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RELIGIOUS PHILOSOPHY OF MUHAMMAD IQBAL

Dr. Javid Iqbal

Iqbal had no philosophic system to offer; therefore, strictly speaking, he was not a philosopher. He was also not a trained theologian in the traditional sense of the term; hence he could not be considered as an expert on religion. Had he been alive, he would have certainly been surprised to hear his thoughts or ideas being described as 'religious philosophy'. Even otherwise he would have rejected the term 'religious philosophy' as contradictory, for, philosophy, according to him, is merely a groping inquiry whereas religion is founded on faith in Reality. He likewise disapproved of being called a poet, for according to him he had only used poetry as a vehicle for conveying his ideas to the others.

Nevertheless Iqbal was essentially a religious poet, who expressed the religious aspirations of his age in such a way that is difficult to enter into the spirit of his great poems without some acquaintance with the religious-cultural history of Islam. He was a poet gifted with the necessity of utterance and thus carried a prophet's burden. The message he was to deliver had been pressed like lead upon his soul and although the process of telling was an agony, he was compelled to tell it. Each word of the message was like a flame which struggled to break forth into speech and would accept no suppression or denial.

There is no denying the fact that poetry can be vigorous while being quite indifferent to religion. But poetry cannot long remain separated from religious consciousness if it is to achieve a higher level of expression. Therefore, the bond between religion and poetry is not superficial. Religion is a power as ancient as the world and if philosophy the parent of the sciences, has been universally acknowledged as the child of religion, there is no reason why poetry, which in its higher forms is more philosophical than philosophy itself, should not be considered as the child of religion.

There has always existed a mysterious link between great problems and great poems. The conflict between the experience of men and the religious aspirations of the age has laid the foundations of the greatest poems of the

ancient Greeks, Jews, Christians and Muslims. In world literature examples of numerous poets could be cited, who, were most effective when their poetic expression resulted directly from religious emotion.

In chronological order Iqbal comes after Hali and before a group of Indo-Pakistan writers in modern Urdu literature known as the Progressive Writers. But in terms of the accuracy of his insights into the problems of contemporary Muslims, Iqbal ought to be placed much later. Similarly, his message must not be interpreted in isolation from the socio-political conditions under which he lived and against which he felt obliged to react.

He hailed from a Muslim middle-class family that was known for its piety and abstinence. He received his early education in Sialkot and thereafter came to study in Lahore. As a sensitive young Muslim he realised that the glory of Islam had become a matter of past history. The Ottoman Empire was in the process of breaking up. The struggle for independence of the Chinese and Central Asian Muslims was brought to an end and they had already been absorbed in the Chinese nationalist Empire and Tsarist Russia. The Muslims were gradually being driven out from Eastern Europe. Iran was collapsing. Egypt was controlled by the British. France had seized Morocco. The Muslims of the Indian sub-continent had given up all hope of regaining their lost freedom after suppression of the so-called 1857 Mutiny. Under the British rule, they had been reduced to a minority of 100 million people. Initiative had been snatched away from the hands of Islam which, like an old man, lived in the past and was perpetually on the defensive.

In this condition of utter despair the Muslims of the sub-continent turned their eyes towards the movement of Islamic solidarity. This movement (also called the Pan-Islamic movement) had been founded by Jamal al-din Afghani. Throughout his life Afghani preached that the unity of purpose among the Muslims was the only weapon with which they could defeat the forces of imperialism. Accordingly, he endeavoured for the establishment of a federation of Muslim states under the constitutional leadership of the Ottoman Sultan-Caliph. Iqbal was profoundly influenced by Afghani's vision of Islamic solidarity and it is in this context that he is regarded as a poet-prophet of Islamic revival or resurgence. He started his career as a poet in the traditional sense and wrote on whatever moved him. He was fascinated by nature, expressed himself on topics like love, solitude,

loneliness etc. or composed *Ghazals* in the conventional style. He also wrote some poems in support of Indian nationalism. Sometimes the subject matter of his poems was universal and at other times it exclusively concerned the Muslim community. He experimented in writing satirical verse or wrote poems for children. But the most moving poems of his formative phase are those in which he bewailed the miserable plight of the Indian Muslims or lamented the sorrows of the Muslim world involved in a bitter struggle for independence.

There is an interesting admission by Iqbal about himself in his notebook entitled *Stray Reflections*. This notebook was compiled in 1910. In one of the notes, while reflecting on the poets who had influenced him during this formative period, he remarks that Wordsworth saved him from atheism in his student days. An analysis of this remark is important for two reasons: First, it reveals the questioning and searching nature of Iqbal's mind; and second, it indicates that he was not confined to the generally accepted narrowness of his own tradition. From this remark it can be safely assumed that he drifted from a state of doubt to a pantheistic state and during this phase he founded his political ideas on a pantheistic philosophy. Accordingly he wrote poems in support of Indian nationalism and patriotism; but side by side with this trend proceeded the love for his own religio-cultural tradition which found expression in numerous exquisite poems written in the same period.

