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ISLAMIC SOCIALISM AND IQBAL

Abbadullah Farooqi

As a social and religious thinker, Iqbal emphasises the unity of God and finality of prophethood. According to him nothing deserves to be made an object of love and worship except Allah. The greatest contribution of the Prophet of Islam was that he laid great stress on a direct approach to God with duties towards humanity. In describing the principles of service to humanity, Islam lays down that every action done towards the good of humanity falls under the category of religion. The Holy Quran significantly points out that "it is not piety that you turn your face towards the East and West, but it is piety that one believes in Allah, and the next world, the angels and the book of the Prophet, and gives wealth out of love to the kith and kin, the orphan, the needy, the travellers and the beggars." (2: 20).

Thus religion, based on the Unity of God and Islamic Socialism is a true and universal religion and as such it can never be the cause of factions. What has been the cause of trouble is sectarianism and Churchism.

It is, therefore, held by Iqbal that a true Muslim has a universal character, but when he joins a sect, he loses that character. Unless the thick crust of particularisation which does not allow us to see ourselves in others, is scraped off, there can be no harmony in the world. The relation between man and God is natural and does not hang on sectarianism. The significance of the doctrine of unity of God is beautifully illustrated by Iqbal in his following verses:

اینکه در صد سینه پیچد یک نفس سرے از اسرار توحید است و بس

یک شو و توحید را مشمہود کن غائبش را از عمل موجود کن

دین ازو حکمت ازو آئین ازو زور ازو قوت ازو تمکین ازو¹

¹ *Asrar-o-Rumuz*, p. 105, 182, 183.

What is it that infuses one breath in a hundred hearts?

This is one of the secrets of faith in Tawhid.

Be united and thus make Tawhid visible,

Realise its latent meaning in action;

Faith and Wisdom and Law all spring from it,

It is the source of strength and power and stability.

Iqbal further emphasises the point that finality of prophethood was the need without which the unification of humanity was impossible.

از رسالت در جهان تکوین ما از رسالت دین ما آئین ما²

Prophethood is the basis of our organisation, our religion and our law.

National Prophethood cemented the bonds of national unity, but international unity was needed and this could be effected by sending one prophet to all the nations of the world. Only thus could be the idea of unifying the human race brought to perfection. This idea is to be found as a central motif of thought in all the writings of Iqbal.

فرد بر می خیزد از مشت گلے قوم زاید از دل صاحب دلے³

The individual is born of a handful of dust,

The nation out of the heart of the inspired individuals.

² *Asrar-o-Rumuz*, p. 16

³ *Asrar-o-Rumuz*, p. 136.

Thus the idea of unifying the human race and gathering it together under one banner was brought to perfection by the Holy Prophet. All geographical limitations were thus swept away as were all bars of colours and race, and the basis of the unity of human race was laid on the golden principle that all men constitute the family of God and were thus a single nation.

It is thus held by Iqbal that creedal compartmentalism is the very negation of Islam, which is something unifying, and universalistic and not at all diversive and exclusive. It is much higher than a mere set of conventions. It is that vital spiritual touch that makes the whole world akin. Iqbal lays particular emphasis on the fact that the deeds are more important than dogmas and conduct is more worthwhile than creeds. Hating one another for the love of God and shunning one another for the salvation of soul are altogether anti-social tendencies which undermine the very foundation of religious faith. Hence recognition of inherent human dignity is the necessary prelude to human harmony. Brotherly behaviour towards one another is the only glory of mankind. Says Iqbal:

آدمیت احترام آدمی باخبر آو از مقام آدمی!⁴

بنده عشق از خدا گیرد طریق می شود بر کافر و مومن شفیق!

کفر و دیس را گیرد در پهنائے دل دل اگر بگریزد از دل، وائے دل!

گرچه دل زندائی آب و گل است ایس همه آفاق آفاق دل است⁵

What is Admiyat? Respect for man!

Learn to appreciate the true worth of man;

⁴ *Armaghan-i-Hijaz*, p. 149.

⁵ *Javid Namah*, p. 242.

The man of love learns the ways of God

And is benevolent alike to the believer and the unbeliever:

Welcome faith and unfaith alike to the heart!

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

The heart is, no doubt, shut in this prison-house of clay.

But the entire Universe is the domain of heart⁶

Since all human beings are the children of the same Lord, it is either ignorance or insanity to fight about trifles and to ignore the core of all religious creeds i.e. charitableness towards one another and subordination of selfishness to the greater good of humanity, irrespective of social, religious and linguistic differences. It is social service alone which should determine one's status in society. Iqbal, therefore, positively contends that alleviating human misery is the highest form of the glorification of God and social service is the best worship of the Lord. Hence cultivation of harmonious relations among human beings, regardless of colour, creed, clan and caste, is, according to him, the pith of all religions. Undoubtedly Islam aims at the fullness and enrichment of life which consists in human freedom and human dignity.

To achieve freedom and dignity, Iqbal emphasises the life of struggle and activity, and warns us against the consequences of inactivity and too much dependence on others. Lethargy is surely a disease that seriously affects the social, political, religious and economic progress of a country. Iqbal therefore stirs the people to action not only against religious morbidity, but also against social, political and economic evils. According to him, one can realise one's destiny only through a life of strenuous activity and faith in God; not one of renunciation and self-centred contemplation. He makes this clear in the language of poetic symbolism:

بہل افسانہ آن پا چراغی حدیث سوز او آزار گوش است

⁶ *Javid Namah*, pp. 241-42.

من آن پروانه را پروانه دایم که جانش سخت کوش و شعله نوش است⁷

Leave out the story of the restless moth

Whose tale of burning repels my ears;

That moth alone is a true moth

Which is active in striving and can swallow the flame.

Iqbal thus electrifies human efforts to combat the forces of evil and to subjugate nature. He maintains that religion which takes the place of efforts is a neurosis and not a true religion. According to him, God has created man to conquer the forces of Nature and realise his inner potentialities. He is supported in his contention by the following verses of the Holy Quran:

Certainly we have created man to face difficulty. (90-4)

"And that man shall have nothing but what he strives for, and that his striving shall soon be seen; then shall he be rewarded for it with the fullest reward. (5:3 39-41)

O my peoples! work in your place! I am a worker.(39.39)

Thus a true Muslim, according to Iqbal, is not in a stationary condition; nor is he the slave of his environment. He struggles and strives throughout his life to master it. In fighting for it, lies his dignity.

Like other seers and sages, Iqbal has been tirelessly harping on the theme of promotion of human happiness and global peace by purging human beings of those devastating defects and inveterate infirmities that tend to produce disharmony and discord. In order to achieve this, the three most distinctive features of the socio-economic principles of Islam i.e. the abolition of interest, institution of Zakat, and the negation of concentration of wealth in a few hands, must be kept in view. Though equality is the basic human right, it means equal rights and opportunities for all men. The Holy

⁷ *Payam-i.Mashriq*, p. 24.

Quran gives man the right to the benefit of the rule of law. The highest dignity of the State is, therefore, subject to the same discipline of law in Islamic state as the ordinary poor man. Thus all are equal in the eyes of Law in Islam and the social status of man is not determined by his self-acquired or inherited power of wealth but by his personal qualities and by his contributions to social welfare. Iqbal therefore wishes to rid the Muslim of the influence of all the traditions and forces of habits left over by the exploiting classes and the influence of imperialism. He is fully conscious of the fact that once freed from all these influences they will generate a mighty force and play a powerful role. He, therefore, fosters the socialistic ideology of Islam. The plight of depairing humanity moves Iqbal very much and he strikes a note of warning against the evils of imperialism:

ابھی تک آدمی صید زبون شہریاری ہے
 قیامت ہے کہ انسان نوع انسان کا شکاری ہے⁸

Man is still a miserable prey to exploitation and imperialism: is it not a grievous calamity that man should prey on man?

Iqbal is also very much touched and moved by the ever increasing misery and degradation of the working class. He awakens the poor and the working class by his message and points out that the social order in which the means of production are concentrated in a few hands, and the small producers are being swallowed by the large capitalists, and the productive system is rent by crises and depression, can never be a true Muslim social order.

He, therefore, longs for a perfect social order in which exploitation of labour will cease, private enterprise will give place to state enterprise, and the means of production will be socialised and class antagonism will disappear.

This perfect harmony and social order can only be achieved in an atmosphere of socialism. The fundamental idea of socialism is the abolition of private ownership of the means of production and its substitution by State ownership. The State should own and manage the industries and appropriate

⁸ *Bali-Jibril*, P. 161.

the profit which would be spent on public welfare. It should provide for all men equal opportunities for realising of what is best in their moral and intellectual nature. The function of the State besides keeping law and order and protection of life and property of the individual, and administration of justice, is also to protect the weak and to promote the welfare of the people, so as to enable them to pursue their moral and spiritual ideal. It is the duty of the Islamic State to provide social security to all classes of people, to protect them against want, ignorance, disease, and to take steps to assure a minimum standard of living to all people. Under the powerful impact of socialistic thinking, Iqbal looks upon the State as the supreme and positive good and considers it to be the duty of the State to concern itself with every aspect of the social life and to provide for all men an equal opportunity of realising their noble aspirations in life. He urges a vast extension in the function of Government. It should promote the common weal of all classes of people and assume the ownership of the means of production and distribute the product more equitably among all classes of population, preventing the exploitation of the many by the few. According to Islamic Socialism, private ownership of land and other means of production is completely unjustified. The lands and minerals are the gift of nature and should, therefore, belong to all not a few. The Quran says:

We created land for the nourishment of all the people.(Quran 54: 10)

Iqbal gives expression to the same idea in the following lines:

پالتا ہے بیچ کو مٹی کی تاریکی میں کون؟
 کون دریاؤں کی موجوں سے اٹھاتا ہے سحاب؟
 کون لایا کھینچ کر پچھم سے باد سازگار؟
 خاک یہ کس کی ہے؟ کس کا ہے یہ نور آفتاب؟
 کس نے بھر دی موتیوں سے خوشہ گندم کی جیب؟
 موسموں کو کس نے سکھلائی ہے خوئے انقلاب
 دہ خدایا! یہ زمیں تیری نہیں، تیری نہیں
 تیرے آبا کی نہیں، تیری نہیں، میری نہیں

Who nourishes the seed beneath the dark clay?

Who raises the clouds from the waves of the sea?

Who brought the favourable wind from the west?

Who is the landlord and to whom does the light of the sun belong?

Who filled with pearls the pocket of wheat?

Who taught the seasons, the principles of change?

O'Landlord, the land is not yours, certainly it is not yours.

It neither belongs to your ancestors, nor to me, nor to you."

The theory of Islamic socialism is an extension of the principles of democracy. Real democracy can only exist when there is economic equality. Unplanned economic system is liable to frequent break-downs due to periodical crises. Iqbal is strictly against the antidemocratic and anti-liberal philosophy of Fascism which is opposed to all the progressive ideas which have gained currency during the last few centuries. The notion of the totalitarian State which Fascism seeks to build up is opposed to the liberty of the individual. The State, according to Iqbal, is not the end in itself. It may be a brilliant organisation, but it is only a means for promoting the development of personality of the individual.

In short, Iqbal says, "So long as the so called democracy, wretched nationalism and degraded imperialism have not crumbled into dust, so long as men have not demonstrated by their actions the belief that the entire world is one family of God, so long as the distinction of race, colour and nationality have not been completely swept away, we will not be able to lead a happy life, and the fine ideals of Liberty, Equality and Fraternity will never be realised."

THE GREATNESS OF IQBAL

S. A. Vahid

The poet's highest office is to be a revealer of truths or to be an unveler of truths which for some reasons have been forgotten or hidden from common eyes. It will be realised that to perform the latter function the poet needs as much prophetic insight as to perceive truths for the first time. It is the aim of all true poetry to come to the rescue of human nature when it is overborne by worldliness and cynicism by drawing its attention to truths that man has lost sight of. At the same time there is another function which poets fulfil, that of giving to thoughts and statements which all share beautiful and attractive expression. They set forth in graceful and attractive form the beauty which is there for all to see. Here the poet is discharging his artistic function, and according to those who believe in art for art's sake it is the poet's only function. A little reflection will be sufficient to convince any one that the greatest poets of the world could have never girded themselves to their great efforts merely to provide amusement to man-kind. No great poet will ever be content with any object less worthy than that of coming to the rescue of human nature by seeing and stating new truths for the first time or unveiling forgotten and concealed truths.

The two aspects of the poet, the prophetic and the artistic, co-exist in different proportions in all great poets, in one the prophetic insight predominates, in another the artistic utterance outweighs. And in the case of any single poet it may be an interesting question to determine in what proportions he possesses each of these two qualities. To attain perfection in both these roles, is given to few poets of the world, and the number of such poets in the world will not exceed a dozen. Iqbal takes his place in this select band. This is his greatness as a poet. But it must be realised that Iqbal is nothing if he is not a revealer of truths. The question arises if Iqbal was a revealer what did he reveal? All students of Iqbal know that the subject of his poetry is Man. But what did he specifically teach? To what truth did he draw the attention of mankind?

Iqbal always used to say that his Brahmin forefathers used to spend their lives in search of God, but he spent his life looking for Man, by which he meant that he concentrated all his energies, mental and spiritual, in working

for the uplift of man. Iqbal was so absorbed in the uplift of mankind that no aspect of human welfare escaped his attention. As Terrence, the Roman comic poet puts it:

"Horns sum, et nihil humanum, a me alienum puto."

I am a man, and I count nothing human indifferent to me.

So with Iqbal. Iqbal revealed to us the significance of man and his dignity. In lines of rare beauty he describes the warm welcome accorded to Man by Earth.

کھول آنکھ، زمین دیکھ فلک دیکھ فضا دیکھ
مشرق سے اُبھرتے ہوئے سورج کو ذرا دیکھ
اس جلوۂ بے پردہ کو پردوں میں چھپا دیکھ
ایام جدائی کے ستم دیکھ جفا دیکھ
بے تاب نہ ہو معرکہٴ بیم و رجا دیکھ
ہیں تیرے تصرف میں یہ بادل بہ گھٹائیں
یہ گنبد افلاک، یہ خاموش فضا
یہ کوہ، یہ صحرا، یہ سمندر، یہ ہوائیں
تھیں بیش نظر کل تو فرشتوں کی ادائیں
آئۂ آیام میں آج اپنی ادا دیکھ⁹

Open the eyes; behold the earth, the stars,

and the atmosphere !

Behold the sun rising from the East !

Behold this unveiled effulgence hid in veils of light.

⁹ *Bal-i-Jibril*, p. 178.

Behold the anguish of the days of separation,
But be not over-wrought, witness the contest
of Hope and Fear.

Under thy control are the clouds, the thunders,
The high vault of Heaven, and the stillness of Space;
These mountains, these deserts, these oceans, these winds,
Till yesterday the angels' charms attracted thee,
Today in Time's mirror behold thy own attainments.

According to Iqbal man's fall was no fall at all. Actually it was an opportunity, but like any other opportunity it had pitfalls and dangers. It was by impressing upon Man his dignity and his significance that Iqbal revealed to him his destiny. This was a revelation which brought new light to mankind groping in the dark and seeking salvation in wrong remedies like materialism imperialism, fascism, and communism etc. Not only this, Iqbal went further. He revealed to us the way in which man can develop himself to work out his destiny. In short Iqbal realised that human personality can attain its full stature only in an atmosphere of freedom, and so he waged a relentless crusade against political subjugation, ecclesiastical thralldom and intellectual servility. At a time when the whole world was so used to life under Western domination that it took such domination for granted it was Iqbal who inculcated the moral and spiritual values of freedom. To gauge the true measure of his greatness we have to remember the circumstances under which Iqbal revealed this forgotten truth. He had to face the ire of a police-ridden administration, obloquy of fanatic mullah and misrepresentation of selfish and greedy compatriots who controlled the Press.

Iqbal wants to see human life take a stand on its human dignity and set itself free from narrow tribal, racial prejudice. He was a humanist and it is in his humanism that his greatness lies. His poetry, his philosophy, and his politics, all bear the mark of his human-ism. But this word has come to acquire more than one meaning and so we must be definite as to what it

means. Gilbert Murray defines Humanism as below:

"I understand Humanism as an interest in human and human things—that is in the spirit of man in the special sense, in which man shows himself higher than the animals, and indeed with all his possible imperfections, the highest thing yet evolved upon the earth."

Iqbal's interest in Man was so deep and intense that he proclaimed:

¹⁰ بہر انسان چشم من شبہا گریست تا دردم پردہ اسرار نیست

For Man I have cried for nights,

Only then I could unveil the mysteries of Life.

Iqbal revealed to Man his own potentialities. He indicated to what heights he can rise:

سبق ملا ہے یہ معراج مصطفیٰ سے مجھے
کہ عالم بشریت کی زد میں ہے گردوں¹¹

This lesson from the Ascension of Muhammad I have culled:

Heaven lies but within the reach of mankind.

For Iqbal humanism meant human self-esteem. It indicated the endeavour of man to reconstitute himself as a free being and not as the thrall of theological despots and a slave of political adventurers, class or territorial attachments and evolve a brotherhood extending to the ends of the earth, which in spite of distribution into groups should hold together a common moral consciousness and be linked to each other by the ties of common humanity. Inspired by these ideals, Iqbal pre-ached against a narrow materialism and racialism at a time when partly political ends were inspiring

¹⁰ *Asrar-o-Rumuz* p. 10.

¹¹ *Bal i-Jibril*, p. 44.

men to preach these. A little reflection will show that even his advocacy of Pakistan was really based on humanistic considerations. He could not bear to see one religious group dominating over another simply because of numerical majority. And to avoid this the only solution he could see was to divide the country into two so that each religious group could live in freedom as far as practicable.

