the challenge of secular modern thought”. By definition, secular thought entirely excludes all notions of spiritual development, and must therefore be countered most emphatically at this very fundamental level, before proceeding to other secondary matters. The importance of establishing this priority of the spiritual over the material emerges very clearly if we dwell a little on the way in which we can benefit from al-Farabi and the great philosophers and sages of the Islamic tradition in relation to this challenge of our times.

In such a study of these figures, it is important not so much to register the specific Islamic responses to this or that particular idea of a Plato or an

Aristotle, but rather to appreciate the principles involved in the formulation of these responses, and then to apply these principles concretely to our current situation. The key principle guiding this process can be said to have been discernment between the essential and the non essential; and on the basis of this discernment, a recognition of that which could be assimilated into the Islamic framework and that which must be rejected. In this way, those positive features of other philosophical traditions were not only absorbed into the Islamic world and Islamised, but indeed served to enrich that world, adding further to its vitality, comprehensiveness and self-confidence. Now in today's world, the scope and intensity of the intellectual challenge far exceeds that faced by our medieval ancestors, but this serves only to further underline the necessity of basing all our efforts upon that principle of discernment referred to above; and this intellectual discernment of the essential can arise only out of a spiritual consciousness shaped and infused by the barakah of the Qur'an and the soul of the Holy Prophet (upon him be peace and blessings) and nourished by the genuine fruits of the Islamic tradition; it is in this way that the study of such a towering figure as al-Farabi can be regarded as a complement to that ever present imperative of Divine Guidance by the sources of the Islamic revelation.

However, many are the proponents of the current Islamic revival who reject the Islamic civilization of the past, along with its great philosophers, in the name of an ostensible return to the pristine purity of the apostolic age, and in the belief that the Qur'an and the Sunnah provide the necessary and sufficient directives for all aspects of contemporary society; to this we would reply that while these sources of Divine Guidance do indeed contain all requisite principles - either explicitly or implicitly - the concrete application thereof to any given social reality is another issue; and we have much to learn from the ways in which this application was effected in variegated historical circumstances and-in the light of the elaboration and explication of tenets and principles contained within the sources of Revelation. It must be stressed that if these sources are regarded as universally applicable, then they must by

definition be of a principial nature, requiring interpretation and creative application to different circumstances, rather than offering detailed and precise “programmes” for the innumerable possibilities of social organisation. We thus return again to that essential pre-requisite for any authentic and integral revival of Islam: consciousness of the essential truths of the faith, which alone can give rise to a correct discernment between that which is in conformity with the spirit of Islam, and that which contradicts it.

A very basic point must be made in this connection: one of the most insidious - because so largely unnoticed - influences of modern secular thought upon Muslims is the downgrading of contemplation in relation to action. Because western ideologies are so exclusively concerned with this world, the emphasis is placed entirely on action, on “changing the world”; the traditional subordination of action to contemplation is thus subverted, and one is made to forget the essential truth that action in the world is but a secondary mode of our obedience to the Spirit, and that unless action be the fruit of contemplation upon the Spirit, it will be either futile or destructive. And the priority of consciousness preceding action is indisputably established in the Prophetic paradigm itself: social organisation in Medina coming only after spiritual perfection in Mecca. In the light of the above it should be clear that in prescribing their remedies for the malaise of western secularism, many modern Muslims are unwittingly reinforcing some of the most powerful root causes of the illness itself, whilst addressing themselves only to some of the more obvious symptoms. This is particularly apparent in the quest for an Islamic science which pretends to ‘Islamize’ western science whilst not even recognition, let alone rejecting, the anti-metaphysical, anti-religious premises on which western science is predicated, and over-looking the fundamentally anti-religious values embodied in western technology. On the level of society we see a bewildering variety of contradictory ‘solutions’ to political, economic and social problems, but all too little attention directed to that spiritual consciousness without which all such ‘solutions’ are quite ineffectual and contribute only to further confusion. Unless the attempts at reviving

Islam be built upon the foundation of spiritual awareness, and supported by the pillars of intellectual discernment and ethical rectitude, then the edifice collapses. It is to these essentials that a book such as this is addressed. The endeavour to submit to the Divine is an imperative which calls forth all our resources, and it would be unwise to turn our backs on the guiding lights of our heritage, those luminaries who had realized to such a high degree the essential truths of the Islamic Revelation, and who were thus enabled to impart to us those keys of understanding of which we stand in such urgent need today.