He went to Europe in 1905 as an ardent supporter of pantheism, nationalism, patriotism and at the same time Islamic solidarity. He stayed there upto 1908 studying philosophy and law at different universities. At that time Europe was in a state of intellectual turmoil. The spell of Hegelianism was holding every intellectual. The emphasis on rationalism and automatic progress through science had resulted in the development of materialistic and atheistic trends. It is a tribute to the quality of Iqbal's mind that it remained unaffected by the materialistic and -an atheistic trends in the Europe/thought of the early 20th century. Actually it was during his stay in Europe that he, passed through an intellectual as well as emotional revolution and became disgusted with pantheism, secular nationalism as well as territorial patriotism. He had seen the forges of secular nationalism and territorial patriotism active in Europe and arrived at the conclusion that the construction of human

groups on the foundations of race, language, colour and territory or fighting as well as dying for it was not only inhuman and barbaric but contrary to the universally accepted spiritual values of equality and brotherhood of man. A critical study of European culture had revealed to him that the development of materialistic and atheistic trends in Europe had tremped over the moral and religious convictions of Christianity; whereas the forces it had engendered e.g. nationalism, patriotism, imperialism etc. resulted in the formation of mutually ill-adjusted states, dominated by interests, not human but national. These mutually ill-adjusted states had been frequently dragged into internecine wars and were involved in a dangerous competition which would eventually lead to their destruction. He felt that secular nationalism and territorial patriotism were idols with which European Christianity had made a compromise at the cost of itself receding into the background of private opinion. But Islam, he reflected, never compromised with idolatry of any form and had destroyed this adversary altogether. Since Islam was complete in itself, it could not tolerate nationalism, patriotism or any *ism* sundered from it.

This disillusionment from European culture made Iqbal feel the necessity of seeking inspiration exclusively from his own religio-cultural tradition. A deeper study of the history of Muslims led him to the conclusion that it was pantheism among other destructive forces which had killed the will to act in the Muslim peoples and resulted in the decline of Islamic civilisation. Pantheism developed in Islam when decadence had already set in through the establishment of autocratic Sultanate and sterile Mullaism. It was a product of slavish mentality which extolled passive virtues like humility, submission and obedience. Accordingly this pantheistic God, manufactured by such mentality, according to him, was very different from the vigorous personality of the original Qur'anic God.

A deeper study of Islamic culture also revealed to Iqbal that the scientific and technological progress achieved in Europe had in fact been stimulated by and was an advancement on what had been handed-over by Islamic culture to Europe through Spain and Italy before the Renaissance. Therefore, adopting the same in the world of Islam amounted to taking back what Islam had originally given to Europe. Of the rest of the European culture he became an adverse critic and remained so all his life. The European

civilisation appeared to him as ‘an empty scabbard chased with flowery gilt’ and he genuinely believed that it would eventually ‘commit suicide with its own dagger’.

Iqbal returned from Europe in 1908 with an awareness that for the Muslims the realisation of Islam was the only destiny. He had ceased to bewail the miserable condition or lament the sorrows of the Muslim world. Instead he either erupted into violent protest to God or broke into moving prayers urging God to guide him in finding solution of the problems of the Muslim community. The prayed for guidance was immediately available and the answer came spontaneously. There was a miraculous touch in the turning point, for, as he proceeded along, his poetry became more and more vigorous and strong.

Since Iqbal felt called upon to deliver a message, his poetry attained a prophetic character. As the message was to be delivered to the Muslims of the world, he changed the mode of communication from Urdu to Persian, the language of Islamic culture. Although the forms of imagery employed by him were taken from the Islamic literary tradition, he used them as vehicles for the expression of absolutely new insights. Since he aimed at bringing home his religio-philosophical ideas directly to the hearts of Muslims, the poetic language of Iqbal became lucid, simple and profound to the emotions, but remained complex, difficult, and unintelligible to the mind.

As for the religio-philosophical ideas on which the message of Iqbal’ is founded, an outline can be attempted. In order to appreciate his ideas properly, a comprehensive knowledge of the development of modern philosophy in Europe is required in addition to an understanding of the Islamic religio-cultural tradition. He had his own concepts of God, man and universe. He was deeply interested in the contribution of Muslim philosophers to the problem of time and space. He dealt with the problem of death and had his own concept of life-after-death.

According to him, the existence of God cannot be established by reason alone, but it can be established by a totality of experience consisting of sense perception, reason as well as intuition. God is a personality, vigorously alive and constantly willing. He is the Ultimate Ego whose infinity is intensive and

not extensive. He is continuously creative, goes on adding to His creation and is capable of changing His mind. From God conceived as the Ultimate Ego only egos proceed. Therefore, the universe from the mechanical movement of the atom of matter to the free movement of thought in human ego, is the self-revelation of “the Great I am”. It is one continuous act of God. There is no distinction between mind and matter except that of the degree of ego-hood.

Man is distinguishable from the universe, because in the process of creation, he, as an act of God, has become self-conscious. He, as a finite ego, is the representative of God on earth. He is essentially a creative activity and has the potential as well as capability of becoming a co-worker with God in the process of progressive change if he takes the initiative. Man, as a personality, is unique, distinct from God and free. His desires and aspirations, pains and pleasures, hates and loves, judgements and resolutions are exclusively his, and even God cannot feel, judge, or choose for him when more than one courses of action are open to him.