Thus it will be seen that whether Iqbal opposed Western suzerainty or Hindu domination, whether he fought against narrow materialism or stood up against Godless communism, he was always actuated by humanistic considerations. And it is in his humanism that his greatness lies. It was his humanism that led him to reveal the truths that were concealed from mankind due to short-sightedness or narrow-mindedness. Actuated by these noble motives he got busy on this Earth so much so that he told the Almighty that work here needed him and so He has to wait a while.

کار جہاں دراز ہے اب مرا انتظار کر

This only indicates a consciousness of his great mission.

Judging Iqbal's greatness from this point of view we feel inclined to agree with Sir Maurice Bowra when he says that: "The poet, it is now felt can do something that other man cannot do." And this Iqbal does both in his prophetic and artistic roles — the one helps the other. It is in the co-existence of these roles that his greatness lies to which his humanism adds a new dimension. And this combination is granted to few poets of the world. But it is his humanism that serves as a cornerstone to his greatness. It was his humanism which made him proclaim:

عجم از ہائے نغمہ من جوان شد
 ز سودایم متاع او کران شد
 ہجومے بود رہ گم کردہ در دشت
 ز آواز دراہم کاروان آشد¹²

¹² *Payam-i-Mashriq*, p. 81.

My songs have restored to Orient its youth;
Her fame is quickened by my heart's refrain.
My trumpet-call turned into one orderly caravan
The throng that had lost its desert plain.

IQBAL'S JOURNEY TO PAKISTAN*

Yousuf Khatak

Iqbal's journey to Pakistan was a tumultuous journey and the road was long and rough. In fact, when Iqbal set out on his historic mission which was to end in the creation of Pakistan, not even the most sanguine amongst his band of faithful admirers could have thought in their wildest imagination that his journey would be anything more than an exercise in futility. Yet, Iqbal persevered and his sense of a mission sustained him when the response was unbearably chilly and in desperation he would cry out:

خیر تو ساقی سہی، لیکن پلائے گا کسے؟
اب نہ وہ میکش رہے باقی، نہ میخانے رہے!
وائے ناکامی متاع کارواں جاتا رہا
کارواں کے دل سے احساس زباں جاتا رہا¹³

Iqbal wanted the Muslims of India to realise that they were not a hopelessly out-numbered Indian minority but part of a glorious Islamic Millat. After a decade of persistent reiteration of his central theme in verses of unsurpassable beauty he began to collect an enthusiastic audience around himself and he celebrated the concourse of comrade-in-arms and an enthusiastic following in jubilant and glowing tones:

گئے دن کہ تنہا تنہا تھا میں انجمن میں
یہاں اب مرے راز داں اور بھی ہیں¹⁴

* Read in a meeting held under the auspices of Iqbal Academy Karachi on the occasion of 36th Death Anniversary of Allama Iqbal on 21st April, 1974.

¹³ بانگ درا، ۲۰۶

¹⁴ بال جبریل، ۹۰

نہیں ہے نا امید اقبال اپنی کشت ویراں سے
ذرا نہ ہو تو یہ مٹی بہت زرخیز ہے ساقی!¹⁵

A study of the evolution of Iqbal's thought on the vexed subject of nationality is a most enthralling study and, in fact, indispensable for those who want to understand the genesis of Pakistan. It is a fascinating study for it is not only the study of a great poet's spiritual and intellectual odyssey towards his final destination but it is at the same time a chronicle of the changing attitudes of the Muslims of India to the problem of their identity--a problem which had baffled them and haunted them mercilessly in the period following the great Revolt of 1858 till its final solution by Iqbal. Thus the spiritual and intellectual travail of Iqbal mirrors the mental confusion, puzzled incomprehension of the Muslims of India about their national identity, for he embodied, as no one else did, the frustrations, yearnings and longings of his people within himself. It was in these circumstances when the present was dark and the future bleak that Iqbal embarked on his seemingly hopeless mission of making the Muslims realize that they were not an Indian minority but a significant part of the glorious Muslims-Millat. Iqbal, of course, succeeded magnificently in rescuing his people through the vehicle of his inspired poetry from uncertainty and confusion about their identity. He first brought about a revolution in their antiquated and stylized thinking and having once accomplished that almost impossible task he made it possible for them to enter the promised lands. Today when the victory of Iqbal is complete, the overwhelming nature of his victory obscures from our view the nature of heart-breaking hurdles in his way. We take for granted the miracle that Iqbal has wrought but it was not roses, roses all the way. It was an uphill task and he had to swim against the current all along. Recognition and response from his people came after a long and persistent hammering at his central theme. The very fact that Iqbal set out to achieve a total revolution in the thinking of his people reveals the formidable nature of his undertaking. He wanted to wean away Muslims from the acceptance of the deeply and securely entrenched concept of the sanctity of the national state and it is a truism that nothing is more difficult than to shake people out of deep and

۱۶، بال جبریل،¹⁵

established grooves.

Before the French Revolution, the national state as we know it today did not exist. The modern national state is an everlasting legacy of the French Revolution to the modern world. It is the French Revolution which defied the national state. No doubt, the sanctity of the national state was challenged by Karl Marx and Engels in their "Communist Manifesto" which made its appearance in the middle of the last century but the challenge was not yet serious. Karl Marx and Engels placed loyalty to class above loyalty to the state but the unreality of the Marxist challenge was amply demonstrated on the out-break of the first world war, when all Marxist parties in the combatant countries of Europe rallied to the national Flag and turned their backs on the theory of a class-warfare. Iqbal had drunk deep at the fountain of Western learning and in the process of learning at European and English Universities he had imbibed all those established doctrines and values of the time which were an indispensable intellectual paraphernalia of an educated European scholar. Thus when Iqbal returned from his European education he came back as a devotee of the national state and he gave free expression to his love for his nation in his early creative phase. His first poem which caught the fancy of the public was addressed to the Himalayas. His early themes are things Indian whether it is the Himalayas or a supplication to the river Ganges to drown him.

جل رہا ہوں کل نہیں پڑتی کسی پہلو مجھے
ہاں ڈبو دے اے محیط آب گنگا تو مجھے¹⁶

In Urdu again it is the concern with the pligh of India that has robbed him of his peace of mind when he sings:

رلاتا ہے ترا نظارہ اے ہندوستان! مجھ کو
کہ عبرت خیز ہی تیرا فسانہ سب فسانوں میں
دیا رونا مجھے ایسا کہ سب کچھ دے دیا گویا

لکھا کلک ازل نے مجھ کو تیرے نوحہ خوانوں نے
 وطن کی فکر کر ناداں! مصیبت آنے والی ہے
 تری بربادیوں کے مشورے ہیں آسمانوں میں
 نہ سمجھو گے تو مٹ جاؤ گے اے ہندوستان والو
 تمہاری داستان تک بھی نہ ہوگی داستانوں میں
 اُجاڑا ہے تمیز ملت و آئیں نے قوموں کو
 مرے اہل وطن کے دل میں کچھ فکر وطن بھی ہے؟¹⁷

This was the time when Iqbal was singing

سارے جہاں سے اچھا ہندوستان ہمارا
 ہم بلبلیں ہیں اس کی یہ گلستاں ہمارا
 غربت م میں ہوں اگر ہم رہتا ہے دل وطن میں
 سمجھو وہیں ہمیں بھی دل ہو جہاں ہمارا
 مذہب نہیں سکھاتا آپس میں بیر رکھنا
 ہندی ہیں ہم، وطن ہے ہندوستان ہمارا¹⁸

Then again he is composing a national anthem for Indian children. It was a far cry from ترانہ ملی which was to come a decade later but soaked as Iqbal was in the current western political, social and philosophic thought he naturally worshipped at the altar of the Nation and ecstatically sang in نیا

شوالہ

پتھر کی مورتوں میں سمجھا ہے تو خدا ہے

¹⁷ بانگ درا، ۶۵

The rest of his life Iqbal was to wage a furious crusade against this worship of the national state. In the period ending with 1908, there are faint stirrings of the pull of Islam and in the piece about Sicily there is a definite glimpse of the emergence of a new Iqbal. The Islamic heritage is now the dominant pull and in a language charged with deep emotion in which he addresses Sicily, there is ample evidence of this transformation:

درد اپنا مجھ سے کہہ، میں بھی سراپا درد ہوں
جس کی تو منزل تھا، میں اسی کارواں کی گرد ہوں
رنگ تصویر کہن میں بھر کے دکھلا دے مجھے
قصہ ایام سلف کا کہہ کے تڑپا دے مجھے
میں ترا تحفہ سوئے ہندوستان لے جاؤں گا
خود یہاں روتا ہوں، اوروں کو وہاں رلواؤں گا²⁰

The period starting with 1908 makes a clear break with the earlier Iqbal. He has now returned and owned up his Islamic heritage. The transformation is complete. He has realised that he is not a member of a minority community in India. He has solved the problem of his national identity. He is a member of the indivisible Islamic Millat which in its fraternity does not recognize distinction of colour, race or geographical boundaries. The Muslims are all brothers irrespective of the fact that they are residing in different states. The reassessment of his attitude towards nationalism is complete. He has now openly and definitely turned his back on the western concept of the Nation. His loyalty is now towards Islamic Millat. His object of love and worship is no longer the Ganges and the Himalayas but Cordova,

¹⁹ بانگ درا، ۸۸

²⁰ بانگ درا، ۱۴۲

Constantinople, Granada and Muslim Delhi. In *بلاد اسلامیہ*, a dirge for Muslim metropolis, he proclaims his national identity. He rejects defiantly territorial nationality and denounces it as the negation of the concept of indivisible Islamic Millat. In defiant tone, he declares:

ہے اگر قومیت اسلام پابند مقام
 ہند ہی بنیاد اسکی ہے، نہ فارس ہے، نہ شام
 آہ یثرب! دیس ہے مسلم کا تو، ماویٰ ہے تو
 نقطہ جاذب تاثر کی شعاعوں کا ہے تو
 جب تلک باقی ہے تو دنیا میں باقی ہم بھی ہیں
 صبح ہے تو اس چمن میں گوہر شبنم بھی ہیں²¹

It is a new Iqbal — the break with the Indian nationalist Iqbal is complete and irrevocable. He has solved his problem of national identity and in this tortuous travail and profound reassessment he has solved the problem of the national identity of Indian Muslims also. From now on he reiterates this central theme again and again in poetry of unsurpassable beauty till the message goes home. He released the Muslims from a problem which had haunted them and baffled them from 1858 onwards. They could not reconcile themselves to the status of a minority with a miserable and persecuted present and an utterly bleak future. If at some future date the British were to leave India it would only enthrone the Hindus in the place of the British rulers. Thus for the Indian Muslims the present was a nightmare and the future a disaster. They did not belong anywhere. The Hindus would not accept them because of two-fold historical reason. The first was that the Hindus could not forgive them for conquering India and subjugating them and secondly the rigid caste system prevented any fusion between the two peoples. The iron-curtain of caste system effectively prevented integration of any sort between them. Now the Muslims in India were on the horns of a

dilemma: if they were not Indians then who were they? What was their national identity? There was no solution of this problem till Iqbal had solved the problem of his own national identity and in the solution of his own problem he delivered the entire Muslims of India out of their quandry. He explained to them the basis of their identity; he coaxed them and goaded them till he won them over completely to their Islamic identity.

Now that he had turned his back on his Indian nationality he composed a new ترانہ ملی to supersede (ترانہ ہندی). In exultant tones he declares:

چین و عرب ہمارا، ہندوستان ہمارا
 مسلم ہیں ہم، وطن ہے سارا جہاں ہمارا
 سالارا کارواں ہے میر حجاز اپنا
 اس نام سے ہے باقی آرام جہاں ہمارا²²

He now ridicules and condemns in vitriolic terms the concept of national state in وطنیت،

اس دور میں ہے اور ہے جام اور ہے جم اور
 ساقی نے بنا کی روش لطف و ستم اور
 مسلم نے بھی تعمیر کیا اپنا حرم اور
 تہذیب کے آذر نے ترشوائے صنم اور
 ان تازہ خداؤں میں بڑا سب سے وطن ہے²³

This was now his life mission to dethrone the concept of the national state in the mind of the Muslims and replace it by the concept of the indivisibility of Islamic Millat. The road to Pakistan was being assiduously

²² بانگ درا، ۱۷۲

²³ بانگ درا، ۱۷۳

prepared through this glorious realization. He again reiterates his message in
مذہب

اپنی ملت پر قیاس اقوام مغرب سے نہ کر
خاص ہے ترکیب میں قوم رسول ہاشمی
ان کی جمعیت کا ہے ملک و نسب پر انحصار
قوت مذہب سے مستحکم ہے جمعیت تری
دامن دیں ہاتھ سے چھوٹا تو جمعیت کہاں
اور جمعیت ہوئی رخصت تو ملت بھی گئی!²⁴

Again he recapitulates the central theme of his inspired mission in lines
of indescribable beauty:

پھر سیاست چھوڑ کر داخل حصار دیں میں ہو
ملک و دولت ہے فقط حفظ حرم کا اک ثمر
ایک ہوں مسلم حرم کی پاسبانی کے لئے
نیل کے ساحل سے لے کر تا بخاک کاشغرا!
جو کرے گا امتیاز رنگ و خوں سٹ جائے گا
ترک خرگاہی ہو یا اعرابی والا گہرا
نسل اگر مسلم کی مذہب پر مقدم ہو گئی
اڑ گیا دنیا سے تو مانند کاک رہگذرا!²⁵

The triumph of Iqbal was overwhelming. He had succeeded in winning
over to his point of view the entire Muslim nation in India. He had

²⁴ بانگ درا، ۲۷۹

²⁵ بانگ درا، ۳۰۱-۳۰۲

succeeded in changing their entire thinking, basic concepts, formal attitudes and finally deeply entrenched assumptions. He brought about a spiritual and intellectual revolution the like of which has never been witnessed in the course of human history. No other poet has ever had such a terrific impact on his people and on the history of his times as Iqbal.

Iqbal had to contend against the hostility of the British rulers, as well as Hindu fellow citizens. Both the British Govt. and the Hindus were violently opposed to the message of Iqbal for reasons of their own. There was a tacit conspiracy between them against the Muslims. The scales were heavily tipped against the Muslims even when the British were the rulers of India and it did not require any particular perspicacity to imagine their plight in an India where Hindu majority would preside over the deserty of India in place of the British rulers. It was in such a bleak situation that Iqbal with a prophetic vision saw the establishment of a Muslim state through the partition of India as the only solution of the problem of the Muslims of India. It was a brave solution but an unorthodox solution which ran counter to the political realities reigning in India. Iqbal proposed the establishment of a Muslim state in the North in his Presidential address to the session of All-India Muslim League at Allahabad in 1930: Quote:

"I would like to see the Punjab, North-West Frontier Province, Sind and Baluchistan amalgamated into a single state. Self-government within the British Empire or without the British Empire, the formation of a consolidated North-West India Muslim state appears to me to be the final destiny of the Muslims, at least of North-West India".

It was, indeed, a prophetic vision for it was a blueprint of Pakistan as it is today. The road to Pakistan was wide open. Iqbal had now given a clear direction for the emergence of Pakistan.

The British were up in arms against this solution of Hindu Muslim problem for the partitioning of India would have destroyed the unity of India which they claimed as their priceless gift to the Indians; moreover, it did not suit their Imperial interests. For the Hindus it was a sacrilege and a disaster of unimaginable proportions — it was the vivisection of Mother India. The tacit British-Hindu Conspiracy ridiculed this mad dream of an academic philosopher poet. It was dismissed as the poetic fantasy of a dreamer. Yet this poet's fantasy became a reality in 1947. Iqbal died in 1938 and alas ! he

was not alive when Pakistan Resolution was passed in 1940 at Lahore at the session of All-India Muslim League, presided by Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah. Though Iqbal was not alive on that historic day but can anyone doubt even his physical presence on that sacred day standing next to Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah to whom he himself had entrusted the formidable task of fighting the battle or Pakistan? The triumph of Iqbal was complete when Pakistan Resolution was passed in 1940.

While paying tributes to Iqbal, the man who made the emergence of Pakistan possible and Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah who translated Iqbal's message into a concrete reality, it would be an act of gross and unpardonable ingratitude and what is more it would be tantamount to the falsification of history, if we were not to acknowledge with deep gratitude the glorious role of the Muslims of the Hindu majority Provinces of India in the establishment of Pakistan. They sacrificed themselves — they sacrificed even their coming generations for the establishment of Pakistan. They knew only well that when Pakistan would be born they would be still the persecuted and tortured citizens of Hindu-India, yet they flinched not even for a moment from the supreme sacrifice. History has no other instance of such an act of self-immolation of an entire people for an Idea. Though, today we are basking in the safety of Pakistan, yet those who made Pakistan are suffering unbearable persecution at the hands of Hindus who cannot forgive them for the creation of Pakistan. Our heads shall always remain bowed before them in loving and ever-lasting gratitude for their unparalleled sacrifice for our freedom. They paid the supreme price for the glory of Islam.

Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen, I cannot do better than to end this humble tribute to Iqbal, Quaid-i-Azam and our Muslim brothers in India by reciting a line of Iqbal once again:

غریب و سادہ و رنگیں ہے داستاں حرم
نہایت اس کی حسین ابتدا ہے اسماعیل!²⁶

EMPIRICISM AND BEYOND

Sami S. Hawi

Ibn Ṭufayl's renowned treatise, *Philosophus Autodidactus* (Ḥayy Bin Yaqzan)²⁷ has been studied primarily from the point of view of its dramatic interest, literary form and occasionally from a philosophic standpoint. Thus far, his theory of knowledge has not been adequately treated by philosophers and scholars alike. There are many reasons, which I have discussed fully elsewhere,²⁸ for this unintended negligence. In fact, despite the many languages, and the useful scholarly commentaries introducing these translations,²⁹ Ibn Ṭufayl's methodological presentation of his ideas, and the *plurality* of methods of *knowing* contained in *Philosophus Autodidactus* have not as yet been discerned or studied seriously.

