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LOUIS MASSIGNON'S NOTES ON KITAB AL TAWASIN

Translation: R. A. Butler

Introduction

Abu al Mughith al- Husain ibn Mansūr al Hallaj, the celebrated Sufi of the fourth/tenth century, was also a great intellectual of his time. He compiled his sweeping views, deep thoughts, and penetrating intuitions in the Kitab al-Tawasin. Louis Massignon, the famous French orientalist, edited it from two manuscripts, added his own precious references, explanations, and footnotes; and published it from Paris in 1913. A number of points and gross misunderstandings about Hallaj are clarified by the text of the Kitab al Tawasin, as well as by the researches conducted by Louis Massignon leading to his editorial notes and explanations. The Academy approached Father R. A. Butler to translate those notes and explanations from French. The Arabic text of the Kitab al Tawasin is spread over from p. 9 to p. 78 of the publication.

KITAB AL TAWASIN

Establishing the Text

The manuscripts

We have traced two incomplete manuscripts, here called A and B. A is the Arabic Ms. British Museum Add. 9692 (Catal. No. DCCCLXXXVIII, paragr. 14, p. 405b-406a), fos. 317a-322b. The extract contained there is given without its title; the handwriting, with Maghrebine punctuation¹, points to a careless scribe, but one well acquainted with Sufi terminology: this copy may originate from between the 15th and 17th century (according to Rieu, Catal. 1. c. above). We have described elsewhere how thanks to a quotation by al Suhrawardi al Magtūl² we have restored to this extract its correct title.

B.—Later, in April 1911, we were lucky enough to trace the work, already known³, of Rūzbahan al Baqli (d.606/1209) in the anonymous Shathiyat listed No. 1290 (correctly 1271), p. 103 in the printed catalogue of Da mad Zadeh Qadhi 'askar (Monla) Muhammad Murad Library in Istanbul.⁴ In the last book of Rūzbahan's writing we found his Sharh al Tawasin⁵, a commentary on al Hallaj's work which contains a sentence by sentence translation of this work in Persian. From this we can be sure of its title. We give here this Persian translation under B. in front of text A. It is invaluable for the understanding of this work.

¹ We have re-established the Oriental punctuation in our text A.

² Cf. Rev. Hist. Rel. LXIII-2, 1911, p. 200, n. 5.

³ Founded 1189/1775 in the "Tchahar Shambah" district. Catalogue published in 1311/1893, 179 pages.

⁴ Cf. Jami, Nafahat al this. page 64 and 288, and Hajj Khalifah, No. 7522, ed. by Flugel, IV, 38

⁵ Quoted among his works by Ibn Junayd in his Shadd al izar, ms. MB. Supp 677, f°111a (cf. bibliogr. 591-a-2°).

A comparison of the two texts even when making allowance for the omissions committed, reveals very deep divergences regarding the grouping of certain chapters, and shows the earlier existence of two quite distinct recensions.⁶

Thus re-established, there is no guarantee that our text is complete. But we have at least been able to establish the approximate number of the chapters: the titles of chapter I, II and VI appear explicitly in al Baqli's commentary, f°175b; further, those of chapter III, IV, V and VI are on f°190a, and those of chapter VII, VIII, IX and X on f° 108b, 110a and 1 llb. On the other hand, the copyist of ms. A has interpolated, without understanding them, those of chapter II and VI, on f°317b and 319b, at the end of the text, without any special signs. In the same way the last piece, which shows a homogeneous development, has been provisionally isolated as an independent 11th chapter.⁷

For easy use of references the text has been divided into paragraphs, following in this, as far as possible, the way in which al Baqli had divided his commentary for the purpose of inserting

⁶ Text A reads thus: a (1°-17°), b (1°-8°), c (1°-11°), d (1°-11°), a (1°11', 13°-22°, 31°-33°, 23-0300, 34°-39°) f (1°-9°, 11°-35°), g (1°-5°), h (2°-10°), i (1°-7°) j (missing), k (1°-26°).

Text B reads thus: a (1°-2°, 5°-17°) b (1°-8°) c (1°-12°), d (1°-11°) e (1°-20°, 23°-39°) f (1°.2°, 4°-3°, 5°-19, 35°-36°), g (1°-4°), f (30°34°), h (1°-10'. i (1°-2°, 8°-14°), j (1°24°1.

⁷ Entitled Bust an al ma'rifah in ms. Sulaymaniyah 1028 (majmtl'ah, 25th risalah; fol. 1-3): this title is the 38th of the list of al Hallaj's works in ms. Berlin KB 15.

his clarifications. Ms. A has neither paragraphs⁸ nor divisions nor glosses.⁹ It only reports six times the name of the author (cf. below 11-e-24°, e- 31°, - f-1°, - f-18°; f-20°, k-1°) and gives in the margin the words which the copyist found missing on a second reading after the dictation.

C.- Al Baqli's commentary itself shows interesting variants from the text of his Persian version. They will be found mentioned under

C.

D.—Second Ms. of the Shathiyat found back in April 1912.¹⁰
Authenticity of the Text

Early Quotations

Although Ms. A is only a copy dating approximately from the 16th century and the Persian translation was made only in 570/1174 from an Arabic original, we will see further on that the *Kitab al Tawasin* as it is published here, undoubtedly does include, if not a work by, al Hallaj himself, at least the work listed under his name in *Kitab al Fihrist*, only about sixty years after his death in No. 1 of the “*Corpus Hallāgiacum*” under the title *Kitab Ta Sin al Azal*, which is the incomplete title of chapter 6 (f) of *Kitab al Tawasin*.

⁸ Except for the four short pieces of verse found there.

⁹ Except in 11-b-3° (?).

¹⁰ In manuscript Shahid 'Ali Pasha 1342 (*majmu'ah*, 19th risalah (185 pages) copied on Wednesday 29 Jumada II, 849/1445; the *Tawasin* commentary covers pp. 147.168).

It seems that a personal disciple of the master had a final hand in the classification of the paragraphs of this work which, in all its parts and to the highest degree, shows the characteristics of al Hallaj's style: at times full of harsh, concentrated vehemence, at times with enthusiastic volubility and the clashing of inimitable verbal subtleties.

This may explain the passage where it is said (11-e-3^o) that the one who has not plumbed the depths of his doctrine and has stopped at the “second circle“, has spoken of him as “al 'Alim ar rabbani“, the “Master instructed by the Lord”.¹¹ This is precisely the historic word¹² of Ibn Khafif (died at the age of hundred in 371/982) about al Hallaj whom he had visited in jail. There seems little likeliness that Ibn Khan if would have drawn this word from al Hallaj's work.

Another passage appears still more clearly interpolated: in chapter VI (f), paragr.20^o-25^o where al Hallaj, comparing himself to his masters Iblis and Fir'awn, repeats the famous word “Ana al Haqq” in an allusion¹³ to his own execution.

Besides, in al Baqli's version this passage is not given at its proper place (f^o108a), perhaps simply because he had already

¹¹ Possessor of the infused knowledge, but the word belongs to the Hallajian (cf 170-d 129^o) and the Salimiyān vocabulary (Qut I, 142).

¹² Cf. the Sufi Tabaqāt, from those of al Sulami on to those of al Sha' rani (ed. 1305/1887, I, p. 107).

¹³ In the present or the future? The text is ambiguous; one might suppose that while waiting in jail for the inevitable execution, he could foretell with some accuracy the kind of punishment established by Quranic law for the crime of which he was accused.

translated it earlier¹⁴, in the second book of his *Shathiyat* (f°148 of the Ms. in its present pagination which was upset by the binder)¹⁵ and felt it useless to reproduce it a second time.

In case the proof taken from these two interpolations were found corroborated by other arguments, it would be possible, without being implausible to attribute this revision post mortem to one of al Hallaj's immediate disciples whom the hostile texts denounce as “the prophet “¹⁶ of this pretended God ; which means that he noted down his revelations for the purpose of spreading them among the people, i.e. that he edited his works. Moreover, a twofold similarity in the use of a *konya*, evidently chosen on purpose and with symbolic meaning,¹⁷ identifies him beyond doubt: he is a Hashimite¹⁸ of the Rabi'ah tribe, Abū Bakr Muhammad ibn 'Abd Allah, who for a while was under arrest in 309/922, and became head of the Hallajiyah of Ahwaz and Basrah after the death of his master. He can provisionally be considered as the author of the publication of the *Kitab al Tawasin*, very shortly after the execution of the “martyr.”

¹⁴ Without saying from which work of al Hallaj he took it. Cf. similarly for chap. XI (k-I°, 24° and 25°).

¹⁵ See study in *Bibliographic critique ...* No. 1091-a.

¹⁶ Account of Abu al Hasan Ahmad ibn Yusuf al Tanukhi, in Nishwar, (cf. 162-a-19°).

¹⁷ Abu Mughith and Abu'Umarah are both *kunya* of al Hallaj, the latter 'quoted only in the *Tawasin* (cf. f-20°, k-1°).

¹⁸ Here in the meaning of "family native of al Hashimiyah"?

At any rate, there exists a striking identity between certain¹⁹ propositions of the *Tawasin* and the fragments still extant of al Hallaj's undisputed works as they are preserved in the Sūfi "tafsir" which are compiled from al Sulami (d. 412/1021) onward to al Baqli.

The whole thesis of Iblis of "*Tasin al iltibas*" (cf. below VI f 12°fl.) is already set down with perfect clarity in this fragment of al Husayn ibn Mansūr al Hallaj:²⁰

قال الحسين بن منصور لما قيل لآبليس "اسجد و لادم!" "خطب الحق" ارفع²¹
شرف السجود عن سرى الاك²² حتى اسجد له؟ ان كنت امرتنى²³ فقد
نهيتنى".²⁴ قال²⁵ "فانى اعذبك الابد!"²⁶ فقال²⁷ "او لست ترانى فى عذابك
لى؟" قال "بلى". فقال فرويتك لى تحملنى²⁸ على روية العذاب! افعل لى
ماشئت". فقال²⁹ "انى اجعلك رجيمًا". قال ابليس "اوليس لك بحامد³⁰ سوى

¹⁹ Perhaps all; but the Hallajian type of "Muhammad" in the fragments known by now does not fully coincide with the one of *Tasin al Siraj*.

²⁰ Preserved by al Baqli (*Tafsir*, in Qur. II, 32): Ms. KB and ms. NO; is missing in ms. QA.

²¹ Ms. KB: 63.1

²² Corr. Goldziher; ms. KB: '- VI Missing in NO.

²³ . cS•y"ll (sic) in KB,

²⁴ i in KB.

²⁵ Ms. KB: j.,lal) Q7.

²⁶ + dl (in NO.)

²⁷ Ms. KB: j.,lal) Q7.

²⁸ Missing in KB. 28. Ms. KB:"

²⁹ . + (in NO).

³⁰ ylxa t,I (sic) in KB ; cf. Qur. XXIX, 9, XXXVI. 81, XLIII. 50,

غيرك؟ افعل بي³¹ ماشئت”-

“When Iblis was told 'worship Adam', he spoke to God: Did then any other than Thou dare deprive my conscience of its honour as a worshipper, so that I may worship Adam! If Thou bast ordered it to me, it is after having forbidden it to me! God: I will chastise you eternally. Iblis: Willst Thou not look at me while chastising me? God: Yes, certainly I will! Ibl is: But then Thy sight of me will lift me above the sight of my chastisement! Do with me according to Thy will. God: I will make of you the “one worthy to be stoned!” Iblis: Hast Thou³², for Thy praise, only another than Thy self?³³ Then do with me according to Thy will!”

As regards al Hallaj's theory of the 'veil of the name', the veil in which the beings are shrouded, limited, defined, which by the very fact protects them from the radiance of God's omnipotence, it is pointed out here, in Bustan al ma'rifah (cf. below k-15°), in the same terms as in the famous sentence:³⁴

“حجبهم بالاسم فعاشوا، ولو ابرز لهم علوم القدرة لطاشوا، ولو كشف لهم

عن الحقيقة لماتوا”

³¹ XLVI, 32-33.KB: J Meaning: Art

³² Thou not, for Thyself, "the one who glorifies Thee", to the exclusion of any other than Thyself ?

³³ c-C belongs to,a,>

³⁴ First sentence of al Hallaj in the collections of Sufi Tabaqat, from Sulami's on to Sha'rani's.

“(On creating them) He has sheltered them under the veil of the name, and so they live; but if He would show them the sciences of His Power, they would faint away; and if He would reveal to them the reality, they would die.”

Finally, al Hallaj's special theory of the “Primordial Wisdom” which is God himself and in which the saints are one with Him, is exposed in the same pressing as in dialectical terms formulae that ma'rifah .Bustan (cf. below, XI,=k) k) k) as well Preserved in al Kalabadi s Hallajian fragments (143-a-13°,16°,17°,48°, 49°,51°,52°) and in the quotations of al Sulami (170-a-21°) and of al Baqli (380-a-33°,34°).

The work which fell under the official proscription of vizier Hamid ibn al 'Abbas,³⁵ must have been spread secretly and with great speed among the initiated.

1°: about 360/971:

We know that in Basrah a group of Sunni theologians with mystical leanings, of the Salimiyah school³⁶, took on from the outset the defense of al Hallaj's orthodoxy and even sanctity. It is therefore not surprising that the first allusions to the Kitab al Tawasin can be noticed, as we think, in a mystical work which one of the moderate members of this school had composed with great prudence.

³⁵ Cf. Ibn Zanji, in *AI Khatib Tarjamat al Hallaj* (cf 125-a-55°).

³⁶ Disciples of Abu Muhammad Ibn Salim who, like him, was a pupil of Sahl al Tustari.

It is the Qut al Qulub of Abu Talib al Makki (d.380/990), a work of great importance in the history of Islamic thought, when one considers that the main propositions of al Ghazali's Ihya 'ulum al din have simply and solely been borrowed from there, without any acknowledgement on his part.³⁷ Three passages from Qut al Qulub seem to reflect perhaps indirectly, the theories of the Tawasin:

- 1° Qūt II, 77 (chapter on the “maqam al khullah”) where in praise of his master Ibn Salim, al Makki declares that “his soul has freed itself from the space”,³⁸ طوى عنه المكان a word which al Suhrawardi of Aleppo links formally with the word of the Tawasin on the Prophet “غمض العين عن الابن”, “He has blinked his eye out of the 'Where' “(below b-7°).

- 2° Qut II,79 (same chapter) defines the Primordial Wisdom, “following” masters who remain unnamed:

“المعرفة الاصلية التي هي اهل المقامات و مكان المشاهدات، فهي عندهم

اوحدة لان المعروف بها واحد، و المتعرف عنها و احد”

³⁷ Later, al Ghazali admitted, en passant, the debt he had towards this book. (Cf. Al Munqid min al dhalal, Cairo edition, 1303, p. 28; the verse cited on p. 33 is from Qut al Qulub II, 78).

³⁸ Text:

which is the paraphrase of the Hallagian doctrine in Bustan al ma'rifah (cf. below k-1°fl.) as well as in the parallel fragments mentioned above.

- 3° Qūt I,47 (Dikr mu'amalat al 'abd fi al tilawah) refers to the theory that the recitation of the Qur'an must fix in the reciter the idea that it is God Himself who recites as the recitation goes on:

“و ليس للعبد في كلامه كلام، و انما جعل له حركة اللسان بوصفه... كما كانت الشجرة وجهة لموسى عليه السلام وكلمه الله عزوجل منها...”

“And the word belongs not to the faithful during the recitation, it is God who puts him within that movement of the reciting tongue ... like the (Burning) Bush in front of Moses from whose midst God spoke to him”. This is almost literally a repetition of al Hallaj's doctrine at this very place (below c-7).

2°: about 365/976:

In an unnamed work the Baghdad! Sufi Abu al Husayn ibn Muhammad ibn Sam'u'n (d. 387/997) writes this³⁹, as reported by ibn Hazm:⁴⁰

[و رايت لرجل منهم يعرف بابن شمعون كلا منا نصه]

³⁹ Biography in Jami, Nafahat al Uns, ed. Lees, pp. 260-261, and in Ms. Köprulu 1167; cf. Amedroz, in JRAS, July 1912, pp. 584-586.

⁴⁰ "Milal ... " IV, 226 (corr. the name). Cf. ZDMG. t. LIII, p. 68

“ان لله تعالى مائة اسم و ان الموفى⁴¹ مائة هو ستة و ثلاثون حرفا ليس منها
في حروف الهجاء شيء الا واحد فقط و بذلك الواحد يصل اهل المقامات الى
الحق”

“God has a hundred names, and the one which completes this total (i.e. the hundredth) has 36 letters of which only one is found in the alphabet: the one by which those who have ascended the stages of mystical life, obtain admittance to God.”

This doctrine derives from the Tawasin (cf. 1 1-e-26°fl.).

3°: about 377/988:

No. 1 of al Hallaj's works as listed by Ibn al Nadim al Warraq (Kitab al Fihrist, ed. Flügel, I, 192) is the Kitab Tasin al Azal⁴² = chapter 6 of the Tawasin.

4°: about 410/1009:

In the Akhbar al Hallaj⁴³ which are earlier than Ibn Bākūyeh (d. 442/1050) who gave a sort of summary of them⁴⁴, a fragment

⁴¹ The one which completes the hundred after the 99 known names of God, the "Ism A'zam". Cf. already al Tirmidi (d. 255/869) Khatam al Awliya, quest. 131 to 141.

⁴² Title I stops there (cf. p. I, n. 3).

⁴³ Mss. MB 888, fol. 333a-341a, Sulaymaniyah 1028, XXV, fol. 3-15.

⁴⁴ Kitab bidayat ha! al H... wa nihayatihi, in ms. Zahiriyah, Damascus, catal. p. 30, No.

of al Hallaj's works is found, and the Hallajian disciple who had handed it on, gave this reply to a witness who was inquiring about the significance of its text⁴⁵:

“لا يسلم لآحد معناها الا الرسول لله صلعم استحقاقا ولي تبعاً”

“The meaning of this passage is accessible only to the Prophet (may salat and peace be upon him !) because he had by himself a right to it, and to me, because I imitate him.” This seems to have been inspired by two passages of the *Tawasin* (b-7°, e-25°). Further, there is⁴⁶, on the authority of Ahmad ibn 'Asim al Baydhawi, a diluted tercet recension of the distich “Juhudi laka taqdisu ...

(cf. below f-10°). Leaving out the introduction in rhymed prose on the method of “tanzih “that is implied in the true notion of God (cf. above, p. II, the cited 'aqidah, and below p. 7) it reads thus:

سمعت الحسين بن منصور يملئ على بعض تلامذة

ان ... الله ... لا تصوره خطرة، ولا تعتريه فترة، من عرفه طا(ش) و انشايقول

جنوني لك تقديس وطني فيك تهويس

81 (majmu'ah).

⁴⁵ Ms. MB 888, f°339b, Ms. Sol. f.

⁴⁶ Ms. MB 888, 1° 336b.

و قد حيرنى حب و طرف فيه تقديس

و قد دل دليل الحب ان القرب تلبيس

“I heard al Husayn ibn Mansur dictate to one of his disciples: “God whom no intuition can represent, whom no prophet less age can attain; he who has known Him, becomes insane”; and he began to recite: “My madness is Thy holiness! My understanding is in Thee mere extravagance! Ah! the beloved one has dazzled me, forcing my gaze away! He who is the guide towards love, has shown that at a closer look every thing appears equivocal!”

5°: about 430/1029:

In Abu al Qasim al Qushayri's (d. 465/1074) Quran commentary *Latayf al isharat* . . . ⁴⁷ we find for the first time a passage literally borrowed from the *Tawasin* (cf. below 11 f-10°) for comment upon verse XV,42; the distich “Juhūdi ...

“... فالخواص عباده الذين محاهم عن شواهدهم --- و صانهم عن اسباب
الفرقة... باستهلا كههم في شهوده استغراقهم في وجوده، فای سبيل للشيطان
اليهم وای يد للعدو عليهم، و من اشهده الحق حقائق التوحيد و راى العالم
معترفا في ثقة التقدير لم يكن نهبا للاغيار فمتى يكون للغير عليه تسلط، في معناه

⁴⁷ Ms. Yéni Jami' No. 101, p. 175. Al Qushayri quotes it again in Qur. XXIII, 99.

قالوا جودى لك تقدیس و عقلی فیک تهویس فمن آدم الاک و من فی البین
ابلیس!

“God's intimates are the faithful whom He has effaced from their own representations . . . whom He has cleansed from the things that kept them separate (from Him) . . . they have annihilated themselves in His own representation, they have been drowned in His own essence. How then would Satan attain them, how would the enemy take them by surprise? He whom God has shown the realities of the Tawhid, he who has seen the world's balance as it is established in the Creator's plan, how would other things entrap him, when would another than God ever be able to take him over ? It is in this sense⁴⁸ that it has been said:⁴⁹

(distich in Hazaj metre):

“By my refusal (to adore Adam), Thou affirmst his holiness !
Ah, my reason is folly for Thee ! Who is Adam if not Thou ? And
he who is separated⁵⁰, it is Iblis !

6°: about 450/1058:

In his *Kashf al Mahjub*⁵¹ al Hujwiri (d. about 466/1074) recounts an anecdote of Abu at Harith (Thabit) al Bunani, a Sūfi

⁴⁸ Al Qushayri's restricted carefully wording is to be noted.

⁴⁹ Again a restriction: he does not dare to name al Hallaj.

⁵⁰ From Thee; cf. Maqdisi (d. 660/1262) in *Sharh ha! al awliya*, Ms. Paris 1641 f 257a: c.1 4I ti.A'.1 v,JIJ U uj"

⁵¹ Persian text, Engl. transl. by Nicholson, p. 411-412.

of the middle of the second century⁵² who already admitted the ancient theory of Iblis' double name, his former name being 'Azazil⁵³ (cf. here below, f-26°).

He attributes to at Junayd⁵⁴ the authorship of a dialogue with Iblis where Iblis seems to draw inspiration from the theme which the 'Tawasin ascribe to him.

7°: about 580/1184:

In his Kalimat al tasawwuf⁵⁵ al Suhrawardi of Aleppo formally attributes to al Hallaj's Kitab al 'Tawasin a sentence that features here (cf. below b-7°): and his testimony is all the more convincing as we know from his commentary on al Kalabadi's ta'arruf that he had made direct use of al Hallaj's works themselves.

8°: about 580/1184:

Rūzbahan al Baqli (d.606/1209), apart from his commentary on the 'Tawasin referred to here above, quotes the 'Tawasin in his other works: the distich Juhudi (11-f-10°) in his 'Tafsir (380-a-17, 26°) and two fragments of the 'Tawasin (11-f-20°fl.k-1°) in his Shathiyat (1091-a-158°,201°), before the last book which is devoted to comment on the 'Tawasin.

9°: about 580/1184: seems to have Farid al Din 'Attar (d. aged 100 about 620/1223) known the 'Tawasin at least indirectly,

⁵² Cf. al Makki, Qut al Qulub, I, 47, 60 . . . and Sha'rani, 1. c. I. 35-36-

⁵³ Correct the punctuation 'Azrail adopted by Nicholson.

⁵⁴ Pp. 129-130.

⁵⁵ Ms. India Office, Persian 1922 No. 5, f° 24°-30°.

since he develops their allegory of the butterfly and the candle (cf. 11-b-2° fl.) from his al Taysr (cf. 1 1001-e-1°). But the following passage⁵⁶ Tadhkirat al Awliya proves that he was anxious to show some disapproval of the “revealed” and “divine” character which certain circles of “zanadiqah” Sūfis of Baghdad attributed to the Tawasin:

a) Ed. of Nicholson II, 136:

... - - - مرا عجب آمد از کسی نه روا دارد که از درختی (Qur. xx.14) “انا الله” بر آید و درخت درمیانه نه چرا روا نباشد که از حسین “انا الحق” بر آید و حسین در میان نه و جنانک حق تعالی بزبان عمر سخن گفت که “ان لحق لينطق على لسان عمر” و اینجانه حلول کاردارد و نه اتحاد...-

b) Anonymous Arabic translation entitled Bab fi Manaqib...

al Hallaj:⁵⁷

قیل... - - - و من العجب انهم يسمعون كلام الله تعالى من (Qur. xx.14) الشجرة بانى “انا الله لا اله الا هو” و يقولون “قال الله تعالى” كذا، و لا ينسبونه الى الشجرة، و انهم يسمعون من شجرة وجود ابن منصور “انا الحق” و يقولون “قال

⁵⁶ Cf. 1101-c-14'; perhaps taken over from another author who may also be the source of an analogous passage in al Hujwiri, I.c.

⁵⁷ Cf. 1101-c-B.

ابن منصور "كذا و لا يقولون ان "الله قال كذا بلسان الحلاج" كما روى ان الله تعالى
تكلم بلسان عمر رضى و لا حلول و لا اتحاد فيه..."

. . . And, a wondrous thing, when they listen⁵⁸ to God speaking through the Burning Bush and saying "it is I, God, the One who alone is God", they say, quoting this word: "God, be praise to Hi has said ... "but they do not attribute it to the Bush; whereas wle they listen⁵⁹ to God speaking through the Burning Bush of Mansūr (al Hallaj's) being and saying "I am the Truth?", they say quoting this word: "Ibn Mansur has said ... "and not "God has said through the mouth of al Hallaj ... "as on the other hand is said in the hadith about 'Umar: "God spoke through his mouth," without there being any "hulul" or "ittihad".

This passage is very important: first, because it expressly has i view two phrases of the Tawasin (11-c-7^o,f-23^o); further, because in order to make them palatable to orthodox thinking, it makes u:

of a hadith about 'Umar which al Baqli employed at the same period and for the same purpose;⁶⁰ and finally, because it gives evidence for the difference between the Hallagian doctrine⁶¹ of the "deification" without confusion nor suppression of the sanctified man, and the monism of the later Sūfis for whom

⁵⁸ When reciting the Quran, Surah Taha.

⁵⁹ When reading the Tawasin.

⁶⁰ Cf. here below; and al Hujwiri Kashf al Mahjub, ed by Nicholson, p. 254.

⁶¹ Condemned by Islam, obviously.

neither the saint nor the “Burning Bush” of Moses' vision personalize the God whose action they both proclaim.

10°:

Ibn 'Arabi (d. 638/1240), the true founder of Arab philosophical Pantheism, examines and adopts, while transforming it, the Hallagian theory of the two dimensions of the level of understanding, *tūl wa 'ardh*, *sunan wa fardh*, which al Hallaj had formulated in his *Kitab al sayhur fi naqdh al dayhur*;⁶² it is analysed in Ibn Arabi's *Futuhāt al Makkiyah*, t. I, p. 188 and t. IV, p. 367⁶³ most of all, in the course of a magnificent eulogy of al Husayn ibn Mansur al Hallaj. Now this theory is recounted in the *Tawasin* (cf. below 11-k-16°) with great clarity.