SUFI WOMEN: WOMEN WHO TROD THE PATH OF PIETY

DR. JAVED NURBAKHSH

Publisher:- Khaniqabi-Nimatullah Publications, New York, 1983,

For Muslim men and women;

For believing men and women,

For devout men and women,

For men and women who are patient and constant;

For men and women who humble themselves;

For men and women who give in charity;

For men and women who fast and deny themselves;

For men and women who guard their chastity;

And for men and women who engage in the praise of Allah;

For them Allah has prepared forgiveness and a vast reward.

(Quran XXXIII:35)

According to the above Quranic verse, the faith (Din) of men and women are equal in the sight of Almighty Allah. Although women cannot be

prophets, female saints who attained the peaks of spiritual development have brightened the pages of Islamic history to the present day. The book under review presents anecdotes from the lives of both the well-known and obscure female saints who, forsaking sleep, food and possessions, all were completely devoted to the service of God.

Even in their seclusion, their impact over society was immense. The story is told in this book of the thief who entered Rabia al-Adawiya's humble cottage in Basra only to find nothing to steal. He was about to leave when Rabia called him back.

“If you are really a thief, you cannot go without taking something.” “I could find nothing to steal.”

“Make Wudhu with my pitcher and pray two rakats with me. Then you will never go away empty-handed.”

The thief obeyed and found such delight in his namaz that he prayed the whole night with her. Morning found him completely transformed, prostrate on the floor in repentance.

In this book several stories are told of cruel, greedy, corrupt and unjust kings, princes, ministers and governors who made tearful repentance at the feet of these holy women and joined the ranks of the pious ones.

Stories are also related here of ferocious Wild beasts who became gentle and tractable in the company of these saintly women. The story is told of a holy shepherdess grazing her flock of sheep next to a pack of wolves. The wolves did not prey on the sheep, the message of this tale being that peace with God means peace with nature.

In this age of materialism, the spirituality of these women will at first seem strange and incomprehensible to the modern, secular mind for the two mental outlooks are irreconcilable. This book, like no other, demonstrates the hollowness of Women's Lib., showing what women, faithful to their

innate femininity can accomplish and aspire to, thus proving once and for all why the knowledge of the mind must always remain inferior to the wisdom which comes from the illuminated heart.

Maryam Jameelah

RISALA-YI NURIYYA-YI SULTANIYYA SHAYKH 'ABD AL-HAQQ MUHADDITH DIHLAWI

Edited, Introduced and Annotated

by Dr Muhammad Saleem Akhtar

Publisher: Islamabad: Iran Pakistan Institute of

Persian Studies, 1985, pp.165, price Rs.25/-

In the annals of Muslim India the 'Ulama have often rendered assistance to the contemporary Muslim rulers in the form of advice based on Shari'ah, so that the latter could carry on the day to day administrative work in accordance with the injunctions of Islam. Unlike some of the Caliphs or Sultans,¹ the Muslim rulers of India very rarely ordered the 'Ulama' to compose the Manuals of Administration for their guidance. Here the 'Ulama' themselves came to the rescue voluntarily. Some examples may be quoted by way of illustration. The Adab al-Harb of Fakhr-i Mudabbir written in the reign of Sultan Shams al-Din Iltutmish (1211-1236 A.C), though essentially a dissertation on the art of war, yet his remarks are very well-meaning as far as an ideal Muslim ruler is concerned. This work strictly speaking is not an Indian work, as the author was by no means an Indian and had been in India on some business when he composed this celebrated work. The Zakhirat al-Muluk of 'Ali Jayyid Hamadani (written towards the end of 14th century A.C) in spite of his closer contacts with the rulers of Kashmir cannot be listed among works on the pre-Mughal Indo-Muslim thought, as the author