In this paper I shall a) discuss Ibn Ṭufayl's epistemology, and b) for the sake of emphasis and illumination, compare his views with modern ones. Also, I intend to employ "epistemology" in a broad sense to include the examination of the fundamentals of every kind of knowledge leading to or generating from the Necessary Being. Considered thus, "epistemology" would constitute a variety of modes of cognition. On the one hand, it includes an assumption-free base for human knowledge, and on the other, it embraces revelation as a culturally assumed source of knowledge.

It is my firm contention in this paper a) that the Andalusian Master is primarily an empiricist who shared some of Locke's and Hume's basic epistemological determinations (though less developed), and b) that the

²⁷ Ibn Ṭufayl, *Ḥayy Bin Yaqzan*, edited and translated into French by Leon Gauthier, Beirut, 1936 Henceforth, all references to the Arabic text will be to this edition of Gauthier, briefly mentioned as "Ḥayy".

²⁸ See S. S. Hawi, "Ibn Ṭufayl's Ḥayy Bin Yawn: Its Structure, Literary Aspects and Method", *Islamic Culture*, Hyderabad, July 1973. See also by the same writer, "Ibn Ṭufayl: On The Existence of God and His Attributes", forthcoming, *Journal of The American Oriental Society*

²⁹ Examples of these translations and commentaries are Gauthier, op. cit., and Simon Ockely, *The History of Ḥayy Ibn Yaqzan*, revised by A. S. Fulton, New York, 1929

question of the origin and means of knowledge is at the very basis of Ḥayy's (or Ibn Ṭufayl's philosopher model) attempts comprehend the intimate nature of the ultimate, and *includes more than one method of knowing*. Empiricism, which is the springboard for all knowledge (on the human level), will eventually point *beyond* itself to the "genuine" method of *intuitionism and immediacy* according to Ibn Ṭufayl.

THE PRINCIPLE OF COOPERATION OF METHODS OF INQUIRY

Philosophus Autodidactus is a treatise in which the author displays his views on various philosophic issues in a concrete situation. Through Ḥayy's development, laborious explorations and the examination of the quiddity of things, Ibn Ṭufayl grounds his philosophic understanding showing it at work. Thus a *formal* study of his essential epistemological doctrine must begin by reconstructing his ideas from Ḥayy's dialectic encounter with nature. In so doing, I shall support my elucidations and inferences by continuous reference to the text in the original.

A careful reading of *Philosophus Autodidactus* reveals beyond doubt that the author adopted more than one method of acquiring knowledge about man, God and the universe. Ibn Ṭufayl makes extensive use of different methods of inquiry both simultaneously and coextensively in order to find answers to the questions he posed concerning nature, and to provide solutions for the problems he encountered. These methods are the *Inductive, Deductive, Intuitive and Behavioral*.³⁰ In addition to these there is the method of

³⁰ 1. I have discussed the inductive and deductive methods in detail elsewhere. See S. S. Hawi, "A Twelfth-Century Philosophy of Science", Pakistan Philosophical journal, September 1973, pp. 15-36, and by the same writer, "Ibn Ṭufayl: On the Existence of God..." op. cit. In the former snide in my formulation of Ibn Ṭufayl's views on scientific procedure the interdependence of the inductive and deductive methods was discerned and discussed. I have also shown how Ibn Ṭufayl employed deductive inference in verifying hypotheses. Most of his conclusions about causal relations were based on observations and inferences which are confirmed by reference to particular facts. (Ḥayy. pp. 38-45, 47-52). These two methods cooperate continuously until Ḥayy discerns the unity of all bodily and animal species Ḥayy moved from the observed to the unobserved by an inductive leap: a

Revelation.³¹ The free manner in which he utilized these methods compels one to believe that Ibn Ṭufayl did not consider that *philosophy has only one distinct method of its own*. Ḥayy's use of generalizations is based on observation. The application of these to biology and nature, his intuitive knowledge of the Necessary, and his contention that facts of revelation are in agreement with basic tenets of demonstrative knowledge, are evidence in support of this contention.³²

Philosophy, as a *radical* attempt at undersanding and interpreting phenomena, natural, inward-human, and metaphysical, seeks (as Ḥayy has done) the profound foundations of these phenomena. Thus, from Ḥayy 's employment of diverse methods in the treatise to comprehend the myriad natural and transcendental episodes, one can infer that according to Ibn

intellectual jump from a limited number of observations to a universal and unlimited number, to the universe as a whole (Ibid. pp. 60-61). Throughout Ḥayy's explorations and inventions, his schematization of the multiplicity of natural objects into types and classes (Ibid. pp. 53-69), his knowledge of the characteristics of different entities, and his uncompromising investigation of the phenomenon of death Ibn Ṭufayl utilizes the cooperation of the inductive and deductive procedures in apprehending truth. His scientific training was not an innocent factor in all this. Moreover, the inductive method prepared Ḥayy to discover the existence of the Necessary Being deductively; the proofs for both eternity and creation of the world and the arguments in support of his seeming belief in the finitude of the world (Ibid. pp. 73-91) are also instances of Ibn Ṭufayl's rigorous application of the deductive method promoted by the loyal help of inductive inquiry. Also, the intuitive-behavioral method which deals with Ibn Ṭufayl's immediate apprehension of the transempirical entities or with mystical experience, will be briefly discussed in this article in order to show that empiricism along with the experimental procedure (induction) and deduction pronounce their own downfall by pointing to the method of intuition and inward insight. Thus, my discussion of Ibn Ṭufayl's mysticism is only instrumental to the basic aim of this paper and will be considered fully in a separate article on his mysticism.

³¹ Ḥayy ., pp. 136-56,

³² See Hawi, "A Twelfth - Century Philosophy..." op. cit. See also Ḥayy, pp. 35-50.73-86,

Ṭufayl philosophy should conduct its search by having at its disposal *all methods of obtaining knowledge available to man*. For in our author's opinion, as evidenced from the larger part of the treatise,³³ the occurrence of problems is a *dominant* aspect of *experience* in man's t (Ḥayy's) development which results in methods of inquiry. It may be said of Ḥayy's encounter with nature and his acquisition of knowledge that "in the beginning there were problems"³⁴ and these led to methods of solving them. From the beginning of his career to the of his laborious journey to God and meeting with AsāI and Salto Ḥayy's life was characterized by the pervasive presence of problems by his perpetual victory over them.³⁵ He achieves all this through the givenness of his nature and his unaided sensibilities. Consequent philosophic activity as understood by Ibn Ṭufayl, implies the presence of a problem or a *variety* of problems in need of a solution; and since 'method is "a device or a procedure, to solve a problem or answer a question,"³⁶ and since problems or questions *vary* (the way they did with Ḥayy) in *kind* the methods for solving them will also vary

Thus, the multiplicity of problems confronting Ḥayy's intellect demanded the use of multiplicity of methods. This fact is corroborated by what one finds in the treatise: an examiner will discover that there is a formal dialectic which pervades the whole of *Ḥayy Bin Yaqzān*. This, however, is not restricted to one methodological approach in analyzing the items of experience in nature; instead, it lends itself to a *plurality* of methods characterized by a gradual yet vital growth of movements movement of the totality of the human self in its attempt to comprehend and exercise mastery over its surroundings. This formal dialectic operates on the principle of *cooperation* and *interdependence* of different methods of inquiry.³⁷ Ibn Ṭufayl must have been greatly impressed by the empirical scientific approach: this is why he commenced his philosophic investigation by it³⁸ and continued its

³³ Ḥayy . pp. 33-135.

³⁴ Marvin Farber, *Basic Issues of Philosophy*, New York, 1968, p. 39.

³⁵ Ḥayy, pp. 33-135

³⁶ Farber, *op. cit.*, p. 39

³⁷ Most of Ibn Ṭufayl's work is based on the cooperation of variety of methods of knowing. See Ḥayy pp. 34-156-

³⁸ Ḥayy. pp. 35-50

application until the disclosure of the Necessary Being was achieved.³⁹ This, however, did not force him to a slavish adherence to such an approach nor to give up the results of other methods.

Also, the treatise suggests that philosophy attempts to establish a world view and a *synthesis* of knowledge which claims to be a tenable and adequate account of reality commensurate with scientific achievements.

The reasons why I am stressing this particular aspect of Ibn Ṭufayl's thought are: 1) The foregoing observations concern points of method that are of lasting significance to philosophy regardless of particular beliefs held by individual philosophers; 2) These observations were overlooked by previous writers on the subject; instead, such writers were by and large occupied with certain historical, Neo-platonic, and literary aspects of the treatise.

It must be noted that the noetic elevation of Ḥayy 's reflective ego did not in any way change the intrinsic nature of surrounding phenomena; facts simply acquired a deeper and contextual meaning in relation to the *whole* and in *relation* to a human consciousness (Ḥayy). Thus, although in substance the intimate nature of reality and experience is not altered when utilizing the principle of cooperation of method in the treatise, man's attitudes, (as instanced by Ḥayy) knowledge and emotional cosmos are progressively changed; and these, in turn, determine his behavior. For Ibn Ṭufayl therefore, knowledge is *not* a bare *conceptual* understanding of reality and the systematization of its laws alone. Abstraction or pure theory impoverishes man's significant relationship to nature and leaves him suspended in the intellectual landscape of semi-real possibilities with his inwardness remaining unkindled and dull⁴⁰ On the other hand, true knowledge for Ibn Ṭufayl, as for Socrates, Plato, and Kierkegaard, is that form of understanding that seeps into the intimate structure of the personality and transforms the whole man: Ḥayy became a mystic. For Plato the philosophical enterprise culminates in love; for Kierkegaard it ends in an intense leap to the other "end", namely, God; for Ibn Ṭufayl it becomes a passionate yearning to become Him.⁴¹

³⁹ Ibid., p. 73-86.

⁴⁰ Every new knowledge which Ḥayy acquired determined him behaviorally. See Ḥayy .pp. 33-53. 53-90.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 114-21.

EMPIRICISM: ORIGIN AND SCOPE OF KNOWLEDGE. IBN ṬUFAYL, LOCKE, AND HUME.

According to Ibn Ṭufayl, what is the origin of knowledge?⁴² The origin of knowledge is experience and its scope is nothing less than the comprehension of the Divine Nature. This is mostly contained in the larger part of the treatise before Ḥayy meets Asāl, the dialectician mystic. Ibn Ṭufayl's epistemology is a presuppositionless one; at least this was his ideal. His examination of the origin and means of knowledge compelled his artistic imagination to place Ḥayy on a solitary island, and consequently to *dislodge tradition* from its very foundations. By so doing he intended to give his theory of knowledge a *radical beginning* similar in this respect to al-Ghazzālī, Descartes, Hume, and Husserl. By "radical" I mean what Husserl meant by the term, namely, the ideal of emancipation from all presuppositions. This means beginning with the ambitious task of knowing things without any a priori adoption of epistemological, metaphysical, ontological or value principles. By removing Ḥayy from the social situation, Ibn Ṭufayl was *attempting a hypothetical destruction of and universal doubt in the surrounding world of values and early education*. He was shattering the mold which captures the very fabric of the ego at the moment of birth and fashions it according to the patterns of the past and present. Ibn Ṭufayl was proclaiming to philosophers the Husserlian maxim before Husserl: "back to the things themselves", see, perceive, observe and describe phenomena afresh. The "things themselves" were "things" as they appeared to Ḥayy, that is, the phenomena. Ḥayy had set out to study the environing world as it appeared to him or as he encountered it in immediate experience, and was judging them in terms of a metaphysical theory or a philosophical system.

Ibn Ṭufayl does not seem to endorse the Platonic theory that the mind comes into the world already in possession of certain innate truths, a theory handed on to medieval thought by Augustine and accepted by Descartes, Spinoza and Leibnitz; like Locke, he holds that there are no such things as innate moral, mathematical or logical principles by which the mind, already

⁴² Although I shall not discuss, in this paper, the historical influences of Aristotle, Plotinus, al-Farabi and Avicenna on Ibn Ṭufayl in this connection, a future study of this aspect is certainly worth undertaking.

fortified, begins its operation of thinking about the world.⁴³ For instance, when Ḥayy embarked on his journey to comprehend nature, he did not disclose *any moral sense or innate logical capacities*. Only by observation and experience was he able to employ logical and inductive reasoning and a moral or religious sense.⁴⁴

Indeed, it is possible to categorize Ibn Ṭufayl's theory of knowledge *as process* epistemology. Man's mind develops and acquires strength and complexity through the process of growth and interaction with the environment. There exists a parallelism between the development of the mind and the exploration of the surroundings. This is attested to by Ibn Ṭufayl's emphasis that Ḥayy's age and mental growth should correspond to his philosophic and scientific attainments,⁴⁵ and by the fact that Ḥayy's powers of comparison of things and his attraction to them did not arise except after "their images were fixed in his mind."⁴⁶ This shows clearly that the mind acquires its texture after experience stamps itself on man through the gradual process of growth. The more images are fixed in the mind the more powerful and penetrating man's thinking becomes. Thus, through the passage of time Ḥayy's mind acquired keenness and sophistication and more insights into problems.

The foregoing remarks are in perfect agreement with what John Locke charts in his *Essay Concerning Human Understanding*. Says he:

"Follow a child from its birth and observe the alterations that time makes, and you shall find, as the mind by the senses comes more to be furnished with ideas, it comes to be more and more awake; thinks more, the more it has matter to think on. After some it begins to know the

⁴³ Cf. Ḥayy, pp. 37. 75. 90. 135.

⁴⁴ Cf. Locke, John. *An essay Concerning Human Understanding*. Ed. Alexander Compel Fraiser. New York. 1959. vol. 1. pp. 37-63.

⁴⁵ Cf. Ḥayy, pp. 115-116. Compare these facts in these pages with Locke, *op.cit.*, Ch. II. pp. 64-73

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 34. Compare this statement with Locke who maintains that "men at first perceive and image individual objects." *op. cit.*, Book II. Chapter I p. 140.

objects which being most familiar with it have made a lasting impression."⁴⁷

This is exactly what happened to Ḥayy in his development: the richness of his thought and the capacity of this thought to deal with the environment were made possible by the "fixed images in his mind" of objects in his immediate perceptual field. His confrontation with herds of roes, the death of his mother, his discovery of fire, and his awareness of the stars, minerals, plants and animals⁴⁸ offered his mind more matter upon which it could grind. By using the impressions of these objects he was able to perceive relationships by comparing the images of such objects to one another. These images in Ḥayy's mind became the carriers of his thought and the source of his creative imagination in discovering the art of building⁴⁹ and the like. Ḥayy's mind was improving by degrees in terms of innovation and comprehension.⁵⁰ The modern tenability of such a view as that of Ibn Ṭufayl and Locke in the field of psychogenesis is a truism nowadays and needs no argumentation.

Also, unlike Plotinus, according to Ibn Ṭufayl, when the soul dwells in the body it does not have any previous knowledge of the intelligible world. Nowhere in the treatise does he mention or even indirectly refer to the existence of forms in universal reason or *nous*. The soul does not entertain a pre-existence before man's birth; it is simply generated from God when the body becomes prepared for receiving it.⁵¹ This soul is the principle of life in the individual and does not innately possess fullness of thought.

Since man is a creation of God, he must contain an element of divinity. This element constitutes a *bridge* to the knowledge of the Truth.⁵² However, this is not to say that man is innately knowledgeable, but instead that he is *disposed* to develop a mind and knowledge under the proper circumstances. Therefore, the mind is initially a sheer power, a capacity to form ideas when it encounters experience. The fact that the soul is God-given simply means

⁴⁷ Locke, op. cit., p. 140.

⁴⁸ Ḥayy, p. 55

⁴⁹ Ibid, p. 53

⁵⁰ Compare Ibn Ṭufayl on this point with Locke. op. cit., pp. 140-141,

⁵¹ Ḥayy, pp. 28-29

⁵² Ḥayy, pp. 91-92.

that God endows the individual with the *instinct* of life and nothing more.

Therefore, in a Lockean manner, Ibn Ṭufayl considers the mind a *tabula rasa*,⁵³ a blank sheet of paper with only the capacity of having water marks of any sort in its fiber given by the Necessary Being. All of our (Ḥayy 's) ideas are, without exception, derived from the traces of experience stamped on the infantile virgin surface of the mind. To repeat, Ḥayy 's processess of thinking and comparison commenced after "the images of objects were fixed in his mind."⁵⁴ Experince is therefore the outcome of the interaction between the senses and the environment.

According to Ibn Ṭufayl, man's means of knowledge are the five senses through which the impressions of the external world are received.⁵⁵ The basic sense which all animals possess is touch. It absorbs primarily the properties common to all bodies, the "textures hard or soft, rough or smooth."⁵⁶ The other senses perform more specialized functions; they suck from objects the qualities to which they are sensitive. Also the senses interact and aid one another in the process of knowing. Although localized in different organs of the body, they point to the one and the same object and yield not five different worlds but a configuration of one world.

This interpretation of Ibn Ṭufayl's theory of knowledge, with respect to the senses, is clearly Aristotelian, Farabian and Avicennian. However, he differs from these thinkers in not positing what they called *sensus communis* (*al-ḥiss al-mushtarak*), which in their psychology is another Sense over and above the five senses apprehending an abundant multiplicity of different objects. Ibn Ṭufayl binds the results of the senses with his knowledge of physiology and psychology.