11°:

Muhibb al Din ibn al Najjar (d. 643/1245) relates,⁶⁴ like al Hujwiri,⁶⁵ an anecdote ascribed to al Junayd, where Iblis explains his refusal in the same manner as in the *Tawasin* (cf. 11-f-13°).

12°:

'Izz al Din al Maqdisi (d.660/1262), the celebrated Shafi'ite teacher, had studied the *Tawasin* closely. In his *Sharh hal al*

⁶² On this work see discussion in Bibliographic 10-c-5°.

⁶³ Printed in Cairo in 1269/1852-1274/1857. Cf. 421-b-I°, 27° Cf. Safadi commentary of Ibn Zaydun, ed. in Baghdad, 1327, pp. 83-84.

⁶⁴ Cf. here above, No. 6.

⁶⁵ Ms. BN• 1641 f° 249a, 257a.

Awliya⁶⁶ certain passages in rhymed prose bear the mark of direct inspiration from them (cf. 11-b-7°,e-23°). And in his famous *Taflis Iblis*⁶⁷ he not only retains the thesis of “Iblis martyr of love “with some adjustments, but also transcribes⁶⁸ entire sentences from the *Tawasin* (cf. 11-f-13°,14°,15°,28°,34°) for further expansion, without telling us from where he takes them.

13°:

'Afif al Din al 'Tilimsani (d.690/1291) while commenting upon the *Mawaqif*⁶⁹, declares, in connection with al Hallaj⁷⁰ and having his “Ana al Haqq” in mind:

“ . . . فعرّف المحجوبين بربه عزوجل فراوه و لم يروا ربه تبارك و تعالی
فانكروا . . . ”

“It was to make known his Lord, praise and glory be to Him! to these blind. But they saw only him (al Hallaj), they did not see his Lord, be He blessed and exalted! And they accused him of lies..., This is exactly the reasoning followed in the *Tawasin* 11-f-23).

14°:

⁶⁶ printed in Cairo 1324/1906.

⁶⁷ Pp. 23, 25, 26.

⁶⁸ Ms. India Office 597, without pagination.

⁶⁹ In *mawqif al dalallah*.

⁷⁰ In his *Ghayat al Surur* (Cf. *Bibliographic ...* 531-a, and *Rev. Hist.*

'Ali al Jildaki (d.743/1342), the alchemist, notes⁷¹ that the author of the *Talwihat*⁷² based himself on a sentence from al Hallaj's *Tawasin*⁷³

150:

Towards 791/1389⁷⁴ Ibn Junayd al Shirazi mentions the commentary on the *Tawasin* by al Baqli (cf. above).

16°:

'Abd al Karim al Jili (d. about 826/1423)⁷⁵ figures out a theory of his own of the Islamic hell⁷⁶ where, he says, besides criminals perpetual despair are found sufferers that are in love with their torments, and holy souls, among the damned, “whom God has placed in hell so as to spread His light through them and rest His gaze on them “while He is fathoming hell: t. II, p. 35

“ - . اعلم ان من اهل النار آماسا، عند الله افضل من كثير من اهل الجنة، ادخلهم دارالشقاوة ليتجلى عليهم فيها فيكون محل نظره من الاشقياء، و هذه سر غريب، و امر عجيب، بفعل ما يشا و يحكم ما يريد”

⁷¹ It is al Suhrawardi of Aleppo.

⁷² Cf. 11-b-7°.

⁷³ In *Shadd al izar*. Cf. Bibliogr. 591-a.

⁷⁴ Buried in Baghdad on the left river bank, near the present Sultan 'Ali mosque, in a small oratory named after him.

⁷⁵ In *Al Insan al Kamil*, Cairo ed. 1304 t. II, p. 35.

⁷⁶ Cf. *Rev. Hist. Relig.* LXIII-2, 1911, p. 206, No. 3

This theory, which was regarded as scandalous, seems to originate from the *Tawasin* (cf. 11-f-20°, 31°-35°) coupled with Hindu influences.⁷⁷ It is combined here with the thesis that hell will disappear after the Day of Judgement and that Iblis will recover⁷⁸ that first place he occupied of old in God's entourage when he was called 'Aza.zil (cf. 11-f-18°, 26°).

Similarly his doctrine of transmigration of the “*Insaan al Kamil*” from soul to soul, from the Prophet on to al Shibli, and from al Shibli on to his master Sharaf al Din Isma'il al Jabarti, comes straight from al Hallaj's theory of the *Hūwa hūwa*,⁷⁹ of the “*shahid al ani*”⁸⁰, and from a very formal passage of the *Tawasin* (cf. 1 I-b-5°, 6°. c-8° with the accusations of al Sūl⁸¹ and the letters quoted by al Baghdadi)⁸²,

17°:

Shihab al Din Mahmūd al Alusi (d. 1270/1853), the author of the tafsir *Ruh al Ma'ani*, cites⁸³, among other sentences censured for “monism” (*wandat al wujud*), the following distich of al Hallaj:

⁷⁷ Cf. *Al Insan al Kamil*, II, p 40, line 21.

⁷⁸ Cf. Bibliogr. 1091-a-223°, 224°.

⁷⁹ Cf. Bibliogr. 130-a-1°.

⁸⁰ Bibliogr. 126-a-10°.

⁸¹ Bibliogr. 201-a-20°.

⁸² *Nashwat al mudam ...*, printed in Baghdad 1293/1876, p. 77.

⁸³ Which appears already, it seems, in one of the works of al Kawrani (d. 1101/1690), the author of *Maslak al Mukhtar*. It is not certain that when giving this quotation, al Alusi was aware that al Hallaj had put this distich into Iblis' mouth: it seems that for al Alusi “*Juhudi ., .*” (my refusal) means “my denial of Thee”, O God ... when I say “I am God”

ججودی لک تقدیس، و عقلی
فیک منهوس
فما آدم الاک، و ما فی الکنون
ابلیس

“By my refusal (to worship Adam) Thou affirmst his holiness!
Ah, my reason is for Thee folly! What is Adam if not Thou? And
Iblis, he does not exist!”

This represents a monistic deformation (“ma, fi al kawm “)⁸⁴
of the famous distich of the Tawasin (cf. 11-f-10°).

ANALYSIS OF THE CHAPTERS

Explanation of the Title

Tawasin is the plural of “Ta Sin “: “Ta “and “sin “are, two of
the unexplained initial letters that are found at the head of certain
Quranic surahs: ط and س figure as “awayl al sūwar “in Qur. XXVI
(al Shu'ara), XXVII (al Namal) and XXVIII (al Qisas).⁸⁵

⁸⁴ (Ana al Haqq).

⁸⁵ The choice of letters like these for the title of a mystical work is not entirely
unprecedented. AI Baqli cites also the Ha Mim al qidam of al Wasiti (d. 320/932)
which Jakus al Kurdi attributed to al Hallaj (C, 1° 175b=1091-a-223°, 224°).

As constantly in al Hallaj's work⁸⁶, they stand here for two words of which they are the initial letters: ta of taharah, the (primitive) purity (of the Absolute)", his "tuhuriyah" in the "Azal" (eternity a parte ante), the one which no contingency can tarnish; sin of sana, the "glory ", revealed in the "Abad "(eternity a parte post), the final irradiation (tajalli) of the Absolute.⁸⁷ As to the nun of the end of I Jo, it indicates the "naval ", the gratuitous gift which Divine Truth bestows on the spirits and bodies it comes to inhabit, through the glimmering of its Light, through the attribute of desire and the glamour of love which Truth has predestined to them in the absolute of the Absolute.

This is at least the way in which al Baqli explains them at the beginning of his "Commentary" (f° 175b-176a).

Surname of the author: This is the only work where one reads the name of al Hallaj followed by "∼.. J1 (∼ 1)∼1W) ", or simply the surname "Al Gharib".⁸⁸ It has to be taken here as an epithet like "Doctor Singularis ".⁸⁹

Summary of the Chapters a. I. T5, Sin al siraj:⁹⁰

⁸⁶ Cf. here (a-15°, f-26°), and in the fragments collected by al Sulami (cf. Bibliogr. 170-d-41°, 42°).

⁸⁷ Al Baqli ascribes the same origin to 303b).

⁸⁸ Cf. here e-24°, f-1°, 20°, k-1°, C, f° 171a, 172a=1091-a-213°, 214°).

⁸⁹ In the Western middle-ages "Doctor Illuminatus, Subtilis" etc.

⁹⁰ Here, in particular, the " " (ta) is reminiscent of the Surah

"Ta Ha" (XX), the " " (Sin) of Surah "Ya Sin" (XXXVI) and the " v " (Nun) of Surah "al Nur" (XXIV) (according to Shathiyat, f°176a).

1° Apparition of Muhammad, torch of light of Mystery.

2° God has designated and enlightened him in a special way.

3° His sinlessness as guidance.

4° His mission confirmed by Abū Bakr.

5° Everybody knew who he was: Qur. II,141.

6° He is the very origin and source of all prophetic lights. 7° Prior to all things, even to the Qalam.

8° His existence surpasses all limits of “before “and “after “.

9° It is in him that one sees and knows, for he is “the sign and

the designated “, because he came with the Absolute Word.

10°-13° He exceeds all contingency, for the Truth is in him.

14° He holds sway over his character as a “created being “, for

“he “is “He “, and “I “is “He “, and “He “is” He”. j 15° Mystical value of the four letters of his name.

16°-17° God has established him in his strength and nobody can escape His Wisdom.

b. II. T. Sin al Fahm (“Ta Sin of the Understanding “)⁹¹

⁹¹ Here, in particular, the "ta" designates the "taharah" (purification) of the conscience (sirr) freed from all imagination, and the deluge (tufan) of the Tawhid in it; the "sin" designates the priority (sabaq) of the understanding, and the "nun" the

The intelligence of the creatures is unable to grasp the reality, a fortiori the reality of the reality .. .

2° Image of the butterfly fluttering around the candle where it is caught in the flame and is consumed.

3°-4° Application of the image and its explanation.

5°-6° I would be like this if I were really “He “, as the Sage must be; but that is not so.

7° This was obtained only by Muhammad who “blinked his eye “out of the “where “.

8° His three utterances during his ascension to God.

c. III. T . Sin at safwah (safa).

1°-2° Acceding to reality is difficult: the forty stages of the “salik”.

3° Final arrival in the desert.

4°-6° Arriving there, Moses heard the voice of Truth from the Burning Bush.

7° And I (=al Hallaj), I am like the Burning Bush (God speaks through me).

8°-10° Throw off your creatureliness so that “you “may be “He “and, by proving God, you may understand that He must in you be the “proof “of the “proofs “.

11° Distich (Moses): “Sayyarani at Haqq . . . “, God has made me become the reality itself. 12° The Truth is in me.

d. IV. Ta Sin at dayrah.

1° The route of the Sage to the third circle (circle of the Truth) passing through the door of the first circle (circle of the “reality of the reality “).

20-110 Dangers of this route: in the centre of the third circle: God (Qur. II, 262).

e. V. Ta Sin al nuqtah.

1° The Point (centre of the third circle) is the origin (and I am there).

2° The one who remains in the first circle, calls me “zindiq “.

3° The one who has reached the second circle, calls me “alim rabbani “.

4°7° Even the one who has advanced to the third circle, deceives himself about me and, turning aside, forgets me, whereas he ought to realize that like me he must establish himself in the centre of the divine essence (Qur. LXXV, 11-13).

8°-10° Image of the Sufi bird who finds it too hard to cut his wings in order to join me, and prefers to be drowned in the sea of the understanding.

11° Geometrical scheme of the understanding.

11° bis Quatrain “Ra'aytu Rabbi bi 'ayni qalbi ... “

12° (cf. Scheme No. II): of all the various points interior to the circle one only is the Truth. How to discern it?

13°-15° (One must give up understanding) and proceed like

Muhammad: he drew near to it.. (Qur. LIII, 9, 11)'.
16°-21° The absolute simplicity of his receptiveness* to the divine revelation (Qur. LIII, 4, 2).

22° Imitate him, raise yourself like him above the contingencies. 22° bis Muhammad went near and drew back.

23°-24° Explanation of the “distance of two bow-shots “.

25° Only he who has reached the second bow-shot, will under-stand me.

26°-27° This bow-shot is expressed in letters of which only one belongs to the Arabic alphabet: mim (=ma ahwa: the contents of divine revelation).

28°-30° i.e. the other name (= the string of the first bow).

31° The fullness of speech belongs to God alone, in his reality. 32° Reality is inaccessible

33° The hadith of the “two bows “.

34°-36° The elect of the Lord must renounce every thing, endure every thing.

37°-39° His praise cannot be expressed in a worthy manner.

f. VI. Ta Sin al azal wa al iltibas: fi fahm al fahm fi sihhat al da'awa bi 'aks al ma'ani.

1° Iblis and Muhammad are the only ones in this world who have received the mission from God to announce Him.

2° In appearance both have been called to the same task⁹² and at the hour of trial⁹³ have withstood the temptation in the same way.

3°-5° But having proclaimed his refusal, Iblis persisted in it, whereas Muhammad retracted, seeking refuge in God and confessing that” He turns back the hearts... “

6°-9° Iblis, on the contrary, drove his attachment to the “tawhid” of God to the point of separating Him from every thing,⁹⁴ so as to adore Him in absolute isolation (tajrid) ; as a

⁹² i.e. to proclaim the uniqueness of God, the one in front of the Angels, the other in front of those called "-Asa 19 ~9ezq' Sl j".

⁹³ Muhammad, in the "mi'raj" looking straight in the face of God.

⁹⁴ This tends to show that Iblis was a better "muwahhid" than Muhammad, and asserts that it is not the lucidity of faith which saves, but the humility of loving

consequence, he was cursed when he ended in “tafrid and refused to prostrate himself before Adam (first dialogue with God).

10° The famous distich of Iblis: “Jūhudi laka taqdisu... 11° End of the first dialogue.

12° Tercet of Iblis: “Fama 11 bu'du...

13°-17° Second dialogue: between Moses and Iblis at Sinai. 18°-19° The twofold mission of Iblis.

20°-25° Deliberation between Iblis, Fir'awn and al Hallaj on true “generosity “; the word “Ana al Haqq! “)

26° Symbolic value of the original name of Iblis: 'Azazil. 27°-28° Last dialogue between God and Iblis.

29° Tercet of Iblis: “La talumni . . .

“

30°-32° Ambiguous aspect in the attitude of Iblis enduring his punishment.

33°-3)° He keeps preserving his superior knowledge of God's unity.

g. VII. Ta Sin al mashiyah (= of the decree)

1° Four enclosures have to be penetrated (from the point of view of progressive knowledge) in order to attain the divine essence.

2°-4° Why Iblis refused to penetrate.

5° The fifth enclosure is the abode of the Living God.

h. VIII. Ta Sin al tawhid:

1°-5° Transcendence of the notion of tawhid.

6°-10° A definition is logically inconceivable; as much by the “muwahhid “(man) as by the “muwahhad “(God) or by linking the One with the other.

i. IX. Ta Sin al asrar fi al tawhid:

1° Divine character of the intimate substratum of the consciences (sirr).

2°-3° The “hūwa huwa “is the pronominal ha of every pronoun (hūwa) that is expressed.

4°-14° But God is beyond, and the “tanzih” preliminary to any construction of the notion of “God” is also necessary for the definition of the “tawhid”.

j. Ta Sin al tanzih:

1°-6° Scheme of all possible terms of comparison ; God has to be isolated from all this!

7°-15° God is not even the “huwa hūwa “. Exposition and refutation of all formulae proposed for the “tawhid “(Is it genuine? beyond time? identical with the kalam or the iradah? Is it God from the point of view of the essence? Is it the essence? Is object and denomination one and the same? Does it mean” God is God “?)

16°-19° Negation of all secondary causes from the point of view of the divine essence: the four circles (azal, mafhūmat, ma'lūmat, jihat).

21°-25° Mathematical formulae of “La ilaha ilia Allah! “(nafi wa ithbat).

k. XI. Bustan al ma'rifah (= Orchard of Wisdom, in the meaning of “gnosis”):

1° The wisdom is hidden in the depth of radical “Non-Science”; without localization, nor delimitation, nor enumeration, nor effort, nor tension. a

2° Beyond all things, like God who is its object.

3°-12° Criticism discarding all proposed definitions of Wisdom; transcendence of this notion.

15° The veil of the “name” and the “form “which removes the Creator from all creatures.

16°-17° The two dimensions of the level of the understanding (“length and breadth “) as applied to the domain of ethics

(“behaviour “and “commandment of the law “) and to the physical world (spirits and bodies); wisdom is beyond, out of their reach.

18° It is not man who can claim he possesses it, but God alone.

19°-22° Glorious inaccessibility of Wisdom and distinctive signs of the Sage.

23° The Sage is Wisdom itself and Wisdom is God Himself.

24°25° Ineffable character of all this ; since the Creator remains the Creator, and the Creation the Creation.

COMMENTARY ON THE TAWASIN

by

RUZBAHAN AL BAHLI

Al Baqli begins his commentary on the Tawasin (f° 175b) thus:

“... متفرقات كلام حسين بن منصور را قدس الله روحه شرح داديم،
 طواسينش را بزبان شطاحان بغرايب نكت عبارة كنيم ان شاء الله، زيرا كه ان [از]
 فصيلات رسومي بس عجايبيست، و علومي بس غرايب و فقنا الله بشرحها، و
 ايدنا بكشفها للمسترشدين الصادقين بمنه و جوده”

Following his plan al Baqli takes up the study of the *Tawasin* only after having, in his *Shathiyat* commented upon the most ambiguous sentences of all famous Sūfis, including al Hallaj. Nobody better than he was fitted for such a task. The dictionary of Sūfī “*istilahat*” which he attached to his *Shathiyat*,⁹⁵ is by its precision far above those of al Hujwiri (d.466/1074)⁹⁶, Ibn ' Arabi ' (d. 638/1240), ' Abd al Razzaq al Kashi (d. 730/1330) and al Jurjani (d.816/1413). Moreover he tells us at the end of his commentary⁹⁷ that he made use “of the expressions of the mystics “and “of the symbols of the sages “which is perhaps an allusion to earlier glosses he may have had in hand.⁹⁸

Analysis of and Extracts from al Baqli's Commentary

⁹⁵ . F's 133a-136b.

⁹⁶ In *Kashf al Mahjub*, tr. by Nicholson, pp. 367-392.

⁹⁷ F° 113a, here p. 105.

⁹⁸ They shine through, here and there: b-3°, f-24° (end), f-36', h-7° (end), (end), j-6°, 20', 23', 24°.

The commentary of the Tawasin by al Baqli takes up the third book of the second part of his Shathiyat⁹⁹, as he himself says in the preface¹⁰⁰ - After having pointed out the symbolic meaning of the letters chosen for the title of Hallaj's work,¹⁰¹ he comments upon the text sentence by sentence (f°-176a fl.).

We give here an analysis of those passages only where his utterly diffuse commentary carries useful and precise details about the apology which he sketches with sincerity, but also with an undertone of discomfort.

I. Tasin al siraj (a-1°-17°):

1° ... *برج فلک* refers to Muhammad; cf. Our. XLII, 52; *اماکن قدرت و حکمت اهتزاز*

2° ... *صدرش* ...cf. Our. XCIV, 1-3.

6° ... *انوار او* ... refers to the hadith *در حدیث است که نور او پر همه انوار تقدم داشت*

14° "او او بود", means here the "ayn al jam' "the mystical state which al Baqli explains thus: Muhammad was the sign (literally the

⁹⁹ The present pagination of the present manuscript which had been upset by the binder, runs in the following order: f° 175b-191b, 46b, 105b-113b.

¹⁰⁰ F°.

¹⁰¹ Summary here above, p. 1-2.

miracles (آیات) of God; but the sign(فعل) = the act the attributes (صفات) = in consequence the divine essence (c..13)¹⁰²; cf. the hadith yell SIB L? - X103

II. Tasin al fahm (b-1°-8°):

1° حقیقت: definition of the “tanzih” of God (cf. above, X = j). Cf. Qur. CXII, 1 fl.

3° Al Baqli, while translating this primitive gloss, adds another interpretation to it which agrees with this theory of the “sifah” and of the “dat” ضؤ مصباح تجلی صفت است

and “حرارت مصباح --- تجلی حقیقت صفت است”

7° “نسبتش از حدثان منقطع کرد ماکان محمد ابا احد”

III. Tasin al safa (c-1°-12°):

7° i.e. the word “Anni ... Allah ... “(Qur. XX, 14) was pronounced by the Burning Bush, as the word “Ana al Haqq was pronounced by me. Note after 12°: Al Baqli notes that Moses is taken here as the type of the “salikin “(not of the “majdubin “) whose stages are enumerated. Then he quotes Moses' word

¹⁰² Cf. a more extensive explanation of this in his “tafsir”; cf. here below.

addressed to God (Qur. VII, 140) and observes that “Ana al Haqq
“means” rl c.J.as 'ems va”

i.e. “my tongue is the place through which God is pro-claimed
“, as is said of 'Umar in the haditlo3l.J j.lJ x.13;

J..L ; but this is not “hulul “, as § 8 clearly shows.¹⁰³

IV. Tasin al dayrah (d-1°-11°):

1°-4° (f°- 182a-183b). This symbol of (al) Husayn (ibn) Mansur cannot be understood by the beginners. By the “outer door, above the enclosure “¹⁰⁴ it indicates the divine action, the “فعل حق”, the “shawahid “of the “malkut “which God causes to shine through the world and which the heart of the beginner can only attain through “tafakkur, istidlal... The “second door, inside the enclosure” means the glory of the divine attributes, the ey u,'Iv 'l ., The third door, under the second enclosure “is the light of the origin of the attributes, نور اصل صفات. The “second enclosure” represents the knowledge of the essence, علم صفات, which is superior to the علم صفات a The “point above, on the left side, in the first enclosure is the himmah “of the Sage which is like the kernel of the seed of love in his heart; it is still at the stage of

¹⁰³ Copied from the Gospel text CD sly ..1a9 oily v., John XIV, Early Arabic translation in Ibn Hazm, Fasl . . . , Cairo ed., t. II, p. 67. Al Baqli quotes this hadith in his tafsir (ms. Berlin f° 186a, 332b1.

¹⁰⁴ See fig., above, p. 25, col. 1.

the knowledge of the “sifat” only. The “point below, on the right side, in the second enclosure” is this “himmah” of the Sage after he has attained the knowledge of the essence. The “point in the middle, at the left of the third enclosure” is the “tahayyur”, the bewilderment of this “himmah” in the deserts of the divine Omnipotence, The “third enclosure”¹⁰⁵ is the “knowledge of the essence of the essence” (c13 c.d.; f, Is), and the “point which is in its centre”, the pre-eternity (علم ذات ذات) and the essence of the Absolute (كند قدم) 4° (f°183b). This ultimate Reality (. i-) is the being of God It is 3 S &l,l, 9 _AU; in one.

5° Al Baqli observes that this comparison is difficult to understand, for its purpose is to make us understand the annihilation (!:i) of the creation in the Creator, the bewilderment of man facing the divine qualities, names and attributes, and whirling round in the absolute of the essence and the principle of the absolute reality... Then al Baqli suggests two allegories for the understanding of these “four birds”: a) they are the “four elements”: summon them to appear before you, chop them with the blade of divine ebriety and of zeal, on the anxious threshold of the spirit, lest they might fly off carrying with them the knowledge of the Reality. Once you have destroyed the birds of the elements, torn off the wings of the six dimensions of space, and released the weight of existence from the birds' feet, then neither centuries nor ages nor places nor witnesses will subsist

¹⁰⁵ Represented in the fig. (above, p. 25, col. 1) by a simple point in the centre.

further, and you will reach the world of the Nothingness of the Nothing, where you will be astounded, where you will know who you are. Then will gleam in you the lights of the Absolute, and you will find yourself taken up in Him . . . b) Second allegory: take the four birds of the soul (nafs), the spit it (rah), the reason ('aql) and the heart (qalb), burn them in the fires of “qudrah”, disperse their ashes in the wind of “hikmah” from the peaks of the divinity through the deserts of “wandaniyah”, so that they disperse: the bird of the soul to the depths of “pre-eternity”, the bird of the heart to the glory of “post-eternity”, the bird of the reason to the gleaming lights of the divine “attributes”, and the bird of the spirit to the aura of the “absolute personal essence”. And after having them thus destroyed in God..., call them together again and assemble them in God's eternity, and ask them whether the birds of Pre-eternity, of Post-eternity, of the Attribute and of the Essence were able to teach them by their riddles one single atom of divine Wisdom, Unity and Serenity... The destroyed birds will in their defective language answer you: “No...” Cf.

Hadith ما عرفناك ¹⁰⁶ لا احصى ثناء عليك

and Qur. VI, 91.

6° It means: out of jealousy for His Reality God wants to manifest it only in His isolation (fardaniyah) and thus show the treasure of His absoluteness only to the Nothing (Annihilation is

¹⁰⁶ Cf. in al Kalabadi, Hallagian fragment on this hadith (Bibliogr. 143-a-6').

therefore required before God's manifestation of Himself). Cf. hadith كنت كنزا مخفيا فاحببت ان اعرف

Yet at the apparition of Reality the spirit is paralysed by fear, it is seized with emotion.

11° It means: “fearfully sheltered under the cloak of Reality” Muhammad cried out: “Ah!”, so as “to prevent the Creation” (of his discovery).

V. Tasin al nuqtah (e-1°-39°):

1° Commentary:” بدین نقطه عین عین عین عینیت که موجودات است
”در وجود کنه کنه کنه، و حقیقت علت، که منزهست از مقالت و اشارت...“

2° Husayn here affirms he has attained the high degrees of absolute knowledge. His claim is pardonable, for if uncreated knowledge belongs to God alone, it is however communicated to the Sage to some extent. “He who denies me,” al Husain says, shows that he is still at the stage of the “shawahid” of my “malkut”, whereas I have entered the world of “jabrut”.

3° “He who is at the second enclosure” sees through the light of the “science of the attributes”.

4° “He who arrives at the third enclosure”,¹⁰⁷ wanders through the deserts, struck with emotion, and his sight is still

¹⁰⁷ At the point situated in the middle of the “tahayyur” (cf. above, p. 25, col. 1).

confused by the differences it perceives between the divine attributes; it thus makes him believe that al Hallaj is wrong, as he does not see in the same way.

7° Husayn shows that even he who thus penetrates the ultimate enclosure in Reality, skirts it “without seeing me, me who am drowned” at the very bottom of the “waves of the Absolute”, because he remains preoccupied with the knowledge of himself;¹⁰⁸ he passes on, fleeting, instead of taking refuge in me.

8° The two wings: “himmah” and “halah” of the Sufi.