Death is a temporary shock, but man’s personality can survive it provided that it is fortified by such attributes as Love, Freedom, Courage and Disinterestedness. Life-after-death or immortality cannot be claimed by man as of right. It is to be earned by him through the fortification of his ego or personality. Hell is not a pit of ever-lasting torture, nor is Heaven a holiday. Man marches always onwards to receive ever-fresh illumination from the Ultimate Ego. Each and every act of man creates a new situation and thus offers further opportunities of creative unfolding.

Man and God, according to Iqbal, are highly dynamic personalities, distinct from each other and yet together. The example of submergence of the drops into the Ocean only applies to those egos which fail to fortify themselves and cannot stand the shock of death. Consequently, their submergence implies destruction or complete annihilation. But those personalities which can fortify themselves, live, move and have their being like pearls in the perpetual flow of the Divine Sea. Their existence is not obliterated, but they are held by the All-Embracing Ultimate Ego within Himself just as flames of candles retain their separate and distinct existence in the presence of the over-powering light of sun. Life, therefore, is a constant struggle for the candle to keep its flame continuously burning, or

for the drop to attain pearlhood, because the eventual destination of man is not emancipation from the limitation of individuality but to achieve a more precise definition of it. Thus, man is essentially a spiritual being realising himself in space and time. He can be properly apprehended as a living force possessing rights and duties only in the social organism to which he belongs. Unique individuals must constitute a unique society - a society which possesses a Well-defined creed and has a capability to enlarge its limits by example and persuasion. Such a society, according to Iqbal, is Islam. Hence his ideas on the Individual and Collective Ego are based on the Qur'anic conceptions of a perfect Muslim individual and the Islamic society.

The creative activity of God may appear outwardly as a process of change in serial time. But in reality the change is a continuous act of God in durational or pure time. Here Iqbal introduces his concept of what he terms 'permanence-in-change. The relativity or objectivity of atomic time has been created deliberately by God as a device to test or measure the' creative activity of man. Human acts, if performed by a fortified personality, are creative and live as permanent forces across serial time. All other human efforts ultimately perish by the remorseless rolling on of time.

These ideas have been beautifully expressed in one of his famous poems, namely, "The Mosque of Cordoba." The poem opens with a description of the destructive power of serial time in the face of which all human efforts ultimately perish. But this ambiguity, cynical indifference or remorselessness of time is a touch-stone by which man's works are measured. If the activity of man is inspired by the courageous power of Love, it cannot be destroyed by time, but lives for ever across time. Experience of visiting this great mosque in Spain affected Iqbal so profoundly that he saw manifest in its stones the inmost self of the ideal Muslim. The vision convinced him that if the Muslim peoples were to realise their ego individually and collectively, they could reach the heights of perfect creativity again. There is, of course, no returning to the past, but the new challenges must be faced with courage and vigour. The countries of Europe have seen many a revolution in modern history and now the world of Islam— and here the poem assumes a prophetic character— is also on the verge of a revolution. Life, which is untouched by revolution, is death, for, living nations must breathe the air of revolution. Such nations are like a sharp sword in the Hand, of God, cutting,

changing, moulding, shaping and casting history in accordance with their ideals.

The ethical values which can be derived from his religio-philosophical ideas are such attributes as Love, Freedom, Courage and Disinterestedness (or supreme indifference towards the acquisition of material comforts). The cultivation of these attributes results in the fortification of man's personality. The acts of such a man are creative and ever lasting, for, he is a co-worker with God. It may be noted that these attributes are, by themselves, strong, dynamic and individualistic forces. Even Love, the main key to the worldview of Iqbal, is a power of genuine individuality. He defines it as "the desire to assimilate and to absorb. Its highest form is the creation of values and ideals and the endeavour to realise them. Love individualises the lover as well as the beloved. The effort to realise the most unique individuality, individualises the seeker and implies the individuality of the sought, for, nothing else would satisfy the nature of the seeker." Hence the agony of separation from God is transformed into man's affirmation of distinctness from God in Iqbal's concept of love.

The factors which destroy man's personality arise from stagnation, the opposite of creative activity. Stagnation gives birth to fear, corruption, cowardice, begging or asking (not only for the means of livelihood but also for thoughts, ideas, habits etc. from the others), imitating, and finally servitude. Servitude annihilates individuals, societies as well as nations and the blind and cynically indifferent rolling on of time obliterates even their trace in history.

From this brief survey of Iqbal's religio-philosophical ideas, it can be gathered that he spoke for the ideal Muslim individual and the Islamic society of tomorrow. Since the reconstruction of Islamic society was not possible without a struggle for the political, cultural, social, economical and technological emancipation of the Muslim peoples, he felt obliged also to present his views on these issues.

According to Iqbal, Islam constructs nationality out of a purely abstract idea, i.e. religion. The conception of nationality in Islam has no material basis because a sense of belonging to each other amongst the Muslim peoples really depends on a, sort of mental agreement in a certain view of the world

and a desire to lay down their lives in defence of it. Hence for a Muslim Islam is itself nationalism as well as patriotism. So Iqbal became the exponent of Muslim nationalism in the Indian sub-continent from 1909 onwards, and in 1930 as the-President of the Muslim League, suggested that the Muslims of the Indian sub-continent should demand territorial specification in the form of a separate state on the basis of a distinct cultural unit. He did not only dream of carving out a separate state for Muslims of the Indian sub-continent, for, the realisation of this goal was merely a means for achieving the unification of the entire Muslim world. This unification, according to him, was possible either through the establishment of a single federated Muslim state or through a commonwealth of Muslim nations or through a combination of several independent Muslim states tied to each other for purely economic and political considerations. He even suggested Teheran as the capital of the future Commonwealth of Muslim Nations.