The five senses are the means which the animal spirit employs to actualize perception. Thus the sense organs cannot function without the animal spirit and their being is totally dependent upon it.⁵⁷ But, the seat of the animal spirit is the heart which diffuses sensitivity and nutrition to the

⁵³ Cf. Locke. *op.cit.*, pp. 121-128

⁵⁴ Ḥayy, p. 34

⁵⁵ Ḥayy, p. 34

⁵⁶ Ḥayy, p. 91

⁵⁷ *Ibid*, pp. 32. 43-46. 49-52. Especially p. 52. See also pp. 107-109.

brain and liver;⁵⁸ and although perceptions are effected by the help of sense organs, our further awareness of the whole perceptible field cannot be located in them. The eye sees but it cannot be aware of its seeing; nor is our awareness that we are seeing or hearing, a *seeing* that we see, or a *hearing* that we hear.

The consciousness of our seeings and hearings which results from sights and sounds cannot be located in our eyes and ears in so far as they are exercising their specific functions of vision and hearing. According to Ibn Ṭufayl this consciousness has its focal point in the brain.⁵⁹ The animal spirit reaches the brain from the heart. The nerves conduct the animal spirit from the cavities of the brain to the sense organs.⁶⁰

Similarly, the sense organs relay the sensible qualities of external objects to the nerves, and these in turn pass them to the brain. The brain, therefore, is the center in which man perceives objects as wholes, and in Ibn Ṭufayl's epistemology, takes the place of the *sensus communis* contrived by Aristotle and adopted later by al-Fārābī and Avicenna.

Thus, Ibn Ṭufayl emphasizes the role of the brain in the different processes of knowledge and places the sense organs at its service. He also contends that the brain comprises different faculties (*arwāḥ*).⁶¹ These are specialized in different performances to secure the accomplishment of the cognitive process. The act of perceiving, discerning colors, and the awareness of the smells and tastes, as qualities of objects, take place in different areas of the brain. Even pleasure and pain, repulsion and attraction,⁶² owe their sources to brain processes. Moreover, imagination arises when the animal spirit commands the brain to visualize sensible objects or remember them after their actual presence ceases.⁶³ Consequently, thought and all its constituent categories are contingent upon the material functions of the brain. Should a disruption occur' a certain brain compartment, the corresponding function of the disrupted compartment comes to a halt.⁶⁴ The

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 32. 52

⁵⁹ Havy, pp. 32. 51-52.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 31-32. 52.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, p. 52.

⁶² *Ibid.*, p. 34

⁶³ *Ibid.*, p. 83.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 52.

following passage shows Ibn Ṭufayl in agreement with the basic tenets of empiricism:

"He counted off his senses, hearing, sight, smell, taste and touch. None of them could grasp anything *but the physical or the attributes subsisting in it*. Hearing catches only sounds which are generated by the vibrating waves of air when bodies strike together.⁶⁵ Sight knows only colors; smell odors; taste flavors; touch the temperature and disposition of bodies and textures of solid or soft, rough or smooth. Imagination too can apprehend only things with length, breadth and depth. *All these are qualities predictable only of physical things, only these can be objects of the senses because the senses themselves are powers diffused in material things* and thus divisible with their substrates. The senses, for this reason, can apprehend only divisible objects, that is physical things. For their object must be ca of corresponding division. Thus any faculty in a physical body can apprehend only physical bodies and their attributes."⁶⁶

Thus, all knowledge, unaided, stems from experience resulting from the confrontation of the senses with the man-independent universe. Perception, as is evident from the passage, is not in direct contact with its object. It is an outcome of the integrating processes of the brain; the sense organs are its medium; and the qualities of the surrounding objects are sucked through a straw as it were: the air through the ears, the luminous medium through the eyes, odor through smell, flavors through taste, and solidity, softness, and roughness through touch. Consider the following words of Locke and compare them with ibn Ṭufayl's passage:

".. knowledge extends as far as the *testimony of our senses, employed about particular objects that do effect them*, and no further...I think it is not possible for any man to imagine any other *qualities in bodies* howsoever constituted, whereby they can be taken notice of besides sounds, tastes,

⁶⁵ It must be noted that this notion of the generation of second is in perfect agreement with the views of modern physics.

⁶⁶ Ḥayy. pp. 90-91. This passage as well as others are drawn from L. E. man's English translation of Ḥayy

smells, visible and tangible qualities...the idea of *solidity we receive by touch*...and indeed hard and soft are names that we give to things only in relation to the *constitution of our bodies*."67

Not only touch is restricted to the acquisition of the qualities of the material objects, but, like Ibn Ṭufayl, Locke maintains that the remaining senses provide us with other qualities: sounds through hearing, colors through seeing, flavors through taste, and odors through smell.⁶⁸

One can discern a further resemblance between the initiator of modern empiricism and the Andalusian philosopher.⁶⁹ Genuine know-ledge, contends Ibn Ṭufayl, is not of particulars. The qualities of objects furnished by the senses are retained and remembered.⁷⁰ 'I his persistence of the sensible qualities aids the mind in discerning their similarities and differences, and to *compare* their elements in an order not immediately given in sense data, and to *abstracts*⁷¹ from them what is ordinarily *called general ideas* The general idea is an essence or an abstract common quality of the members of the class in question. This is what Ibn Ṭufayl says on this issue:

"For that understanding which he, and such as he means is nothing else but that rational faculty which examines the individuals of sensory particulars, and from them abstracts a universal notion."⁷²

According to Ibn Ṭufayl this power of abstraction is not possessed by

⁶⁷ Locke, op. cit., Vol. II. Book IV. Ch. XI. p. 334. Also Vol. I. Book II, Ch. II. p. 146., Vol. I, Book II, Ch. IV, pp. 151-164

⁶⁸ Ibid., Vol. I. p. 296.

⁶⁹ In discerning these resemblances I am not maintaining that among the ancients and the medievals, Ibn Ṭufayl is unique in anticipating modern views.

⁷⁰ Ḥayy, p. 83. Also as evidenced by Hay's retention of the qualities of fire, material objects, the throbbing of his heart, and the resemblance among members of different species.

⁷¹ Ibid., p. 125. Ḥayy also compared the different species of body and living things and abstracted from them common notions.

⁷² Ḥayy, p. 126. See also p. 34.

the animals but confined only to man.⁷³

Although Locke is more elaborate than Ibn Ṭufayl in his discussion of the issue of abstraction, he is in complete agreement with the latter. Locke also attributed to the mind the power to combine, add, and compare the different sense data imprinted on it⁷⁴ This sense data is a presupposition of reflection or thinking; abstract ideas are made out of the examination of the sense data and the formation of internal or intellectual general models:

"The mind makes the particular ideas received from particular objects to become general.. this is called ABSTRACTION, where by ideas taken from particular beings become representatives of all of the same kind; and their names general names, applicable to whatever exists conformable to such abstract ideas.⁷⁵

Like Ibn Ṭufayl, Locke also maintains that the synthetic act of forming abstractions is predictable of rational beings and not of brutes.⁷⁶

Thus, the preceding comparison permits one to infer with confidence that for both Locke and Ibn Ṭufayl knowledge originates in experience. Ibn Ṭufayl's empiricism is corroborated by the preceding exposition of his ideas and their substantial agreement with some basic views of Locke. However, empiricism, as a school of epistemology, is of many brands and shades nowadays. It suffices to say that Ibn Ṭufayl anticipated its essential teachings. These are in total harmony with his naturalistic outlook.⁷⁷

Moreover, my comparison of the two philosophers reveals that some⁷⁸ of Locke's *epistemological determinations, with regard to their essence and general outlook*, are not philosophically new. He may have acquired the springboard for his empiricism from the medievals in the same manner as Brentano, and after him Husserl, did with the notion of "intentionality of consciousness.

⁷³ Ibid., pp. 65-66. 125-126.

⁷⁴ Cf. Locke *op.cit.*, Book II. Ch. XI pp. 200-206. This view of Locke may be traced to Plato: but Plato believed in the pre-existence of the mind, whereas Ibn Ṭufayl and Locke did not.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 206-207.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 207-208

⁷⁷ I mean Science-oriented

⁷⁸ And I do not mean all or in detail

"While the impact of Islamic philosophy on the medieval west had its definite philosophic repercussions, one cannot decide with any degree of precision that these had an influence on Locke himself.

Perhaps I should emphasize here that my comparison of Locke and Ibn Ṭufayl was not intended in any way to blur the important philosophic differences between the two. For one thing, Ibn Ṭufayl was a metaphysician mystic, whereas Locke was somehow contemptuous of metaphysics, felt uncomfortable with the proofs for the existence of God, and was never a mystic.

With Ibn Ṭufayl's account of the genesis of knowledge goes his view on causal relations. In harmony with his empirical attitude, Ibn Ṭufayl could not discern a *visible* link between antecedent and subsequent phenomena in an experimental situation. All that one perceives are events, changes, or modifications in the sensory qualities of objects; these follow one another without the presence of an empirical necessary connection between them. The force that transforms water to vapor is not perceived in fire or water. That which these bodies *empirically* possess is a *disposition* to become, a propensity to expand, shrink or burn; but *what* makes the change is neither in the cause nor in the effect; cause and effect appear to be contiguous and in constant succession; the factor or entity which binds them together is not present in the perceptual field of our sensory apprehensions:

"He examined water first and found that if left to itself, determined only by its own form, it was perceptibly cold and downward seeking; but if warmed by fire or the heat of the sun first its coldness would pass, leaving only proclivity to fall, then if it were heated strongly, this too would vanish, and it would seek to rise, leaving it without either of the characteristics which had sprung from its form. *Yet all he knew of that form was that these functions issued from it.* When they were gone the rule of that form must have ended. The form of water must have left this body, since it now exhibited behavior characteristic of some other form. A new form not previously present must have come into being here, giving rise to behavior unlike that it had shown under its original form. (Note the succession of events and Ḥayy's inability to find a connection between them). Now Ḥayy knew by necessity that *every effect* must have a

cause. From this consideration he gained a vague and general notion of the' cause of this form. He then considered that in which the forms inhere and found it to be no more than a *body's disposition for such and such an action to arise from it...*thus the proneness of a body to certain kinds of motion as opposed to others must only be due to its propensity or form clearly the acts emerging, from form did not (empirically) really dwell in them but all the actions attributed to them were brought about through them by another being."⁷⁹

Thus, Ibn Ṭufayl does not seem to find in the causes or in the effects a quality or a power that can empirically constitute a link between them. In his search for the link, had he restricted himself to the data of perception his world would have been by necessity, chaotic and dispersed. Had he stopped at this keen observation of the absence of causal connections, skepticism in knowledge including the empirical sciences, would have been his lot. For again, as seen in the preceding passage, what one perceives are certain actions proceeding from a body. Such a fact one may describe by contending that the body has a fitness or a disposition to perform those actions; but, as is also clear from the passage, we do not see any *definite bond* between those actions and that particular body nor do we see any form from which those actions emanate.

Construing the problem of causation in this manner renders Ibn Ṭufayl one of the forerunners of Hume; it is not, however, in his solution of the problem, but in his *awareness* of the empirical difficulties involved that Ibn Ṭufayl ought to be categorized as such. For Hume, along Ibn Ṭufayl's line of argument, believes that the feeling of necessary connection is often described by maintaining that the cause *produces* the effect, and that the effect is produced by the cause. But Hume says that we never experience the *process* in which one event is generated from another, nor do we *perceive* any one impression, any power to bring another into being. To be sure we observe fire melting ice, but we do not perceive the *power* making the melting. Hume says the following:

⁷⁹ Hayy . pp. 72-74. See also p. 21. Italics are mine.

"I believe...that finding from experience that there are several new productions in matter such as the motions and variations of body, and concluding that there must somewhere be a power capable of producing them, we arrive at last by this reasoning at the idea of power and efficacy...now nothing is more evident than that the *human mind cannot form such an idea of two objects as to conceive any connection betwixt them, or comprehend distinctly that power or efficacy by which they are united...the idea of necessity arises from some impression There is no impression conveyed by our senses which can give rise to that idea.*"⁸⁰

Clearly then, in the same way that Ibn Ṭufayl could not find the actions issuing from the forms to be residing in these forms, Hume could not discern a power or efficacy residing in antecedent factors of changing events. But whereas Hume refused to acknowledge any power outside experience responsible for the continuity of bonds among phenomena, Ibn Ṭufayl, the scientist-mystic, had to escape the arresting grip of skepticism. Ḥayy's scientific generalizations about nature were definite and admitted no element of probability; his mystical attainments were emphatically so. To justify all this Ibn Ṭufayl deserts his radical empiricism and invokes the notion of an Immaterial Agent who is the Efficient Cause of the entire universe, and who does not only generate physical causes and imbues them with basic impulses, but also deter-mines their existence and perpetually bestows on them all those changes and productivity. Even hearing and sight cannot take place without the insertion of God's will.⁸¹

It may be remembered that on this issue of causal connections Kant remained in the phenomenal world by stressing that the under-standing imposes connections and order on the sensible manifold. Man's a priori forms of the mind organize the vast multiplicity of natural phenomena. Locke and Berkeley, on the other hand, followed Ibn Ṭufayl's footsteps. By the end of his essay, Locke demonstrates, and then posits, God as the source of the necessity of links among causes.⁸² From his known maxim "to be is to

⁸⁰ Hume, *A Treatise of Human Nature*, Oxford, 1967, pp. 157,161 135. Italics are mine.

⁸¹ Ḥayy, pp. 74-75.

⁸² Locke, op. cit. Vol II. Book IV. Ch. X. pp. 306-324.

be perceived" Berkeley is led to God's existence as a guarantee for the existence of, and connection between, the succession of events.

Perhaps the marked influence on Ibn Ṭufayl's mind was al-Ghazzālī's thought on this particular problem.⁸³ In his defense of Muslim orthodoxy, and in his attacks against the philosophers, especially Avicenna and Aristotle, al-Ghazzali demolished the very basis of the causal principle. He denied man and other events in nature any real autonomy or freedom from God's pervading intervention with the universals and particulars of this world. Fire does not burn; instead God bestows on it capacities to burn and burning takes place only because God necessitates it. Since eternity God, as it were, willed that particulars should interact and become productive of one another.⁸⁴

Beyond Empiricism

Intuitive⁸⁵ and Behavioral Methods

Thus man's mind acquires its texture from the dictates of experience. The mind, as we have seen, perfects itself by a continuous empirical approach to the understanding of phenomena. This approach is *extended* by Ibn Ṭufayl to include naturalism⁸⁶ in its two basic components — induction and deduction. The cooperation of these two aspects of naturalism is executed diligently and pervasively in the treatise to *point* to a domain *beyond* the modalities of sensible experience, the domain of immediate apprehension and mystical intimacy. All that naturalism can comprehend is the nature of the phenomenal world, the separate intelligences, and the existence of God.⁸⁷

⁸³ Ibn Ṭufayl may have also been influenced by the Ash'arite theologians (tenth-century) on this problem of causal relations.

⁸⁴ Al-Ghazzali, *The Incoherence of the Philosophers*, ed. M. Buajj. Beirut 1962. pp. 48-53.

⁸⁵ As I have mentioned in a previous footnote, I shall confine my discussion of the Intuitive and Behavioral methods here to the essentials, since I shall treat this aspect fully in a separate article.

⁸⁶ By naturalism I mean the science-oriented approach which includes the philosophical generalization of the result of the experimental procedure.

⁸⁷ This is evidenced by Ḥayy's explorations of the world by using reason and experimentation and by discovering God's existence before achieving

Naturalism,⁸⁸ in its processes of synthesis and analysis, pronounces its own *downfall* after performing its functioning of pointing to a deeper reality than the world of appearances; it comes to know that it *cannot know* the intimate nature of the Real.⁸⁹ In fact, Ibn Ṭufayl suggests that the empirical method becomes inadequate, and noetically ineffective in dealing with the transphenomenal realm.⁹⁰ Such a method when understood and utilized properly proves in the final analysis, to be illusory, and acts on the mind as a restraint in achieving liberation from the bondage of the world of simulated truth. As Wittgenstein says, one must discard his (Wittgenstein's) propositions after one has used them to climb up beyond them. Thus, Ibn Ṭufayl abandons the *naturalistic category* completely in the intuitive method and places the apprehensions of his consciousness outside the realm of rational discourse⁹¹ This new sphere is that of inward subjectivity whose core is the intuitive vision of the Divine Essence. Such a vision takes place by a *leap discontinuous with discursive reason*⁹² In substance this intuition is existential, namely, non-rational and consequently is neither true nor false and cannot be understood in a propositional form. The only way to communicate intuitive knowledge is through an oblique form of expression.⁹³

Consequently, Ḥayy 'y *ego cogito* becomes the focal point of his new transempirical attainments. By embracing mystical gnosis his knowledge takes a transcendental turn, that is, the source of his newly acquired cognitive state becomes the data of the perceptual field of his inward insight, namely "subjective" life, a definite regress to the ego. Knowledge, no more originates in sensory experience but instead it emanates from Ḥayy's *ego cogito* in relation to the Necessary Being. This constitutes a break, a disconnection from the empirical method; in this disconnection Ḥayy brackets the natural world, performs a *continuous radical suspension* of his previously objectifying position,

mystical ecstasy. See Ḥayy, pp. 34-51. 83-90.

⁸⁸ I must state that naturalism in this context is a broader term than empiricism.

⁸⁹ Ḥayy . pp. 6-9. 91-120. 125-126. 127-129.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 6-9.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 126.

⁹² *Ibid.*, p. 125-126.

⁹³ *Ibid.*, pp. 46. 6-11. 19. 107. 122. 127. 132.

and comprehensively places the physical world in *abeyance*. Epistemology here becomes a form of *egology*; every awareness and every episode of Ḥayy's conscious "flashes" are ultimately reduced to the knowing ego in its laborious attempts to become Him without permanently becoming Him.⁹⁴ Such a life of the ego, though beyond empiricism, itself can be categorized as a *second degree empiricism*. It is the data of consciousness that gives the conscious ego its life, history and grounds the new knowledge in a passionate relationship to the Necessary Being. *Inward perception* based on immediate encounter with the contents of consciousness constitutes the criterion of spiritual "validity". Of course, like in all mystical states, Ḥayy's second degree empiricism here is incurably solipsistic. For nowhere in the treatise do we find a mention by Ibn Ṭufayl of a common criterion which bridges the gap between, at least, two independently existing egos that supposedly have enjoyed mystical felicity. Ḥayy's mystical experience is private, "closed" and cannot be depersonalized.