10° The bird understood at Hallaj's reply, since he drowned himself, Nobody can know God but in God and through God.
12° In this enclosure of the Understanding there exists only one spot where one finds God (حق). The other points are only “the radiance of God's knowledge” (تجلی علم حق); and so every creature is drowned in this ocean of Wisdom, except Muhammad. He endures, like “a pearl in the shell of the divine act”, under “the ground wave in the abyss of the sea of pre-eternal science.”

13° ... غائب... حاضر...، i.e. “absent from himself” when he found himself in God's presence...

23° Al Baqli is here not quite sure of the meaning. He suggests this: the two “qaws” or “bows” are the azal (pre-eternity)

¹⁰⁸ In the following passage he represents this with the image of the bird who wants to continue his flight.

and the abad (post-eternity);¹⁰⁹ they are separated by the “ayn” or the “bayn”. When God decided to admit Muhammad to the essential vision, on this side of the bow of “azal wa abad”, he shot him with the twofold arrow of “dunuw” and “maqam “to the bottom of the essence beyond all contingencies and all beings.

25° He who has entered the second bow, has by the very fact left the created forms. The second bow is the *دنو* *قرب قرب* the *دنو* of the *لوح محفوظ*, whereas the ordinary corresponds to the J;x., cyt of the profane.

27. Al Baqli supposes this “mim” to be the “mim” of i.e., i.e. the secret, the key of “what God has revealed”, the “why” of Revelation. This the Prophet does not communicate to the creatures, for they are not able to bear it.¹¹⁰ Alone the birds of the spirit, who are haunting the waters of these oceans, at their return drop “shells” from their crops, the pearls of the “Ana al Haq”!¹¹¹ and of the “Subhani!”¹¹²

28-29 Al Baqli constructs the following allegory: the first bow is the “mulk fi'l al jabrut”, and its string is the above mentioned

¹⁰⁹ Sahl al Tustari calls this the “sirr al rububiyah”. Its manifestation would destroy every thing (cf. Ibn 'Arabi, *Fusus* . . . ed. 1891, p. 130).

¹¹⁰ It is the explanation to which he gives preference in his tafsir (ms. Berlin 1°138b, 206a, 218), although he there also supposes that the “two bows” designate *الحدوثية* and *الافعالية* (f° 354b).

¹¹¹ The famous word of al Hallaj (cf. in *Der Islam* III, 3 (1912) pp. 248-257).

¹¹² The word of Bistami (cl. id. p. 255).

“mim”; the second bow is the “mulk al malkut”; the arrow from the two bows joined together is the “tajalli al khass”, the intimate enlightenment which God projects on the target of Muhammad's heart. In connection with the “mim”, al Baqli remarks, that absorption into the divine thus leads the mystics to use isolated, enigmatic letters like those found at the beginning of certain surahs.

35 Al Hallaj, “al raf iq al a' la”, shows us here that the Sage has no master, disciple, or friend other than God, and has no other predilection than that for God, without any preference between joy and suffering; he is inferior to God, a desert of sanctity (lost in the) desert of wisdom, sign of the word engulfed in the centre to which it returns.

36° Al Baqli gives here a word by word commentary:

دعوی او صدق است، معنی او رفیق است، معانی او امانیست، (از مشاهده
و مکاشفه امانی او مشاهده حق است) طرقها آن از حلق دور است، (طریقت اور
مستقیم است)، اسم او محمودست، رسم او تفریدست، او در معرفت فرید
است > نکره او از عجز در معرفت نکره است، گناه گارست، گناهش قلب
عرفانست، و آن در نکره وثیقه جمال رحمن است، اسمش وثیقه عبودیتست (آنرا

“عروه وثقی” ارشاد ربوبیت گویند) اسم او عارفست، معرفت طریقت اوست، سمت او حرّقه نیران تجلیست، نحوست¹¹³ امتحان صفت اوست

او ناموس حق است، شמוש حقائق میادین شان اوست،

صورت آدم علیه السلام ایوان اوست (یعنی قلب ایوان اوست)، شیطان عالمش مایوس است، طریق مطموس مجهول شان معرفت اوست، رسم مدرّوس بر جمیع خلق در معرفت عیان اوست، عرائس تجلی بستان روح اوست محو طموس در طمس نفس بنیان سر اوست 37 Further

جند خاطرش منکرست)¹¹⁴ از عشق باطنش، ارکان طبیعتش Further

38

مقشر است از قوت وجد رو حش

اوراق اشجار انوارش در مشارب تجلیست، اکمام اسرارش 39 Further

¹¹³ تحرّش: corr.

¹¹⁴ (Missing in ms. Shahid Ali Pasha).

از اثقال حدثان فارغ است، مقاتلت او سكرست و آن ركن حالت اوست او
عاجز آمد از حمل ابن واردات پنداشت كه او فانی است (190a) او باقی بود،
مادون حالت او غضب حق است، از حق اوراست اصطفایت

Cf. the divine word¹¹⁵ *سبقت رحمتی غضبی*. Then¹¹⁶ he recalls the previous “Ta Sin “: “Safawi “(= Sala), “Dayrah “, “Nuqtah “and announces the following Ta Sin which was “the cause of scandals and calumnies.”¹¹⁷

VI. Tasin al azal wa al iltibas (f-1°-36°):

Introductory remarks of al Baqli: In “Ta. Sin “, in the form of a riddle, we find this mystery of Wisdom which is Predestination: pre-eternal felicity of the blessed;- pre-eternal distress of the damned. It appears under the twofold symbol of Muhammad's election for happiness (gifts of wisdom, mission and prophecy), and of the dam-nation of the chieftain of the Wicked, who “with God's permission played dice and lost the game on the esplanade. He lost his share of felicity “, because he spok in quibbles (iltibas) over the “fahm fahm”¹¹⁸ and used pretences¹¹⁹ that were contrary to his inmost thoughts (bi ' aks al ma'ani).

¹¹⁵ It is not found in the Quran.

¹¹⁶ F°190a.

¹¹⁷ The understanding of the understanding.

¹¹⁸ He continues probing into the depths of the decrees (iradah) of the divine knowledge (ilm), while refusing at the same time to unite himself to the divine will by obedience to the order (amr). Al Hallaj said in another place:

1° عين...، i.e. “‘ayn (al) haqiqah”, God, when He tested Iblis, in His foreknowledge.

4° Husayn Ibn Mansur, al Baqli says, compares here the mission of Iblis, chief of the Angels, with that of Muhammad, chief of mankind. The one is the treasurer of the pre-eternal blessings, “latifat azaliyat “, the other the treasurer of the post-eternal hardships, “qahriyat abdiyat”, they correspond to the two symmetric attributes of God who acts “qahran wa lutfan “. Cf. Qur. XVI, 95.

7°... شفتند ... i.e. he turned his eyes (literally: his glances and his eyes' blinking) from Reality (haqiqah) and took shelter in the secret of his conscience. He was mistaken, thinking that Adam was another” than God, and confused” tawhid “with “tafrid “.

8°)5 e:,,1 I)9 ... What are contingencies in comparison with the divine “fardaniyah”? Far from committing any sin by adoring Adam, Iblis would thus have remained worthy to contemplate the “fardaniyah “.

9° By his answer Iblis denied this “other “(Adam), because he saw him, without thinking that in reality no “other “than God himself was there, He alone present in the ambiguity of the “‘ayn (al) jam' “... Adam veiled God from him, because in Adam he perceived only Adam 127 ... as a being essentially “other than God “; this caused him to strive for “isolating God more

¹¹⁹ . Instead of recognizing in it the “image” of God, the “huwa huwa”.

thoroughly “from him (Adam) (ifrad al fardaniyah) ... And this is why, in order to show plainly how poor and despised he had become for expressing the “infirad “of God in his “tawhid “, he recited the distich “Juhudi .

10° و من في البين ابليس Commentary:

در بین آدم و [حق] ابلیس نوذ، و بین در بین نبوذی ---

i.e. “In reality Iblis is not (in spite of his saying so) “in between “Adam and God, for there is no “in between “from the one to the other. If Iblis had been “muwahhid “, he would not have refused to prostrate himself, for in front of the Divine Presence the muwahhid does not see (f° 46b)¹²⁰ anybody else (“ghayr”). Iblis did not understand that Adam was the “act” of God (’ l), and that the act of God is God's mirror¹²¹: if he only had looked into this mirror, he would have caught sight of Him in His essence. according to the famous word “I have not looked into anything where I did not catch sight of God”¹²².

11° محبی دلیل ام If Iblis had really been a “lowly lover”, he would have prostrated himself...

¹²⁰ Sic, because of the binder's mistake mentioned earlier.

¹²¹ off: the ms., by mistake, has

¹²² aw9 4ul I~ 9 yl c ~. JI L,, is attributed to al Hallaj by several (Maqdisi, Sharh hal al awliya); in reality it is earlier and stems from Amir ibn Qays (Hujwiri, Kashf ... ms. Paris, supp. Pers. 1086, f192b Kalabadi, Ta'arruf, s. Vienna, 57b, Kharkushi, Tahdib ..., ms. Berlin, 199b), and from Muhammad 'bn Wasi' cf Kalabadi, i.c., 57b and Sha'rawi, Tabaqat . . . I, 36).

123. Iblis is wrong to pride himself of pre-
Excellency over Adam, of anteriority in the divine pre-science; he
does not understand his mistake when affirming that ارادت تو در من

است سابق since God thought of
Muhammad before thinking of him according to the hadith لولاک
124 لما خلقت الکون and since Adam's form is no other than that of
Muhammad.

... که تو مرا از آتش آفریده... This alleged motive is a simple
excuse,-"it means to disobey, as do the cowards when they refuse
to join the rank and file, and wait to be forced."

... تراست تقدیر و اختیار... If Iblis had been sincere, he would not
have tried to prevail over God's elected.

12° "Qurb" and "bu'd", in "tawhid", are the same thing only
for the one who has not to face temptations; "hi jr" and "wasl"
are the same thing only for the one who is not damned. But Iblis,
he, has disobeyed ... (he has been tempted and rejected)...

13°-17° (f°106b): This talk between Iblis and Moses is quoted
by the hadith and the stories: As Moses was coming out of art
ecstatic talk with God, Iblis asked him: "Are you aware that it is

¹²³ F° 105b.

¹²⁴ Cf. here, p. 136.

with me that you have been talking?” Moses, stupefied, felt confused: but God spoke to him: “Chase this accursed one away, this is the way in which he is accustomed to speak to the siddiqin.” Likewise one finds in the Qissat (al) anbiya the account of Jesus' temptation on Mount Massisah. Al Baqli translates here this account in extenso (f°106b-107a), the threefold temptation by Iblis suggesting to Jesus that he is “the god of the earth” (twice), then “the creator of heaven and earth”, and how Gabriel, then Michael, then Israfil, together with 'Azazyayil (sic) came to deliver Jesus and finally put Iblis in chains “at the bottom of the pit of the Occident, under the watch of 600,000 angels”; “otherwise, declared Iblis later on to Jesus, I would have done with you what I did with Adam.” Then al Baqli goes on to comment upon the text in detail; all these words of Iblis, he observes, are but false pretences, wile and deceit, although he says, he is in the state of the “Malamatiyah.”¹²⁵

So his word (y,~'-• 013). “If I had prostrated myself

before Adam, I would have been like you (who prostrated yourself on Mount Sinai)”, which proves that Iblis does not know that Adam and the Sinai were in both cases likewise two mirrors of the “tajalli”, of the “divine radiance”, and that Moses was only obeying an order. And his answer

014) “it was only a test”, is not correct, for from God's point of view the order was altogether an order (“amt.”), and if Iblis saw

¹²⁵ Those of the Sufis who for the sake of humility, endeavour to have a bad reputation (on their origin in Khurasan cf. KharkUshi, I.e., at the beginning).

in it only a test, this means that he. did not love God purely, for pure love does not distinguish the causes, changes or tests of the divine order.

By his word . 014) “it was equivocal”, Iblis avows his incapacity to express the exterior alteration, the disfigurement he has undergone, for he henceforth will suffer in himself from a permanent contradiction between his interior “batin” which feels the divine splendour, and his exterior “zahir” which has become ugly and cannot reflect it any more nor even get a “tinge” of it.¹²⁶

His answer من مذکورم (§15) leads al Baqli to this reflection: certainly, God does pronounce his name, but it is in order to expel him far away from Himself: cf. above § 9, and Qur. II,32.

صافی ترست 127, He dares lay claim to the “purest obedience “, he, from whom the pre-eternal omnipotence snatches it!

اظنن... حظ اورا: God has no need of any associate, nor does He desire or appeal to any of his creatures for help.

طمع... برخواست: whoever is created in contingency, is created “desiring”; how can Iblis while remaining &U, lay

¹²⁶ “talwin”. “The zahir” of the true sage should not clash with his “batin”: hence he must be “beautiful like Joseph” (C).

¹²⁷ In Adam.

claim to the divine “infirad “? By this term L.Js he alludes to the word.1 “happiness” 015), which would establish an “association” (shirk) in the divine “iradah”.

... 016) فردم ---: i.e. rejected, reprobated, not in “tawhid .

(§16). If Iblis had had an atom of intuition of what “tawhid” is, he would have seen but God¹²⁸ and would not have said “Ana Khayr minhu! “(Qur. VII, 11). Likewise, if al Husayn ibn Mansur had enjoyed the highest degree of contemplation, he would not have said “Ana al Haqq! “, for he would have renounced his “Ana “(his “I”) for a single atom of the gleaming sun of pre-eternity ... he would have annihilated himself in it . . . Alas, who has ever reached there? Who has ever been tinged by the Absolute, or trans-figured by pre-eternity? Who has ever been set free from his post-eternal “I “, were it even by suffering to the utmost, by flagellation, crucifixion and branding?¹²⁸ Cf. Qur. CXII, 1-4.

8° (f°108a),,, fly Thus in the beginning he knew well how to do good, but then he did evil and, by dint of looking at the “af'al “(the acts of God — the created beings) lost sight of their absolute Author.¹²⁹

In what follows, al Baqli gives at once text of §35; but for greater convenience in following the order of the text, we insert here his commentary of §§ 20°-25° as it figures on f°148b fl. of his work.

¹²⁸ Alludes to what happened to al Hallaj.

¹²⁹ Cf. al Hallaj's sentence in at Sulami, Tafsir (in Qur. XVIII, 107).

20° (f°148b). Al Baqli observes at first that Husayn (ibn) Mansur falls here into “the ocean of the wandah, inflamed with love for the beauty of God to the point of revealing the intimate.’ mysteries “of love in accents of rapture. While in the state of drunkenness, his “batin “is sincere, but his “zahir “is ailing; and his ailment comes from ignorance, for he is unaware of his own knowledge (the one of which he speaks). According to the experts of these fits of abnormality, the knowledge of mysteries, when it manifests itself, cannot be understood by reason, Cf. the words of Moses to al Khidhr (Qur. XVIII, 67), and the famous word (f°149a) “Li al rububiyah sirr...”¹³⁰ on the “secret of the divine omni potence.”

This secret is the mystery of the divine pre-science, the secret of predestinaton (qadr)¹³¹; were it revealed, it would lead to the destruction of God's covenant with the prophets; why would Moses thus go and make a harangue to Fir'awn on God's behalf if God had warned him that Fir'awn “would remain an infidel “? Cf. Qur. IV, 163. The discipline of religion (din) lies in keeping (kitman)¹³² the secret (sirr).

What Husayn ibn Mansur here admires in Iblis and Fir'awn, is their energy (rajuliyah). This is shown by several Ahadith:

¹³⁰ This word, current among the Salimiyah (Qut al qulub, II, 90) comes from their master Sahl al Tustari (cf. al Ghazali, Ihya . . . I,74 and Imla. AI Kilani, Ghunyah . . . I,83, and Ibn 'Arabi, Fusus, ed. 1891, p, 139).

¹³¹ The proper subject of the “Tawasin.”

¹³² This has remained the Persian expression par excellence.

ان الله يحب الشجاعة و لو بقتل حية- جاهل سخى بخداى نزدیک تر از عالم
بخیل- ان هذا الدين ليؤيد بالرجل الفاجر-

Cf: (024 استاذ من... regarding “rajuliyah” ... Having fallen down from his state of pre-eminence into the “sea of the knowledge of perception “... (1° 150a), Iblis was thrown back by the “tawhid “to the shore of the “tajrid “where he declared that any acknowledgement of “wasāyt “¹³³ was a crime of “shirk “, of “association” with God ... He did not understand that the reality of the “tafriqah “¹³⁴ is “jam’ “, and that “Adam is He “(cf. above §10°), God! Fir'awn, considering himself as the representative of God' authority, believed he was representing God himself, the sight of the divine authority veiled God from him, he mistook the “shahid”, the witness he was, with the “mashhud”, the God for whom he bore witness; cf. Qur. XXVIII, 38.

22° Here (al) Husayn explains Iblis' word by the fact that absorbed in the contemplation of the past, he imagined that no other than he would see God. As to Fir'awn's word, it is an excuse based on the ignorance of his people rather than an affirmation of himself... As regards the hadith¹³⁵ where God blames Gabriel for having filled the mouth of the agonizing Fir'awn with sand so as

¹³³ The “mediator” between God and man: i.e. cult and prophetic revelation (cf. at Hallaj's and Faris' theory on the “Isqat al Wesayt”).

¹³⁴ “Separation” of the creature from the Creator.

¹³⁵ Quoted in the Persian text.

to prevent him from confessing his repentance¹³⁶, it simply means to show how merciful God is even to the rebels (f°150b)...

23° من اثر ام 23°”I am the Sign of it!” The whole world is a sign representing God, but there is “sign” and “sign”. The world is but the Jtail ... whereas Adam is the موقع تجلى افعال following Qur. XV, 29, where the word j) corresponds to the “tajalli”.¹³⁷ God has “irradiated” through Adam making him his “real sign”, and not خلق آدم على صورته by “way of incarnation”. Cf. hadith اثر الله في الارض and the definition of Sufism u, افراد قدم از حدوث¹³⁸.

من بحق حق ام i.e. “I subsist in God, not in myself”. Here al Baqli brings his theory of the supreme word of al Hallaj's ecstasies “Ana al Haqq”, “I am the Truth”!¹³⁹ According to al Baqli¹⁴⁰ this means) “He was the موضع شريعت و حقيقت بوذ، و محل نظر تجلى بوذ” point (of contact) between the (revealed) Law and the (divine) Reality¹⁴¹, the only point from where the divine radiance was

¹³⁶ For the discussions on this subject see al Baqilani, here below.

¹³⁷ Taken from Qur. VII, 140.

¹³⁸ Cf. Junayd (1. c. below); Harawi (ms. Nuri 'Othmaniyeh, 2500, in Life of al Hallaj).

¹³⁹ God, according to the favourite term of the Sufis.

¹⁴⁰ Cf. what he says of this in his tafsir, in Qur. XLI, 53; XLVIII, 10.

¹⁴¹ Dilemma “Shari'ah Haqiqah”.

visible” for his contemporaries, just as the Prophet had been for his time, according to the exegetes¹⁴² of verse XVII, 83 of the Quran. These exegetes deal lengthily with the principle of the “Ana al Haqq”, with the questions of the “Ana al Haqq.” Such words come to the lips of the Sage when he becomes aware that he “realizes”¹⁴³ the “tawhid”, that he is all “tinged” with it. It is God who then, from the tongue of the Sage, speaks “I am the Truth”, consolidating him in the divine unity¹⁴⁴ within the conquering fires of the “wandaniyah”. In God then the Sage no longer perceives some soul, or created being, or difference (f°151a); he wants to proclaim the divine “I” (ananiyah), even though he lacks authority to do it (rububiyah). And as he sees God under an equivocal aspect (iltibas) and perceives no other hindrance (baynunah)¹⁴⁵ from the simple vision than his own “I “, dominated as he is by God's reality, he lays claim to the pure divine authority (by saying “I am the Truth”!). Indeed, he is not different from God, for he is all busy with God in God, satiated with the light of the “tawhid”, so much so that the “tawhid”¹⁴⁶ becomes for him impiety (kufr)¹⁴⁷ and reciprocally ... God is his “location” (ayniyah) ... The Sage then passes with Jesus beyond the “veils¹⁴⁸ of the Kingdom”, and the form of Adam¹⁴⁹ escapes

¹⁴² Sufis. cf. Kasirqi (here below).

¹⁴³ Tahqiq - It is the station called “tahqiq (al) ananiyah”.

¹⁴⁴ Tamkin (al) tawhid.

¹⁴⁵ Literally “separation”, cf. al Hallaj's verse “Bayni ...” in a note below.

¹⁴⁶ Muslim formula of the inaccessibility of the divine unity.

¹⁴⁷ Since he feels himself “transformed into God”: cf. what al Hallaj says in extracts, in ms. London, 888, f° 339b.

¹⁴⁸ Ms. ملكوت of the قرام.

from the boundary of compulsion¹⁵⁰, for his human fabric, being thus sheltered in the shade of a wall, will not perish, like all contingent beings, in the bright sun of destruction.¹⁵¹

30° In the whole of the Tawasin Husayn describes Iblis, who by his condemnation has become the contrary of what he was when he was named 'Aza.zil, by means of “obscure” (“معمى”) comparisons. از بدایت ... آمد which means: from his initial state which was “shaqawah” (unhappiness), he has not reached his final stage which is “la'nah” (curse), for his “unhappiness” is nothing else than his “curse”, and reciprocally.

31° خروجش ... مارسش i.e. “Iblis” came out of the fire and seemed to be light: but his light was borrowed and so he had to leave the light as one being contrary to it”.

تعریش ... مشتعل, i.e. “blazing in the fire of the curse”:

“تعریش” is the blazing flame of hatred.

“نور تعریش” is the “light of knowledge” borrowed (by Iblis) from the light of the Tablet.

¹⁴⁹ i.e. the “spiritual form”.

¹⁵⁰ -: divine compulsion.

¹⁵¹ Al Baqli here adds”J tl.;>I ! , quotation preceded by “God has said”: but it is not Quranic.

32° “تتراصیه” (sic) i.e. the sudden end (rl) of his power (قهر) sunk in error.

3 [1] “the place where Iblis is dying from thirst, is the very place where abundance is over-flowing”. u°=“

i.e. باطنش که خلاف ظاهر بود = his “batin” which was the contrary of his “zahir”.

صوا عقتش موقر بود شراهمش برهمی بود = “He shouts with pain ... because the fire is burning him!”

... هجرانش مصور بود صورامش مخیل بود “His (pretended) shyness is but simulation (since he has been expelled)”. در غیب عمیاه او هام
:بود in the abyss his blindness is nothing but his own dreaming (inspired by pride)...

i.e. . . . (and) his boasting, his deceits, tricks and impostures تزیین و اغرار بود و مکر و خداع

i.e. هاوه i.e. چنین بود!! i.e. here he is, as he is in reality!

33° (f° 109b) رصما --- يا اخی i.e. “if you cast down your eyes, out of the divine mystery (ghayb), and if you try to “imagine to yourself your imagination (wahm), as the “imagination” (wahm) is the “worry” (hamm) of your heart, and is nothing but the “whispering” (waswasah) (f ° 110a) of Satan, you thus will (know) the plight of Satan himself (in) your own “imagination” (wahm), (in) your own “worry!”

--- رجعت غما --- If you thus know the particular condition (hal) of Iblis, your heart will be broken, and from grief over his punishment you will fall into grief over annihilation.

34 او عالم تر بوذ بسجود etc. By such words he means to say that Iblis was so before¹⁵² his destiny underwent trans-formation. But now Iblis' condition is quite opposite, as God (in the Quran) and the Prophet (following the Tradition) have said. And this is all that Husayn says about the “talbis Iblis”¹⁵³ and the “iltibas”.

35° (We insert here the commentary on §35 which al Baqli gives on f ° 108a, ahead of the preceding§§):

...مشاهدت, Al Baqli rectifies: it regards the “contemplation” of the “hadhrat malkut” (Presence of [God's] Kingdom), not of

¹⁵² Al Baqli seems here to force the text in order to make it orthodox For al Hallaj adopts here manifestly the terminology of the Kharejites and the Mu'tazilites for whom a “muwahhid” may be damned (theory of the mortal sin and faith, cf. Farq, of al Baghdadi, 98).

¹⁵³ Ibn al Jawzi's Talbis Iblis (ms. As'ad Effendi, no. 1641) has put the title in common with this Hallagian theory.

God himself. Otherwise God would not say of Iblis what he says of him in Qur. II, 32. At the beginning, indeed, while still obedient, Iblis enjoyed “contemplation”. It is a feeling of hatred that detained him from worshipping Adam who was manifestly chosen for the divine “tajalli” and “tadalli” of the divine essence and attributes, cf. Qur. XV, 29. Adam alone is in possession of the “very special radiance of the divine essence” ul3 0.2;I and God has said: He had created him with “both his hands” (Qur. XXXVIII, 75), “qidam” and “baqa” (“absolute” and “perennity”), cf. hadith hlo? JI PSI a, au~y.~ where the “forty mornings” mean to say “four thousand years”. Upon this, al Baqli (f ° 108b) sets out a long commentary of Qur. XXXVIII, 71-75, on Adam's creation out of “mud taken from below the Throne”...

VII. Tasin al mashiyah (g, 1°-5°):

1°-2° (f° 109a). By these (four) circles (enclosing) four (inaccessible) stages (of the divine knowledge), Husayn here means that “nobody can pretend to the knowledge of: the pre-eternal will (mashiyat azal),-the absolute providence (hikmat qidam), the perennial pre-determination (qadar baqi), and the sciences of the knowable in God.” Myself, claims Iblis, I have known through these four sciences that they resolve upon my punishment, no matter whether I prostrate myself or not. On the Tablet of the “mashiyah” it is written that I am “impious” (kafir), on that of the “hikmah” an “accursed one” (mal'un), on that of the “qudrah” a “reprobate” (matrud), and on that of the “Mother

of the Book ¹⁵⁴ a “blind” (mahjub). Thus, if I escape from the first, it is only to fall into the second ... Cf. Qur. VI, 18, and the proverb: جف القلم بما هو كما بن الى الابد:

3° فلا ولا... ولا! The first “No!” is negation (nafi), the second denegation (juhad), the third prohibition (nahy), the fourth ignorance (nakirah). If I remain in the first “No!”, it leads me from the denegation to the negation. Being t accursed, my “No!” would tumble me from the “No!” of the negation into the (final) “No!” of the “ignorance”, but I do not want to fall into it, for “in the centre of the ignorance” (6.<;) there is the “knowledge” of the “tawhid! “(Al Baqli uses here very aptly a later passage of the Tawasin, k-1°, stressing thus its importance). (My sticking to) these (first four) “No!” (without entering them), I will keep out of the “knowledge of the ignorance” (’irfan nakirah) as well as of the “ignorance of the knowledge” (nakirah ’irfan)!¹⁵⁵ Had I learnt that by prostrating myself I would get rid of the trial, I would have done so... But I have known from God¹⁵⁶ that He wants to reject me, I am but a contingent being, and He is the Absolute...