The constitution of a Muslim state could not be secular but Islamic and its form could be no other than socio-democratic, because the ideal Muslim individual as well as the Islamic society can only be brought solidarity up in a spirit of equality and freedom. Iqbal believed that the past contained many treasures of wisdom and understanding of the human soul. But according to him a return to medievalism was neither possible nor desirable. Since the idea of progressive change had so much significance in his philosophical thinking, he took it as normal that an age should end, and that new challenges must be faced with vision and courage. Therefore, he was of the opinion that Islamic Law should be reinterpreted in the light of contemporary experience and the altered conditions of modern life. He insisted on, a reform in the system of Islamic legal instruction and was in favour of transferring the power of interpreting the law of Islam from individual representatives of Schools to a Muslim Legislative Assembly.

Iqbal was disgusted with the imperialism of the European secular capitalist-democratic powers. He was of the view that Asia was bound to rebel against the acquisitive economy which the West had developed and imposed on the nations of the East. In his opinion, Asia could never comprehend modern Western capitalism with its undisciplined individualism. However, since he believed in a re-birth of passionate and creative faith in God, he could never accept the communist utopia founded on atheistic

socialism. According to him, although Islam considered private ownership as a trust, it did not allow capital to accumulate so as to dominate the real producers of wealth. Islam recognised the worth of the individual but disciplined the 'haves' to surrender and give away as trustees to the service of the 'have-nots'. Islam could, he maintained: "still create a new world where the social rank of man is not determined by his caste or colour or the amount of dividend he earns, but by the kind of life he lives; where the poor tax the rich; where human society is founded, not on the equality of stomachs but on the equality of spirits".

From the above it follows that Iqbal had rejected both the secular capitalist-democratic order of the power elite developed in the west as well as the atheistic socialist-dictatorial order established in the communist countries. The revolution of which he was the prophet was to be realised only by establishing the Islamic socio-democratic order. The best expression of his ideas on this subject is found in another famous poem titled "Satan's Parliament" which pictures Satan and his counsellors discussing contemporary history. The poem was written two years before the commencement of the Second World War. It is the last of the series of Iqbal's great poems on Satan whose personality had attracted his attention as an active force that shatters the spell of paradisaal rest. Satan drew in Europe's mind the fantasy of imperialism based on a secular-capitalist-democratic order of the power elite and thus divided humanity into groups of the exploiters and the exploited. Thereof, as a natural consequence, atheistic socialism emerged and communism came to be established. In order to destroy communism Satan revealed the dream of fascist authoritarianism. Satan alone is capable of dragging the European nations into war, because he can seduce them into destroying each other. He is himself the creator and protector of the secular capitalist-democratic order. Therefore, he is not afraid of the threat of the communist revolution of tomorrow. The only revolution of which he is frightened is the possibility of the awakening of the Muslims and the establishment of the Islamic socio-democratic order. Hence he commands his counsellors to keep the prophet's path hidden from the sight and mind of the Muslim peoples and to keep their eyes well-bandaged from the theatre of life and activity.

In the light of what has been stated above, it is evident that the achievement of Pakistan is merely the realisation of a fraction of Iqbal's

dream. His ideas on the establishment of Islamic socio-democratic order in Muslim countries as well as the unification of the world of Islam are far from being realised. Consequently, the revolution he dreamed of is yet to come and thus he continues to remain the poet philosopher of Islam's tomorrow.

IQBAL: HIS METAPHYSICAL IDEAS

Dr. Sheila McDonough

The first page of *The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam* is an excellent example of Iqbal's provocative style. The question is, he says, what kind of a universe do we live in, what are the unimagined potentialities of human beings, and what help can we find from the history of human religiousness as a whole to help shed light on these questions? He also says in his Introduction that no answer to these questions should be considered final.

Iqbal's perspective is better appropriated if people keep on struggling with these questions. It is not faithful to Iqbal to assume that his answers were final, or to suppose that people should cease to think for themselves. He thought that human religiousness in general was threatened by the positivism of modern thought, and that the defence of any one religion needed to be a defence of the possibility of being religious in the context of a sceptical age. But defence in this respect does not mean a blind kind of defensiveness; it rather means an on-going critical approach to whatever new information comes forth. Therefore, although, sixty years after his death, new insights from astronomy, linguistics, anthropology, physics, biology, religious sciences, economics, computer science and so on have occurred, and raised many new questions, these developments do not undermine his approach.

He urged the continual asking of new questions. He emphasised the need to continue to seek for a better understanding of the physical universe, and of human history, which includes human religious history. He struggled to understand Einstein, and Whitehead, as well, of course, as Ibn Khaldën. There is a passion in Iqbal for the kind of knowledge of the external world and history which will commend itself to the human mind collectively, that is information which can be verified. For this reason, he thought Muslims should be involved in the on-going human enterprise to understand the external universe through disciplined reason. One cannot overstate his passionate conviction that the actual world must be studied, and not just imagined or dreamed about.