The intuitive method yields a most direct and certain knowledge that is charged with intensity. The ambition to put this into word is like "wanting to taste colors, expecting black as such to taste either sweet or sour."⁹⁵ The experience of the vision of God is like the experience of colors which is intuited and not demonstrated. In the same way that one cannot taste colors or hear smells, one cannot rationally penetrate the bounds and locus of intuitive experience. In this, reason is replaced by love, the passion and yearning to become Him. Ḥayy gravitates toward the Necessary Being with the joy of expectation and the anguish of deprivation. This yearning for Him becomes cosmic and his involvement existential. He settles to a life of "inwardness" with internal dynamic activity: intensity of feeling and thought before the Necessary Being. He glimpses God's presence in the plethora of things, among them the animals and the Heavens. According to Ibn Ṭufayl mystical experience is the highest and profoundest form of knowledge. Muslim mystics wisely, perhaps, termed this knowledge (*dhawq*) "taste," a word which refers to immediate experience and inward perception.

Furthermore, in a Bergsonian manner, Ibn Ṭufayl holds that the intuitive knowledge of something is becoming empathetically and truly that something. And since Ḥayy intuited the Essence of the Truly Existent Being,

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 98-116.

⁹⁵ *Ibid* pp. 121-222.

he himself became that Being.⁹⁶

On the other hand, the behavioral method is linked with the intuitive method and helps prepare the way to it ; in itself it is not knowledge, but instead, simply a necessary step toward obtaining knowledge. Ḥayy's naturalistic knowledge of animals, separate intelligences, and the Necessary Being, had to penetrate his whole being and existentially determine his actions. Since in his "outer" aspects he resembles the bodies of animals and the stars, and in his "inner" aspect partakes of the Divine, he finds it imperative to perform three empathetic actions: to imitate irrational animals, Heavenly bodies, and the Divine. The performance of the third, he knows, is necessary for his happiness and freedom from anguish, and the other two are the gateway to the third.⁹⁷ Thus, Ḥayy 's behavioral method places him on the way to intuitive knowledge and consequently helps him succeed in beholding the Necessary Being.⁹⁸

REVELATION AS A METHOD OF KNOWLEDGE AND ITS HARMONY WITH PHILOSOPHY

Revelation is recognized by Ibn Ṭufayl as another method of acquiring knowledge. He devotes the last part of his treatise to this method and its harmony with demonstration and the intuitionism of the mystics. In substance, revelation as a method is non-logical⁹⁹ and reinforces itself by an appeal to authority which is, according to Ibn Ṭufayl, the Word of God as expressed through Prophets in holy books. These books are supposed to contain the truth about the world, man's destiny, and the after life.

Revelation is unlike the inductive and deductive methods mentioned earlier, which co-operate to enhance philosophic and scientific knowledge; revelation is independent of these methods and does not philosophically give them assistance. The philosopher, exemplified by Ḥayy, must not use revelation to promote his philosophic attainments. Like any other

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 123-124.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 98-116.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 103-119.

⁹⁹ The words of the prophets do not belong to the discursive mode of reasoning, and usually their statements are not supported by evidence based on logical thinking.

phenomena in the universe, the facts of revelation are subject to scrutiny and investigation by the philosopher.¹⁰⁰ Upon examination Ibn Ṭufayl finds revelation to contain truth whose source is transphenomenal. To acquire this knowledge there has to be an intervention, a disclosure from above, by God.¹⁰¹

Other methods considered co-operate to move from the ordered facts of nature to the Necessary Being. In contrast, revelation descends from God to man. The two movements are polarized but the contents of both, according to Ibn Ṭufayl, are *almost* the same.¹⁰² This brings forth the notion of the two ways for the same truth which dominated the minds of medieval thinkers.¹⁰³ Revelation and its imperatives are, as it were, the *outward expression* of the profound truth possessed by philosophers. The intimate knowledge of things, as they are in them-selves, acquired by Ḥayy is *echoed* in the revealed truth; the dictates of reason are in total harmony with the precepts of revelation.¹⁰⁴ The philosopher who commences his inquiry unprejudiced by tradition and aided by his scientific, rational, and intuitive capacity¹⁰⁵ will discern an *outward* and *inward* meaning for religious truth.

I have shown elsewhere¹⁰⁶ that the last part of the treatise is philosophically and artistically imposed on the events of the story, and that the work is for the most part devoted to poignant philosophic discussion;¹⁰⁷ this is mostly due to Ibn Ṭufayl's belief that the revealed truth, only when interpreted becomes harmonious with the truth of reason. Philosophic knowledge attains certain heights from which the mind penetrates and grasps the truth most direct and naked.¹⁰⁸ Although he chides al-Fārābī' for his

¹⁰⁰ This is instanced by Ḥayy 's visit to Asal's island and his attempts to examine and study the revealed Law according to which its inhabitants live. cf. Ḥayy, pp. 144-154.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 145-146..

¹⁰² The use of "almost" will shortly be justified.

¹⁰³ For instance. Averroes and Aquinas.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 145-146.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 144.

¹⁰⁶ See S. S. Hawi, "Ibn Ṭufayl's Ḥayy Bin Yaqzan: It's Structure..." op. cit.

¹⁰⁷ See Ḥayy, pp. 1-20. 27-135. The whole treatise is 157 pages.

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 146-147. See especially p. 154. Asāl seems to have behaved as a

heretic views of prophecy and shows great reverence to the Prophet, Ibn Ṭufayl regards the knowledge conveyed by the prophets as subordinate to philosophic knowledge. What justifies this contention is Ibn Ṭufayl's belief that facts apprehended by philosophy are communicated by prophets not as they are, but in the form of parables, symbols, metaphors and projection of images.¹⁰⁹ Even the inward meaning of religious statements when apprehended by expert dialecticians such as Asāl, remains short of philosophic heights. "Ḥayy searched for his ecstasy as he had before, until again it came. Asāl *imitated* him until he approached almost the same heights or nearly so."¹¹⁰

The subordination of revelation to philosophy is partially due to a disparity of purpose in the two methods. Religion attempts to guide its adherents, each according to his powers; it provides the masses with a certain "indispensable minimum" of truth and permits them worldly indulgences and gains within the confines of the law.¹¹¹

According to Ibn Ṭufayl, men are at variance in potential; each must work according to his capacities and comprehend that for which nature had already predisposed him. Should any one individual stretch his aspirations beyond what is given for him to understand, he would waver, slip, and his end would be all the worse¹¹² Thus, "for every task there is a category of men, and each belongs to the life for which he was created."¹¹³ This passage epitomizes Ibn Ṭufayl's view concerning the gradation of seekers of Truth. Men are of three categories: (a) Those whose life is set for the acquisition of demonstrative truth and are capable of attaining it — (Ḥayy). (b) Those who

student to Ḥayy concerning ultimate truth although the former taught the latter language.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 144-146.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 154.

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 152-153.

¹¹² *Ibid.*, p. 154.

¹¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 153. Ibn Ṭufayl, in this statement, reiterates Plato, Aristotle and al-Farabī. Plato, as evidenced from his *Republic*, contends that men are at variance ; Aristotle, in his *Politics*, held that men perform certain roles in society by the necessity of their natural endowments, whereas al-Farabī recognized such a distinction in his *Virtuous City*.

by nature are able, through the interpretation of revelation, to comprehend its internal meaning — Asāl). (c) Those who adhere to the literal meaning of revelation — (Salāmān). Men of the last category are similar to irrational beings or brutes;¹¹⁴ they cannot go beyond the realm of shadows and animal faith. Theirs is a life centered around fleeting pleasures and wealth which lead to the negligence of the after-life.¹¹⁵

This distinction of three classes of seekers is significant in the history of the problem of the relation between faith and reason; it left a definite impression on Averroes and later, perhaps, on Maimonides and Aquinas. In fact, Averroes mentions the same distinction, with more elaboration, in his *Decisive Treatise*.¹¹⁶

Ibn Ṭufayl's work has the merit of crystallizing this distinction by pointing to the intricacies involved in it. However, the source of this distinction is, perhaps, embodied in the cultural and religious categories of his age. These were conditioned to a large extent by the mode and outlook of the Mūwahḥid rulers themselves. The two predominant traits of the Mūwahḥid outlook, religious orthodoxy and love of learning and philosophy, had found a compromise.¹¹⁷

¹¹⁴ Ḥayy, p. 153.

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 151, 153.

¹¹⁶ See Averroes, *On the Harmony of Religion and Philosophy*, Translated by G. F. Hourani, London, 1961, pp. 18-36. 65-71.

¹¹⁷ Some of the Mūwahḥid rulers were great patrons of learning and philosophy some of them were scholars themselves. In their private life they enjoyed the company of philosophers, presided over their discussions and took delight in philosophical speculation. While attending to their public duties as the heads of a Muslim state they did not want to show any deviation from the orthodox way. This however, did not prevent them from appointing philosophers to high positions, showering favors on them and consulting them in all important matters. The philosophers themselves accepted the situation willingly or unwillingly. They were content with the position that philosophy is the privilege of the chosen few. They enjoyed perfect freedom to speculate. But the masses were not to be initiated into its secrets and their simple faith and discipline were not to be disturbed. These facts seem to have conditioned Ibn Ṭufayl's and Averroes' thought

Furthermore, before him al-Fārābī displayed cognizance of this distinction. Al-Fārābī seems to have been prompted by two basic motives in his writings: the desire to reconcile the ideas of Plato and Aristotle¹¹⁸ in order to establish the unity of all truths of philosophy, and the desire to harmonize these truths with revelation. Thus, in his *Virtuous City* the attempt to attune philosophy to revelation, and the distinction between the grades of men in terms of truth are clearly presented.¹¹⁹ Ibn Ṭufayl says in the Introduction that he had read most of al-Fārābī's works.¹²⁰ Accordingly al-Fārābī's writings and the conditioning of the cultural religious categories of his period were the two main factors behind Ibn Ṭufayl's distinction. Even al-Fārābī himself is not entirely original on this problem. It may be remembered that the attempts to harmonize revelation with philosophy (in Islamic thought) presented themselves earlier, when the Greek rationalistic spirit came in contact with the revealed message of Islam, as exemplified by Islamic rationalists (al-mu'tazila) and al-Kindi.

The preceding discussion shows that Ibn Ṭufayl's work includes more philosophic facts of definite consequence than what traditional scholarship has thus far suggested. Previous writers have exclusively overlooked *most* of the themes stressed in this inquiry. His epistemology, as I have used the term, seems to employ a plurality of methods of knowing that co-operate to establish his basic philosophic understanding of things. Thus, *Ḥayy Bin Yaqzān* is more than a narrative: a future philosophic study of the basic themes contained in it must in the final analysis, say that the Muslim Master has anticipated the basic *impulse* behind a variety of engaging insights in modern philosophy.

concerning the classes of seekers of truth. Cf. al-Marrakushī, 'Abdal-Wahid, *Kitāb al-mu'jib fitalkhis akhbār al-maghrīb*, Cairo, 1949, pp. 238-240 and O'Leay, DeLacy, *Arabic Thought and Its Place in History*. London. 1963. p. 250 and Averroes, *op. cit.*, pp. 6-18.

¹¹⁸ See al-Fārābī. *Kitāb al jam'bain ara' yal-hakimayn*. (The book of reconciliation between the opinions of the two sages: Plato and Aristotle). ed. A. Nader. Beirut. 1962.

¹¹⁹ See al-Fārābī, *Ara' ahl al-madina al-fadila* (Opinions of the People of the Virtuous City) ed. Albert Nader, Beirut. 1959.

¹²⁰ Ḥayy pp. 12-14.

THE ISLAMIC SUMMIT CONFERENCE

Reyazul Hasan

The Islamic Summit Conference comprising heads of states, foreign ministers, leaders and other high dignitaries of thirty-seven Muslim countries, took place between February 22, 1974, and February 24, 1974, at Lahore, the city of Iqbal who was the greatest exponent after Jemaluddin Afghani of Muslim unity and solidarity in the world. It was an epoch-making conference and naturally its impact on the world was greater than that of the first summit conference which took place five years before at Rabat.

The Muslims of undivided India responding to the message of Jemaluddin Afghani, Iqbal and Mohammed Ali always gave a clarion call for Muslim solidarity in the world. And it was thus that the first World Muslim Conference was held at Mecca in June, 1916. A number of conferences were held in subsequent years also but never was the presence of many heads of states and other dignitaries of Muslim states so large as at Lahore. Certainly Mr. Z. A. Bhutto, Prime Minister of Pakistan, deserves high praise for having invited success-fully so many dignitaries from Muslim countries at a time when the Muslim world is beset with mortal dangers from all sides. And it is reassuring to learn that these dignitaries did some loud thinking in solving the problems of Muslim unity and facing the Palestine question.

Among the countries that participated in the Islamic Summit Conference, many have come out of the clutches of foreign imperialism during the last twenty-five years. And many among them are such as are living a backward life. Yet it is a notable fact that all of them are endeavouring hard to come to a high standard of life set by Islam.

Another very striking feature was the absence of any racial feeling among the delegates who had come from the hot zones of Africa and from the temperate zones of Iran, Turkey and regions bordering the southern shores of the Mediterranean sea. They were absolutely indifferent to colour bias for they had assembled to serve Islam which does not recognise any difference of race or colour in its votaries. Here the words of Prof. Arnold Toynbee may be quoted with satisfaction that "the extinction of race consciousness as between Muslims is one of the outstanding moral achievements of Islam, and in the contemporary world there is, as it happens

a crying need for the propagation of this Islamic virtue; for the race consciousness is a fatality of the present situation and that this consciousness is felt — and felt strongly".

It may be pointed out here that in the United Nations gatherings and conferences representatives of the black and the white races also take part and sit together but it is most notable that there is no compatibility and similarity in the views of different racial and social groups within the United Nations which is more or less an organisation to further imperialist interests of white nations.

Yet another striking feature was the different and social and political standards of the countries represented by their delegates at the conference. For instance, in some countries there is still prevalent the tribal organisation in its most rigid form; and in others there is the national system. Thus there is monarchy in some countries but in others there is democracy and republican form of government. Similarly there are differences of social and economic organisations. For instance, there is capitalism still prevalent in some countries but it is in a dying state while in some other countries the trend is towards socialist society and further towards mixed economy. But in spite of all these differences of social and political organisations, the common object of all the peoples of these countries is to serve Islam. This is a clear sign that Islam far from being in a moribund condition is healthy and kicking and that the frequent declarations of the enemies of Islam that Islam is a played-out force, that it is against progress, that its followers believe in pre-destination and so look to the past rather than to the future, that it is fit for a backward society and so on, are not only false and mischievous but they are meant to mislead people and create among the Muslims a sense of inferiority. But the fact is, as Iqbal rightly said that

تقدیر شکن قوت باقی ہے ابھی اس میں
ناداں جسے کہتے ہیں تقدیر کا زندانی

"Islam still possesses the power and force to break the bonds of destiny, although many ignorant people call it a prisoner of destiny".

The Palestine Issue.

Three days before the Summit Conference Foreign Ministers of seventeen Muslim countries formally met to prepare an agenda for the Conference. They met in more than two sessions and finalised the agenda as follows: — "The situation in the Middle East, the Palestinian cause and the strong attachment of Muslims to Jerusalem and the firm determination of their Governments to liberate it". Undoubtedly there were other important problems before the Foreign Ministers' Agenda Committee but the burning of the Holy Mosque of Jerusalem and the fate and future of Palestine clinched the issue in favour of Palestine leaving other issues for future conferences.

The thing that incensed and enraged the Muslims all over the world is the presence of the Zionist state in Palestine and the occupation of Jerusalem by the Jews and desecration of the Masjid-al-Aqsa. Jerusalem was the first "Qibla" of Islam and is sacred in the eyes of Muslims after Mecca and Medinah. The supremacy of non-Muslims over the holy shrine of Islam is no less than a torment for the entire Muslim world. The statement of the Jews that they have historical connection with Palestine is not only false but is intended to throw dust in the eyes of the world. It is just an eye-wash. The Jews ruled a part of Palestine only for 70 years. Then they were exiled to Iraq and to further east. When they returned to Palestine, they found Palestine too unwelcome for them to stay. So, as Prof. Hocking, formerly of the University of Chicago, has pointed out, the Jews left Palestine voluntarily and that their scriptures were for the most part written outside Palestine. Therefore they have no claim on a territory which once they had left.

The Christian Powers of Europe under the leadership of Pope Urban 11 attacked Palestine at the end of the eleventh century and thus started the Crusades against Islam. But behind the religious facade, there was the spirit of adventure and expansion of economic and territorial gains. The Crusaders remained in the Holy Land for about 150 years after which they were pushed back and driven out by the victorious forces of Sultan Salahuddin. Thus the Christian problem of Palestine ended here. But the problem became complicated when at the end of the First World War, Turkey was defeated and the British forces entered Palestine with a view to establishing a national home for Jews, a dubious cover for final occupation by the Jews of the territory of Palestine. Looking to the problem from many angles it becomes clear that the Jewish state was envisaged to serve as the spring-board for British imperialism in the Middle East as far as India. Today, however,

imperialism is dying and is in a moribund condition. It is, therefore, out of question for western imperialism to stay in Palestine under the cover of the Jewish state.

The Bangladesh Problem.