Al Baqli adds here the following reflection: “Understand, O Sage, that Iblis is here on the point of knowing these divine attributes, and that God informs him that he is rejected. He despairs, and delivers himself up to the destiny decreed for him,

¹⁵⁴ “Umm (al) Kitab”, which designates the archetypal Quart.

¹⁵⁵ Double attribute of the divine Wisdom, following the Tawasin: below k-1°.

¹⁵⁶ By these four kinds of knowledge by which I pretended to penetrate.

drowning himself in the sea of God's "mighty hand" (jabr), for he realizes that his "impiety" (kufr) is twofold: he has disobeyed (when rejecting the order to prostrate himself), and he has claimed he had unraveled the secret of God's pre-determination (qadar) which is the secret of the divine essence itself. Cf. the two hadith

(f ° 109a). In short, the "mashiyah" is God's secret, his very "authority" (rububiyah). Hence it does not behoove anybody to say he declines a divine order (amr). For who ever speaks thus, under the pretext of knowing the mashiyah ¹⁵⁷, denies at one and the same time the obedience owed by the creature ('ubudiyah) and the authority of the Creator (rububiyah).

VIII. Tasin al tawhid (h-1°-10°):

1° الحى, To say that the "alif of the fifth la (= "No!")¹⁵⁸

is the living God" means the "alif of His Majesty (kibrya)", for God is great, exalted, living, everlasting.

3° الواحد...ازو i.e. the light of the "tawhid" and the light of the "wandaniyah" are in, of and for the divine essence (alone).

4° God, he says here, is "exempted" from the need that the "tawhid" be separated from Him. The symbol (fig. p. 58, col. 1) of

¹⁵⁷ I.e. God, in His pre-scient will, knows that His order will not be obeyed

¹⁵⁸ Cf. § g-5°.

“al wandaniyah” is “alif and dal”: the alif, which stands for his essence, is unique; it possesses his attribute (sifah)¹⁵⁹ represented by the dal: it is unique, alone in the uniqueness of the knowledge of the “tawhid”. This (primordial) alif¹⁶⁰ subsists “upon” God, as the alifs of the (created) language subsist “upon” him.¹⁶¹

6° صفت موحد... i.e. the “tawhid” is the divine attribute (sifah).

7° اگر گویم که من ... i.e. God is “exempted” from the “Ana” (“I”) of my “Qala” (in Persian: “guft” he says), of my “tawhid”.

10° (f ° 110a). “I associate with a limitation (since I define): i.e. God is “exempted” from “hulul” in whatever place, the ambiguity springs from the fact that one tends to link Him with contingencies; words like “tawhid, muwahhid, muwahhad” are full of ambiguity, but in reality the unique is unlimited, He is above the symbols of the “muwahhidin “, for He remains distinct from the expressions made us of by the creatures. “He who speaks of God by way of allusions is dualist (Zoroastrian), and he who speaks of Him by way of symbols is an idolater! “¹⁶², al Baqli concludes.

IX. Tasin al asrar fi al tawhid

¹⁵⁹ Which expresses him. The great horizontal alif. in the figure.

¹⁶⁰ This primordial alif.

¹⁶¹ Cf. the Sufi adage As c L l 6.5)4 ,, yiS 1;>,J (Shathiyat f° 104b).

¹⁶² Ms. C ; corr: v~y>

1° (f° 110a). نازع است i.e. the “secrets of the divine authority (rubūbiyah) are contradictory, because God's perennity is incompatible with the contingency of the created beings; none of them has access to it.”

باوو ازع است i.e. they “emanate from Him, they return to Him “.

باوو ازع است “they do not deny Him, being the whole of the whole of God.”

نه بحق لازم است i.e. “they are His production “(maf'ula.t).

ضمير --- صاير است i.e. the “dhamayr” (pronouns) of the tawhid “represent created beings, the “dhamir, mudhmar dhamayr “, “pronoun, antecedent, pronouns “, are but titles. “stations of the hearts “(amakin qulub ast), whereas God does not need them.

2°lm, its “ha “is his “huwiyah “; it is a “symbolic indication “(isharah); but God remains behind any possible “symbolic indication.”

موحد را نگويند, for any definition introduces into the circle of the contingent beings; the worlds¹⁶³ are but atoms of his omnipotence.

8° که توحيد اگر گوييم که ازو 8° the reality of the “tawhid “is twofold, “tawhid “of the Ceator and “tawhid “of the creatures. The latter are the divine signs (ayat = revealed verses, miracles), the former are the divine attributes, inseparable from the essence.

9° The light of the essence hides from the sight of the creation behind the veil of the “signs” (ayat) when it appears. Where does it retire when there is no “where”, nor “there”, nor “what” (ma), nor “here” (da)? The “where indeed, marks a limit (hayth), a limit is necessary only for the contingent beings, this “where “does not exist for God in His inmost being (dhimn), since it is His creation, as the “accidents, bodies, spirits, masses “are His creation.

12° مشموله ... it means the “spirits” of the natural things, “united” to the (four) elements of matter (kawn).

(مقوله sic.) مقول, the spirits endowed with speech (natiqah).

هاشمه breaking the heaviness of the bodies.

¹⁶³ Following the word of al Junayd -i11 aIv j,,a:J 1 (al Qushayri, Risalah IV, 48).

مفعولات they stand for the “marsumat “of God (engraved signs, like in a royal edict). The atoms of the “dawayr” thus assembled according to centuries and ages, accidents and substances, are all found subsisting in God with the totality of things, yet God remains independent of this totality: without “infisal” that would withdraw Him from them, and without “ittisal” that would confuse Him with them. But by this very separation from the “maf’ulat

He pursues His action on them by means of bis attributes tajalli, 'ilm “and “iradah”.

Already 'Ali has said داخل الاشياء كالأشياء (f°1 l lb), al Baqli notes. Husayn's purpose in these “Tasin al twahid” and “Tasin al asrar “was to show by symbols “how to isolate the Absolute (ifrad qidam) from contingency (hadath).”¹⁶⁴ He thus has explained by way of ellipses (موجز) that every symbol changes over into a created being, that there can be no co-incidence between the absolute and the contingent, and that their joining in the understanding is inconceivable. He has shown that the “tawhid” does not emanate from God and does not join the creature, for in God, “tawhid” is God, and in the creature “tawhid” is but a created being...

Evolving this theme al Baqli comes to the conclusion that the divine substance cannot undergo any inclusion (hulul) into the

¹⁶⁴ i.e. “It was a divine vengeance”.

circle of the contingent beings ... “Nothing is like God”: ليس كمثلہ

شئ

X. Tasin al tanzih (j-1°-24):

2° I.e. here, in this circle, I have featured the totality of the faith corresponding to all believers from among men endowed with comprehension (‘irfan).

5° دائر corresponds to ماہر؛ الہام، to [حایر] to کردش to عایر؛
شواہد AI Baqli then صابر to بیان (f°112a) and نعوت to اوصاف
gives §6 which perhaps is but the end of his commentary.

12° توحید ذات بود (al Husayn's aim) may God show hi His
mercy ! is to refute personally the heresy of “hulūl “. Giving thus
his refutation of the “Hulūliyah “bears evidence that he is not a
“hulūli “himself! It means “extracting the absolute from the
contingent “and acting like the Prophets and the “siddiqin “who
have been preserve from the heresies of “tashbih, tamthil,
kayfiyah and hula] This is why, al Baqli adds, for those who think
that t. Baghdadians killed (al Husayn) unjustly, this sentence
carried the reason of the later assassination of the Caliph and the
inundation which flooded Baghdad.¹⁶⁵

¹⁶⁵ One no longer wonders “how” to understand, after having understood.

19° Here (f°112b) these syllables are symbolic: لُ of “what is (ذات), شا of “what one wanted (مشيئة), قال “what one said (ill), L. of “what one named with qualities.”

Husayn thus describes four “degrees” (martabah): the is “azal “, the “pre-eternity “which one has to understed here only as “the century of the centuries “, not as divine “azal “. The second is “al mafhumat”, the “I telligibles “, i.e. what is created (khalq).

The third “al jihat “, the “dimensions “, i.e. the “kawn “(mat extended in space). The fourth is “al ma'lūmat “, cognoscibles “, i.e. knowledge (ilm).

In no case will the spirit which seeks the path of Wisdom find it (symbol: the four “La”. “No! “inscribed on figure), for he is seized by stupor. If he penetrates through the door of knowledge, it is “pre-eternity “that stupefier him. If through that of the pure idea (safa), it is t “unintelligible “(la mafhumat); if through that of t' comprehension (ma'na), it is the “unknowable “(la ma'l mat) ... If through that of the understanding (fahm), it is t, “immaterial “(literally: the unextended “: la jihat) ... The divine unity subsists without subjection to the contingent vicissitudes, to the knowable, the intelligible, the temporal.

Al Bagli then gives a sentence in Arabic¹⁶⁶ which perhaps does not belong to the original text.

¹⁶⁶ Ms: 0.4}

Likewise further on, the §§23-24 seem to have been added to the original text by some earlier glossarist, if not al Baqli himself. (f°113a). Al Baqli, resuming the speech (qala), then concludes: O Sage! be not surprised by all that Husayn has been uttering and showing in symbols in connection with the “tawhid”. All he has said is but a drop from the oceans of the “tawhid”. 'Ali had said many more things, he whose love, “whenever he dived sparkling into the sea of the tawhid, brought pearls back from it”...

As to the symbolism of the “circles “(cf. figures) used here by Husayn, it does not offend the laws of the Sunnah. Does not God himself use the “spider “as a symbol (Qur.XXIX, 41)? And is it not recorded by the hadith that one day the Prophet traced a line on the ground and said: “This is my road”, and then another, saying: “This is Satan's road”?

Al Baqli then draws the general conclusion of his commentary (f°113a), but before we analyse it, we insert his commentary on the fragments of the Bustan al ma'rifah which he has cited elsewhere.

XI. Bus tan al ma'rifah “(k-1°, and 24°-25°):

1° (f°166b), i.e. the reality of “irfan “consists for man in recognizing his incapacity ('ajz) to comprehend God in His very Wisdom. For God's Wisdom (ma'ruf) is exactly as unlimited as the ignorance of his creature...

(f°167a). This is why the Prophet, after the ecstasy, said لا ان من لاعلم لجهلا and احصى ثناء عليك And Abu Bakr (Siddiq Akbar) stated this: “العجز عن درك الادراك ادراك”¹⁶⁷ “Not to comprehend the comprehension is already to comprehend!”¹⁶⁷

5° (f°168b). Commenting upon the famous and so often incriminated tercet of al Hallaj: “Subhana man azhara nasutahu, sirra sana lahutihi (a) 1 thaqibi... “, al Baqli notes that “nasut “can but be an allusion to Adam's creation, and that moreover Husayn (ibn) Mansur justified himself elsewhere when defining the Essence of Wisdom by these words (here, text of §§24°-25° compared with Qur. V, 77). When a man, al Baqli winds up, expresses so strongly that he “extricates the Absolute from contingency “, how might it be supposed that in another passage he could declare himself a “hululi”?

Conclusion of the Commentary

طواسين حسين را بطون و كفايت حق سبحانه شرح تمام شد، بعبارت اهل حقيقت و اشارات اهل معرفت، در وقت باريدن سرشك خون جان، و خواندن زند و بازند ملطفه جانان، كلماتی که در بحر صين قلزم قدم، جز نقش ابريز احمر

¹⁶⁷ Cf. 1° 160a.

کیمای سر قدر نیست، و خطابی که جز نقش بیشانی اقمار سرایر نور احمر نیست، "رمز قرمس"¹⁶⁸ و "شاهد"¹⁶⁹ بادیه بصر" در ورق شجر طوبی، جان مصور کردم آن لقبی که روزی در تفکر ابن فصول غریب بوذم، بتنها نشستہ بوذم 'انکه از راه دیدہ معنی کلاه دار شطاح حسین ابن منصور دیدم، مرا بستوذ بزبان غیب و حقائق فهم 'انکه [f 113 b] باخر گفت "عرفت"¹⁷⁰ [حقیقة] القرمس¹⁷¹، و [قطعت]¹⁷² بادیه¹⁷³ البصر"، بعد از ان خرم شدم، دانستم که از من راضیست۔

Translation:

“Herewith closes thanks to God's assistance and protectio glory be to Him ! the commentary on Husayn's “Tawasin”, followin the words of the mystics¹⁷⁴ and the symbols of the Sages¹⁷⁵ Shedding the blood of my soul, I wept when I read this “Zand an Pazand”¹⁷⁶ of the souls overwhelmed with grace, (I wept) before these words which alone can equal the secret of predestination splendidly engraved in the red gold of the alchemists, in the Erythrean China sea of the Absolute, before this speech with which alone can compare the calligraphy of the

¹⁶⁸ Ms: ~~~

¹⁶⁹ Corr.; the ms. carries::%9~

¹⁷⁰ A, cf. transl, f°160a,

¹⁷¹ Ms: r²-l~°J1, cf, transl, f°160a, addition [

¹⁷² The word is here missing: supplied following transl, f°160a,

¹⁷³ Ms:

¹⁷⁴ ~a 4a JAI here opposed to ? j J1 .

¹⁷⁵ ~i~• Jal: here opposed to r4 'I .

¹⁷⁶ Allusion to the Avesta and its commentary; meaning: sacred book.

secrets of the redness in the face of the moons, before this “mystery of the kulah”¹⁷⁷ this “witness of the desert of Vision”¹⁷⁸, engraved on the leave of the Tuba Tree.¹⁷⁹ These surnames *I gave to (Husayn's) soul on a day I was reflecting on these chapters¹⁸⁰ of the “Doctor Singularis”.¹⁸¹ I was alone; by way of intellectual vision perceived Husayn ibn Mansur, the “shattah”¹⁸², his hair dressed with a kulah: he congratulated me in the tongue that comes from beyond, with words that struck without exception; and closing, he said to me (f ° 113b): “You have come to know what the kulah is¹⁸³ and have proceeded into the desert of Vision!”. At these words I felt happy, I had understood that he was satisfied with me.”¹⁸⁴

¹⁷⁷ For this translation see p. 108, note 2 and 3.

¹⁷⁸ Id.

¹⁷⁹ The tree of the Paradise (Qur. XIII, 28).

¹⁸⁰ The “Tawasin”.

¹⁸¹ “Gharib “seems to me here a proper name (cf. above, p. 2).

¹⁸² Sufi author of shath, the sentence has a double meaning.

¹⁸³ Qurums, Arabic synonym of the Persian kolah, designates the cone cap of the dervishes; it also is the royal tiara which according to the custom those under death sentence had to wear on their head (cf. Dozy, Supplement .., s° v .1). the allusion is therefore twofold: to the meaning of Sufism,- and to al Hallaj's execution (courtesy of R.A. Nicholson).

¹⁸⁴ This vision of al Hallaj which occurred to him while he was working at the commentary on the Tawasin, made a rather strong impression on al Baqli. It seems, which prompted him to lend it a particular attention. A special passage (f°160a) in his Shathiyat is devoted to it under the title “On a Portrait he (—al Hallaj) made of me “. In almost literal paraphrasing it reads thus: “O Doctor Singularis ! Charmer of the hearts! Master of the language of the Sages ! Is it true (that you told me): ' You have come to know what the kolah is and have proceeded into the desert of Vision', since you write such a commentary on the terms (nukat) that are used by those who are lovers of the Absolute ? Beware of what you are saying! Where is now the soul that had become the universe of the love of yourself? Where is that heart of which

OBSERVATIONS

In order to show the true import of the Tawasin, it is necessary to sum up¹⁸⁵ the original features of al Hallaj's teaching, indeed, his "madhab kalami", for it should not be forgotten that the author, of the Fihrist ranges him among the Mutakallimun:

1. His theory of revelation and inspiration (ilham).
2. His theory of the huwa huwa (lahut wa nasut; hulul al Ruh)
3. His theory of the tul wa 'ardh (sayhur wa dayhūr).
4. His theory of the amr and the iradah (mashiyah).
5. Diagram of the madhab of the Mutakallimun Hallajiyah.

1. Theory of revelation and inspiration

An accepted tenet of Sunni orthodoxy holds that there are grounds for speaking of any direct "communications" between God and man any time. Even the Prophets have only been entrusted with set juridical texts aiming at the observance of a covenant by men, and it is this written covenant which in its fulness constitutes their line with God. Muhammad himself has thus not been entrusted direct but through the ministry of an angel. God remains inaccessible.

your love was possessed? Behold, you have wearied the workers of the Kingdom (malkut) with this word and have fettered the hearts of the lovers of the divine yoke (jabrut) L with this enigma! Text (f°160a) = p. 132 of the ms. Shahid ' Ali Pasha:

But the matter was different with Sufis of at Hallaj's life-ti ' in their practice of asceticism which bore the brand of Jewish-Christian tradition, they emphasized the desire for direct contact w' God in prayer. A significant utterance was in those days¹⁸⁶ ascribe to Ja'far Sadiq (d. 145/762): he had fainted during his prayer because said, "by dint of repeating the +verse, he had heard God (Himself pronounce it.)"¹⁸⁷ And the precept of the Salimiyah was that the faithful, while reciting, should well impress on his mind that it was God Himself who was addressing him in those verses and was speaking to him at that very moment.¹⁸⁸ One century later, however this precept will appear shocking¹⁸⁹ to al Kilani who says that "to believe it is God who speaks through the tongue of the reciter and it is God one hears when hearing the recitation of the Quran, is to admit hulul."¹⁹⁰ The mystical schools, by then, will take refuge in "sifatite" pretexts, claiming that the matter was not thus to attain God in his entirety, but only this or that real attribute of His, this or that particular divine perfection described in the verses. Their sum total is not equivalent to the divine essence.¹⁹¹

But in al Hallaj's days the Muslim mystics had not yet grow aware of the conflicting aspects between their prayer methods an

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the Sunni orthodoxy. For them prayer meant this “taking up contact” of the whole soul with God entirely.¹⁹²

This method alone makes it possible to understand what the “sima” (hearing of recitations) then was, and the importance the gave it, and the sense of eclecticism with which they used to listen to the Quran or the traditions of the various prophets or to mystical verses or rhythmical phrases of their own composition. All this was for them equally inspired, was equally part of the “tajalli,” O God's “universal radiance” through all living beings in their act of speaking. This is why al Hallaj, one day in Mecca, when asked by 'Amr al Makki what he was composing, gave this reply: “This is comparable to the Quran.”¹⁹³ It was not impious sarcasm that made him speak thus but the clear feeling that he had been composing in a state of ecstasy comparable to that in which Muhammad he thought, had heard his revelations.

And Abu Uthman al Maghribi (d. 373/983) wrote¹⁹⁴ not by way of symbol, but in terms of strict truth:

المكونات كلها يسبحون الله باختلاف اللغات، و لكن لا يسمع تسبيحها و لا
تفقه عنها ذاك لا العلماء الربانيون الذين فتحت اسماع قلوبهم

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All created beings praise God, each one in its own language; ye nobody hears and understands it but the masters, the elected of th Lord, those to whom a hearing heart has been granted.

And further:¹⁹⁵

من صدق مع الله في احواله فهم عنه كل شئ و فهم عن كل شئ فيكون له في
اصوات الطيور و صرير الابواب علما بعلمه و بيان بتبينه

He who relies on God in all, gets to know everything in Him an understands everything; the very chirping of the birds, the very gratin of the doors are full of meaning for him, and eloquent, as they ar for God.

For these mystics the Arabic alphabet of the Quran and the Quranic text itself did not have that “pre-eternal excellence” which they will get in the mystical literalism of Islam in Ibn 'Arabi's days.

For them the letters belonged to the created beings,¹⁹⁶ and th Quran as a text written in Arabic was created. And in their ecstasie they found back that divine element of the word which for them wa the “eternal Quran.”

Nobody more than al Hallaj expressed this feeling in his writing His Tawsain most of all betray this belief in a “supra-person; consciousness of the truth” which by means of his very

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subtle command of the Arabic language would now and then make him speak “in the first person” on behalf of Muhammad or of Iblis, and would make him say “I” in the name of that supereminent “He” who is the subj. par excellence of any verb; every phrase being but an act variant of the eternal witness by which God takes pleasure to attach Himself to Himself, even by means of the humble beings that He has created to Himself.¹⁹⁷

2. Theory of the *Huwa Huwa* (lahut wa nasut) Al Hallaj, while affirming the transcendence of the idea of God did not at all mean to say that it is inaccessible to man. And the old Jewish-Christian tradition preserved in the Quran¹⁹⁸ and declaring that “God had made men in his own image,” al Hallaj deduced a doctrine of creation parallel to a doctrine of “deification man allowed to identify himself with God, while finding back himself, through ascetical practice, the reality of that “image God” which God had impressed on him. Several of the Hallaj fragments leave no possible doubt about this. In the longest of them he declares this: prior to all things, before the creation, before His knowledge of the creation, God in His unity was conversing with Himself in ineffable speech and contemplating in itself splendour of His essence: this radical simplicity of His admiration of His acclamation in front of it, is the Love “which in His essence is the essence of the essence,”¹⁹⁹ Love that is above all modes I

¹⁹⁷

¹⁹⁸ (Ms I, Munich id 83, f 1 b).. id. 62 Cf. also Ibn Barrajan (d. 536/1141), tafsir, on Qur. In Ghunyah I, 84

¹⁹⁹ The possibility of divine incarnation in a creature.

specification in attributes. In His perfect isolation (infirad) G. thus loves Himself and irradiates (tajalli) through Love. And it this primeval irradiation of Love in the divine Absolute which determined the multiplicity of His attributes and His names.

God then, “by His essence, in His essence,” decided to project outside of Himself His supreme happiness, this Love in the “infirad (isolation), so that He would be able to gaze at it²⁰⁰ and speak to He then took a look at pre-eternity (azal) and drew from the nothing an image (surah), the image of Himself, of all His attributes and His names: Adam. His divine regard made of this figure (shakh His image for all eternity to come, He hailed it, glorified it, elected and, as He irradiated through it and in it, this created figure (shak became Huwa huwa, He, He!²⁰¹

Al Hallaj has summed this up in a famous tercet.²⁰²

سبحان من اظهر ناسوته سرسنا لا هوته الثاقب
 ثم بدا لخلقه ظاهرا في صورة الاكل و اشارب
 حتى لقد عاينه خلقه كلحظة الحاجب بالحاجب

“Praise be to (God) who disclosed (to the angels) that His hum anity is the mystery of the glory of His sparkling Divinity!

²⁰⁰ Cf. alGur p' 73: S gants's (d. 465/1072) word in al Ghazali, al maqsad al asna, ed. mil_1 tag I tse11-1...eu lilo

²⁰¹ Cf at Ghazali, Ihya., II,199-200.

²⁰² In at Qushayri, Risalah, ed. by Ansari, IV, 121.

And who, since then, has shown Himself to His creation in the form of one who eats and drinks so that His creation has been able to perceive Him as in a glimpse that is filtered through the eye-lid!”

The first verse alludes to the scene where the angels are summoned to acknowledge the *huwa huwa* in Adam. The following verses apply the theory of the “*shahid al ani*” to the person of Jesus.²⁰³ The whole tercet is a witness to Hallaj's attempts to naturalize²⁰⁴ within the Arab Islam an idea which is borrowed from the theological vocabulary of Syrian Christianity,²⁰⁵ the idea of the two natures in God, *Lahut* and *Nasut*. These two Christian terms designate the “two natures” of Christ, the Verb Incarnate,²⁰⁶ his divine eternal nature, and the human nature he took on through Incarnation.

According to al Hallaj,²⁰⁷ followed in this by the *Salimiyah*, what matters,²⁰⁸ is that God will come to judge mankind on the

²⁰³ Through at Sulami, in at Baqli, tafsir on Qur., XVII, 46-47, Ms. Berlin, f° 204b.

²⁰⁴ Id in al Baqli, on Qur. XXVII, 16, Ms. Berlin, f° 278a (cf. al Qushayri, *Risalah*).

²⁰⁵ Cf. significant texts of at Muhasibi, Ibn 'Ata, al Hallaj (in al Kalabadi), collected and discussed in my study. As a reminder, I summarize here the position of the dogmatic schools of the time on the question of the “*Quran Kalam Allah*” “At first, the two extreme positions *mu'tazilah* and *hanābilah*: the Word of God is the text of the Quran literally: created for the ones, uncreated for the others. Ibn Kiram makes a distinction: God's *Kalam* is uncreated, but this means only his virtual power to create his *qawl* in his own essence. Ibn Kullāb works out the concept which afterwards at Ash'ari and at Qalanisi give final precision: the concept of *Kalam nafsi*; this alone is eternal in the divine essence (*azali*, says Ibn Kullāb, *qadim*, al *Qalahisi*; against Al Ash'ari who places it outside the essences; cf. *Tawasin*, I, 9).

²⁰⁶ Cf. theory of the “*kalam*” and the “*primordial love*” according to al Hallaj: a fragment translated by at Baqli in *Shathiyat* (f°s 171a-174b); cf. below.

²⁰⁷ Cf. *Ta Sin al tanzih* (here, p. 63).

²⁰⁸ LXXXII, 8 etc.: in spite of the manifest danger of possible *tashbih*. This is why with Abu

Last Day under His nasut, under human form. This idea seems to be of Christian origin. The same holds for the surprising hadith owned by al Ghazali²⁰⁹ on the immolation of Death under the shape of a ram marked with freckles²¹⁰ on the day of the Last Judgement.

For al Hallaj nasut means indeed the whole human nature, body and spirit, or, as he said, in “length” and in “breadth”.²¹¹ God's nasut is the Huwa, huwa in its entirety. In consequence the divine nature could unite itself to the human composite only by a sort of hulul comparable, as he notes expressly, to the hulul of the human spirit in the body of man,²¹² by an incarnation that “impresses” God²¹³ on it. The comparison with the hulul of the human spirit leads al Hallaj to designate the “divine nature” in this

Thawr al Kalbi the Sunnite position tried to establish that in this tradition d713 o,jy the “ha” referred to Adam, not to God. But Ibn Hanbal reported the hadith as ala surat al Rahman (Out., I, 168). Cf. al Tirmidi (Khatam at awliya, question 143).

²⁰⁹ In at Baqli, Shathiyat Fs 171a-174b. Cf. fragments in Sulami, tafsir, on Qur., III, 16, in al Baqli, tafsir, on Qur., VI, 19; and his proposition which was condemned, in lbn al Da'i, tafsirah . . . 402:

²¹⁰ Text of al Hallaj.

²¹¹ Compare al Hallaj's fragments on the creation of Adam, in al Sulami, tafsir, on Qur., V, 23; XXIII, 12; LXIV, 3; LXXXII, 8; and his definitions, followin~ lbn Fatik (in Ms. Berlin, 3492, f° 42; reproduced in Hall al rumuz ... of a Maqdisi).