Yet he also affirmed that all such rational study left human minds gaping and groping with unanswerable questions. He recognised that human languages were inadequate to deal with what a recent writer has called the

Edges of Language.¹ We can talk about much of what we experience; we can verify, and reach consensus about much of what we observe and discover, but, beyond a certain point, we reach areas of experience and awareness for which the language of reason cannot help us. On the edges of language, we cannot find words to convey in any systematic way information and insights that can be verified.

Iqbal, as a metaphysician, insists that the external universe is a continual source of newness. It is therefore impossible for human beings to have final ideas about the nature and structure of the cosmos. New information will always be forthcoming, he proclaims a strong no to any fixed ideas about the external universe. On the edges of language, where we cannot find words to talk about something like a black hole, we break into metaphor. Astronomer may not think of themselves as poets, but, of course, with images like the black hole, they are on the edges of language, pushing to think what we are not yet able to think.

Whitehead, one of the greatest mathematicians of this century, and one of Iqbal's sources, wrote:²

The history of human thought in the past is a pitiful tale of self-satisfaction with a supposed adequacy of knowledge in respect to factors of human existence. We now know that in the past such self-satisfaction was a delusion. Accordingly, when we survey ourselves and our colleagues we have every reason to doubt the adequacy of our knowledge in any particular.

Iqbal agrees with Whitehead that knowledge of the physical universe is always tentative because the new breaks in and breaks up fixed ideas. Further, the problem of knowing ourselves is even more complex, because the problem is how can we know what we might become? Here, too, metaphor is the only tool we have in language to point to our sense of what is to happen next. Iqbal was concerned to transform the Indian Muslims' sense of themselves and what they might be. He saw this question also as a matter of what the human species might become. We are always pushing to know more about the external universe, and we need to push just as hard to

¹ Paul Van Buren, *The Edges of Language*, New York: MacMillan, 1972.

² Alfred North Whitehead, *Science and Philosophy*, Paterson, New Jersey: Littlefield, Adams & Co, reprinted 1964, p. 86.

discover what is potential in ourselves. “What we might become” is as mysterious a question as “what is a black hole”?

Iqbal’s metaphors about the self refer often to the ‘world of sense’ as opposed to the ‘world of soul’. I do not know if anyone has spoken of the soul as a black hole, but to do so might help us grasp Iqbal’s awareness of how strange, and unknown to ourselves, we actually are. Another of his metaphors is that we should seek the ‘nature of the salamander which feeds on flame’.³ This image suggests that the human soul is that which continually changes colour, and is eaten up by fire.

It is true that Iqbal’s metaphors, like this of the salamander, refer on one level to the specific historical situation of the Indian Muslims at the time the poems were written. In the case of the salamander image, the situation was the domination by the European powers of Muslim countries in the period after 1914. Iqbal’s poetry on this level was an imperative to throw off this domination, and to get rid of the psychology of self-contempt that had developed in the midst of a colonised people. Muslims were asked to imagine themselves free people.

From this perspective, one might argue that since the political situation has changed, and Muslims are no longer dominated by imperialist powers that occupy their territory, the metaphors are irrelevant. I want to maintain, however, that, on another level, the metaphors refer to the human condition in a way that goes beyond one particular historical context. Other metaphors of Iqbal about the self are as follow:⁴

*Hear my complaint and feel, or do not feel, with me:
He does not come to beg redress, whose soul walks free!
Vast skies, and frozen winds, and man’s one pinch of dust;
What urged you to create kindness or cruelty?
I sinned, and I went solitary from Paradise,
But angels could not people Your world’s vacancy;
On my all-venturing nature the naked wilderness
Pours blessings out, that realm You left to anarchy.
A spirit that craves danger is not lured by parks
Where no close ambush holds a lurking enemy.
The abode of Love lies far beyond Your seraphs’ wing:*

³ Victor Kiernan, trans. *Poems from Iqbal*, London: John Murray, 1955, p. 17.

⁴ Kiernan, pp. 24, 25.

None find but who desire and dare infinitely.”

This poem serves to demonstrate some of the metaphors that typically express the metaphysics of Iqbal. The external universe, as we perceive it, is ‘vast skies and frozen winds’ empty, cold, uncaring, vaster than we are capable of imagining or conceiving. We have to use metaphors about this because the more our science is telling us about the cosmos, with recent devices like the Hubble telescope, the more the size escapes our capacity to think about it. Also, because of the speed of light, the Hubble telescope can show us events which happened long ago, longer than we can imagine, but cannot show us what is happening now at these great distances. This is the kind of paradox about our capacity to know which would, I think, have appealed to Iqbal.

Yet, the ‘pinch of dust’ possessed of an ‘all-venturing nature’ fights back, argues, sins, craves danger, dares infinitely. Of course, we do not all consciously dare infinitely, but the point is that we might, or that we have hidden potentialities which we might never have imagined. Such possibilities and challenges are there in any context and any historical period. Why should we venture all, and why should it be love that craves danger?