Ever since the military action of Yahya Khan began on March 25, 1971, the problem of East Pakistan has been a boiling cauldron. India's Military intervention made the problem worse. It was a direct military attack on a territory which had no quarrel with India but India's desire for expansion forced her war-mongers to try their luck in East Pakistan. So in complicity with a great power they succeeded in dividing East Pakistan from West Pakistan. However, this fact is as clear as daylight that without India's military intervention East Pakistan would never have been cut off from West Pakistan.

When Pakistan troops surrendered in East Pakistan, leaving the field clear for India's action, there was no way out of this difficulty except through offering recognition to Bangladesh which during the last two years had undergone so much suffering that it had almost purged itself through a sort of catharsis and developed a certain feeling of amity towards West Pakistan.

On the other hand, some Muslim powers felt it incumbent that Bangladesh, being a majority Muslim area, should be represented at the Islamic Summit Conference. Therefore they began to work towards this object and sounded Mr. Mujibur Rahman through various sources. Mr. Mujibur Rahman's only objection towards a rapprochement was the question of recognition of equal and independent status of Bangladesh. Prime Minister Bhutto had already obtained the will of the National Assembly for recognition but he postponed the decision in favour of a suitable occasion. A delegation of Muslim Foreign Ministers also visited Mr. Mujibur Rahman at Dacca a day before the Conference and they brought the news that Mr. Mujibur Rahman would attend the Conference after recognition.

So in the evening of February 22, 1974, one hour and fifteen minutes before the opening of the Islamic Summit Conference Prime Minister Bhutto announced the recognition of Bangladesh. In announcing the recognition he made it clear that he was not doing it under any pressure. Super powers had been advising him to grant recognition but he had ignored their requests. In the same manner he had given no importance to India's importunities. He disavowed all pressures of this character but the only pressure that worked

on him was that of the welfare of the people. He claimed that he had taken this decision with the sole consideration of the interest of Pakistan.

Proceeding further Prime Minister Bhutto said that Bangladesh was a reality and if that reality could be ignored he would have done so but reality could not be ignored by mere talk. He denied that by recognising Bangladesh Pakistan was letting the forces responsible for it to enjoy "the fruit of aggression". Situations could be resolved both by war and peace and if they were not resolved by peace, war was resorted to. He further explained that he was not happy in taking this decision but sometimes right decisions were painful decisions. He took this decision because he thought it was right to take it.

Consequent on his announcement of the recognition of Bangladesh, Mr. Mujibur Rahman at the head of a Bangladesh delegation arrived in the morning of February 20, 1974.

The Summit Conference Opens.

The Islamic Summit Conference opened at 6 P. M. under the chairmanship of Prime Minister Bhutto with a recitation from the Holy Quran. In his opening speech Prime Minister Bhutto said that the Middle East situation was an out-growth of the problem of Palestine and its core was Jerusalem. The states that had sponsored the partition of Palestine in 1947 bore a heavy responsibility for redressing the injustices perpetrated on the people of Palestine. Explaining further the object of the Summit Conference, he said that the states that had gathered at Lahore were committed to strive for the restoration of the legitimate rights of the people of Palestine. "This is our obligation not only to the people of Palestine and not merely to the cause of Islamic brotherhood but also to the larger cause of universal peace", he declared. Dilating further on the Palestine problem, he said that the sons and daughters of Palestine through their suffering, fortitude and the constancy of their commitment had earned a recognition of their legitimate rights to resolve the problem that had been festering so long. The Ramadan war had released a current that could flow towards a just settlement. He also paid tributes to those who laid down their lives in the sands of Sinai and on the Golan heights in the cause of justice and human dignity. He pointed out that the Western Powers under the pressure of economic forces had awakened to the urgency of "a definite settlement" but the mediatory processes could vanish if there were apathy towards the root

of the problem and a satisfaction at the partial solution.

The Role of Oil.

Throwing light on the role of oil in the present world situation he said that far reaching possibilities had been opened by the demonstrated ability of the oil-producing States to concert their policies and this might well presage the end of a deranged world order. The Third World was now in a position, for the first time, to use its own resources for financing its development through co-operative effort, and it could now forge its own financial institutions. Mr. Bhutto, however, under-lined the fact that "these exciting opportunities" could be grasped or missed, for there are also perils and pitfalls in the present situation. The gravest of these perils was that of a discord between the oil-producing countries of the Third World and such disarray could do a great damage to the political causes they were espousing today. He also made a fervent plea that the danger must be overcome by positive action.

Coming to the problem of unity, Mr. Bhutto said that the Muslim countries were now able to play "a most constructive" and rewarding role for co-operation amongst themselves and with the rest of the Third World. The time for translating the sentiments of Islamic unity into concrete measures of co-operation and mutual benefit was here. "Let not posterity say that we were presented with historic, possibly unrepeatable, opportunity to release ourselves from the injustices on us for many centuries and we proved ourselves unequal to it," he said. In his final note he said that the essential elements of a Middle East settlement were: the withdrawal of Israeli forces from all occupied Arab territories, restoration of Jerusalem to the Arabs and the restitution of the Palestinian Peoples' rights.

Hafez al-Assad

The Syrian President Hafez al-Assad who was the first speaker at the opening session of the three-day Summit conference after the Presidential address by Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, expressed his confidence that the Islamic Summit conference would result in a stand commensurate with the gravity of the situation in the Middle East.

He said, "It is indeed a matter of great importance that the leaders of 700 million Muslims should meet at Summit level with the aim of defending the holy places of Islam and of supporting the just Arab cause.

He expressed the hope that the Lahore conference would enhance existing links between "our States and enable us to serve our peoples and to realise their objectives in a better way".

The present conference, he said, was being held following the Ramazan war which the Arab people fought to achieve liberation while the first conference was held as a reaction to the crime of the burning of Al-Aqsa Mosque.

This, he added, meant "we meet today as makers of events where-as we had met in the past in reaction to events. This fact should be a source of strength marking a new stage of doubled efforts and more effective action".

President Assad referred to the dangers threatening Jerusalem and other Islamic shrines in the Arab lands and said: "We have come to exchange opinions and to share in reaching a decision regarding these dangers. Zionism represents an evil to all humanity because it exploits Judaism to serve an artificial chauvinistic phenomenon.

"If the tenets of Zionism were accepted, New York would lose two-thirds of its population and the claims of the Nazis that Jews are incapable of being good citizens in the countries in which they are born and whose benefits they enjoy would be inevitably confirmed".

The October war, he added, was in one way or another continuing. It had not come to an end and it would not until complete Israeli withdrawal was effected and the Arab people of Palestine were assured of their legitimate rights.

President Gaddafi.

Libyan Arab Republic President, Mohammad Muammer Gaddafi, speaking on the first day of the Lahore Summit Conference called for a united front for the liberation of Jerusalem and said all resources of the Muslim world should be mobilised to attain this cherished goal.

Col. Gaddafi said Jerusalem was occupied by the enemy by force and it could only be liberated by taking up arms.

Islam, he added, is a religion of right and the world of Islam today was determined to fight for their righteous cause till the final victory.

He dwelt at length on the history of the creation of the State of Israel on the Arab soil and the eviction of the Muslims of Palestine from their home

and hearths. He said that the inhuman treatment meted out to the Arab population of Palestine could not be justified under any norm of international behavior.

If the rights of the Palestine people were not restored by other means, the Islamic countries, he urged, should send volunteers and arms for the purpose.

Col. Gaddafi said the Islamic countries should use volunteers and their weapons for the sacred cause of liberating the Qibla-i-Awwal from Zionist control.

Col. Gaddafi said it was commendable that despite its difficulties, Pakistan was hosting the conference. He said there were still certain forces out to harm Pakistan and it needed the sympathy and support of brotherly countries.

Speaking about the oil requirements of the developing States, he said the oil-producing countries would adopt a rational policy towards those among them which had supported the Arab cause.

The industrialised world would have to choose "between our friendship and the friendship of our enemy."

He proposed to oil producing Muslim countries to demarcate consumer countries into three groups, with the Islamic world getting oil at the best terms.

The three groups, he said, should be of industrialised countries, Third World and the Islamic countries.

Oil to industrialised countries, he suggested, be sold at the already agreed prices with the exception of those providing arms and technology to the producers.

The Third World countries should get better treatment than the industrialised ones and the Islamic countries should get still better treatment in view of the fact that Islamic world constituted one entity.

He said the energy crisis gripping the world had seriously affected the economies of the Third World countries which played a noble role during the October war in the Middle East.

President Boumedienne.

President Houari Boumedienne of Algeria, speaking in the general debate on the second day of the Islamic Summit Conference, appealed for adding a material contract to the existing spiritual link among the Muslims.

Discussing the link between the spiritual and the material, he said that the spiritual tie was there. It only needed to be embodied and to assume its material shape through co-operation in various fields, particularly the economic one.

Economy, he said, was the foundation of life in today's world. Unless we succeed in giving spiritual bonds their economic content, we were bound to remain subjected and submissive in spite of all philosophising and in spite of whatever meaning we give to the tenets of Islam and its suitability as a constitution for all times and places. Human experience had shown that religious ties, whether Muslim, Christian or otherwise, broke down in the face of poverty and ignorance.

If we want to speak of Islam and Islamic solidarity, he said, we have to come out of this meeting with two resolutions the first of which should be in support of our just cause: the cause of the Arab Mashriq, Palestine and Jerusalem.

Should we come out with this resolution and support it with another resolution regarding the elaboration of a practical formula for co-operation among the Islamic countries, we would be in a position to state that Islam is all right and that Muslims had begun to reorient their steps on the path of development and evolution, towards pride and dignity, and this would put us in a position of power that would enable us to defend our just causes.

Third World and Industrial National:

Describing the Third World comprising African and Asian Countries as well as non-aligned ones, he said that there was a struggle going on between the Third World and the industrial world. Therefore, we had to look at these things from a Muslim's point of view, given the fact that Muslims were denied their rights, their countries were oppressed and remained dependent on Centres of influence and exploitation. These Centres are not in Asia, Africa or Latin America; they were situated in Europe and America.

The World had witnessed the Berlin dispute, the Sino-American dispute, the Vietnam War, and finally the Arab East's War which resulted in the energy crisis. Both the energy crisis and rising oil prices were a consequence of the raging conflict in the Arab East.

Proceeding further he said:— "We have always said in all Arab meetings that the battle was not only political or military, but was a battle of all potentialities including energy and oil. The Arabs have imposed an embargo

on oil. Such embargo was beneficial to everybody, and so, after the Arabs had exposed their youth to death and destruction, they also exposed their interests to dire hazards."

"What are the potentials of the other countries that participated in taking the decision for the sake of the sacred cause, regardless of the fact that they were exposing their interests to a deadly peril?"

"All the oil-producing countries benefitted from this decision and we welcome this fact, for first and foremost, it is the fruit of long and bitter struggle against oppression and exploitation."

"We have lived on lakes of black gold but all the profit went to America to increase its power, tyranny and cruelty. These profits helped its industrial base to expand and strengthened the forces of aggression which sought to subject peoples."

"Our national resources were drained by Europe, too, to the extent that the wealthy became even wealthier at the expense of the poor. Our struggle to control a vital sector of our national resources is both just and legitimate and we paid heavy sacrifices in carrying on our struggle."

Oil and Raw Material:

Algeria has won her war of liberation at the heavy expense of one tenth of her population. She has gained independence but she is still licking her wounds. The oil campaign is regarded by Algeria as part of the wider battle for raw materials. Algeria restored control over her oil resources in the face of peril from the monopoly that mobilized every ounce of strength to bring Algeria to her knees. But Algeria fought a total war for world control over raw materials against industrial powers that have exhausted or are about to exhaust their national resources and seek greedily to lay their hands on those of the oppressed nations of the Third World, Muslims and non-Muslims alike."

"When we spoke in the past about the dangers threatening us, our words got limited response. Sufferings of our Third World went unheeded in Europe. The resolutions of the Group of Seventy Seven remained on paper, as the Santiago Conference (Chile) did not produce any positive reaction from industrialised countries. We called for the investment of one percent, which is one of our rights; however, industrialised countries did not invest even a fraction of their profits in the development of the countries producing raw materials. Today after the battle of oil has started, some say to Third

World countries that the decision to impose an embargo and raise oil prices is aimed primarily at developing countries. The question that arises at this stage is whether the exploiter ever defended the rights of the exploited?"

"The price of iron ore, for instance, has not risen since twelve years. Nevertheless, metal works, including weapons, are sold not only at expensive prices but also with prior conditions. We import capital goods and scientific expertise at soaring prices. Since our imports from industrialized countries are constantly increasing, our losses grow day after day."

"The battle of oil is, consequently, part of an all-out battle, namely that of raw materials. Such a battle projects the context of relationships existing between advanced industrialized countries and developing ones; a context revealing the wide gap between the two. We should put this historical opportunity to good use, and face those who seek to tighten their grip on our destinies. However, individual moves are of no avail, and the only means to achieve the desired results lies in unified action. Therefore, we have to act as coordinated groups...an Arab group, an Islamic one and a third belonging to non-alignment. Within these different frameworks, we have to find solutions to our own problems in so far as co-operation is concerned."

"Algeria welcomes effective co-operation and is working for it. She will be ready to abide by any decision aimed at developing and consolidating co-operation among these groups. With all due respect, I believe that the oil issue is not one of prices. We believe that the present price is not exorbitant, particularly for industrial states."

"If there are problems besetting the developing countries, we must seek together, jointly and as brothers, for radical solutions, and try to avoid the seduction of apparently simple but deceptive solutions which tend to dilute the cause and check this awakening consciousness which is dawning on the Third World. By cleverly using the oil asset, oil-producing countries, as well as all developing countries, will derive full benefit. I am sure that our voice will be heard clearly for the first time at Extraordinary meeting of the General Assembly of the United Nations. The Third World will most assuredly, make its presence felt. Hence, it is our duty to be careful in order not to lose this chance. We must be vigilant and find out suitable formulas for our problems. Among us there are some states who are rich in potentialities and have abundant surpluses; let them invest these potentialities and this surplus within an African and Arab context, indeed within the context of non-alignment for they are the suitable and normal frameworks

for co-operation and collaboration.

If we are able to get out of this meeting with concrete resolutions which embody our co-operation, we will be entitled to deem this Conference a decisive turning point in the history of relations between Islamic States.

The Iranian View.

Mr. Abbas Ali Khalatbari, leader of the Iranian delegation, speaking during the general debate on the second day of the Islamic Summit, said that the victory of Arabs in the Ramazan War was a decisive step towards the solution of the Middle East problem for which the Muslim countries had waited so long.

He said the exemplary courage shown by the valiant Arab armies to liberate the occupied Arab areas had drawn admiration of the whole world.

Mr. Khalatbari recalled that Shahinshah of Iran had always supported the Arabs in their fight against Israeli aggression. The Shahinshah was one of the first to condemn the Israeli aggression in 1967. He said that Iran was a co-sponsor of United Nations Resolution No. 242 which demanded complete vacation of Israeli aggression. Recently Iran had drawn attention of International Congress on Human Rights on the violation of these rights in Arab areas under Israeli occupation.

Mr. Khalatbari said that Iran had a very clear policy regarding the status of Jerusalem. Iran was against any unilateral modification of the legal status of the city under any circumstances. Like all Muslims Iranians dearly cherished the liberation of the Holy City.

Iran had also always given steadfast support to the suffering people of Palestine, who had been uprooted from their homeland, he added. It was a matter of concern that the international community was not able to find a just solution to the problem. Iran, he said, had been giving maximum possible aid to the struggling people of Palestine. Mr. Khalatbari believed that the Geneva peace conference would open a new perspective for the establishment of peace in the Middle East.

Mr. Khalatbari said Iran was one of the first oil-producing countries to realise the impact of increased oil prices on the economies of the developing countries and had already taken steps to find out remedies. He said Iran had decided to give the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund one million dollars to create a fund to enable the developing countries to overcome economic difficulties.

Iran was, he said, one of the founder-members of the Islamic Conference and attached great importance to it since this organisation had united Muslims from the Atlantic to the Sea of China. He praised the efforts of Prime Minister Bhutto and the people of Pakistan in convening the Conference, which was sure to promote understanding among the Muslims besides helping in promoting a better understanding of the contemporary world.

Tun Abdul Razzak.

The Prime Minister of Malaysia, Tun Abdul Razzak, expressed the hope that the Muslim world would be able to regain the pristine glory of Islam.

Addressing the second open session of the Summit Conference Tun Razzak welcomed the presence of Sheikh Mujib in the conference and admired the sagacity shown by Prime Minister Bhutto in this regard. With this, a new era would dawn in the region, he added.

He paid tributes to the former Secretary-General of the Islamic Secretariat, Tunku Abdul Rehman, whose efforts contributed a lot to the convening of the current Summit.

Tun Razzak decried Israel's intransigence; it has flouted with impunity all international appeals, resolutions and demands of vacating the Arab territories.

Malaysia, he said, was totally opposed to acquisition of territory by force, because it considered it illegal and illegitimate.

The annexation of Jerusalem in total disregard and defiance of the world public opinion was a matter of great concern to all the peace-loving countries, he said.

The Malaysian Premier said that so many resolutions were passed asking Israel to vacate aggression, but Tel Aviv's behaviour defies all norms of International behaviour.

Mr. Adam Malik.

Indonesian Foreign Minister Adam Malik said on the second day of the Summit Conference that the present summit provided a "unique" and "golden" opportunity for forging Islamic conference into "collective political force".

He said the deliberations in Lahore also brought about opportunity to work for the "resurgence of Islam and of Islamic brotherhood".

Mr. Adam Malik, who was representing President Suharto of Indonesia at the summit meeting, said peace could be restored in the Middle East only after the "root causes" of the conflict were removed.

He called for vacation of Arab territories occupied by Israeli aggressors and restoration of the right of Palestinian people.

Mr. Malik said it was imperative that Jerusalem was returned to Muslim hands.