²¹² According to the Haririyah Jesus said: God, in His desire to contemplate His own splendour, created Adam as a mirror in which He would see Jesue who is His splendour. Ibn Taimiyah, in t XXVI of his tafsir al Kawakib, Ms. Damascus, Zahiriyah, 151). According to lbn Taimiyah (criticism, l.c. above: fatwa against the Haririyah).

²¹³ Ibn Khafif (d. 371/982), in spite of his sympathy for al Hallaj, considered' him as an impious man (cf. Ibn Bakuyeh, and al Daylami; Bibliographie 362-a-14°)• Monistic commentary of Daud at Qaysari (d. 751/1350) in Sharah al Fusus, c. VIII, f° 263a): God's nasut is double. On the one hand it is macrocosm (the universe which is eternal; mystery of the /chat), on the other it is microcosm (huwa huwa = al insan al kamil) and as such appeared at the manifestation (zuhur) of Adam (cf.

“infusion” with the name of Ruh²¹⁴ which in these texts cannot be understood in its usual meaning of “human spirit, angelic spirit,” nor in the special meaning of “virtual intellect” as which it was then used by Abu Said al Kharraz²¹⁵ who made of the word ruh the equivalent of 'aql as in the translations of the Plotinian works. Al Hallaj's ruh al natiqah is not the “virtual intellect,” but the “active intellect.”²¹⁶ It is a sort of “divine person,” an interlocutor with whom he holds familiar converse. Al Hallaj's poetical works are nothing but continuous conversations between his spirit (rūh) and this divine Spirit on the subject of their common love. No other mystic of those days showed himself more familiar with his God, in a constant use of “Thou and I” and “we”, without any transposition of the symbols of worldly love,²¹⁷ for there exists no mystical poetry at one and the same time more ardent and more radically “dematerialized”²¹⁸ than that of al Hallaj.

Here are a few passages of his works²¹⁹ on the common love between these two ruh, on the “hulūl I” of the divine Ruh in the human ruh, strictly parallel with others on the union of the lahut and the nasut:

²¹⁴ Cf. the apocryphal Arab gospel reproduced in Ikhwan al Safa, ed. Bombay, 1306, IV, 115-117, and ed. Dieterici, *Abhandlungen ...* pp. 601-605).

²¹⁵ The first Muslim author to use these two terms nasut (insaniyah) an(lahut (= ilahiyah) is, I think, Abu 'Isa Muhammad ibn Harun al Warraq, philosopher suspected of zandaqah, in his refutation of the Christian sects (Rudd . preserved in full by Ibn 'Adi, in Ms. Paris 167; cf. Graf, *Christlich-arabische Lit.* 49. He borrowed also other terms: malkut, sayhur, haykal ..., Ms. London, 888.

²¹⁶ Cf. al Kilani, *ghunyah . . .* 1, 83, and Ibn at Da'i, *tabsirah . . .*, 391).

²¹⁷ In *faysal al tafriqah ...* ed. Cairo, 1319. p. 38.

²¹⁸ *Kabsh amlah*, the Lamb of the Apocalypse.

²¹⁹ *Tul wa 'ardh.*

I (خفيف)²²⁰

انت بين الشغاف و القلب تجرى مثل جره الدموع من اجفان

و تحل الضمير جوف فوادى كحلول الارواح فى لابدان

ليس من ساكن تحرك الا انت حرکته خفى المكان

يا هلالا بدا لاربع عشر لثمان و اربع و اثنتان²²¹

“Thou art there, between the walls of the heart and the hear insinuating Thyself there as a flow, like tears under the eye-lid Thou comest down on the conscience at the bottom of my hear as the spirits come down on the bodies! Ah! nothing immobilish moves without Thy moving it with a secret spring. O Crescent!²²² Thou showest Thyself to me on the fourteenth of the month²²³ as well as on the eighth, the fourth and the second!”

II (رمل)²²⁴

²²⁰ Cf. here, p. 133.

²²¹ Cf. the Shi'ite Ibn Babuyeh, in *I'tiqadat ...*, Ms. London, Add 19.623, f° 24a. Cf the so-called Athanasian symbol (Denzinger, 10th ed. § 40, p. 19).

²²² Text collected in my thesis.

²²³ This implies a whole doctrine which is very important: cf. al Baqli, tafsir, on Qur. XVII, 87; and our quotations of al Tirmidi and al Qahtabi, here below.

²²⁴ As it would be called in Sanscrit; not the bodhi, but the purusha (cf. Patanjali, Yoga-Sutra, p. 38 of M. N. Dvivedi's English translation, Bombay 1890. Compare with the other recension, translated into Arabic by al Biruni and partly published in his *tarikh al Hind* The full wording can be read on the margins of Ms. Koprulu 1589).

نحن روحان حللنا بدنا

انا من اهوى و من اهوى انا

و اذا ابصرته ابصرتنا

فاذا ابصرتنى ابصرته

“I have (become) the One whom I love, and the One whom I love, has become I! We are two spirits come down in one unique body! To see me is to see Him! To see Him is to see us!”

III²²⁵

معان الوحي في مشكات مامور

علم النبوة مصباح من النور

و ينفخ اسرافيل في الصور

فالله ينفخ الروح في جلدى لخطر

رايت في غيبتي موسى على الطور

اذا تجلى لروحي أن يكلمنى

“The knowledge of the Prophecy is like the lamp of the divine light, whereas the hidden sense of the Revelation remains in its niche.²²⁶ But behold, God inflates my skin with the Spirit, as a reminder, just as Israfil will blow the Trumpet of the Last Judgement! When He thus irradiates in my spirit in order to speak to me, in my rapture I see Moses on Mount Sinai!”

²²⁵ As in the ruba'iyat of Ibn Abi al Khair (d. 440/1048, ed. Ethé or in the qasidahs of Ibn al Faridh.

²²⁶ “The loving souls relinquish all their goods and follow Amor fully stripped,” said Jean de Saint-Simon (d. 1636) in his amusingly simple language (in Maximes . . . , Paris 1651, p. 230).

مزجت روحك في روحى كما قمزج الخمرة بالماء الزلال

فاذا مسك شئ مسنى فاذا انت انا في كل حال

Thy Spirit has mingled itself with my spirit like the wine one mixes with pure water!²²⁸ Whence, if a thing touches Thee, it touches me! Behold, “Thou” art “I” in every state!

V (طويل) ²²⁹

و لولاك لاهوت خرجت من الصدق...- دخلت بناسوتى لديك على الخلق

“I have introduced my humanity before Thee in this world, whereas Thou hast called forth the Lawlaka²³⁰ of the Divinity²³¹ from the depth of sincerity...”

What was this divine ruh, the second person of these dialogues The controversy against the hululism of al Hallaj took on two form The one saw a Christian influence in it,²³² the other a

²²⁷ His poetical works, for he rarely mentions this condemned doctrine in the prose fragments which are preserved of him; (cf. in at Sulami, tafsir, on Qur.

²²⁸ Isnad of Ibn Fatik in Sulami, tabaqat, of al Za'barani, in Akhbar al Hallaj, and of Daqqaq in al Harawi, tabaqat (cf. Jami I c. ed. Lees, 174).

²²⁹ Distinction between “qalb” and “fuwad”: in al Makki, Qut al Qulub, I, 113-129, The dhamir is the Huwa.

²³⁰ Lari (marginal gloss of the nafahat of Jami, Ms. Paris, Persian 227, p. 89) excuses this poetical licence, supposing that ‘ba'da dālīka should be supplied before ithnatān XXX, 45, cf. the “letter to Ibn 'Ata” (in al Kharkushi, and al Sha'rawi, tabaqat.. I, 108).

²³¹

²³²

belief in the eternity of the Spirit conceived as “the numerical unity of the human intellect,” an idea borrowed either from Greek or from Hindu philosophy, ruinous in any case to the unity of God as it is professed by Islam. This second theory was formulated by al-Birani who said that certain Sufis believe in the co-existence of the two ruh, the one created, the other uncreated, in the mystic who has attained Wisdom²³³:

و الى مثل ذلك اشارات الصوفية في العارف اذا وصل الى مقام المعرفة فانهم يزعمون انه يحصل
 نه روحان، قديمة لا يجرى عليها تغيير و اختلاف بها يعلم الغيب و يفعل المعجز، و اخرى بشرية للتغير
 و التكوين

The controversy on the true nature of the Hallajian Spirit, the so-called “mas'alat al ruh”, was kept alive throughout the fourth century of the Muslim calendar by attempts to bring about the fusion between the Greek metaphysics of the 'aql (reason) and the experimental mysticism of the ruh (spirit).²³⁴

An echo of this is found in al-Sulami,²³⁵ when he reports that his master, the Hallajian al-Nasrabadi (d. 372/982) had in this connection²³⁶ to defend al-Hallaj's reputation:

²³³

²³⁴ The image of the crescent figures also in another prose fragment which has been preserved by al-Sulami (in tafsir, on Qur. II, 109) and which is quite noteworthy: one sees the crescent, he says, from everywhere; but if we remove all that separates our gaze from it, it is He who gazes (through our eye), it is no more He who is gazed upon. *و اذا ارتفعت الرسوم صار*

ناظرا و لا منظورا

²³⁵ When the moon is full.

²³⁶ These well known verses are expressly attributed to al-Hallaj by al-Baqli, in tafsir, on Qur.

سمعت ابراهيم بن محمد النصرى بادي و عوتب في شئ حكى عنه يعنى عن الحلاج في الروح فقل

لمن عابته ان كان بعد النبيين و الصديقين موحد فهو الحلاج!

It seems impossible to reduce this Hallajan Ruh to the understanding, the faculty of comprehension, the intellectus possibilis, following the ancient Greek theory which the commentary of Alexander of Aphrodisias had ascribed to Aristotle: whence Averroism, after Ibn Sina, will conclude thus: numerically speaking there is only one intelligence (virtual intellect) for all mankind,²³⁷ in it alone the souls survive, without any personal immortality, in the impersonal perennity of the idealistic pantheism.²³⁸

In al Hallaj's Ruh we have to see the intellectus agens, that thing which produces the “kindling” of the knowledge in the soul by means of a spiritual image that bursts into flame within the soul.²³⁹ This “kindling” is called the consciousness, and the state of consciousness is the first stage among the stations (mawajid) of ecstasy (wajd),²⁴⁰ where the Truth is found, not a simple rational

V, 59. According to Ibn at Dubaythi (d. 637,'1239, in Dayl Tarikh Baghdad) and Watwat (cf. Bibliogr. 422-a-1°, 503-a-20°), they belonged to a piece of five verses of at Hallaj.

²³⁷

²³⁸ . Cf. Qur. XXIV, 35. The “nafkh al Ruh” is precisely characteristic of the Christian mysticism, in the description which the Ikhwan al Safa give of the various mysticisms (ed. Bombay, 1206, IV, p. 107-108; cf. Dieterici, 1. c., p. 595).

²³⁹ Following the Asharite theologian Abu Hatim al Tabari (d. 440/1048) who gives two recensions (in al Khatib).

²⁴⁰ The word means also “Water of Youth”. It is the doctrine of the imtizaj.

truth, but God, “this supreme subsisting truth which is the truth of no thing in particular ...”²⁴¹

It is this Al Haqq which al Hallaj celebrated in the verses here below and which Ibn Khafif (d. 371/982) considered to be the quintessence of his doctrine of the divine union:²⁴²

وحدنى واحدى توحيد صدق ما اليه من المسالك طرق

هو الحق و الحق للحق حق و لابس ملبس الحقائق حق

قد تجلت طوابع الزهراء بيت شعشعن من لوامع برق

“It is the Unique One who has unified me by His own “tawhid”,²⁴³ for there is no road that is the way that leads to Him! He is the True God, and the True God is truth, whence he who has clothed himself in the garb of the truths, becomes also the Truth! Behold, His luminous radiance is already flashing, and the lightning beam is already sparkling with flashes!”²⁴⁴

The doctrine of lahut and nasut, which seems to have been peculiar to al Hallaj, was too heavily indebted to its Christian

²⁴¹ Following Ms. London, 888, f ° 340a.

²⁴² Allusion to the famous hadith: Ll Sy91: It is only because of you (God speaking to the Prophet) that I have created the heavens! (Cf. the journal al Manar, XI, 827).

²⁴³ I.e. you unite to my Humanity that necessary essence of the prescience which is divine; Ms.: A ; job

²⁴⁴ In a very close analysis of al Hallaj's madhab by al Balkhi (d. 324/932), in at istakhri (Bib!. Geogr. Arab., t. I., pp. 148-149), the doctrine ascribed to him is this:

origins²⁴⁵ to allowed to strike roots in Muslim mysticism. Apart from his din disciples, it was adopted, it seems, only by the Salimiyah whose theory was denounced by al Kilani.²⁴⁶ This theory held that “on the L Day God will appear in a human form (fi surati adamiyi, muham madiyi...)” to sit in judgment on men, and it corresponded well w al Hallaj's word that “God's nasut gives the judgements their form (الاحكام محكمة بنا سوتيته), just as His lahut serves the masses, atom atom, as support of their subsistence (الهياكل وقائمة على ذرة بلا هوتيته).”²⁴⁷ Then these two words disappear²⁴⁸ for two centuries from the Si vocabulary, while al Hallaj's admirers, anxious to escape the excomn nications still in force against hululi interpretation of his doctrine, tried to give

²⁴⁵ Tarikh al Hind, text, p. 34, transl. by Sachau, 1910, I, 69; al Biruni compares this doctrine with that of Patanjali's Yoga Sutra. Al Biruni was very well informed in matters of Sufism. On p. 43 (text transl. I, 87-88), he gives, together with phrases from at Shibli and at Bistami, an anonymous sentence on the “isharah” which figures in al Sulami, tafsir, on Qur. III, 16, and in al Bagli, tafsir, in the same verse, under the name of ibn Mansur = at Hallaj. This theory of the two ruh should not be confused with the old Semitic (and Jacobite) dualism of the sensuous soul (nafs) and the spirit (ruh) which was generally adopted in Islam.

²⁴⁶ Under the name of ruh the orthodox theologians of the classics! period understand nothing but the created spirit of man. They think with at Ash'ari that it dies and rises with the body; or with the Kirāmiyah the Sālīmiyah and the Imamiyah, that it is immortal since the very moment of creation (Ibn at D"ā'i, tabrirah . . . 391,433). But in the beginning the term ruh has a more indistinct meaning and is sometimes used for God. Ibn Hanbal does not clench the matter: “whoever says that ruh is makhlūq, is a heretic, and whoever says it is qadīm, is an infidel!” (id. l.c. p. 433). The Sufis are divided; Abu Bakr al Wasiti (d. 330/932) says that ruh is the first of all creatures in dignity (cf. Yafi 'i, Nashr . . . , Ms. Cairo, 1^o 43a), but at Ghazali seems to think it is uncreated, since “qayim bi (al) dat (“masayl ukhrawiyah”, in Ibn al Da'i, l.c. p. 399).

²⁴⁷ In tarikh al Sufiyah, extract in at Khatib (cf. 250-a-35°). Cf. chapter “fi masalat al ruh” which follows immediately after the refutation of the Hallajian “hululi” Faris ibn 'Isa, in Kashf al Mahjub of at Hujwiri (ed. by Nicholson' 260-264). him

²⁴⁸ It is only the Ash'arite theologian AbU ishaq Isfarayni who made admit that the ruh is created (Yafi 'i, Nashr . . . , Ms. Cairo, f 43a).

reassuring explanations of his work.²⁴⁹ The terms *lahut a nasut* appear again only at the beginning of the 13th century of I Christian era, in the works of Ibn al Faridh (d. 632/1234) and of I 'Arabi (d. 638/1240). But what a change has occurred in the meantime (طویل).

و لم الہ باللاہوت عن حکم مظہری ولم انس بالناسوت مظہر حکمتی

says Ibn al Faridh²⁵⁰: “I do not leave out from the *lahut* my bodily form which obeys the Law (entirely human) ! And in the *nasut* I not forget the place (=my heart) from where rises my Wisdom (entirely divine).” This means: it suffices that I change my viewpoint, and I see that here I am “all God” and there “all man”.²⁵¹ “Div nature” and “human nature” are here but the two symmetrical aspects of an identical a priori monism, the two eternal faces of a unique absolute reality; when trying to solve the antinomies, the favourite method of the later Sufis was to declare the two opposite notions identical. That initial “difference of level” which generates the energy exists no longer, as it did with al Hallaj. No longer is there t “difference of limited potential” which brings about the intercourse between the Creator (al Haqq) and his image, the *Huwa huwa* which reverberates around Him. There are only two immobile, identical terms left, and they are

²⁴⁹ Nous (= nus) of Anaxagoras. Cf. Nazzam (farq, 119) and Ibn 'Arabi (futuhat) . . . III, 210). 1

²⁵⁰ Ij ay:' which bursts into flame in the sublin'tu" a (self)" (al Ralik j, in at Sulami, tabaqat). (tab' (3%11 J'. j'I Lp, a, ly. (same passage, cf. Bibliogr., 170-a-24°).

²⁵¹ This formula, which is the exact opposite of that of Ibn 'Arabi, (cf. here, L 183), is that of Saint Anselm (De veritate).

interchangeable by agreement. According Ibn 'Arabi, man is equally and just as much “necessary” for God, God is “necessary” for man, for the one bears witness to the other reciprocally.²⁵² Besides, Ibn 'Arabi's²⁵³ criticism of the Halla.²⁵⁴ Ana al Haqq tells enough to illustrate this theory. With Ibn 'Ai lahut becomes the constant, lasting, unfading spiritual aspect of whole of things, whereas nasut is its changing, unstable, reviving material aspect. Significantly, Ibn 'Arabi's school gives certain phrase of al Hallaj a new garb. Whereas, telling God that he felt overcome by the Huwa huwa, he had written: cs9 WSJ Thine “I “is in my Humanity,²⁵⁵ Ibn 'Arabi's school rectified . . . }'Sim 'J) . . . in my Divinity!²⁵⁶

As to the name Huwa, huwa itself of the Hallajian concept, it was, under the influence of foreign²⁵⁷ ideas on the universe/man as macrocosm/microcosm that the term was gradually replaced by the name “Insan Kamil”, the “Insan Qadim” of the Manicheans,²⁵⁸ the “Adam Qadmon” of the Cabbala, the “Perfect Man, Type of a superior humanity.”

²⁵² In at Harawi, taboqat ... (cf. Bibliogr., 1059-a-13^o) who gives two recensions of it; the second, following Abu 'Ali al Daqqaq (d. 405/1014) differs from the first, of Ibn Khafif, only in the first two words c5- V^,~,a>: “My Lord made me appear in broad daylight ... (cf. Qur. XII, 51).

²⁵³ The “tawhid” of the “sidq” is the “tawhid” of the “abyss of sincerity”, the “tawhid” as the Divinity herself conceives it (Qur. LIV, 55).

²⁵⁴ On al Hallaj's nur sha'sha'ani, criticised during the trial of 301/913, cf. the Nusayris (Ms. Paris 1450, 13a) and the Druze (nuqat, 82): cf. Dozy, Suppl., s.v.

²⁵⁵ It is 'Umar at Suhrawardi's objection (d. 632/1234) in 'Award ... IV, 273.

²⁵⁶ First condemned proposition, in Ghunyah . . . , I, 83.

²⁵⁷ In Ms. London 888. f^o339a.

²⁵⁸ Except with the Nusayris (Ms. Paris 1450, 52b) and the Druze (nuqat, 84, 92).

The term appears in the 13th century with Ibn'Arabi²⁵⁹ and Sa'd al Din al Hamawi²⁶⁰ and becomes classical after 'Abd al Karim al Jili's (d. after 826/1423) publication of a treatise of this title. In terms of modern Sufism one could say that the here published "Tasin al Siraj" has for subject Muhammad in so far as he is insan Kamil.

3. Theory of the tul wa ardh (sayhur and dayhur).

Tul means "length", ardh is "breadth". According to al Hallaj in this very passage (cf. k-16°), our understanding has two dimensions (extension and comprehension); the plan of its "world-outlook" (Weltanschauung) has two dimensions; for the principle of contra-diction means nothing else than the necessity, perceived by reason, to proceed by dichotomy. Touching briefly upon the contents of doctrines he had developed elsewhere, al Hallaj adds that this duality of the plan of our understanding in terms of reality corresponds to the duality of the created world: spiritual and material; and also to the duality in the realm of ethics: theoretical religious duty (fardh), and practical individual intention (sunan).

The Hallajian theory of sayhur and dayhur, as Ibn 'Arabi says, is connected with this duality of the created world: the title of al Hallaj's work on this subject,²⁶¹ Kitab al sayhur fi naqd al dayhur,

²⁵⁹ v.g. Abu Ja'far al Sadalani, in Hujwiri, Kashf al Mahjub.

²⁶⁰ Nazm al suluk, verse 455: following the commentary of al NAbulusi Kashf al sirr al ghamidh.

²⁶¹ Cf. his other verse, in Nazm al suluk, v. 387:

literally means “Book of the Cone of Shade in which the Moon²⁶² disappears, on the destruction of times.” It was no doubt aimed at the hellenizing doctrine of the world's eternity.²⁶³

The simple fact that in the 4th century of the Muslim calendar a mystical philosopher thus affirmed the “duality” of the world (spiritual and material), a duality totally unknown to early Islam²⁶⁴ Is in itself a most noteworthy thing.²⁶⁵

Moreover, from the lines of magnificent praise which Ibn 'Arabi wrote about al Hallaj, it must be understood that this theory of *tul wa 'ardh* corresponds in his view exactly to the Greek theory which the translators of the Neoplatonic writings had accredited to Islam: the theory of the apparent dualism between *'alam al amr* (= *'alam al ghayb* — *'alam al arwah*) and *alam al khalq* (= *'alam al shahadah* = *'alam al ajsam*,²⁶⁶ the two complementary aspects of the sa basic pantheistic monism. Does al Hallaj's *tul* in the “spiritu world” coincide with the divine action and the uncreated Spirit well as with the created spirits?²⁶⁷ Ibn 'Arabi, monist as he i

takes it for granted:²⁶⁸

²⁶² Theory of the “shahid” and the “mashhud”.

²⁶³ Theory of the “shahid” and the “mashhud”.

²⁶⁴ See below, p. 184.

²⁶⁵ In Ms. London 888, f°339b.

²⁶⁶ In Turkish Ms., Wien Cat. III, p. 508. No. 4, f° 13a. It is not a slip of the pen, for this Ms. contains several other pieces of al Hallaj, showing similar deformations.

²⁶⁷ Duality of God's *nasut*: the *insan al Kabir* (Universe) and the *insan al Kamil* (microcosm).

²⁶⁸ Cf. Friedlander, *The Heterodoxies of the Shiites ...*, II, 104.

[و من ذلك] سر النافلت و الفرض، في تعلق العلم بالطول و العرض، من كان
 علة عيسى فلا يوس، فانه الخالق المحي، و المخلوق الذي يحيي. - "عرض" العالم
 في طبيعته، و "طوله" في روحه و شريعته و هذا النور من "الصيهور و الديرهور"
 المنسوب الى الحسين بن منصور، لم ار متحدا رتق و فتق و بره نطق و اقسام
 بالشفق و الليل و ما و سق و القمر اذا اتسق و ركب "طبقا عن طبق" مثله فانه نور
 في غسق، منزلة الحق لديه منزلة موسى من التابوت و لذلك كان يقول "بلاهوت
 و الناسوت" و اين هو ممن يقول "العين واحدة" و يحيل الصفة الزائدة، و ابن فاران
 من اطور، و اين النار من الور "العرض" محود و "الطول" ظل ممدود، و الفرض و
 النفل شاهد و مشهود - - .

Mystery of the distinction between "supererogatory" and "obligatory works": it follows from the fact that discursive knowledge is a priori linked with two dimensions: length and breadth. Ah! he whose illness is Jesus, cannot be healed,²⁶⁹ for Jesus is one with the Creator who comes back to life, and the creature who is brought back to life.²⁷⁰ The "breadth" of the universe is his (bodily) nature, its "length" is his Spirit and his

²⁶⁹ In *Fusus al hikam*, ed. by Bali Khalifah,, printed 1891, pp. 258-259. PP. 270. In *'Ulum al haqayq*, in *Majmu'at al rasayl*, ed. by Kurdi, Cairo 1328, 4, 495.

²⁷⁰ undo271. This work, quoted by at Qushayri (*Risalah*, ed. by Ansari, III, 181) is undoubtedly of at Hallaj, as at Sibt Ibn al Jawzi clearly attests in his biography of al Sulami, where he examines this passage of at Qushayri (in *Mirat al zaman*, under the Year 412/1021), it is manifestly a mistake of at Ansari when, commenting upon at Qashayri, he supposes that it was a work of at Sulami (l.c.). Cf. Ibn

Law. This is the Light revealed by the doctrine of the “cones of shade” and of the “course of ages”²⁷¹ for which we are indebted to Husayan ibn Mansur. True, I do not know of any unitarian believer²⁷² who was his equal in “sewing and unsewing”²⁷³ when speaking of his Lord, discerning the twilight, the night and that which it encompasses, and the moon when it is hidden, and who knew like him how to order all these complementary facts, He was a light in the growing dusk, God was staying in him as Moses stayed in the wicker-basket.²⁷⁴ This is why al Husa ibn Mansur spoke of lahut and nasut without having anything in common with those who say: “the essence is unique” pass over the added attribute.²⁷⁵ No! Mount Faran²⁷⁶ is be no means Mount Sinai! And the focus is different from the light! The world's breadth is limited whereas its “length” is th' shadow which gives it a limit, the supererogatory work and the obligatory work²⁷⁷ are linked with

²⁷¹ 'Arabi, Futuhat..., IV, 367.

²⁷² “Sahur, sayhur” is a Syrian word (cf. Lisan al Arab, s.v. ;tea° 143 and 50-51).

²⁷³ Ms. Shahid And perhaps Ibn at Rawandi. Hajj Khalifah (sallam al wusu! ..., 1887, cribes Pasha tt as fouo s . I~ JI j u91,-.,l.1zJ1 vj,~J connection l t,Jn with a'Ax aJl l~~ JI, deg ~~ 9 9 t-d I 'tai, L9' I96::,=J 13'sS I .. 1.,;.Q. 1 3

²⁷⁴ Hadith on the arwah, “spirits”, “resembling men, eating, walking . (following lbn 'Abbas, Mujāhid . . . in al Baqli, tafsir, on Qur. XVII, 87.

²⁷⁵ Only later, when the Ash'arite school adopts the doctrine of the Ruhaniyin, it also makes a formal distinction between the 'alam ruhani and th 'alum jismani (cf. Shahrastani, Cairo ed., II, 94 fl. 104, 106).

²⁷⁶ Al Farabi, Fusus fi hikmah, ed. by Dieterici, p. 71.