hailed from Hamadan, visited Kashmir thrice, founded his Khanqah there and played a prominent role in the conversion of the local population to Islam.² This work deals more with ethics and mysticism than with government and administration; yet it does acquaint us with the standpoint of the mystics concerning their ideal of a Muslim government. The *Fatawa-i-Jahandari* of Diya' al-Din Barani written in the reign of Firuz Shah Tughluq (1351-1388 A.C) is the only authoritative treatise ever written (based on Shari'ah) on the nature and objectives of government and the duties and functions of the Sultan as a ruler and an individual. During the pre-Mughal period of the Muslim history of Indo-Pakistan (i.e., 1206 - 1526 A.C) this is the only extant work on statecraft, government and administration.

With the advent of the Mughals in Indo-Pakistan, the art of history writing became a favoured occupation of the intelligentsia and innumerable works on history and manuals of administration were written during this period. Amongst the earliest of treatises dealing with the administration, the one written by Shaykh 'Abd al-Haqq Muhaddith Dihlawi (1551 - 1642 A.C) is presently under review as below:

A word about Shaykh 'Abd al Haqq Muhaddith Dihlawi (1551 - 1642 A.C). He was the son of a celebrated 'Alim Shaykh Sayf al-Din Sayfi.

I For example, Caliph Muta'sim (834-842 A.C) commanded the writing of *Suluk al-Muluk* for his benefit. Malikshah Saljuqi (1072-1802 A.C) ordered Nizam al-Mulk Tusi to compose *Siyasat Namah*.

2. *Khazinat al-Asfiya'*, Mufti Ghulam Sarwar, Lahori Nawal Kishore Press, Vol.II, pp.293-299 Qadiri. Shaykh 'Abd al-Haqq Muhaddith Dihlawi was a prolific writer and a celebrated author of about a hundred books dealing

with innumerable subjects, e.g., Jurisprudence,

Traditions, Grammar, Logic, Morals, History, commentary, Sufism, career of the PROPHET, etc - all amply exposing the versatility of his genius. Nature had endowed him with a natural reverence and a large heartedness that combined within itself the excessive extravagance of the Sufis, the meticulousness, precision and penetration of the righteous Ulama' as one powerful current of spiritual exertions. His priceless Akhbar al Akhbar dealing with the biographies of about three hundred saints earned him lavish praises from Jahangir (1605-27 A.C) in his immortal Tuzuk. Dara Shukuh in his Sakinat al-Auliya' honoured him by calling him IMAM AL-MUHADDITHIN of the times. The Shaykh considered history a moral discipline and religion teaching by examples. He has had a lion's share in popularizing the science of Hadith in Indo-Pakistan and he himself was its matchless exponent and interpreter. He was also a poet of excellence; HAQQI was his nom-de-plume and he was the proud composer of as many as half a million verses.

The work under review, Risala-yi Nuriyya-yi Sultaniyya, was written by the Shaykh for the benefit of Emperor Jahangir as a sort of assistance to stabilize his government (in the light of the Shari'ah) which had received a setback under the heterodox policies of Akbar. This treatise is virtually a mirror for princes and is indeed very valuable in depicting the political conditions as prevailing in the 16th and 17th centuries.

The learned editor discovered three copies of the manuscript under review, two in the Delhi Persian Collection of the India Office and Records, London) and the third in the Islamia College Library, Peshawar; he carefully compared the texts of the three copies with one another and succeeded in presenting us a re-cession free from flaws and discrepancies. He has also placed us under a heavy debt of gratitude by adding to it a scholarly introduction and a bevy of fuller explanatory notes on vague and ambiguous terms. The present work is neatly printed on a durable paper and is a useful addition to the literature on Mughal administration.

Dr. Iftikhar Ahmad Ghauri