He suggested that the Muslim world should initiate a dialogue with the leaders of other religions because Jerusalem was as sacred to the Christians as to the Muslims

"Indeed the liberation of Jerusalem formed part and parcel of the question of the complete withdrawal of Israeli forces", Dr. Adam Malik said.

He said the Muslim world must particularly insist that Israel rescind all measures she had taken to alter the status of Jerusalem.

Referring to the Geneva peace conference at the first round of which a "measure of success" had been achieved, the Indonesian Foreign Minister called for directing "all our combined efforts, support and solidarity towards making the negotiations an effective instrument in the furtherance of our ultimate goals".

Mr. Malik recounted the encouraging result of the middle East war of October 6 last year.

The Ramazan war had exploded two myths — namely the so called invincibility of Israeli armed forces and the much taunted disunity of the Arab world.

Dr. Adam Malik said the valiant Arab fighters had once again given testimony of their unshakable determination to free their home-lands.

The use of oil as an effective weapon of diplomacy had given a completely new perspective to international economic relations in the world in future throwing light on the "tremendous potential" of unified Arab action in the negotiating field.

Further, it had led to a "feverish search" for a workable peace and brought about rapidly increasing support by developing countries as well as Western European Powers to the cause of peace in the Middle East.

The war, therefore, resulted not only in military success but also in a diplomatic victory', the Indonesian delegation leader said.

Mr. Malik said that President Suharto was paying keen attention to the deliberations in Lahore on "issues so close to hearts of millions of Muslims

all over the world and so vital to the cause of Islamic solidarity and brotherhood".

Mr. Yasser Arafat.

Mr. Yasser Arafat, Chairman of the Palestine Liberation Organisation, declared at the closing session of the Summit Conference that the joint and concerted struggle of the Muslim world would bring an early victory for the subjugated people of Palestine.

In his forceful speech Mr. Arafat called upon the Muslims of the world to forge a united front for the liberation of the Holy City of Jerusalem which, he said, was a cradle of spiritualism.

Expressing his gratitude to the ' people of Pakistan and Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto for convening the conference, he said, it was all the more gratifying to see that the call for the unity among the Muslims had been given from the city of Lahore which had been a seat of Islamic glory and heritage.

The PLO leader traced the events that led to the foisting of the alien State of Israel on the Arab soil and said that the Israelis had subjected the Arab population to all type of inhuman treatment.

He said that during the past year, all sorts of atrocities were perpetrated on the people of Palestine but they have not yielded to the Israeli subjugation.

The heroic people of Palestine, he said, had kept the standard of freedom struggle high and passed it on from one generation to the other

He said that the "torch of Islamic brotherhood" should be kept aflame to humble the forces of darkness and tyranny.

He urged the Islamic States to lend their full support to the struggling people of Palestine who, he said, would always remain in the vanguard to liberate their homeland from the Israeli occupation.

The Chairman of the Palestinian Liberation Organisation (PLO) Mr. Yasser Arafat presented a model of the Holy Dome of the Rock (place of ascension of the Holy Prophet, peace be on him), to Prime Minister Bhutto as a tribute for the efforts made by him in making the second Islamic summit a great success.

Mr. Arafat moved a resolution in the open session of the Summit, paying tributes to Premier Bhutto in making the Summit successful and to the Pakistan Government for making excellent arrangements for it.

The resolution was unanimously adopted by the Summit. He then went

to Mr. Bhutto with the model and presented it to him amidst great applause by the delegates. Mr. Bhutto and Mr. Arafat embraced each other. The Prime Minister thanked the Palestinian leader for his most sincere gesture.

Patriarch of Antioch.

His Beatitude the Patriarch of Antioch and the East, Elias IV, representing the Christian Churches based in Damascus, described the creation and continuation of the State of Israel on Arab soil as an "act of theft—a base act".

A Leader of an Arab Christian delegation to the Islamic Summit, he said that Christians, not only in the Arab lands but all over the world, considered that the establishment of Israel was a contradiction of the divine rights of the Arab peoples in respect of Jerusalem and Palestine.

He pointed out that the participation of a Christian delegation in the Summit should be seen in the context of relationship between Muslims and Christians. He said that Muslims and Christians were united by belief in the unity of God while Jews rejected those values, as was evident from the crucifixion of Jesus Christ.

The Patriarch of Antioch said that Christians all over the world had been raising their voice against Israel and her manipulations to continue their hold over Palestine and Jerusalem. Resentment had been expressed in so many ways and after the Ramagan War in the Middle East. The Christian Churches had initiated a campaign to raise funds from all parts of the country to overcome the after-effects of the war which resulted in destruction of Arab property and lives. The campaign, he said, was still continuing.

The Christian leader said that the Christian view was that the holy city of Jerusalem and Palestine "shall always remain Arab."

Mr. Bhutto winds up the Conference.

Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, speaking at the closing session of the Summit Conference, said that the people of Pakistan would give their blood for the cause of Islam whenever they were called upon to do so.

Prime Minister Bhutto said: "We are a poor nation. We may not be able to contribute funds to the economic development of Islamic world but, with Allah as my witness, I declare here today that we, the people of Pakistan, shall give our blood for the cause of Islam."

He said: "We have been facing many difficulties, but these problems are now being overcome. The people of Pakistan are dedicated to the cause of Islamic solidarity.

"The people of Pakistan are the soldiers of Islam and its armies are the armies of Islam. Whenever any occasion rises the Islamic world would never find us wanting in any future conflict.

"Inshallah we shall enter Baitul Maqdis as brothers in arms."

Mr. Bhutto expressed his gratitude to the heads of State and Government from the Muslim countries who accepted the invitation to participate in the second Islamic Summit. They had many problems which they faced internationally in their home, yet they found time to come to Lahore and attend this conference.

He said: "During the last 25 years we have seen the Islamic countries facing many problems. The Middle East in particular has faced many crises. All these problems have step by step and gradually brought us closer."

He said the Muslim world had travelled a long distance during the past 25 years and the world could see the difference now. There was time when the Muslim world suffered all kinds of humiliation as a result of poverty afflicting it. The world believed that the Muslims would never rise again.

The Prime Minister said the times had changed for the better now. He had no doubt that the objectives before the Muslim world would be achieved no matter who was pitted against the forces of Islam.

The Prime Minister said, "Pakistan could not make all the arrangements befitting the Muslim Heads of State and Government but "in our heart and souls we wanted to give you reception of brothers which you are and which you always will remain". This evoked prolonged cheers.

He also thanked King Faisal for co-sponsoring the conference and although there were some doubts in the beginning about the conference yet in the end all the problems were overcome and the conference was held.

He said he was sure that the conference had achieved positive results and the time would prove how valuable it had been.

Mr. Bhutto was given a big applause by the delegates when he referred to the participation of Bangladesh in the Summit. He said his conscience would not have been clear if a country of 6.5 crore Muslims had not participated in the conference.

The Lahore Declaration.

The following is the text of the "Declaration of Lahore" adopted by the Second Islamic Summit Conference.

"In the name of Allah, most Gracious, most Merciful."

The Kings, Heads of State and Government and representatives of the Republic of Afghanistan, Algerian Democratic and popular Republic State of Behrain, People's Republic of Bangladesh, Republic of Chad, Arab Republic of Egypt, Republic of Gabon, Gambia, Republic of Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Republic of Indonesia, Empire of Iran, Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan, Kingdom of Morocco, Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, State of Kuwait, Republic of Londen, Arab Republic of Mali, Islamic Republic of Mauritania, Republic of Niger, Sultanate of Oman, Islamic Republic of Pakistan, People's Democratic Republic of Yemen, State of Qatar, Senegal, Democratic Republic of Somalia, State of Republic of Somalia, Democratic Republic of Sudan, Syrian Arab Republic, Republic of Tunisia, Republic of Turkey, Republic of Uganda. State of United Arab Emirates, the Yemen Arab Republic, Palestine, represented by the PLO, the Representative of the Republic of Iraq at-tending as an observer, met at the Second Islamic Conference held in Lahore from Feb. 22 to 24, 1974. The Secretary General of Arab League, Delegation of Motamar-Al-Alam-Al-[slam, and Secretary General of Rabita-tul-Alam-Islamia attended as guests.

The Patriarch of Antioch and all the Orient also attended the Summit Conference.

I

The Kings, Heads of State and Government and the Representatives of the Islamic countries and organizations proclaimed:

1. The conviction that their common faith is an indissoluble bond between their peoples: that the solidarity of the Islamic peoples is based, not on hostility towards any other human communities nor on distinctions of race and culture, but on the positive and eternal precepts of equality, fraternity and dignity of man, freedom from discrimination and exploitation and struggle against oppression and injustice:

2. Their identification with the joint struggle of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America for social and economic progress and prosperity of all nations of the world.

3. Their desire that their endeavours in promoting world based on freedom and social justice will be imbued with the spirit of amicability and cooperation with other faiths, in accordance with the tenets of Islam.

4. Their determination to preserve and promote solidarity among Muslim countries, to respect each other's independence and territorial integrity, to refrain from interference in each other's internal affairs, to resolve their differences through peaceful means in a fraternal spirit and wherever possible to utilize the mediatory influence or good offices of fraternal Muslim State or States for such resolution.

5. Their appreciation of the heroic role played by the frontline States and the Palestinian resistance in the Ramazan war as well as of the Arab effort and Muslim solidarity which became more prominent at that decisive stage.

6. Their appreciation for the activities of the Islamic Conference and its Secretariat which will continue to be the vehicle for their dedication in promoting close and fraternal co-operation among themselves and in their other joint endeavours.

II

Having considered the present situation in the Middle East they declared that:

1. The Arab cause is the cause of all countries, which oppose aggression and will not suffer the use of force to be rewarded by territory or any other gains:

2. Full and effective support should be given to the Arab countries to recover, by all means available, all their occupied lands:

3. The cause of the people of Palestine is the cause of all those who believe in the right of a people to determine its own destiny by itself and by its free will:

4. The restitution of the full national rights of the Palestinian peoples in their homeland is the essential and fundamental condition for a solution to the Middle East problem and the establishment of lasting peace on the basis of justice.

5. The international community, and particularly those States which sponsored the partition of Palestine in 1947, bear the heavy responsibility to redress the injustice perpetrated on the Palestinian people:

III

6. Al-Quds is a unique symbol of the Conference of Islam with the sacred divine religions. For more than 1300 years Muslims have held Jerusalem as a trust for all who venerate it. Muslims alone could be its loving and impartial custodians for the simple reason that Muslims alone believe in all the three Prophetic religions rooted in Jerusalem. No agreement, protocol or understanding which postulates the continuance of Israeli occupation of the holy city of Jerusalem or its transfer to any non-Arab sovereignty or makes it the subject of bargaining or concessions will be acceptable to the Islamic countries. Israeli withdrawal from Jerusalem is a paramount and unchangeable prerequisite for lasting peace in the Middle East.

7. The constructive efforts undertaken by the Christian churches all over the world and in the Arab countries, notably in Lebanon, Egypt, Jordan and Syria to explain the Palestinian question to the international public opinion and to the world religious conference and to solicit their support for Arab sovereignty over Jerusalem and other holy places in Palestine should be appreciated.

8. Any measure taken by Israel to change the character of the occupied Arab territories and in particular, of the holy city of Jerusalem is a flagrant violation of international law and is repugnant to the feelings of the State members of the Islamic Conference and of the Islamic world in general.

Those African and other countries which have taken an honourable and firm position in support of the Arab cause are worthy of the highest appreciation.

The present trends "towards a just peace cannot but concentrate on the root of the question and disengagement cannot be viewed but as a step towards the complete Israeli withdrawal from occupied Arab territories and the full restitution of the national rights of the Palestinian people."

IV

Having considered the world economic situation and in particular that obtaining in the Islamic countries in the light of the addresses made by the Heads of State and Government and specially those made by the President of the summit conference, the President of Algeria and and the President of Libya and realising the need for

I. Eradication of poverty, disease and ignorance from the Islamic countries:

II Ending exploitation of developing countries by the developed countries:

III. Regulating the terms of trade between developed countries and developing countries in the matters of supply of raw materials and import of manufactured goods and know-how:

IV. Ensuring the sovereignty and full control of the developing countries over their natural resources:

V. Mitigating current economic difficulties of the developing countries due to recent increase in prices:

VI Mutual economic co-operation and solidarity among Muslim countries:

They decided to establish a committee consisting of the representatives and experts of Algeria, Egypt, Kuwait, Libya, Pakistan, Saudi Arabia, Senegal and United Arab Emirates with powers to co-opt other interested Muslim countries for devising way and means for the attainment of the above objectives and for the welfare of the peoples of the member countries. They directed that the committee should commence its work immediately and submit its proposals to the next conference of Foreign Ministers for immediate consideration and action.

The committee will meet in Jeddah, at the invitation of the Secretary-General who shall fix a date for the meeting not later than one month after the conclusion of the present summit conference. The proposals of the committee shall be submitted.

V

The Kings, Heads of State and Government and the representatives approved resolutions on Jerusalem, Middle East and Palestinian cause, Muslim Solidarity Fund, Development and international economic relations and other matters. These are annexed to this Declaration and all form an integral part of it.

VI

In furtherance of these and common objectives they direct their

representatives at the United Nations and other international bodies to consult together with a view to adopting joint and agreed positions."

AFFINITY OF IQBAL WITH SHAH WALIYULLAH*

Dr. A.J. Halepota

In order to bring out Iqbal's spiritual affinity with Shah Waliyullah I propose in this discourse to make a comparative study of some salient points in the thought of Iqbal mainly as given in his lectures entitled "Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam" and the thought of Shah Waliyullah, on more or less the same lines as those on which Prof. M.M. Sharif made a comparative study of William James and Iqbal.¹²¹

Philosophers of Modern Age:

Iqbal and William James both were product of the modern age, whereas Shah Waliyullah, as has been claimed by him and more or less substantiated by the history of intellectual development in the modern times, was Fātūh or precursor of the modern age. He laid the foundation of the new approaches to the study of phenomena of life on the lines on which such studies in the modern times are pursued. Iqbal himself has recognised this fact in respect of Shah Waliyullah in his following statement:-¹²²

"The task before the modern Muslim is immense. He has to rethink the whole system of Islam without completely breaking with the past. Perhaps the first Muslim who felt the urge of a new spirit in him was Shah Waliyullah of Delhi."

The method suggested by Shah Waliyullah for the study of phenomena was later adopted not only by Jamaluddin Afghani and other Muslim writers but was also intuitively followed by European philosophers like Comte and Herbert Spenser, who flourished in Europe about a century after him. Long before Iqbal, Shah Waliyullah adopted the attitude regarding modern knowledge about which Iqbal remarks in his lecture on freedom and

* Read in a meeting held under the auspices of the Iqbal Academy, Karachi on the occasion of the 36th Death Anniversary of Allama Iqbal on 21st April, 1974.

¹²¹ Prof. M.M. Sharif, "About Iqbal and his thought" pp. 49-54.

¹²² *Iqbal*. Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam p. 97.

immorality in the following words:-¹²³

"The only course open to us is to approach modern knowledge with a respectful but independent attitude and to appreciate the teachings of Islam in the light of that knowledge, even though we may be led to differ from those who have gone before us".

Shah Waliyullah visualises modern knowledge as emanating in the form of light and reflected back from the west. This reference is found in the Muqaddamah of Hujjat Allah al-Baligha:¹²⁴

"Then my Lord infused me with the idea that in accordance with what has been decreed upon me by the supreme pen, I will have to get up one day for this great task (exposition of the divine phenomena) and with this idea that the Earth has been enlightened with the light of its Lord and the beams of that light are being reflected back from the West and that the time has nearly arrived when the laws concerning life prescribed by Shariah of Mustafa could be given exposition in the extensive and commodious garb of reasoning and scientific method".

Islamic Heritage:

These extensive forms of exposition of Reality became possible and due only after the new and renovated forms of knowledge were reflected back from the western part of the world of which Shah Waliyullah was so conscious. The knowledge that has been handed over from Europe to the modern world is only a reflection of the sciences of Islamic origin. This indicates that it was with Shah Waliyullah that a beginning was made of "the remarkable phenomenon of the world moving towards the West." This also points to the attitude which Muslims should have adopted towards the European sciences. A reference to these ideas is found in the following statement of Iqbal.¹²⁵

¹²³ *Ibid*, p. 97.

¹²⁴ Shah Waliyullah, Hujjat Allah Baligha p. 3.

¹²⁵ Iqbal, Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam p. 7.

"There was a time when European thought received inspiration from the world of Islam. The most remarkable phenomenon of modern history, however, is the enormous rapidity with which the world of Islam is spiritually moving towards the West. There is nothing wrong in this movement, for European culture, on its intellectual side, is only a future development of some of the most important phases of the culture of Islam."

Iqbal's Acquaintance With Shah Waliyullah

It is difficult to assess the extent to which Iqbal was influenced by Shah Waliyullah. However, he seems to have been very much interested in the study of Shah Waliyullah's work as is evident from the three letters which he had written to Maulana Suleman Nadvi. In these letters it is indicated that Hujjat Allah al-Baligha, the encyclopaedic work and compendium of Shah Waliyullah's thought has remained under his study. He was also interested to have a copy of al-Budur al-Bazigha and he seems to have been acquainted with the writings of Mussa Jar Allah-- a student of Maulana Ubaidullah Sindhi, the greatest exponent of the thought of Shah Waliyullah in recent times.¹²⁶

Iqbal's Views About Shah Waliyullah

In his lectures on "Reconstruction of Religious Thought", Iqbal's remarks about Shah Waliyullah reveal his deep and thorough grasp of his philosophy and thought. In his lecture on the Principles of Movement in the Structure of Islam, Iqbal's appraisal of Shah Waliyullah's view on Prophet's method of formulating a code of conduct for universal application is remarkably comprehensive.¹²⁷

In the lecture on Human Ego – Freedom and Immortality, while discussing continuity of life, Iqbal refers to the views of Shah Waliyullah in the following words:¹²⁸

¹²⁶ Shaikh Ataullah, Iqbal— Nama, Letters to Syed Suleman Nadvi, pp. 160-163. 198.