²⁷⁷ In this case, tul would in al Hallaj mead the same as lahut, and 'ardh the same as nasut. But we see from the Tawasin themselves that this is not so; the Divinity or lahut is that ma'rifah which, it is said has no tul and no 'ardh. Moreover, al Hallaj, describing the action of the auruf (letters), speaks of their tut (cf. Ibn 'Arabi, Futuhat .., I, 188); tul, with him, is a term having in view the created world, since for him the letters are created. But it is only natural that Ibn 'Arabi, who supported the “uncreated letters”, was mistaken in this matter.

each other in the same necessary relationship as are he who gives witness (man) and to whom witness is given (God)!²⁷⁸

In point of fact, this monistic “Husayn ibn Mansur” celebrated here by Ibn 'Arabi is quite different from the al Hallaj as we can know from his authentic works. Ibn 'Arabi, once more, as is his habit, has given a vigorous “reshaping” to the theory he had examined analytically.

4. Theory of amr and iradah²⁷⁹

Al Hallaj starts here from data provided by direct mystical experimentation, in an attempt to resolve the ever so often posed dilemma between Providence and Predestination, the ever so often denounced conflict between the good which God orders us to do (precept), and the evil which He foresees we actually will do (decree). Instead of soothing this conflict, al Hallaj accepts it as a hard fact. For he knows by experience that it is not knowledge, but love which apprehends the divine essence. It is not intellectual knowledge of the general decree established on divine pre-science that will “deify” us, but humble obedience of a heart willing to adhere at any instant to the divine command. For the precept (amr) is uncreated, whereas the decree (iradah mashiyah) is

²⁷⁸ Futuhat . . . , first edition, IV, 367: this passage is an explanatory note on chapter XX, which is found in t, I, p. 168.

²⁷⁹ Alliteration on *l-s-e-4-* and *l-s-r-;:?*, and play on words with which means both “cause” and “sickness”.

created.²⁸⁰ Whence he decides in one statement the discussion of the two terms which the scholastics of his days²⁸¹ had been leading so passionately: الامر عين الجمع، والارادة عين العلم the precept is the essence of the union, the decree (only) the essence of the knowledge. Hence “any heart whose concern for reward makes it turn away from the sacredness of the precept (hurmat al amr), is a hireling, is not a true servant of God.”²⁸²

This categorical distinction between two notions generally considered similar as attributes of God was banned by al Kilani²⁸³ in the following century, in connection with the Salimiya school who had adopted²⁸⁴ and developed the distinction precisely by reference, among other examples, to the subject of the “Ta Sin al Azal.”²⁸⁵ When ordering Iblis to prostrate himself before Adam, God's precept was formal, but not his decree. Otherwise Iblis would have prostrated himself necessarily, since all that is decreed

²⁸⁰ Jesus is in Islam the type of allpowerful physician, and Ibn 'Arabi makes of him the model man of his monistic theory. If he has a double aspect, human and divine, this is simply on account of an unavoidable dichotomy which the working of our reasoning imposes a priori on any definition. In his *Fusus al hikam* Ibn 'Arabi gives a detailed exposition of this theory in which he takes Jesus as a model, ed. 1891, p. 254-255.

²⁸¹ Cf. p 142.

²⁸² i.e. here “monistic”.

²⁸³ The jam' an the tafriqah of the Sufis. Cf. Qur. LXXXIV, 16-19; and also the *Kalam min Allah sabq min qabl an fataq wa rataq*, 282nd title in the list of Ibn 'Arabi's works (in Tahir beg, *tarjamah hal wa fadhayl* Shaykh Akbar, 2nd ed Istanbul. 1329.

²⁸⁴ Tabut; comp. *Fusus* . . , 391.

²⁸⁵ i.e. the universe; God's nasut according to 'Ibn Arabi, totality of the divine attributes: “place of residence” of the omni present Spirit (*Fusus* ..., 251)

by God, takes place by the very fact of being decreed. Following the summary which at Kilani gives of this doctrine, God's demand on his servants is a full demand (by precept and by decree) only as regards good, i.e. acts of obedience. As regards evil, i.e. acts of rebellion, He wants them by decree only, not by precept **ارادها بهم**

لا منهم: He does want their downfall, but without this being their own fault. Al Kilani refutes this doctrine by dint of Quranic verses (II, 254; V, 45; VI, 112). According to him, God wants transgression fully and directly.

Ibn Salim drew quite interesting conclusions from this doctrine.²⁸⁶ He said this conflict between the divine “precept” and the “decree” is what causes trial (ibtila) and produces suffering (bala). God orders a man to do one thing (precept), and wants its contrary to occur (decree)! He orders obedience (precept), and forbids that obedience be made possible (decree)! Al Hallaj had understood²⁸⁷ this deeply: the perfect knowledge of the good and the evil man is due to commit (decree), is full of bitterness,²⁸⁸ for it never excuses you from totally adhering to the practice of good alone (precept Sage draws his sorrowful serenity from the very possession) he e simultaneously of these two opposite evidences: God's order has is formal, and he loves it at the very moment God allows it to be transgressed, at the very moment he knows

²⁸⁶ The mountain where the revelation to Muhammad took place in its totality, as opposed to the mountain of Moses' revelation,

²⁸⁷ Fardh and natal.

²⁸⁸ Shahid and mashhud, according to Ibn 'Arabi, are two terms united by logical necessity and perfectly symmetrical, equal and identical.

that God has wanted (iradah) in this way ! The essence of suffering (bola) lies there and in order to become a saint, one has to accept it fully. This is what Iblis did not do, seeing in ibtila (trial) only iradah (decree) without amr (precept).²⁸⁹ On the pretext of knowing that by decree he is doomed to fall, Iblis “lets himself go”: he gives up struggling for obedience to the precept, so that “there be no fault of his own” when he falls.²⁹⁰

Al Hallaj, on the contrary, practising what he used to preach, did not give in; he accepted the contradiction in its entirety. He, the ' righteous observer of the precepts of Law, in order to penetrate the conflict more deeply, decided to take the transgressions of the others on himself, desirous to undergo the sanctions of the Law he was observing, to incur the public anathema so as to bring the proof of his love for obedience. It is under the stimulus of this conviction that he delivered those strange speeches from the public places of Baghdad, in front of the 'Attab Mosque, near the Suq al Qati'ah, or in the mosque of al Mansur, where he admonished his listeners to help him suffer and be persecuted unto death, by calling him a kafir and denouncing him to the authorities.²⁹¹ There is every likelihood that, taken as a

²⁸⁹ Literally “order” and “will”. For more clarity we translate with “precept” and “decree”.
ding

²⁹⁰ Cf. below p. 153. The setting into motion of predestination according to pre-science is creation, whereas the setting into motion of the order according to bounty is uncreated, pre-eternal as the bounty itself.

²⁹¹ Here as well as in the questions of tanzih, tawbah and asma, one used. how much the Mu'tazilite philosophy had been working on the concepts at Hallaj. As regards iradah and amr in particular, see the doctrines of al Nazi al Khayat, Mu'amir . . . , al Ka'bi, in the treatises of Baghdadi and Shahrastad, But al Hallaj differed from them in as far as he affirmed God as Khaliq of 'al 'ibad (against al Jubbai). Mention must here be made of the discussion between

whole, these speeches are authentic; were they not, they would nonetheless show proof of how strongly al Hallaj's ciples were imbued with his teachings so as to bring the course of his life and his public speeches in line with them.²⁹²

In connection with the Hallajian idea of the created *mashiyah*, i.e. the “created” nature of the divine decree, the following usefully be quoted, even though it has suffered alterations from the hand of the copyists: b the similitudes it suggests, it shows in by the Halls) decisive manner how great an influence this doctrine of exercised on the further development of metaphysical thinking in Middle Ages:²⁹³

قال الحسين (بن منصور) اول ما خلق الله تعالى ذكره ستة اشياء في ستة وجوه، قدر بذلك تقديرا، الوجه الاول المشية خلقها على النور²⁹⁴، ثم خلق النفس ثم الروح ثم [خلق] الصورة ثم الاحرف ثم الاسماء ثم اللون ثم الطعم ثم الرائحة

Abu 'Ali at Jubbai and at Ash'ari on the “reality of obedience” (*haqiqat al ta'ah*), al Jubbai saying it was “conformity with *iradah*”, whereas al Ash'ari, following in this al Hallaj, retorted it was “conformity with *amr*” (in Baghdadadi, Farq, 167).

²⁹² In at Baqli, tafsir, on Qur. LIV, 50. 'Ayn al jam' is the technical term used by at Kharraz, at Shibli (cf. at Baqli, on Qur. XX, 12, LVIII, 22), and at Hallaj for “supreme sanctity”; in al Sulami, on Qur. XXXVI, 21.

²⁹³ In Ghunyah . . , L 83. So also Jbn 'Arabi; by establishing the equation *iradah=amr*, he is led to make a second equation by which he confuses wittingly the 'alam al *amr* which is uncreated, with the 'alam al *arwah* which is created; this confusion is perpetuated by the later Sufism, by al Maqdisi, at Nablusi who in his commentary on Ibn at Faridh (*petite Taiyah*, v. 1001, quoted the following verse of at Siddiqi at Bakri 1 1141 y L3L lm yo U *), SaJI amyI .11 J.)

²⁹⁴ So also al Qasim at SayyAri (d. 342/953): cf. in at Baqli, tafsir on Qur. XXXIX, 9, Ms. Berlin, f°313a.

ثم خلق الدهر²⁹⁵، ثم خلق العماء ثم خلق النور، ثم الحركة ثم السكون ثم الوجود ثم العدم، ثم على هذا خلق بعد خلق، على الوجوه الاخر الاول ما خلق الله تعالى الدهر²⁹⁶ ثم القوة ثم خلق النور، ثم الصورة ثم الروح²⁹⁷ هكذا خلقا بعد خلق، في كل وجه من الستة خلقهم في غامض علمه لا يعلمه الا هو قدرهم تقديرا و احصى كل شئ علما

It would be premature to translate this text which seems truncated and²⁹⁸ words have been partly altered. But the idea, new in²⁹⁹ of a classification of the stoikheya, of the created first Islam³⁰⁰ of a classification of the stoikheya, of the created first prifaisal which combined together constitute the world, is of princip importance indeed. Although it speaks of “six created print great, ranging in the order of “six aspects”, it seems to be inspired ciples, the Greek emanation theories. The number “six” is even found by Abu Nasr al Fārābī's (d. 339/950) exposition of the

²⁹⁵ Extracts of Abu at Hasan Ibn Salim, in Makki, Qut al' Qulub, I, 128.

²⁹⁶ In Makki, l.c.

²⁹⁷ Hence his verse which de Slane regarded blasphemous: ان القاء في اليم مكتونفا فقال اياك! اياك! ان ال تبتل بالماء shouting at him: look out! look out! (I do not want (amr) you to be made wet in the water” (Ibn KhallikAn, in Bibliog., 471-a-4°).

²⁹⁸ Cf. in al Kalabadi (Bibliog. 143-a-52°).

²⁹⁹ Below: f-14.

³⁰⁰ Cf. below the whole “Tasin at mashiyah” (h-1°). His suffering remains vain, because it is imperfect and void of the expiatory force which would validate It. Iblis suffers from his inability without ever submitting to it (cf. here pp. 99-100). The kharejite Yunus at Samarri had already realized this Shahrastāni I, 187).

Neoplatonic in emanation system,³⁰¹ a little later. But al Hallaj's first term, the “Will” (in the meaning of “decree”), is directly opposed, on purpose³⁰², to the first Plotinian term العقل, the Reason³⁰³; it is this latter which, on the strength of the famous hadith *Jiall awl La Lly*³⁰⁴ will be victorious and impose itself upon all later Muslim metaphysicians.”³⁰⁵ And in the following century, the theology of the Druze will even identify المشيئة with العقل³⁰⁶ However, the Hallajian conception of the “will”, and the reaction it represents against the Greek intellectualism, will receive an heir in the great Jewish philosopher Solomon Ibn Gebirol (d. 1058),³⁰⁷ for whom the first emanation is the will, al mashiyah³⁰⁸; the same view was also held by his contemporary Bahya ibn Paquda.³⁰⁹

³⁰¹ Testimonies of Ibrahim Ibn Fatik, Ibrahim at Hulwāni Abu 'Imran ibn Musa, etc., in the collection *Akhbar al Hallaj*.

³⁰² Cf. in this connection Exod. XXXII, 31 and the teaching of St. Paul (Rom, IX, 3). And also the Christian theories on the “probation” of sanctity through temptation and even possession. Cf. Galat. III, II.

³⁰³ Published by at Sulami (d. 412/1021) in tafsir: on Qur. XXV, 2. With 262 respect to the variants we have collated the following manuscripts: *Fātih* 260, 261, *Wali at Din*. 148; *Yēni Jami'*, 43; *Koprulu*, 91, 92; *Hakim Ughli*, 99; *Qādhi O Qur.* 82, 83. We give here only a few variants (cf. also copy in at *Baqli*, tafsir XXV, 2) without discussing the age of the recensions

³⁰⁴ Var. ; *الدهن* (*Wali at Din*); *الجوهر* (QA 82).

³⁰⁵ Var.: *المقادير* (*Fatih*, 260, 261, 262).

³⁰⁶ Sic: QA 83, The other Mss. Give *الوجه* (QA 82).

³⁰⁷ Var: *الدهن* (Q A 83).*Fatih*, 260, 261, 262

³⁰⁸ Yeni adds here: *ثم النفس*

³⁰⁹ The Theory of the physician al Rāzi known to al Hallaj, (cf. 'Attar) is of Greek origin. (cf. al Birūni *tarikh al Hind*, chapter 32. p. 163). Having no definite indications as to the

influence under which this idea entered early sufism, we must at least remember the 10 séphiroth of the Jewish Cabbala, and the 10 emanations of the Manichean system (listed in Fihrist, p. 332; cf. the Hindu Vaishesika, and the 6 degrees of creation according to Shaikhism (Rev. Monde Mus., XII, 451). A first attempt in Islam had been made by the Ismaili gnostic Ahmad al Kayyāl (cf. Shahrastāni ed. 1317, II, 18). Cf. the work of the “Six Days” (Genesis).

In Ma'ani al nafs, ed. by Isaac Broyd  Paris 1896, p. 13.

This method springs from al Hallaj's theory of the divine inspiration and of the 'ayn al-jam', the state where the saint is with God in a direct “state of relationship “which a prophet does not have; of the re, >a11c), jly, written at the top of a book of al Hallaj, seized in 309/922 19.3. Very old too; al Sulami (d. 412/1021) does not seem to have invented the he onions reported by him (cf. Goldziher, Vorlesungen...1911, p. 192, n. 7, 1); Which o ywoul(imarbeizesfaisal thie collectionsr of al Kalabadi (d. 380/990), Bahr al fawayd (Ms. Fatih, No. 6978) and Yeni Jami', No. 274) and of Muhammed ibn 'Ali al Hakim al Tirmidi (d. 285;898 Usul (Ms. Yeni Jami', 302, Koprulu is 464-465),

studied before assessingal how old the Sufi tradition

d,al Hallaj. They will be given the required developments in my thesis on La Passion 195. Al Makki (d. 380/990) in Qut al Qulub, I, 47 (cf. I, 13).

“Dixit Avennasar (= Abu Nasr) principia, per quae constituuntur corpora et ipsorum accidentia esse sex gradus altos. Causa prima continetur in primo gradu: secunda in secundo, intellectus agens in tertio, anima in quarto, forma in quinto, materia in sexto . . . (Averroes (Ibn Rushd) tractatus de animae beatitudine, Latin transl. by Calonymos, Venice, t. X, ad calcem, 1562, ch. V: extract in Tholuck, “Die spekulative Trinitatslehre. . . Berlin, Dummler, 1826,

p. 51). The third is Ji~all JA I, the fourth Lta.Ji, the fifth o)yo=Li, the

sixth ~9 g71 or °4,;:12.11

Cf. theory on 'fig!, here, p. p. 196.

Cf. here. p. 158. No. 5.

Cf. Goldziher, Zeitschrift fur assyriologie, XXII, 317.

Ibn:Arabi, v.g. (Futuhat, I, 326); and Kamalpashazadeh, tahafut (on the margin of that of al Ghazali, Cairo, 1321, p. 60).

Kitab al nuqat . ., ed by Sybold, p. 82.

In Fons Vitae, ed. by Munk. I am indebted for this observation to Dr. Goldziher who made me aware of how important this passage is.

His theory on the “Origo Largitatis et Causa Essendi” reminds us:also of al Hallaj's theory (tut wa 'ardh).

CONCEPTUAL MODEL OF THE ASRAR-O-RUMUZ And IQBAL'S MONADOLOGY

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The Asarar-i-Khudi and the Rumuz-i-Bikhudi were published in 1915 and 1918 respectively. Iqbal started composing them in 1911. Thus the years from 1911 to 1918 may be treated as Mathnavi period of his life. It was rather during this period and in the course of composing them, that he felt himself to be at the threshold of a new vision of life and reality. His father had asked him in 1910-11 to write a mathnavi in Persian after Bu Ali Qalandar. He complied with the advice and applied his poetic talent to the task, which, in the words of Atiya Faizi “enlarged his scope of vision, and made him direct attention to philosophical literature in great strength, his lyrical mood seemed to drop from him... Poets like Shelley and Byron were receding in the background.”³¹⁰ Thus he was led to new conclusions about the nature of man and the living reality.

Being very first mark of his newly acquired sense of reality, the conceptual model of the Mathnavi formed only a passing phase of his advancing thought which gradually culminated in the Six Lectures delivered in 1929 and the Javid Nama published in

³¹⁰ Zabur-i-Ajam, p. 235 if.

1934, definitely written and composed mostly beyond the metaphysical categories of the Mathnavi.

It is remarkable to note that a large part of the Piyam i-Mashriq published in 1923 and important poems of the Bang i-Dara, published in 1924, were written in or had the dominant strand of the Mathnavi phase of Iqbal's life. Zubur i-Ajam published in 1927 belongs to the advanced stage of the evolution of his thought and Armaghan-i-Hijaz, his last work, glitters with a new conceptual model. Here, our main purpose is to analyse the conceptual model of the Mathnavis, and expose its limitation for the purposes of Iqbal's philosophy. The problem is all the more important because most of the popular and technical version of Iqbal's philosophy returns to Mathnavi model as basic frame of reference for explaining and systematizing his outlook and metaphysics.

Fortunately, we are in possession of an important testimony about the nature of Iqbal's sensibility in 1918 as radically departing from the metaphysical postulates of the Mathnavi. While translating the Asrar into English, R.A. Nicholson felt it necessary to seek clarification from Iqbal about the most subtle points of his philosophy. The latter prepared a statement of his philosophy, not of course a complete statement, as he himself estimated it. In that statement, which Nicholson included in the Introduction of his Translation, Iqbal spelled out his sensibility, i.e. fundamental world-feeling of his own as 'All life is individual. There is no such thing as Universal life'. But, theoretical discipline

of the Mathnavi shrouds this basic intuition. And what more? It is encumbered with a consciousness which is stirred up by the feeling of a Universal life.

The form of existence is an effect of the self

Whatever thou seest is a Secret of the Self.³¹¹

The dialectic of this Universal Life is cogitated as if:

When the self awoke to consciousness

It revealed the universe of thought.

A hundred worlds are hidden in its essence.

Self-affirmation brings not-self to light.³¹²

In terms of antiquity, it were a Vedic model ; in terms of the Muslim past a legacy of the Magian encrustation; and in terms of the modern Western Civilization a hiatus of Fichte and Hegel in the body of Muslim Culture. Thus, it includes:

By the self, the seed of opposition is grown in the world! It imagines itself to be other than itself.

It makes from itself the forms of others.

In order to multiply the pleasure of strife.

³¹¹ The Secret of the Self, 11. 187-8.

³¹² Ibid., pp. 239 f ; Dar's translation, pp. 45-50.

It is slaying by the strength of its arms

That it may become conscious of its strength.

For the sake of a single rose it destroys a hundred gardens.
For one sky, it produces hundred new moons.

The world is effect of the self.

Whatever thou seest is secret of the self.³¹³

One Universal sway, in short, pervades and manifests itself in every thing. Since antiquity, this conceptual manifold dominates every articulation of those cultures, which germinate from the magnitudinal consciousness, having its prime life symbol painted in Universal sway Being under its influence at that time, Iqbal, also poetized the image of universal life as under “Falsafa i-Gham”, included in *Bang-i-Dara* (p. 168):

“Singing flows down the rivulet from mountains. Glitters its mirror like the face of a haurie. Then, it has a fall upon the rock, and breaks apart its mirror into lovely gems. Out of the episode, now the water is become stars. Thus the current-in-surge surge is spread into a world of droplets. But in this very ration of theirs lies the message of Union. After a few Pace, the current regathers its course like a silvery thread ... The stream of life, in reality, is one. By descending from height it has dispersed (itself) into the multitude of human beings.”

³¹³ Ibid., Invocation, Arberry's Translation.

This image of reality is what we mean by the magnitudinal consciousness, and metaphysically speaking, it denotes what we call the universal life or Cosmic Sway. Its postulational core rests on the feeling of limitless, indistinct, undifferentiated continuum as underlying essence of being or substratum of reality behind the veil of every phenomenon. The feeling is also saturated with a kind of dialectic of some germinal episode due to which distinctions have emerged from the continuum, and the harvest of multiplicity is reaped in the valley of nothingness. To this feeling, emerging individualities strike as if they are passing moments of the Universal thrust and are nominal in existence. Thus, they are only for a while. No matter what they are, for they are limited forms of the same sway, and are destined to be naught after a while in its collective rushing on.

This model erupts into its own prototype of time theories. Reality, peeped through it, appears as a cycle. Its collective thrust moves the wheel of time which may be represented as moving along an oscillating linear track of rising and falling individualities patterning into a cycle of change from not being into being and from being into nothingness.

Representing the living dialectic of the Cosmic force, the pattern is designated as arrow of time. What is time? It is one with the dialectic of the collective, cosmic, universal continuum.

Like many of the poems of Bang-i-Dara, most of the Payam-i-Mashrig projects Iqbal of the Mathnavi period as we have earlier pointed out. In it is a beautiful poem “Nawa-i-Waqt” conveying

this theory of time as mentioned above, natural to the philosophy of Universal life. Thus, speaks Time:

In my sleeve is the Sun, in my robe the stars: If thou looketh within me, I am nothing.

If looketh thou within thyself, I am life itself.

My abodes are cities and deserts, palaces and lonely dens.

I am the ailment and pain; I am the healing balm and joy unbound.

I am the world destroying sword: I am the fount of life eternal;

Chingiz and Timerlane raised but a handful of the dust of my storm.

The conflagration of the West is a mere spark from my fire.³¹⁴

Being the universal sway itself, Time is arbitre upon all things. As generator of history, it permeates every aspect of being. Consequently, it cannot be held externally. The ripples at the surface of being contain it from within. Thus, 'if looketh thou in thyself,' ' Time is life itself. 'It asks you to "see the strange phenomenon.

I am at rest and yet in motion. "On the image of ocean, the universal life is a continuum. There are ripples and waves, but

³¹⁴ Translation by Prof. M. M. Sharif, Po yam i-Mashriq, p. 102.

underneath is quiet, calm, and unfathomable spread of water: ' I am at rest and yet in motion. 'In its melody, you will hear the notes:

From the cup of my present get the glimpse of Tomorrow.
See hidden within me hundreds of glorious worlds
Hundreds of whirling stars, and hundreds of sky Azure.

Thus, in the philosophies of Cosmic Sway, the swaying force in the ocean of being is identified as Time; and Time produces everything. Yester and morrow consequently, spring from it. A deeper penetration within allows you feel its thrust in all hither and thither, within every phenomenon including your own self. According to this way of thinking, your metaphysical status, the ontological nature of human ego, is just like that of a bubble or wave. If you look at a dancing bubble or a wave in motion, from within, it is all but a parametre of vibration of the ocean, and looks like a point in a dynamic field; the field of which has it been a determination. Thus, the time sings as: Thou loveth a Laila, I am the desert wherein thou roamst wild.

Like the soul am I free of thy how and why.

There is a romantic fervour in the song. But it retains object-true representation of its theme:

Thou art the secret of my being,

I am the secret of thine.

In thy soul I lie hidden: out of thy soul I arise.

I am the traveller, thou the destination,

I am the field, thou the harvest.

I am the traveller 'means that Time or thrust of the Cosmic force is fashioner of all things. All change is from it; the revolution of history, rise and fall of nations. And it does not work from without, like an external force invading from without. It works from within us. 'In thy soul I lie hidden, and out of thy soul I arise.' In the succession of phenomena, in the unceasing transition of accidents, it is Time, its Arrow, the Cosmic urge, which appears into new dawn and changes day into night, and then turns night into day. It lies within and works from within.

The above conceptual model has certain irresistible implications on which a superstructure of thought might be raised as follows:

(i) All things, at their bottom, are expressions of a single elan vital, or cosmic sway;

(ii) Being expressions by their nature, they are also elan vital in their particularity; and

(iii) Therefore, their being lies in their being elan vital, i.e. unceasing thrust.

An expression is, however, different from a mark or seal. The latter is cold and dead as soon as it is marked or sealed, whereas an expression is alive and continuously moves. Bubble and wave, being vibrant with the life of the ocean during their existence, are

true expressions in their essence. Time-philosophies view things as of the status of expression, while some of the old philosophies viewed them as of the nature of a mark or seal; once marked, they are no more Living. Time-philosophies, as modern version of the Cosmic sway postulate, advance beyond by taking all phenomena as living and humming with drive.

In the Asrar Iqbal posited his intuition in the ready made system of the above mentioned conceptual model, and thereby conditioned his meanings with the limits imposed by it. Thus, though he had felt that ego is ultimately inexplicable fact of experience, yet, by versifying it in the conceptual model of the cosmic sway, made it an explicable fact. In the model, ego degenerates into a dancing bubble, a living effect, a mere expression. The bubble lies in its dancing. The ego on the like of it, lies in its activity. The dancing bubble from within is bottomless. Dive into it, the unceasing flow of the formless ocean is there. The bubble ceases to exist. On its like is the bottomless ego. The unceasing thrust, in surge beneath it, is cosmic life itself, in which every limit is naught. In this model, ego cannot have a claim to be an in-itself. It is a mere stirring or a vibration; i.e. a complete function of the cosmic force. It remains activity, no doubt; but, by its essence, it must be finally identical with the universal life. The relation between it and universal life is that of a part and the whole. The part has no self-possessed essence of its own. Being a mere partial discrimination within the whole, only a form it has. By essence, it is identical with its whole, though the

whole is not identical with its part; for the part being limited, cannot contain the whole.