All the images of those people whom Iqbal objects to — mullahs, religious experts, Brahmins, capitalists, communists, parliamentarians, pharaohs, Frankish glassblower, slaves, servile people, Europe, Asia, the vultures of the West—all represent to him alternatives other than those of the eagle in the desert, the image of love seeking danger. Or perhaps it is that the danger follows inexorably from love, because love stirs up the soul to demand response from the seemingly cold and empty vastness of the universe.

The characteristics of those in the list condemned by Iqbal include first of all servility. In terms of what we might call the metaphysics of microcosm of the self, the servile are rejected because they lack the courage to discover the creative depths of their individual selves.

*Man let himself, dull thing, be wooed
By his own kind to servitude.
And cast the dearest pearl he had
Before Jamshed and Kaikobad;
Till so ingrained his cringing were,
He grew more abject than a cur
Who ever saw at one dog's frown*

*Another dog's meek head bow down?*⁵

Mullahs, Brahmins and religious experts also are generally condemned for *taqlid*, endless repetition of ideas and practices characterised by blindness to the new. The servile are dull, and the religious experts are too. Capitalists, Frankish glass-blowers and so forth represent forms of human awareness focused on material well-being as the goal of existence. This also makes for dullness, because minds focused narrowly in this way avoid questions of ultimate meaning. In so doing, they fail to discover their essential humanity.

Iqbal's answer to all these human failures is the image of the eagle in the desert. The eagle is a very old symbol in human religious history. One finds it on the flag of Mexico representing the pre-Columbian peoples whose great and lost civilisations conceived of the eagle from the sky and the snake from the earth as the mysterious symbols of forces coming from beyond and beneath to balance the human world. In ancient Egypt also the hawk, one symbol of the god-horse, is a link between levels of known and unknown reality, the link that sustains human reality.

Iqbal typically wrote of the eagle as follows:⁶

*Close veils inflame the loiterer in Lover's along;
Your long reluctance fans my passion's flare.
The eagle lives out his days in rock and desert,
Tame nest-twig-carrying his proud claws forswear.
Was it book-lesson, or father's glance, that taught
The son of Abraham what a son should bear?
Bold heart's firm souls, come pilgrim to my tomb;
I taught poor dust to tower hill-high in air.
Truth has no need of me for tiring-maid;
To stain the tulip red is Nature's care.*

In the earlier cultural systems, the eagle comes from above, and helps sustain the known world. In Iqbal's language, the eagle represents the spirit in humans which demands to transcend the known world the nest-twig-carryon and to discover more.

Why must the offspring of Abraham, those who wish to know, to love and to serve god, bear so much? The blood-stained tulip is a characteristic image in Iqbal's verse of the devastated human heart. On one level, the

⁵ Kiernan, p. 97.

⁶ Kiernan, pp. 26,27.

devastation for the Indian Muslim was the loss of their power in the world, and their creative energy.

On another level, however, the problem is a universal one for all humans; life itself, Nature's care, stains the tulip. Are we devastated because the speed of light means that we cannot see what is happening now in our universe? Yes, that is one reason why the tulip is stained red; we are finite. Many now on our planet are setting up listening devices to ask if there is more life in the universe which can speak to us. I remember taking my children to our local planetarium for a programme on the stars that began with the question, is anyone out there? I think many children on the planet now want to know if there is more life out there that we can hope to encounter. There is a great hope in our species that we can discover that we are not alone as a sentient, self-conscious life form in this vast universe. But, of course, even if we meet new life, we will still be finite.

If some listener on our planet were to pick up a broadcast from somewhere out in space, that event would change all of us. The salamander image of Iqbal is a potent reminder of how adaptable in fact we are, and how we change, and keep on changing. This is not to say there is no core of identity within each of us as individuals, as representatives of cultural and religious traditions, and as members of a species. Identity is linked with memory. But we are much more than computers; when we change, our memories also change and are re-interpreted; the processes of growth, individually and corporately, are processes of continual shifting of priorities and goals. In Iqbal's words:⁷

The characteristic of the ego is spontaneity...No about man has a spatial aspect; but this is not the only aspect of man. There are other aspects of man, such as evaluation, the unitary charter of purposive experience, and the pursuit of truth... Every act of a free ego creates a new situation and thus offers further opportunities of creative unfolding... Nor is the activity of intelligence possible without the presence of ends... Life is only a series of acts of attention, and an act of attention is inexplicable without reference to a purpose, conscious or unconscious... Thus ends and purposes, whether they exist as conscious or subconscious tendencies, form the warp and woof of conscious experience. And the notion of

⁷ Muhammad Iqbal, *The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam*, Lahore: Ashraf, reprinted 1960, pp. 106, 114, 123, 52, 53.

purpose cannot be understood except in reference to the future. The past, no doubt, abides and operates in the present; but this operation of the past in the present is not the whole of consciousness. The element of purpose discloses a kind of forward look in consciousness... To be determined by and end is to be determined by what ought to be... A state of attentive consciousness involves both memory and imagination as operating factors. On the analogy of our conscious experience, therefore, Reality is not a blind vital impulse wholly unilluminated by idea. Its nature is through and through teleological.

The metaphysical position of Iqbal is thus that Reality is teleological, possessed of purpose and direction. Yet this is not one simple purpose, not a divine plan which automatically works itself out. Since individuals keep changing their purposes, and since each change makes the whole situation different, nothing is automatic about the unfolding of the universe. Purpose is what directs consciousness and action, but purpose also changes. New purposes are discovered as the spirit matures. This also is paradoxical; our energy comes from our drive to make the world what we dream it ought to be, but our idea of what ought to be also changes and evolves. If we do not learn and change, the rigidity of our minds tends to smash us, and others.