¹²⁷ Iqbal, Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam (Sources of Islamic law-Hadith) pp. 71-72.

¹²⁸ Ibid, p. 122.

"The point, however, which has caused much difference of opinion among Muslim philosophers and theologians is whether re-emergence of man involves the re-emergence of his former physical medium. Most of them, including Shah Waliyullah, the last greatest theologian of Islam are inclined to think that it does involve at least some kind of physical medium suitable to the ego's new environment."

In this statement of Iqbal a thorough grasp of the thought of Shah Waliyullah is indicated in his interpretation of the Nasma as some kind of medium suitable for the philosophy of Shah Waliyullah. This medium of the soul in various stages of life after the physical death is called Nasma, the Cosmic or astral body which undergoes changes in the various stages of the onward journey of the soul in its life hereafter.¹²⁹

Here it may be mentioned that according to the criterion of Iqbal, Shah Waliyullah's method is more comprehensive than that of Al-Ghazali. According to Shah Waliyullah, 'thought' or 'reason' and intuition (Wahy), as well as the tradition (Naql) and the concrete are intimately related to each other. This view is also held by Iqbal as he makes a comparative analysis of the implication of the methods of Al-Ghazali and Kant,¹³⁰ in which although he gives credit to al-Ghazali for performing almost an apostolic mission of breaking the back of the proud rationalism,¹³¹ which Shah Waliyullah calls 'Al-wahm Zulmāni'¹³² –conjecture leading to the dark — yet he points out the short-coming in method of al-Ghazali saying that it led him to draw a line of cleavage between 'thought' and 'intuition'.¹³³

With these brief general remarks a few points of agreement and affinity discerned in the thought of Shah Waliyullah and that of Iqbal are discussed here:

Wandat Al-Wujud:

¹²⁹ Shah Waliyullah, Hujjat Allah Baligha, Meaning of Death, States of peoples in Barzakh pp. 25-28.

¹³⁰ Iqbal, Reconstruction, p. 5.

¹³¹ Shah Waliyullah, Al-Budur al-Bazigha, p. 2.

¹³² Iqbal, Reconstruction, p. 5.

¹³³ Shah Ismail Shahid, Abaqat, Introduction.

I. As a disciple of Rumi, Iqbal supports Wandat al Wujud. Shah Waliyullah is also Wandat al-Wujudi, who has not only evolved a complete system on the basis of the view of Wahdat al-Wajud but also evolved principles on which Wahdat al-Wujud of Ibn ‘Arabi and Wahdat al-Shuhūd of Imam Rabbāni have been brought into such a harmony that both the systems seem to supplement each other.¹³⁴

Evolution

2. Iqbal is a supporter of the idea of evolution, change and development as held by Muslim philosophers like Jāhīz, Ibn Miskawaih and Rūmi. "Rumi regarded the question of immortality as one of biological evolution and not a problem to be decided by arguments of purely metaphysical nature."¹³⁵ Iqbal did not subscribe fully to the Western theory of evolution which brought despair and anxiety, The reason for this pessimistic result is to be found in the unwarranted modern assumption, that man's present structure, mental as well as physiological, is the last word in biological evolution and that death regarded as a biological event has no constructive meaning.¹³⁶

In contrast to this, Iqbal supports the view of Rumi, who creates the attitude of hope and kindles the fire of enthusiasm for life through his verses describing the evolutionary stage of man touching the past, present and future life of man.¹³⁷

Shah Waliyullah's view of evolution is more precise from various points of view. In his Budur al-Bazigha and al-Tafhimat al-Ilahiya,¹³⁸ he describes the various stages of evolution of man from the point of view of the cycle of life emanating from the ultimate Reality descending through various stages of ‘Alam al-Arwāh, ‘Alam al-Mithāl, and rising up through the stages of ‘Alam Shahadah, al-Barzakh and ‘Alam Hashr, until it submerges itself in its ultimate goal. Besides this he gives an analysis of the various stages of biological evolution through the stages of minerals, plant life, animal life, until the stage of humanity is attained. He carries out this analysis in three different ways namely: (i) from the point of view of emergence from one

¹³⁴ Iqbal, Reconstruction, p. 121.

¹³⁵

¹³⁶ Ibid, p. 121. -

¹³⁷ Ibid, pp. 185, 186, 122.

¹³⁸ Shah Waliyullah, al-Budur al-Bazigha, pp. 17-24.

stage to another; (ii) from the point of view of rise, development and perfection at the levels of different stages; (iii) from the point of view of the processes of disintegration that mark the end of each stage. Moreover, Shah Waliyullah's view of social evolution of mankind is thorough and extensive so much so that he excels even Ibn Khaldun.

God and World

3. As Iqbal views reality as a whole, the 'Universe', according to him "cannot be regarded as an independent reality standing in opposition to God." Iqbal rejects the materialistic view which reduces God and "the world to two separate entities confronting each other in the empty receptacle of an infinite space".¹³⁹ Shah Waliyullah's view of the relationship of the Ultimate Reality and the various stages of the universe substantiates the view of Iqbal. According to him the various phases of the universe are just different aspects of the emanation of the one and the only Ultimate Reality. None of the phases could be regarded an independent reality standing out separately.

Nature—Sunnatallah:

4. Iqbal's concept of the universe is the basis of his view that the working of nature in the universe can be interpreted as "habit of of Allah".¹⁴⁰ According to Shah Waliyullah this is

Study of Nature—Form of 'Ibadah

5. The observance of the universe and its study is, according to Iqbal, the means of getting closer to its Creator, a form of prayer.¹⁴¹

According to Shah Waliyullah, the study of nature and of the working of God's plan of the universe is one of the important constituents of 'Ibādah' (worship) and prayer. He calls this process of observation as "Tadhkir bi-ala Allah, that is the process of consciousness of God's benovolent working in the universe. The study of nature in the same way could be termed as 'Ibādah' (worship) provided one is not oblivious of its relationship with its ultimate source.¹⁴²

¹³⁹ Iqbal, Reconstruction, p. 66.

¹⁴⁰ Ibid, pp. 57-58.

¹⁴¹ Shah Waliyullah, Hujjat, pp. 13-14.

¹⁴² Iqbal Reconstruction, p. 58.

No Bifurcation of Sacred & Profane:

6. In view of this relationship the conceptions of sacred and profane, and religious and secular, have no place in Shah Waliyullah's thought as is the case with Iqbal. This becomes clear from the following statement of Iqbal.¹⁴³ This outlook is diagonally opposed to the view held by the Christian Church.

Tilism:

7. Iqbal looks at the external and apparent phenomenon of the universe as 'Tilism' as is indicated in 'Zabur-e-'Ajam' in the verse:¹⁴⁴

طلسم بود و عدم جس کا نام ہے دنیا خدا کاراز ہے قادر نہیں ہے جس پہ سخن!

Shah Waliyullah calls the manifestation of the apparent part of the universe 'Tilism Ilahi'.¹⁴⁵

Function of Prayer (Ibadah):

8. In the analysis of the meaning of the prayer, the thoughts of Shah Waliyullah and Iqbal seem to agree with each other.

According to Iqbal "prayer is a means of spiritual illumination, a normal vital act by which the little island of our personality suddenly discovers its situation. in a larger whole of life. Do not think I am talking of autosuggestion — auto-suggestion has nothing to do with the opening up of the sources of life that lie in the depth of the human ego."¹⁴⁶

To Shah Waliyullah prayer is an innate and natural tendency that springs up from the deepest recesses of the soul owing to which it is drawn towards God with a magnetic force and thereby attains some sort of contact with its ultimate source.¹⁴⁷ This indicates that as far as the innate impulse and attraction towards the source of life is concerned the views of Iqbal and Shah Waliyullah seem to exhibit a remarkable resemblance.

Psychology of Prayer:

¹⁴³ Shah Waliyullah, Hujjat (Chapter on 'Ibadah) pp. 53-55.

¹⁴⁴ Iqbal, Reconstruction, p. 55.

¹⁴⁵ Iqbal, Zabur-e-'Ajam, p. 119.

¹⁴⁶ Shah Waliyullah, Sata'at, p. 2.

¹⁴⁷ Iqbal, Reconstruction, p. 91.

9. While analysing the psychology of 'prayer', Iqbal says: "True to the psychology of mental attitude in prayer, the form of worship in Islam symbolizes both affirmation and negation".¹⁴⁸

Very similar is Shah Waliyullah's psychology of 'worship' in which both aspects, the negation and affirmation, subsist in the form of the consciousness of God's Great Attributes of Glory, Benevolence, Sublimation and Exaltation side by side with the negation of everything else other than God including the self of one who is in the act of worship as devoid of any power and being in absolute dependence on God for all purposes concerning life and existence.¹⁴⁹

Different Stages of History of Mankind:

11. Iqbal speaks about the stage of change through which humanity has passed and about the spirit of time at every stage in which the advent of prophets played a cosmic part.

In the philosophy of Shah Waliyullah one comes across a similar idea of different stages of the history of mankind, each stage having its own peculiar phase and peculiar demand for the conduct of life which were fulfilled under the universal scheme by the advent of prophets and great sages who brought about revolution and changes in the current of history.¹⁵⁰

International Unity of Mankind:

12. Shah Waliyullah also analyses the change in the process of the social evolution of humanity into four stages. Amongst these the fourth stage, the fourth Irtifaq is the international form of unity of mankind which is a political ideal with Iqbal.¹⁵¹

These are just a few points given as samples to show how Iqbal comes so close to Shah Waliyullah and his tradition which he carried on further. Indeed, there is a great need of an elaborate study in this direction concerning Iqbal and Shah Waliyullah as well as other Muslim savants, which will contribute a great deal towards the study of the intellectual development of the Muslims and bring to light as to how far they have drawn from the

¹⁴⁸ Shah Waliyullah, Hujjat (Chapter on 'Ibadah). p. 54.

¹⁴⁹ Iqbal, Reconstruction, p. 93.

¹⁵⁰ A.J. Halepote, Philosophy of Shah Waliyullah Part II (Worship), p. 242.

¹⁵¹ Shah Waliyullah, Al-Budural Bazigha (Chapters on Millats) pp. 240-264.

fountain-heads that belong to their own community.¹⁵²

This will also help strengthening the harmony and unity of our Millat whose foundations are laid on the Tawhīd taught by the Qur'ān and the great superman, the Holy Prophet of Islam (peace be upon him) to whom Iqbal was completely dedicated in his art, thought and spirit.¹⁵³

¹⁵² Shah Waliyullah, Hujjat Budur (Chapters on Irtifaqat).

¹⁵³ Iqbal, Reconstruction, p. 158 and also Luce Claude Maitre, Introduction to Thought of Iqbal, p. 17.

REVIEW

Kazi A. Kadir

Muhammad 'Abdur Rabb's Abu Yazid al-Bistami (Dacca.

The Academy of Pakistan Affairs.1971) pp. xii + 253. Price N.M.

The full title of the book is: The Life, Thought and Historical Importance of Abu Yazid al-Bistami. The title is long and intimidating; the book is not. In fact, it is a refreshingly written account of the thought and person of one of the pillars of sufi tradition who became a legend in his own life time. Abu Yazid was exiled from Bistam seven times (p. 63). He is said to have stirred in his mother's womb whenever she took a forbidden food (p.40). It is reported of Abu Yazid that once he stood all night with a mug of water in his hands which he had brought for his mother who had gone back to sleep after having asked him to fetch water for her (ibid). He is also reported to have intimate knowledge of scholarly books even without having ever gone through them (p. 54). But Abu Yazid is not interesting merely because of his conscientiousness, his piety and obedience to his mother. He is important as a sufi. He is sufi who gave sufism and sufi doctrine depth and profundity (pp. 3-5). It is this aspect of Abu Yazid's to which 'Abdur Rabb has paid much attention and it makes this study a welcome addition to sufi literature in general and on Abu Yazid in particular.

The study is divided into seven chapters. The first chapter(pp. 9-34) surveys the major and minor sources of the research. Among them, 'Abdur Rabb counts Junayd Baghdadi, al-Sarraj, al-Kalabadhi, al-Sulami, 'Abu Ny'am, al-Qushayri, al-Hujweri, al-Sahlagi etc. The minor sources include orientalist such as Massignon, Horten, Arberry, Zaehner, Deladric etc. This distinction between the major and minor sources is a significantes. 'Abdur Rabb, has mainly relied upon the major sources, because there are not primary sources (p.10) and has mentioned the minor sources in order to criticize them with possible exception of Arberry.

The second chapter (pp. 35-80) deals with the life of Abu Yazid. 'Abdur Rabb, in this chapter, collects a mass of information regarding Abu Yazid and evaluates this information objectively. His task is not an easy one, since

he confesses, "the material on the biographies of the early sufis came to be linked up with legends and anecdotes which are more indicative of the esteem in which others held a sufi than they are of sober historical fact"(p.35). 'Abdur Rabb, however, is pretty successful in constructing from the facts available, discerning and true to life portrait of Abu Yazid.

From chapter 3rd onwards is discussed Abu Yazid's doctrine of Zuhd, Fana, Tawhid and Marifa (chap. IV). Fana is explained to have two aspects (a) negative and (b) positive. There are also degrees of fana starting from the dissociation of one-self from the physical, reaching the highest in 'fana an al-fana' (p.115). 'Abdur Rabb enumerates four levels or degrees of fana (pp. 114-115); he also sees, as I have mentioned, a positive aspect of fana. And this positive aspect is experienced in the union with God. This is tawhid. Abu Yazid believes that 'Having lost his own attributes, Sufi is clothed in Divine attributes; and achieves the experience of tawhid" (p. 115). Tawhid, however, is "much more than mere confession of God's oneness; it is a verification of His oneness by means of personal experience" (p. 117). The Sufi here realizes that "God is one, has no partners in his actions and no one does His acts" (p.119). In fact, the Sufi is one with God; he "wills by God's will, he looks according to God's looking, his heart is elevated by God's elevation, his soul (nafs) moves by the power of God "(ibid). If tawhid is understood in this sense then one can also have some insight into the paradoxical utterances of Abu Yazid, the famous Shatahat.

'Abdur Rabb has devoted forty three pages to Abu Yazid's Shatahat, and rightly too. Some sufis are reported to have made statements which, taken on their face, appear to go contrary to accepted Islamic ways regarding Hallaj's Anal Haqq. Abu Yazid's Shatahat, however, have special significance because they come from the lips of a sufi who is reported to be a "devoted orthodox Muslim .. "(p. 146). Abu Yazid made such statements' as "glory be to me! How great is my majesty!" "Indeed, my grip is stronger than His (God's)" (ibid). How one can account for such sayings?

One easy and ready mode of explanation of Abu Yazid's Shatahat would be that he uttered these words in a state of intense ecstasy. Al-Hujweri, for example says the same thing (pp.150-152). 'Abdur Rabb, however, disputes this explanation and observes that if what al-Hujweri says is correct how will we account for the cases where Abu Yazid "after having returned to the state of sobriety, asked his disciples to cut his throat" if he even again uttered such

things (pp. 147—48)? More-over, there are instances where we find Abu Yazid all sober and without being in a state of sukr, making such paradoxical statements (p.149). I think the point is well taken. However, the problem of the explanation of Shatahat remains unsolved. In this regard Rumi's explanation is worth mentioning to which 'Abdur Rabb also makes a reference Rumi asks why God cannot speak with human tongue? That God does speak in this manner is shown by the fact that his words in the Quran were spoken on the lips of Muhammad" (p. 183).

In the chapter VI (pp. 184-221) is discussed the 'problem of possible Indian influence on Abu Yazid. This is a very important chapter and 'Abdur Rabb has done some pure research work here. Students of sufism are not unaware that good many western orientalists have repeatedly stated that sufi doctrines and sufi practices have been influenced by Budhist thought (Nicholson). Massignon rather guardedly suggested possible Hindu influence and Horten "tried industriously to prove that there was an Indian influence in Abu Yazid, al-Hallaj and al-Junayd" (p. 187). 'Abdur Rabb who has done his home work carefully, disputes the contentions of western orientalists and rejects them justifiably.

'Abdur Rabb has been successful in establishing that there is no relation between the Sufi concepts of 'Tana' and the Budhist doctrine of Nirvana; no parallel between the Sufi 'Shajarah' and the Hindu 'Svattah's and, Abu Yazid's 'Subhani' and 'Mahyam eva Name Namah' of the Upanishids (pp.188-202). 'Abdur Rabb concludes that there is little to show that Abu Yazid was influenced by Indian thought.

This conclusion, I believe, can be generalized to cover other sufis and sufism in its wider context. That this will not be an illegitimate generalization, gets support from the influence of Abu Yazid on subsequent Sufi doctrines. We can say that what holds good in the case of Abu Yazid, that he is not influenced by Indian thought holds true with regard to later sufism as well.

As I have already said, the book under review is a welcome addition to the growing literature on Sufism. I, however, believe that read in the context of recent philosophy, sufi thoughts and dectrines have a very contemporary ring. The doctrine of 'Tana an al-fana' can be said to be a very early existentialist expression. Similarly, the existentialists notions of Nothingness, Non-Being, the argument about the Contingency of Existence, and the desire for an authentic existence leave a decidedly sufi colour. It is possible to establish a rational dialogue between Sufism in general and Abu Yazid's in

particular and contemporary existentialism. At least this is what I have felt going through the book under review.

There are not many printing mistakes but I have found three: on page 10 read 'Major source' for 'Major Sour'; on page 176, line 21 read 'Shatahat' for 's-taha,; the same line, next sentence read 'It' for '-t'. The book, however, is handsomely brought out.