Such were the conceptual commitments of the Mathnavi, at a time when Iqbal was under the exposure of a powerful vision that “ego is a finite centre and this finite centre is the fundamental fact of the Universe.” This radical insight into the nature of ego however entailed that the essence of ego lies concentrated within its own being, and that negating both, its being a mark or its being an expression, it must be an unbreakable monad. In its depths, the ego is thus, unlike a roaming wave or dancing bubble with opening into the unfathomable ocean of being, the indefinite or indistinct continuum, existential continuum of the cosmic life. The conceptual apparatus of the Universal elan vital is summarily banished by the birth of this new consciousness of the monadic character of ego, which was born with Iqbal.

In the choice of his poetic similes, if not in that of his conceptual tools as vehicle of his vision, Iqbal exercised extraordinary acumen in the right direction. He scrapped the simile of bubble and used instead that of jewel for ego. Its significance and symbolic content has not been duly realized by popular commentators of Iqbal. It was selected by him, not so much to teach the cult of power as to convey the metaphysical idea, viz. ontological character of ego as an ultimate truth, well bounded on all sides, inexplicably concentrated within its own fold, and existentially different from and other than the larger reality. In the light of what precedes, we may use another simile:

that of pearl. A pearl is different from tide. It is small, too small, but having its essence identical with what it is in itself, existentially it preserves itself in the limitless ocean. On the other hand, the surge of the mightiest tide has no essence and self-preserving identity of its own. Being thoroughly bottomless, it rises from and recedes into the unlimitable continuum that underlies it.

Iqbal's Mathnavi provoked many of the Indian mystics, especially his remarks on Hafiz were source of much indignation to them. Polemics, statements, and poems appeared against him in different papers. He was forced to write rejoinders, in which those features of the Mathnavi Asrar were brought into light which were not quite manifest in it, yet which were very much pertinent to its theme for the representation of his new image of reality. In his rejoinders, Iqbal emphasized the stand-point of distinction as pivot of his philosophical outlook. It means that the image of falling and disappearing wave into infinite continuum was no longer part of his idea of ego. It does not however mean that he renounced the model of universal life. as means of his philosophical outlook. Indeed, the model was common ground between him and the Indian Sufis at that time. He was using an advanced model of the same genre, gradually perfected as it were, in the evolution of the modern western thought, especially since Schelling, Fichte and Hegel, of whom his Sufi contemporaries had no idea. This advanced model of the cosmic life had its own method for accommodating the particulars and their distinctness. It did not involve sacrifice of the premises of Cosmic permeation of one reality, in any significant way. Thus, a schema emerged in

which no rising wave perishes. In other words if a bubble is formed in the splashes of water, it continues to exist. But the cosmic sway, the limitless continuum of the ocean does not thereby cease to pervade the being or to be the essence of the bubble. So also in the vibration of the wave and movements of all the entities which lie within it, it is universal force which permeates inexorably and manifests itself untiringly in their expressions, though the latter do not die out. In this way, at its metaphysical foundation the model retains Life Force as ontologically unmultipliable and indivisible Agent in all the diversification of phenomena and of all the multitude of forms and names. Thus, modernization of the Cosmic Life allows only that much existence to things which pertains to mere forms and distinct names. The Cosmic Life alone is true actor behind all the finite things; the latter enjoying only instrumental existence. This explanation makes it clear that may it be extinction or distinction, informing the being of a particular, ontologically speaking, the world-feeling and the conceptual model born of it as inherent in the magnitudinal consciousness does not change. Thus, one may harbour no doubt about the things in their having separable designations, without dragging oneself into negation of the same old model. All particulars, as gleaned through this view, are immersed in and at the mercy of the Cosmic Power working immanently through each of them. Each distinct thing unfolds some particular aspect, empirical or phenomenal position of the same indivisible universal life. At this place we are exactly describing the image of reality in terms of Hegelian and post-

Hegelian Monism. It produces the spell of its closeness with the intuition which filled Iqbal's heart. In it as in the older model of the Cosmic life, ego is just a thrust, a dynamism; all of its being is an urge: it is an act. But what does it posit? It posits a moment, a here and now of the universal elan vital. Thus, the advanced model is all but a simulation of the type of philosophical feeling which aroused Iqbal with a new theme for his Mathnavis. Iqbal's assertion of distinction even within the limits of this model, enraged the Sufis of India.

Iqbal drew on Shaykh Ahmad Sirhindi (d. 1034/1624) for defending his position. It may be noted that Indian Sufis of the time were protagonists of extinction while the Shaykh had distinguished himself by upholding the principle of distinction. But there was no logical rapport between Iqbal's sensibility and the philosophical idioms of the Shaykh, who had viewed the things as only distinct forms in the mirror of nothingness. Later, Shah Waliullah (d. 1176/1762) correctly and exhaustively proved that no significant difference in the positions of extinction and distinction, in that of Ibn al Arabi (d. 638/1240) and Shaykh Ahmad Sirhindi (d. 1034/1624), could be ascertained. To Iqbal, ego is not a form in the mirror of nothingness, but is a distinct, finite existent. Obviously, his sense of reality was different in its texture from that of the Shaykh. It is further remarkable to note that Iqbal denounced Plato's general and particular theory, viz. the mystic theory of reflection making the world a reflection of the generals. Shaykh Ahmad Sirhindi's philosophical views exactly rested on this very theory. Platonism in spirit is however a

philosophy of distinction. The particulars are distinct from the Universals themselves, according to its premises. In Muslim tradition Platonism was absorbed in knowledgeable circles as the philosophy of Ishraq. The Shaykh's philosophy represented a curious system of ontology on its basis. At no stage of his life, Iqbal showed an inclination towards this philosophical system though he always kept the Shaykh in very high esteem as a saint, restoring who strove its after the reforms of Muslim society, particularly all trials for his communal identity; and heroically passed mission. Iqbal's anti-Platonism shows that the bare idea of distinction in itself is of no value in the spirit of his philosophy.

The Sufi tradition of India mostly followed the Cosmic Sway model of Ibn-al-Arabi. It was a static model, while Iqbal of the his Mathnavi period as has been said a short while ago, expressed thought through an advanced systematic of the same model. In the atrwetional model, as of ibn al Arabi type, the underlying have emphasized earlier, is identical with none of its parts, though i.e. with the waves or manifestations. In other words, Consequently, is manifest in the parts, yet Reality in its totality 'produces the strange phenomena of being at rest and yet in motion.' This was the outlook of the believers in *Wahdat al-Wujud* with Immanence and Transcendence as its integral moments. The perfectly dynamical model, which becomes complete in the *Rumuzi-Bikbudi*, differs from it by obliteration of the distinction between immanence and transcendence in the Cosmic Sway which means that all has emerged in wave, and the wave is in Sway (d. 1831) who visualized reality to be of this motion. It was Hegel (d. 1831)

who visualized reality to be of this nature. Since the time of Hegel, this model has been the main spring board of the philosophical flights in western Culture, in whose depth lies the magnitudinal consciousness determining the evolution of its thought, as it were, in our time. Its premises may be put in ordinary language as (1) there is no transcendence beyond the appearance; (2) the real is completely immanent in its appearance; and (3) the totality of appearance is reality. Thus the unmultipliable cosmic life is absolutely one with and manifest in the manifold of its expressions, according to these premises. This was Hegelian revolution in outlook, whereas the earlier Stereo-Type had allowed the distinction between the ocean and the wave in the metaphysics of existence. Now the Noumenal reality, the limitless ocean of being, is completely identical with and is given in the phenomenal actuality of its momentary waves. This model, since its very inception profoundly modified the feel of the magnitudinal consciousness inherent in the Western Civilization and has caused its most splendid systems of thought as of Schopenhauer (d. 1860), Hartmann (d. 1903), Bergson (d. 1941), and Samuel Alexander (d. 1938). According to these, the Cosmic Life is a principle not behind but within the phenomena. Whatever it is, it must be a thoroughly immanent principle, living manifestedly in its appearances. Being indivisible and all-pervading immanent causality, it binds together all existent expressions of its being in one irrevocable mighty flow, towards a Single Cosmic destiny. It is Time. The immanent cosmic life is Time. The Model is embellished with a thorough-going Historicism, entailing that

there is nothing beyond History, Change and Time; not at all. All reality, in the totality of its expressions, is posited in its now, which is inevitably surpassed in a next now. The Cosmic force gushes forth, its moments splash into being and exhaust themselves in its flow. It is incessant becoming with infinity of distinctions rising and falling. Like waves, all things emerge and submerge in its universal drive. There is no timeless reality beyond it. All is in the wheel of time. The Collective Force, universal life, is all in all. Everything is a bloom of its temporality. The egos are its phenomenal channels. It traverses its path through them, and blows them to its own (cosmic) destiny. All history is dust storm of its march.

This model preserves the egos, but perforate them by a universal causality. It concedes to their distinct existence, but no deeper than a form or an expression or a particular name. Their will to act is phenomenal expression of the thrust of the cosmic life, which untiringly displays the character of its incessant flow in the dialectic of the rise and fall of people, composition and corruption of the moments of time, generation, degeneration and regeneration of nature. This Historicism is absolute collectivism, objectified in the infinity of individual expressions, all tossed together in the numerical unity of its drive. Absolutely, there is no difference between extinction or distinction of a particular thing in its limitless continuum. Every distinct soul is just extinct in the massiveness of the collective force, the limitless drive of the unlimitable continuum. Thus the ego qua ego, in Historicism, is an existential stillness and qua dynamism is an aspect of an infinite

surge. It is however, an open possibility. But, of whom? Not of its own I-amness, never; it is open possibility of the Cosmic Drive. Its being as such, its self consciousness is only a mode, a particular arrangement, of the all-Pervading cosmic thrust, which permeates all and is of the essence of the universal life. That this particular arrangement is ultimate mode of the universal force having all of its unfathomable aspects realized in it, is a necessary prop of this model raised by Hegel and fortified by his right wing successors.

The Rumuz i-Bikhudi posited its thought contents in the above architectonic. In scope and aims, the Rumuz was rendering of a complete theology and philosophy of religion for the Muslim community, expounding in its verses relation between the individual and community; the constitution of the Ummah, the law of Islam ; Change, Decadence and Conformity ; Social Solidarity ; visible focus of group life ; collective ideals and perfection of the community ; etc., etc. And it was all stuck to Historicism, the post-Hegelian replica of collective sway; all against the spirit of Iqbal's own sense of reality. The Six Lectures delivered in 1929 some ten years after its composition, re-exploring more or less the same field of discussion embodied more faithfully the spirit of Iqbal's vision. The intuition which had been only in a nascent State during 1916-18, by now bloomed into maturity and became articulate. Iqbal of the Lectures was a philosopher, who stood on his own grounds and was in no need of the borrowed models to state his meanings or to build up the philosophy inherent in Islam. Consequently, the thought content

of the Lectures was free from the conceptual encumbrances of the Rumuz. To state the principle of movement in Islam, he was not now required to duplicate a Hegel or a Schopenhauer or a Royce as in that “the perfection of communal life is attained when community, like the individual, discovers the sensation of self”; and in that “the propagation and perfection of this sensation can be realized through guarding the communal tradition”—he had stated in the Rumuz.

Historicism had been part of his philosophical make, when he composed the Rumuz but not now, when he prepared the Lectures. According to Historicism all Life is history. A self is different from other selves by its biography and a community is individuated from other communities by its history. Communal tradition is conservation of the past in the present as inner core and main dynamics of its existence. If you change your tradition, you change your identity; if you disown your history, you disown your-self. The past all in all accompanies you and it is you what you are; your composition, life and meaning. It is your particular genius—genius of a people. You cannot overcome it. The preceding deductions are necessary inferences and immediate conclusions from historization of the universal life. Thus, the ego, or I-amness, bulging out into the future, is all a particular collection and conservation of yesters. What it has to be is result of what it has been. Its destiny is accomplishment of its origin. Then Iblis was right to boast of his genesis ! By historization, the Cosmic Sway model sprouts into a genesis-looking civilization. The present as such has no value of its own. Its being lies in its

being a thorough-bred effect of the past, in its being a vehicle of the movement of Time, of the elan vital flowing into the future, but all from past and along with past. No instant of the self transcends or escapes this binding chain of time and therefore I-amness from all sides in all of its aspects is fettered by it. Ego, in this model, has no ontological composition except by way of a memory condensed in I-amness-Similar is the nature of human groups. They are condensation of collective memory in a nucleus of collective I-amness---all past organizing into a complex super—monad. This conception of the life of ego deeply infiltrates the Mathnavi. Iqbal expounded his idea of self and social philosophy in the Mysteries of Selflessness, on its basis:

Know then it is the connecting threads of days
That stiches up thy Life's Loose manuscript.
This self-same thread sews us a shirt
Its needle the remembrance of old yarn.
What thing is history, O self unaware
A fable or a legendary tale?

Nay, it is the thing that maketh thee aware of thy true self,
alert unto the task.

A seasoned traveller; this is the source of the soul's ardour.
This is the nerve that knit The body of the whole Community.
This whets thee like a dagger on its sheaths
To dash thee in the face of all the world. What is life? A wave.

Of consciousness of continuity.

A gurgling wine that flames the revellers.³¹⁵

Iqbal surmounted this philosophical model in the Reconstruction. Memory or historical genius of a people does not occupy a metaphysical place in the Lectures. Memory now appears as simply an aspect of knowledge. Being reservoir of experience, it is an instrument of the adjustment process just like all other species of knowledge. But, there, in the model of Cosmic Life, in Historicism as it were, memory or history is constitutive ontological principle, the very life, essence, building material and the form of ego. And it is rooted in collective unconscious —the formidable infinite Continuum on the surface of which, the Cosmic Life bulges out in the frame of an I-experience. Iqbal progressively went beyond the limits of this model. Thus, in the end, he was successful in formulating a new exposition of the nature of ego, as basic principle of his monadology, free from historicism. Ego exists beyond memory. It is not a function of the memory. On the other hand, memory is the function of ego. By its nature, ego is of the nature of volition, which is essentially different from remembrance or retention. I-amness is a will in action focussed in its own fold. In experience, it presents itself as a tension, and not as a record or an experience of continuity, hence its power of de-identification from the pull of history—According to the premises of Historicism, in contrast, ego, being an integration and condensation of the past, has no power to rise above the chain of Time and shape itself according to its own

³¹⁵ Arberry's translation, pp. 59-60.

image. Iqbal's exposition of ego and its life in the Reconstruction implies its generic freedom from history and provides foundation to a telesis-looking civilization. In line with it he restated his social philosophy, which in the Mathnavis had been under the shadow of the History-bound metaphysics.

To understand the metaphysical bases of the social philosophy as stated in the Mathnavi Rumuz, we must discuss one more aspect of Historicism. If we look into the earlier simple models of the Cosmic Sway theories, more particularly, their emanationistic and Sufi models. We find them very poor in content, so poor that phenomena of social life are just out of their comprehension. They had no provision for totalities. And since, society is an aggregative phenomenon, they cannot represent it. Thus, if a wave emerges, according to their image, it appears from the infinite continuum, and returns to it. But, Historicism gives an ingenious twist to the image and makes it marvellous. It takes note of the totalities, or collectivities. A wave does not rise, but waves, many waves rise. Each rising wave diffuses into others. All of them emerge into a big tide. The tides, by diffusion into one another, produce storms. These are the tides and storms, and not single waves, which exhaust or disappear into the limitless mass of the ocean. This enriched imagery is the main contribution of Historicism for ontological re-presentation of the Cosmic life in social phenomena. Every individual I-amness has to surge into the social tide. No earlier model of the Cosmic Life had implied that the return (=forward) journey of the individual is through the tide, the collective, but Historicism implied it as necessary aspect

of the life of ego. Iqbal adopted it for stating his social views in Rumuz. Let us peep reality through it. Ego is not a simple thing. Thousands of memory prints melt into one another and ego is born. A multitude of individual egos merge likewise, with one another and collective ego flows out; it is society. The model preserves its postulational rhythm; undifferentiation - differentiation - undifferentiation. The life force scatters into tiny life centres, which in turn submerge into a big whole, a collectivity, an expanded ego - I-amness. Thus viewed, Society is not a 'we'; it is 'I', super-individual I-amness. The individual limits are abrogated, the selves have become selfless, but by this, they have passed into a collective unity; thus they have expanded. The collective ego is indivisible unity of I-amness which permeates everything, every memory, every experience, every frame, which earlier was a separate monad. The multitude of the phenomenal life centres is manifestation of a noumenal active principle; the collective ego. Philosophy of this kind is modern mysticism, rather contemporary wadat al wujud. The Mathnavi Mysteries of selflessness was fastened to it.

Self negates itself in the Community

That it may be

No more a petal, but a rosary.

When in the Congregation he is lost

It is like a drop which seeking to expand

Becomes an ocean.³¹⁶

This super individual self, the collective monad must have a law, a visible focus, an ideal. Iqbal expounded all those important requirements in that Mathnavi. He faithfully stated the Islamic props of social organization. But as this statement was stuck to the metaphysics of collectivism, interpretation of its important concepts was liable to the distortion imposed by the collectivizing categories.

As it has been clarified earlier, society according to the categories of collectivism is one will, one thought, one action, one indivisible I-amness, a massive sway. As it grows, the individual egos are segregated and submerged into its unity and indivisible I-amness. Their autonomies and volitions are simply abolished in this *wandat al Wujud*, continuously in evolution from less socialization to more socialization, from a superficial collection to a more and more intensive collectivism, until the perfection and complete existence of the super I-amness is in realization before which no individual I-amness is in existence. All are cancelled, negated and summated at its height. It is the station of *Jama al Jama* of contemporary mysticism, prescribing a particular sense of social solidarity. One voice, one opinion, one experience, one party, one property, one conscience become its logical implications. At its height, it negates every sub-group, every party, every opinion, every conscience beyond it. Now, if the Muslim Society is cast on this model, then Kaba as visible focus and

³¹⁶ Arberry's translation, p. 7.

shariah of Islam as its law mean very little in terms of Islam; they cannot impart life to it. Fortunately, the Muslim people never practised this kind of theory of Social solidarity in their history. Iqbal's further development as we have emphasized earlier, consisted of clarification of his philosophical concepts and restating them in terms of more appropriate categories. His monadology, as it finally evolved, had no scope for collectivism no mystification of society. Like all the orthodox muslims, he believed that 'differences of the Ummah or dissension in opinion is a mercy. 'He developed an organic sense of unity as principle of social organization and discarded the view that society is a super individual monad. According to him, society is a mode of living of the individual egos, a necessary mode of course, in which the individuals are more powerful than they are in their loneliness. Similarly, social system is a policy of producing living unity between them. Only in a good social system, the individuals are in their individuality. A healthy society overcomes and removes all obstructions which are source of weakening the individuals. Socialization is a process whereby individual persons intensify their individual I-amness, and overcome extinction. Thus, the concepts of unity, social solidariy, discipline, individualism. etc. attain their own constructive and healthy meanings in the evolution of Iqbal's thought as he expressed them in his maturer works:

The I 'is truth, it is no illusion Don't look upon it as a fruitless field. When it ripens, it becomes eternal.³¹⁷

He imparts purposiveness to the nature of society in the same spirit:

My heart burns on the loneliness of God.

In order, therefore, to maintain intact His Ego society, I saw in my dust the seed of selfhood. And keep a constant vigil over my 'I'.³¹⁸

Society is union of these egos and separation-in-union. We have to reinterpret the mathnavis on the basis of Gulshan-i-Raz-i-Jadid. All answers in the latter are against the philosophical postulates of Cosmic Life, Historicism and Collectivism. Iqbal gave positive answers in it straightly on the basis of his own ontology. It cannot be said of his monadology that it was a reproduction of Leibniz, Fichte, Hegel or Bergson. The latter were philosophers of Cosmic sway, Iqbal finally was not. He took time to develop his own model and came out of their influence. Thus all of his deductions and conclusions have to be reinterpreted in terms of his own ontology and monadology.

With a song of agony

With a sweet, soft melody,

³¹⁷ The Secret of the Self, 11. 187-8

³¹⁸ Ibid., 189-192.

To a dying world a thirst

Lo: Life's flagon I have burst.³¹⁹

*. A. H. Kamali, Deputy Director, Iqbal Academy. 1. Atiya Begum, Iqbal (Lahore, 1969), p. 75.

³¹⁹ Ibid., 193-96, 201-2.

EXPRESSIONISM IN THE TWENTIETH CENTURY LITERATURE

J. W. Syed

Expressionism, as a literary and artistic movement, flourished in Europe, particularly in Germany, between 1914 and 1924. The term, as distinct from Croce's aesthetic theory of art, was first used by the French painter, Herve, in 1901, and was applied to literature by Hermann Bahr in 1914.

There are some remarkable similarities between Expressionism and Romanticism. Romanticism was a revolt and reaction against the limited mechanistic and materialistic world-view of the Age of Reason, It was, in its liberal and radical aspect, a call for freedom both of thought and its content, literary form and its material. Dissatisfied with the sordid reality, it exalted the elemental in human nature and sought the infinite. There is consequently a mystical strain in romantic poetry, a touch of melancholic longing in romantic symbolism. Love dreams, visions and ecstasy seem to be primary media of the Romantic art. Some of these very qualities and characteristics are the heart of Expressionism. Expressionism, like Romantic-ism, was a voice of protest against the whole materialistic and mechanical trend of modern technological and industrial civilization which reduces man to a 'robot', alienates him from his own essential nature and makes him a prey to purposeless, tedious and meaningless

existence like Kaiser's Cashier who attempts to break the cage of modern life of money and profit, and seek love and romance. Rousseau, Blake and Wordsworth had already questioned the benefits of an artificial civilization, they believed that the progress of civilization and the accumulation of earthly goods had made man selfish and had taken him far from the purity and innocence of his real uncorrupted nature. They emphasised the value and importance of feeling as against the calculative intellect. Wordsworth warned his generation and posterity against the dangers of growing wordliness and materialism; Blake turned to poetic and prophetic visions and dreams, elemental feelings and impulses, preferring the world of dreams to the world of brutal fact and seeking to establish a new Jerusalem.

Expressionism is linked with Romanticism in its emphasis upon vision and dream and ecstasy, in its spirit of positive and Vitalist Idealism and Reform, in its longing for eternity, in its sense of a transcendental Reality, in its concern with death as the gate to the Great Unknown: 'Marzynsky indicates that Expressionism has a certain kinship to Romanticism in its turning away from the observed reality.' The romantic longing to pass from the restricted, finite, temporal existence into the infinite and transcendental world of perfection, bliss and ecstasy is shared by the Expressionist.³²⁰ The desire of the Expressionists', writes Richard Samuel, 'to break through the narrowing limits of finite reality, as represented by a world in which even before the war

³²⁰ Dahlstorm, Strinberg's Dramatic Expressionism, p. 17.

they had begun to lose faith, led them to a craving for death, which they visualised as the gateway to the transcendental life.³²¹

As a complex movement, Expressionism both rejected and accepted many elements from previous and contemporary European intellectual and literary movements; and therefore any study of Expressionism inevitably involves a discussion of Naturalism, Realism, Symbolism, Neo-romanticism, and Impressionism. The dominant phenomenon in late nineteenth century European literature, particularly novel and drama, was the emergence of Naturalism, and Realism, associated chiefly with the names of Balzac, Zola, and Ibsen. The great triumph and achievement of these movements was in the French novel and Scandinavian drama. The realistic and naturalistic trends in literature and art were a manifestation of the new faith in science and its objective method. In content the naturalistic-realistic literature is generally concerned with the life of the middle and the lower classes; it does not mind depicting the lowest depths in man, the beast under a thin veneer of civilization, portraying man as a biological and economic animal. In language it made use of the daily slang. Realistic-naturalistic literature became avowedly socioiological and reformist. Some writers, labelled as Decadents dealt in their work with the weird, the dark, and the painful, the abnormally sexual and sensual, linking love and death, pleasure and pain, and showing an obsession with corpses, ghosts, and torture, characteristics which are not absent in the work of some

³²¹ Richard Samuel and R. H. Thomas, *Expressionism in German Life*, p. 132

Expressionists. The hero, as in Dostoevsky, is generally gloomy, pessimistic, and ineffectual, more a victim than a hero; he finds no satisfaction and happiness in any earthly activity and suffers from ennui and tedium of a life which finds its only earthly palliatives in opium, sex and woman. The writers of some of these new literary movements sought new shores even if they were shores of utter darkness. Baudlaire expressed the wish "to plunge into the gulf no matter whether hell or heaven, to find, at the bottom of the unknown, something different ". Likening life to a hospital (Baudlaire) and to the deep and eternal wound " (Rimbaud), these writers and their characters sought an escape and release out of this world: Anywhere, anywhere, as long as it be out of this world".

Two additional influences on twentieth century literature were the Marxist socialist-radical movement, and the Freudian. A large number of modern writers, including some Expressionists, consciously or unconsciously presented Marxian concepts such as the conflict of social classes, and a critique of the whole bourgeois-capitalistic system of values centering round need for money, profit and power, ending in wars. Next to Marxism, Freudianism was another important current of thought that found expression in Expressionist literature. Freud publicised the importance of the subconscious life in determining human motivation and action; and, even more important, by his revelation of the repressed sexual element in man he paved the way for a more frank and more revealing treatment of erotic themes in literature. The theme of the repression of the sexual

instinct is the favourite theme of Wedekind and of good many other twentieth century writers.

II

Influenced by Dostoevsky's and Strinberg's exploration of the deep and dark corners of the human soul. reinforced by Freud's exploration and interpretation of the subconscious forces in man, the Expressionists set out to break through the barriers of the surface reality find the deeper reality that lies beneath and beyond it. In Expressionist drama, therefore reality and super—reality are freely mixed; it dispenses with individual characterization and creates types expressing the basic problems and issues peculiar to the modern society, such as bourgeois morality, sex, war, and the social problems resulting from mechanization and industrialization. The dramatic scene is symbolic and not defined in terms of place and time, the actor is the representative of ideas, emotions, fate, social and economic forces. The twentieth century demand for freedom from old established but outworn modes of thought and feeling, from intellectual, moral, religious, economic, social and political formulations of the age had already been witnessed in the work of almost all important European writers, including the English ones, such as Bernard Shaw, H. G. Wells, Galsworthy, and D. H. Lawrence. All these authors were profoundly aware of the issues and problems resulting from the triumph of science and industry and from man's acquisitive instincts. Expressionism was one such manifestation of this new awareness.