Human purposes develop, in Iqbal's opinion, in inter-action with the one God who is best understood by the metaphor of a self-conscious self, the Ultimate Ego. The English expression 'I-Thou' relationship best characterises this insight; the opposite is an 'I-it' relationship in which the human is a person but everything else has the status of object to be manipulated according to the needs and wishes of the human person. To conceive of God as most like a person is to insist that God cannot be the object of human manipulation. Another person is someone who can be heard and responded to, but not controlled. Any effort to dominate another person is a failure to comprehend that between persons only free responses are authentic. To try to control another person is to perceive that person as an 'it' and not a "Thou".

We have to think of God with the metaphor of a "Thou" because any other kind of metaphor would reduce God to less than ourselves. "Thou" has purposes, in somewhat the same way as "I" has purposes. Yet any metaphor for God does no more than point in a particular direction. When the basic question arises as to how the human person could know the purposes of God, the answer is problematic. Iqbal mentions the speed of light. He says

that as a metaphor for God, as used in Surah of Light, light is better understood as an absolute, that is that the speed never changes.⁸ Light gives us a clue to the consistency of the Absolute. We can know that God has purposes and we have dim perceptions of what these purposes are. But we delude ourselves if we ever think those purposes are identical with our own, or that we understand them with perfect clarity. Light shows us some things, but no everything.

Iqbal insists that the metaphor of an Ultimate Ego is the closest his language can come to explaining the Qur'anic teaching about God. In his words:⁹

The infinity of the Ultimate Ego consists in infinite inner possibilities of his creative activity of which the universe, as known to us, is only a partial expression. In one word, God's infinity is intensive, not extensive.

Thus the salamander of the human self, capable of unfolding unimaginable possibilities, is a clue to the free possibilities in the Ultimate Ego whose creative possibilities go beyond anything that we could conceive. The virtue of this metaphysical position is that it both opens up hitherto unimagined possibilities, and closes the door on any ideas about the divine plan as something clear and readily intelligible. The implications for action are obvious; human purposes should be formulated in response to what are dimly perceived as divine purposes. But since purposes require decisions, the shape of the future cannot be known until it has been created. Striving to know and to do the will of God necessarily takes place in context of lack of clear sight. The reason is that the nature of the creative process requires commitment to what has not yet been fully accomplished. Thus the red stain on the tulip. Iqbal says:¹⁰

This is the point where faith in the eventual triumph of goodness emerges as a religious doctrine. 'God is equal to His purpose, but most men know it not.'"[12:2]

We act knowing only dimly where we are going; we have to trust in the goodness of God as the directive force. Our relation to this goodness is that we both know and do not know what it is like.¹¹ If we did not know at all, we

⁸ *The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam*, pp. 63, 64.

⁹ *The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam*, pp. 63, 64.

¹⁰ *The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam*, p. 88.

¹¹ Robert Lawson Slater, *Paradox and Nirvana A Study of Religious Ultimates with Special Reference to Burmese Buddhism*, Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1951, pp. 88-102.

could not even devise metaphors to express it; if we knew clearly, we would not need metaphors to point the direction for us. We move without maps but with dimly perceived direction nevertheless.

Iqbal says that we have to reflect upon prayer at this point in the discussion.¹²

Religion is not satisfied with mere conception; it seeks a more intimate knowledge of and association with the object of its pursuit. The agency through which this association is achieved is the act of worship or prayer ending in spiritual illuminations.

He quotes William James on prayer to indicate that the greatest modern psychologist of religion thinks, as Iqbal does, that the impulse to pray is universal, and that it springs from the human consciousness of finitude. Iqbal insists that prayer is a process that can lead to spiritual illumination, and to the human persons discovering direction and purpose in response to the perceived goodness of God. His metaphor for this situation is from Rumi: 'the scent of the musk-gland is a better guide than the footprints of the deer'.¹³ Since our origins of sight and observation are limited, we need to rely more on the depths of ourselves. The goodness of God is the only reality that can be trusted to direct the choices we must make in shaping the future for ourselves, and for our species. But we follow this direction in the half-blind state characteristic of our finite natures, and therefore we trip over our own feet all the time.

If [a person] studies life as manifested in himself, i.e. his own mind freely choosing, rejecting, reflecting, surveying the past and the present, and dynamically imagining the future, he is sure to be convinced of the inadequacy of his mechanical concepts. On the analogy of our conscious experience, then, the universe is a free creative movement.¹⁴

Tripping over our own feet is a feature of spontaneity. The challenges and possibilities of today are different from yesterday, and will be different again tomorrow. We trip partly because we are usually out of date in our ideas about the external world and ourselves: we fail to grasp the possibilities of the moment. Any kind of religious consciousness that is self-satisfied, which assumes that the divine plan is clear, and which says that believers know

¹² The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam, p. 89.

¹³ *Ibid.* p. 91.