Three main influences, literary and intellectual, contributed to the emergence of expressionism. The first of these was the work of August Strindberg (1849-1912), a brilliant Swedish dramatist and novelist who actually wrote expressionistic works a generation before the formation of the expressionistic school of play-wrights. His fantastic dramas, especially *The Dream Play* (1902), were widely staged in Germany and caused a sensation almost equal to that created by Ibsen a generation before. The second influence was that of psychoanalysis, especially the work of Freud and Jung. The existence of the sub-conscious and unconscious life under the appearance of reason and logic provided the Expressionists with fertile material for their work. Last, Marxism, which viewed social strife not in terms of the individual but in terms of the amorphous and homogeneous masses, had its impact on some of the Expressionists. Most of the Expressionists used the concept of class solidarity to create a literature in which masses, not individuals, were the protagonists. The protagonists are often given such labels as 'Father', 'Cashier', 'Nameless', 'Billionaire', 'Daughter', rather than specific names. *Toiler's Man* and *the Masses* has only one distinguishable individual character, Sonia, and even she is submerged by the mass before the drama ends. In practice the most striking characteristic of expressionistic drama is its weird, fantastic or unreal setting and atmosphere. Everything is distorted or oversimplified; the elements of conflict are presented in their bare essence rather than encumbered with detail. The dialogue is often spoken in a sort of telegraphic style.

Expressionism in drama is found in its purest form in the plays of Wedekind, Sorge, Toiler, Kaiser and Karl Capek.

The effects and results of the first World War, particularly for the Germans, were disastrous, giving birth to a mood of pessimism regarding man and his civilization. The world and human society instead of presenting a picture of order and reason, appeared chaotic and irrational, the picture of a world gone mad: "The provocation to storm high heaven and thresh one's arms against a mad world with commensurate madness was too strong to be resisted"³²² Corpses and ghosts were introduced by some of the post-war Expressionist playwrights. This Expressionist drama definitely subjective embodying as it did the personal disillusionment and revolt of some sensitive and idealistic souls among the German writers, These writers strove to represent the anarchic state of the world by a corresponding anarchy of rapidly shifting scenes, by an alternation of fantasy and reality, and by characters who are fantastic either in themselves or in their visions and moods. If the world is unreal to a character, as to the embezzling Cashier of Kaiser, the play makes the world look commensurately unreal by means of extravagant and fugitive scenes and by the devices of masks and wooden legs. No single dramatic formula and pattern can cover the dramas of the Expressionist school: the plays range from furious melodramas and fantasies to carefully constructed dramas of social protest. Wedekind, Toiler, Kaiser, and Karl Capek addressed themselves

³²² John Gassner, *Masters of Drama*, (New York, 1945), p. 484.

to tangible realities of sexual repression, militarism, social injustice and inequality, war and revolution, industrialism and capitalism. One characteristic note in the Expressionist drama, particularly that of Strindberg, Sorge, Kaiser, and Wedekind, is that of pessimism. A sense of the hollowness and meaninglessness of life. of ennui and tedium, underlies Expressionist drama; from morning to midnight there is same eternal round of mechanical activities, of 'the eternal mating, the eternal round of sex', as says the Professor in Capek's *Insect World*. Life appears like a cage of horrors, monstrocities, corruption, greed and lust. The Daughter of the Godess Indra in Strindberg's *The Dream Play* believes that humanity is to be pitied; the world is a dream, a nightmare. In these plays there is the sense of man's dilemma, of his anguish and agony, caught between the claims of the irresistible forces of his nature and the demands of rational and civilized life. Once the facade of reason, logic, moral will are re-moved, the irrational in man comes to the surface. The pressure of the conflict between the irrational, and the rational, between reason and impulse, between law and discipline was acutely felt by some of these writers. This demand for complete freedom from rational and social control is voiced by an Expressionist painter and writer, Kokoschka: we must harken closely to our inner voice. ... All that is required of us is to release control. ... All laws are left behind. One's soul is a reverberation of the universe".³²³

³²³ Edith Hoffman, Kokoschka: *Life and Work* (London 1947), p. 286.

The new generation in Europe, particularly in Germany, that was born before the first World War and lived through it, was dissatisfied with the bourgeois attitude to life that it found around it; the vision of a ruined and distressful world occupied their imagination, and they were deeply concerned with the social and political realities of the modern world. But this generation, which hated war, also had the hope that after the war a new and better world would be built up. Thus, in German Expressionist drama there is both a pessimistic and optimistic note. The aims and objectives of the Expressionists were realistic and practical, but their artistic methods were unreal and fantastic. Wedekind tore the mask from the hypocrisy and prudery of the bourgeois attitude to life and presented the reality of sex and of adolescence. Here Expressionism joins hands with Naturalism and shares with it the desire boldly to face and unmask reality, even in its unpleasant aspects. The difference lies in the fact that while the aim of the Naturalists is to describe in detail the manifold elements of the milieu and expose evils of modern industrial society the Expressionists avoided abundance of details and just gave glimpses of evil. Expressionists do not work as photographers, they present visions. They are not concerned with descriptions but with inner experience and reality. The Expressionists, in spite of the various shades of religious-mystical and socio-political-activist, are all united in their search for a new world, a new society and a new man. They rejected the Neo-Romanticist surrender to impressions, its preoccupation with legend and fairy-tale and its lack of a positive outlook and

programme for the future. But the Expressionists accepted from Neo-Romanticism the cult of the irrational, the representation of the dream world, the use of symbolism, and the heightening of emotional effect to the point of ecstasy. From Naturalism the Expressionists inherited the emphasis on the social ills and evils of the contemporary socio-economic order. By minimizing the role of reasons ", and moral will "in human life, naturalism prepared the ground for the excesses of expressionists and surrealists".³²⁴

The emergence of modern drama can be equated with the rise of realistic drama and stage production under the influence of Zola Ibsen, and Bernard Shaw. The idea of freedom of form and thought in modern drama, as in all modern literature, can be traced to the Romantic revolt against neo-classic restraint and discipline. Lessing in Germany and Victor Hugo in France were the pioneers of new ideas in drama. Romanticism was again, like Expressionism, a complex movement ; it had elements which were both creative constructive and realistic, and also subjective, purely romantic, dreamy and visionary. The opposition and reconciliation between the purely romantic, idealistic, visionary aspect of romanticism on the one hand and the realistic, creative and constructive aspect on the other, has led some critics to apply the label of ' vitalist idealism ' to the creative impulse of the major romantic poets. The Romanticists attempted to penetrate to the depths of human experience and to discover the real human core

³²⁴John Gassner, *Form and Idea in Modern Theatre* (N. Y., 1956), p. 70.

and vital origins covered under the artificial trapping of convention and civilization; they wanted to reconstruct the world and human society. This side of romanticism relates it to the naturalism and realism of the later nineteenth century. ., It was this freedom of expression ", writes Gassner, " that sparked the naturalism of Zola, the critical realism of Ibsen, and the expressionism of Strindberg, during the last two decades of his life ".³²⁵

The new realistic drama had certain technical characteristics, such as the attempt to create the illusion of reality on the stage, use of natural language, compression and compactness of structure, an inner unity of atmosphere and idea. The characters are representatives of ideas and class, leading to discussion and debate rather than action. Zola's naturalism exhibited man as the product and victim of heredity, environment, and instinct; and naturalistic drama presented environment, and instinct on the stage, the beast in man, degradation, disease, poverty, and sexual licence. Naturalism was succeeded by anti-naturalistic and anti-realistic movements, such as Neo-Romanticism, Impressionism, Expressionism, and Sur-realism. These movements were still realistic to the extent that they attempted to reflect the confusion, the disintegration, the ennui, the loneliness and isolation of modern man's life in mechanical, industrial, acquisitive society. But the Realists, as against the anti-Realists, felt at home in their world which they certainly wanted to reform; the anti-Realists

³²⁵ Gassner. *Ibid.*, p. 16.

were psychologically alienated and isolated lonely souls with a morbid grievance against the real life, against all observed reality, and seeking Novalis's " blue flower " or Maeterlinck's " blue bird ". Indefinite, vague longing and vision, allegedly more real than physical reality, became the province of the new anti realists. " Expressionism followed ", writes Gassner, " a view of life and art that required the destruction of the external shape of reality ".³²⁶ For the Expressionists the stage became the means of projecting the disintegration of modern man and society. The Expressionists claimed to express reality and truth better than the Realists. A chaotic and even nihilistic view of life and reality informs some expressionist plays, particularly the plays of Strindberg. The characters are depersonalized, stark symbols or allegorical types, deprived of individuality and of a personal name. A sense of the vanity, shallowness and weariness of the age is present in expressionism; the last scene in some Expressionist plays is laid in cemetery. And yet, ecstasy spirit of revolt and reform, the longing for eternity and the sense of God's presence link some of the Expressionists to the romanticists, with whom they share the hatred of materialism and the search for a spiritual principle in the universe.

Expressionism was not a completely unified school and movement but consisted of several groups. The attempt has been made to trace two independent tendencies during the years 1910-1925, pure Expressionism and Activism. The Activists form but a

³²⁶ Gassner, *Ibid.*, p, 109.

special branch of Expressionism, concerned mainly with social and political issues and reform, their outlook clearly including towards rationalism or scepticism. To this group belong writers like Toiler and Kaiser. Another group is more mystical and religious in its quest; to this group belong Sorge, Unruh, Werfel, and Kafka, who are particularly concerned with the problems of man and God; in their work the irrational predominates; they are more interested in the liberation of the soul from the prison of the body and the world than in the reform of society. But they all shared the dissatisfaction with the external reality, and turned inward. The essence of Expressionist literature seems to be the depiction of man's predicament, of sorrow and suffering, and the purification that sorrow and suffering bring. Most of the Expressionists are idealists, possessed by the idea of the New Man, New Society, and New Humanity, rising above the barrower loyalties to state, nation, class, social conventions, and governed by love, goodness and peace. The birth of the New Man is opposed by the forces of violence and evil, greed and egotism, tradition and convention, deception and wickedness. The expressionist, like the romanticist, wants to transform and reshape the observed reality in the light of his ideal aspirations and nearer to the heart's desire; he is subjective, lyrical, ecstatic, " The expressionist seeks to give meaning to all that happens within the ego ", writes Dahlstrom, " to grasp into the chaos of the

unconscious and bring to the light of consciousness whatsoever meaning there is to this existence of ours ".³²⁷

In all Expressionist drama there is a stress on mankind, on human values, on the spiritual brotherhood of man; there is the desire to restate all human values in all human relationships: "Expressionist drama may be said to begin and end with emphasis on human values, on love on a spiritual brotherhood. It is perhaps an esoteric socialism of the soul, a means of realizing essential reality in man himself."³²⁸

The implied values of these plays are love, humility, and a victorious meekness; dehumanizing forces of the industrial age are opposed by a humanistic idealism which pins faith and hope in the birth of the New Man and the New World.

The dramatic aims and methods of the Expressionists are well indicated by words of Toiler: " The plays collected in this volume are social dramas and tragedies. They witness to human suffering and to fine yet vain struggles to vanquish this suffering "³²⁹ Again: " These pictures of ' reality' are not realism, are not local color; the protagonists (except for Sonia) are not individual characters. Such a play can only nave a spiritual, never a concrete, reality".³³⁰

³²⁷ C. E. W. L. Dahlstrom, /bid, 52,

³²⁸ Ibid, p. 79.

³²⁹ Ernst Toiler, Introduction to Seven Plays, (New York).

³³⁰ Ibid.

III

Coming to the individual dramatists of the Expressionist school and selecting four of them as representatives, the first name that must be mentioned is that of August Strindberg (1849-1912), who was Swedish by birth. He was the child of an aristocratic father and a bar-maid who were married a few months before the birth of Strindberg. He had an unhappy childhood and the circumstances of his early and later life left their impress on his literary work. He married three times and all his marriages ended in unhappiness and failure. His attitude towards woman was very abnormal; he was both attracted by woman and repelled by her.

Strindberg began as a Naturalist, and in his naturalistic works he belongs to the Naturalistic literary movement of his time. But later he turned from naturalism toward an embryonic form of expressionism, and he is regarded as the precursor of the symbolist and expressionist drama of the early twentieth century. In fact, his dramatic work combines all the three techniques and strains, the naturalistic, the symbolist, and the expressionist. Out of life's despair and disappointment arose his desire to express himself in literature; in fact, one can say that he shed his mental and emotional sickness in literature. Having himself undergone psychological conflicts and the storms of passion, he became the master of the drama of psychological conflict, and he portrayed realities which the Realists and Naturalists had often confined to

the surface of life and experience. He avoided the commonplace and the normal in everyday reality. His plays possess the incisive symbolizations of both the external and the inner world of modern man. Strindberg's expressionist influence proceeds chiefly from his three plays, *To Damascus* (1898-1904), *The Dance of Death* (1901), and *The Dream Play* (1902). These plays mark the beginning of the expressionistic technique, later to be utilized by Wedekind, Toiler, Sorge, Kaiser, Capek, and O'Neill. The chief characteristic of Strindberg's work is its brooding pessimism and its revelation of hitherto unemarked dark forces of human nature, the dark powers of the unconscious. His work is dominated by emotion, instinct, and passion. Sexual themes are predominant in his work, but this view of sexuality is abnormal, even pathological. He presents sexual passion as a cruel struggle between the male and the female in which each seeks to overwhelm and dominate the other; its twin poles are a blind and bestial desire and a hatred toward the object which arouses such an enslaving passion. Strindberg's personal experience of sexual life was dark and chaotic. His attitude towards women is different from Ibsen's feminism; he views woman as Dionysian power of nature which attempts to stifle the freedom-loving intellectualism and spirituality of the Appollonian male.

In the prologue to *The Dream Play*, Strindberg explains that his purpose is to imitate the disconnect but seemingly logical form of the dream. The background is ostensibly of reality, but on this surface the dramatist's subconscious embroiders an intricate pattern of memory, experience, fancy, fantasy and the grotesque.

The characters take on a dreamlike quality; they become allegorical or symbolical figures, embodying traits and forces and ideas. Strindberg transmuted much of his personal experiences and suffering into his expressionist plays. After having undergone various emotional, intellectual and religious revolutions, socialism, pacifism, Deism, even perhaps Buddhism, he was converted to a mystical form of Christianity of the Swedenborgian variety. This personal religious conversion and suffering he embodied in his dramatic trilogy: *To Damascus*, a sort of autobiographical allegory which also marks the inception of his expressionistic period in dramatic technique. *The Dream Play* is the most expressionistic of Strindberg's works. It anticipates later attempts to incorporate the Freudian concept of the dream into literature. Beyond and under the apparent beauty of life Strindberg perceived an under-current of wailing, a silent sad music ; this dark and pessimistic attitude passed on to some of the later Expressionists. Strindberg plumbs the depths of the tortured and tormented soul of modern man and gives expression to this hopelessness in dramas in which there is no vestige of form in the traditional sense; the whole play is dissolved into a series of incidents, each contributing to the moral that Strindberg wishes to draw, namely, the hopeless situation of mankind caught in the grip of forces of the irrational. He is aware of the pain of joy and the joy of suffering and sorrow; he finds no remedy for man's wretched earthly lot except in human pity and resignation. Strindberg opened up new depths of the unconscious and the subconscious, new horizons beyond the pale of observed reality. His doctrine of suffering was given an active turn by the

Expressionists who proclaimed suffering as essential for the birth and victory of the New Man. He mingled reality and super reality, and used the stage to reveal strange visions, ecstasies, agonies, dreams and nightmares.

Next important Expressionist is Ernst Toller (1893-1939). He is one of the most impassioned and forceful of the German Expressionists. His play *Masses and Man* carries the technique of mass dramatic action to its absolute ultimate; the characters are devoid of any individual personality at all, except Sonia, and seem to act like a swarm of ants. Toller is not only a forceful champion of expressionism but also a social revolutionist. He was too independent and individualistic to integrate himself with any ideological party or school. His personal attitude and outlook is one of a universal and mystical human brotherhood, cutting across racial and national divisions and uniting all mankind in a common struggle against poverty, sorrow, suffering, and war. The merit of Toller's dramatic work lies in the idealism of his inspiration, in the impassioned arguments of his characters, and in the effective portrayal of mass action.

Toller was the son of a Jewish merchant. He was born in former German Poland in 1893. He was twenty-one when the first World War broke out. His first experience of life was horrifying and disgusting, and as soon as he was discharged on medical ground he became an active pacifist. He was thrown into jail, released at the time of the 1918 revolution in Germany, and was imprisoned again in 1919. He remained in prison until 1924,

and emerged broken in spirit and bitter in temper. In 1932, fleeing the Nazis, he came to America; in 1939, depressed by the War and by personal domestic troubles, he committed suicide.

Like several other Expressionists, Toiler turned first to the tragedy and insanity of war. With a romantic confidence in man he celebrated a spiritual conversion to pacifism in his *Transfiguration*, written in 1918. In both realistic and dream pictures a sculptor, who had enlisted for military service, becomes a pacifist. Toiler envisaged a bloodless-revolution and transformation of society, a conversion to reason and love, to peace, and to creative and constructive action. During his imprisonment Toiler produced two of his most famous works, *Masses and Man* and *The Machine Wreckers*. Neither play relinquished any faith in the ultimate triumph of humanity and love. Both works expressed socialist idealism without countenancing violent methods. Both plays were consequently poems of suffering and aspiration rather than mere representation of reality. In *Masses and Man* an upper class woman, Sonia, deserts her husband and supports the common people in an anti-war strike. But when the masses get out of hand and commit deeds of violence she makes an impassioned effort to restrain them. Sonia is mocked and over-ruled by the mob, represented by the Nameless, and the revolt is crushed. But it is she who is dragged to prison and forced to suffer for the people. Refusing to be saved by the Nameless, proponent of mob violence, and awaiting execution, she endures visions in her cell that fortify her instead of crushing her spirit. Sonia represents the dilemma of all

radical idealists who want change without violence and hatred. The Nameless insists that evil and oppression can be destroyed only by violence, but Sonia cannot countenance murder from any source and in any cause. The change to a better world should not come through violence and hatred. Sonia is the incarnation of all the ideal dreams of liberal and humanist radicals.

Masses and Man is a bitter but moving study of revolution and its failure to solve the problems of the masses. From a dramatic point of view it is an experiment in the use of mass humanity as the protagonist of a drama. The play brings out the deterioration that comes with power; the masses, having tasted power, release their irrational violent impulses resulting in tragedy. The play is directed both against capitalism and against violent revolution. The world is in misery not merely because of mob rule or state despotism, but because both mob and state are driven by violence and force: the state oppresses the disinherited. Sonia declares that factories may no longer conquer and enslave the souls of men. At the same time, she insists that masses should be bound together by love, and she opposes their resort to revenge and cruelty.

Technically, especially effective are certain scenes in which life seems to be reduced to mechanical action. Bankers appear trading on the stock exchange, talking of war as their mighty instrument to control kings, ministers, parliaments, and the press, while their dividends roll in, and a recorder chronicles their winnings. When a chorus of lamentation from the Masses is heard, the bankers

suggest an entertainment for their benefit and dance to the music of clinking coins. Toiler, like his Sonia retains his faith in human nature to the last ; when the priest pronounces mankind to be evil, Sonia declares her belief that "Mankind gropes toward goodness". Toiler's sympathy goes out to the victims of an industrial civilization, controlled by capital, and driven to retahate with violence.

Another, and one of the most typical and representative of the Expressionist school in Germany, was George Kaiser (1878-1945). He was an original force among Germany playwrights. " An idealist of fecund imagination ", writes F. W. Chandler, " a Socialist exposing flaws in the present order, an innovator in technique, he creates a new, free drama, designed to make his audiences think ".³³¹ The dramas of Kaiser are complex experiments which have been called everything from ' allegorical ' to ' cubistic '. Kaiser himself applied the term ' Thought-plays ' to his dramas, contrasting them with mere spectacles. Kaiser was greatly influenced by Strindberg and Wedekind, and wrote in the tradition of expressionism and is considered one of the leading exponents of this school. His favourite dramatic devices are the impersonal allegorical character labelled only with a profession, the formless masses who chant their emotions in a sort of chorus, and the animizing of machinery and power. Kaiser is antagonistic toward industrialism; the modren factory or office is to him a vast mechanism contrived to grind down human beings into senseless

³³¹ F. W. Chandler, *Modern Continental Playwrights* (New York, 1931), P. 407

and lifeless robots. Like *Toiler*, Kaiser gives artificial limbs to his characters to emphasise the artificial character of modern man; he reduces the factory worker to a leg, an arm. or an eye; the machine and the factory is not interested in the worker's emotional and mental life. Kaiser is bitterly opposed to the mechanical spirit of the age; for him the basic element of the universe is energy. Energy appears as a protagonist, in one way or another, in many of his plays, -in the Gas trilogy as the artificial energy of the gas, and in such plays as *Europa* as the reproductive energies of the human race.

Kaiser's *From Morn to Midnight* is a fantasy the break-down of a bank cashier in a brief twelve-hour period. The hero, labelled only as Bank Cashier, is a man who has been crushed down by the bureaucratic system until he is only an automation. One day, seeing an Italian lady in the Bank, the cashier tries to free himself from his mechanical and dull existence and seek the wider world of love and romance. He mistakes the lady's friendly overtures for coquetry and tries to court her, and for this purpose he embezzles money from his Bank. When the lady rejects his advances, he is stupified; he cannot return to the bank and has no idea how to make use of his stolen fortune. He squanders the money on frivolities, including monstrous prizes to racers, and is eventually betrayed to the police by a callous Salvation Army lass. The play demonstrates the impossibility of escaping from the monotony of modern business life: life becomes a crucifixion.

The master-work of Kaiser's career is the radically expressionistic Gas trilogy. In this play he created a symbolic history of modern civilization rushing headlong toward destruction by profit-motivated industrialism. The play is a fantastic nightmare of warfare and technology in a scientific age. The first Act, with its premonition of disaster, shows the dramatist's skill in dramatic exposition. The conflicting forces are power of man and the superhuman power which triumphs in the explosion. The hero, Billionaire's Son, begins to fight for a new principle suggested to him by the explosion. He wishes to stop the production of gas and to settle his workmen as farmers in the grounds of the factory. In the second Act he is confronted with the Engineer who represents the 'old' idea of unceasing labour. In the third Act the capitalistic forces, who need gas, resist him from materialistic and selfish reasons. These opposing forces are symbolised by a chorus consisting of the Five Gentlemen in Black, the masters of the earth. The idealistic Billionaire's Son ultimately yields to the forces of industrialism, but in a vision he foresees the coming of the New Man, although he has not been able fully to overcome the 'old' forces. The play ends with the pledge of his Daughter: "I will give him birth". In this play Kaiser constructs his plot with great precision. With its technique of figures and types, Gas attains in the fourth Act one of the high points of Expressionist drama. Here two ideals of equal value clash, that of work for its own sake and that of the full human life of a farmer. For Kaiser the mind and spirit are all important

centres of energy threatened by the machinery of industry, gold-getting, and warfare.

Kaiser's distinctive contribution to drama is contained in his expressionist plays in which the thought is more important than dramatic realism and verisimilitude. Such plays are abstract and symbolic. Scenes follow one another without the nice organization of the well-made play. The action is carried by characters who are types rather than individuals; depersonalized, mechanical characters are intended to convey the disorder of contemporary society and the disorientation of the individual. The style alternates between passionate speeches and telegraphic phrases. There is no probing of motives and analysis of emotions. In the words of F. W. Chandler, " Experience is simply shattered into its elements and then reshaped in form strongly stylized to enforce some concept ".³³² Kaiser's sympathy with the poor and the oppressed and his belief that money is the root of all evil appear in all his expressionist plays, particularly the Gas trilogy. The Billionaire's Son and Daughters believe, along with Kaiser, that upon each of us weighs a responsibility for the wrongs and injustices of the social order. This sense of the social responsibility of each for all and of all for each is expressed by the Billionaire's Son when a stoker is brought fainting on deck: " You must save him, doctor; otherwise I am his murderer !". The Bank's Cashier is the victim of the deadening effects of modern business and industrial routine; the freedom and happiness he is in search of

³³² . Ibid., p. 412.

eludes his grasp: " From morn to midnight I have wandered round and round in a circle ! Now I see the way out, but where does it lead?" To death and to the beyond; the cashier shoots himself. Kaiser dreams of social solidarity and asserts faith in the spirit of man as opposed to faith in mere money and machinery.

Another important playwright of the Expressionist school was Karl Capek (1890-1938). He is perhaps the most famous Czech writer and dramatist of the twentieth century. He was influenced by the German expressionist movement, but in his literary work he retains his thoroughly Czech spirit and attitude. He wrote a memorable play in R. U. R. which is fantasy of the future of mechanical civilization. Observing the growing mechanization of modern life and society Capek was apprehensive of a future in which all the workers would be robots or automata. In this play Capek develops a notion implicit in Mary Shelley's Frankenstein, namely, that machines of any kind are in danger of mastering man and destroying his human nature and individuality. Rossum's Universal Robots are mechanical workers, the invention of a professor and his son. The professor has sought to prove that God can be dispensed with, and the son sought to provide a cheap substitute for human labour. The Robots symbolise mechanical efficiency; they are like men but divested of all essential human attributes of feeling and passion. The Robots ultimately outnumber human beings and rise in revolt against the human world. The last human survivor declares: "It was a crime to make Robots at all. For our own selfish ends, for profit, for progress, we have destroyed mankind". The moral of the play is

that mechanical efficiency is not an end in itself, labour and toil are not a curse and what constitutes civilization is not machinery, but rather its human values. Alquist, the lone survivor, utters the word of wisdom: "There was something good in service and something great in humility; there was a kind of virtue in toil and weariness". Two super-Robots, a male and a female, have at last evolved souls; they can laugh and weep and love, and each is ready to sacrifice life for the other; they are Helena and Primus, who begin the foundation of a new race of human beings.

Another well-known play of Capek and his brother Joseph Capek is the *Insect World* or *The World We Live In*. This play is a compound of fantasy, dream and reality. In portraying the insect world of beetles, ants and moths and butterflies, the Capek brothers have satirized the world of man which, as a result of mechanization, industry and commerce has become an insect world; the life of man like the life of the insects in the play, has become a round of vain gossip, sex, mating, and a brute struggle for mere survival. The fly says: "If you want to keep alive, you've got to fight your way". Man piles and hoards goods as do the flies, the ants and the crickets. Capeks also attack modern militarism and war as resulting from man's lust for material things, for territory, for markets. When the tramp asks "Why war?", he is told: "Because we have a new war machine. Because we still need a bit of the world from the birch tree to the pine tree, the road between two blades of grass . . . a question of prestige and trade and rights of nationality". The play is poetic in conception, powerful in satire, and significant in meaning. Without being

didactic, the playwrights parody the world of modern man which is made up either of light-hearted love-making and philandering, or drudgery of work, of piling and hoarding, of parasitism, of struggle and war, greed and lust family selfishness, militarism, worship of the state.

To conclude, Expressionism sought to introduce a new epoch in the history of European literature though it felt the link with the earlier literary movements such as Naturalism and Neo-Romanticism. The Expressionist drama was both a descendant of Naturalism and a revival and development of the Romantic tradition. The general tendency of the Expressionist drama was the destruction of external form and mirroring the inner reality. depiction of sorrow, suffering and defeat, and yet discovering some positive values in life. Even if the last scene of an expressionist play be that of death and cemetery, it also proclaims a new and better future for man at least the hope of the birth of the New Man:.