¹⁴ *Ibid.* pp. 50, 51.

exactly what they should do, is a deluded consciousness. It is better to trip, fall and reflect, than to move serenely forward convinced that the universe is clearly understood. We do not solve problems when we assume in advance that we have all the answers. Metaphors can be very dangerous when taken literally. Metaphors point; they do not provide maps or blueprints.

The Canadian literary critic, Northrop Fry, says that the education of the imagination the most important duty we have towards the young of our species. Educated imaginations should be able to learn to digest and appropriate metaphors because, Fry says, metaphors tell us more about the realities of life than anything else does. Metaphors are the essence of language; they represent the core of what we try to do for each other when we attempt to speak of the fundamental realities of existence.

Metaphors are paradoxical, and again we suspect that perhaps only in paradox are words doing the best they can for us.¹⁵

Fry speak of the metaphors of the Bible as important because they convey a vision of spiritual life that continues to transform and expand our own. Iqbal says the Qur'an is a catalyst directed to stirring up human consciousness to an awareness of the significance of sign and symbol.¹⁶ These two experts on religious language recognised in very similar ways that scripture is valuable when it functions to liberate the mind from simple positivism to an awareness of what Fry calls the double vision. Time and space can be looked at two ways at once; minds can see what can be measured, and they can also see beyond and thought the measurable.¹⁷

*For double the vision may eyes do see
And a double vision is always with me.*

(William Blake)

Frye's thoughts on religious language have developed form a life-long study of Blake's poetry, and of the impact of Biblical imagery on the western literary and religious heritage. His conclusions move in directions very similar to those of Iqbal, namely that mental and spiritual health requires a balanced kind of double vision.

¹⁵ Northrop Fry, *The Double Vision Language and Meaning in Religion*, Toronto: The United Church Publishing House, 1991, pp. 22-28.

¹⁶ *The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam*, p. 14.

¹⁷ Fry, *op.cit.* pp. 22-28.

The spiritual democracy, which Iqbal says is the ultimate aim of Islam,¹⁸ requires leaving space for each individual to mature in his or her own way. The individual with the double vision is seeing for himself or herself; such insight cannot be forced, it can only be elicited by brilliant metaphors. One of the amazing realities of language is that the speech that truly reveals us to each other can only happen when we are free and spontaneous. Iqbal valued spontaneity as essential for growth in understanding of the self and the universe.¹⁹ His vocation as a poet was to find the metaphors that could realise the energy of his people, and to direct them to the healing of the wounds of the world.

‘Every day doth some new work employ Him,’ says the Qur’an. To exist in real time is not to be bound by the fetters of serial time, but to create it from moment to moment and to be absolutely free and original in creation. In fact all creative activity is free activity.²⁰

One implication of this perspective is that the past can serve as a source of ideas and inspiration, but it should not be allowed to dominate the present. Creativeness requires free and spontaneous use of the cultural goods of the past for the purpose of shaping a better future. Creativeness in the present arises out of a free relationship to the source of life, which is Thou, the Ultimate Ego, alive and good.

¹⁸ The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam, p. 180.

¹⁹ *Ibid.* p. 150.

²⁰ *Ibid.* p. 40.

IQBAL'S THEOLOGY OF LIFE

Bilal Sambur

Among modern Muslim thinkers, perhaps, Iqbal is the most distinctive one, who profoundly engaged himself with understanding the experience of life. He had a very broad intellectual universe, which stored a rich knowledge of world intellectual traditions. Therefore, Iqbal does not only understand life experience in his particular environment, but he reflects on life in its universal context. As a fruit of his global perspective, he is not only one of the thinkers of Muslim culture, but also he is one of the universal thinkers of humankind. Nasser writes:²¹

The need of the hour is to rediscover Iqbal in his true perspective and not to keep him confined to a narrow limit. In fact, Iqbal is a common heritage of whole humanity and his message should be allowed to reach uninterrupted and unhindered to all to all the citizens of the world.

His approach toward the problem of the nature of religious experience is conceptual as well as practical. It is conceptual, because Iqbal searches for a possibility of a meaningful expression of religious experience; it is practical, because Iqbal seeks to understand the meaning of religious experience within total life experience. Iqbal writes that "To yearn for something and to try to achieve it is itself and ideal, otherwise life will change into death."²² Practical dimension of Qur'anic vision is the subject of the first sentence of his magnum opus, *The Reconstruction*: "The Qur'an is a book which emphasizes 'deed' rather than 'idea.'²³ 'I do' is superior to 'I think' in Iqbalian thought. 'What I did' is not a main question but 'what I am doing' and 'what I am going to do' is the centre of individual experience. To Iqbal, man is not a prisoner of the past, but he/she is the creative player *now* and in the *future*. Through the activity of human experience, Iqbalian type man says 'I or nothing.'

²¹ H. Nasser, 'Dr. Iqbal, The Poet of Humanity,' in S.G. Abbas, *Dr. Iqbal: The Humanist*, Lahore: Iqbal Academy, 1997, p. 18.

²² *Ibid.* p. 11.

²³ M. Iqbal, *The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam*, Lahore: Sh. Muhammad Ashraf, 1988, p.

The duality between theory and practice does not remain as it is. This duality disappears in religious experience. Through religion, duality²⁴ becomes unity, which is the essence of Iqbal's definition of religion: "Religion is not a departmental affair; it is neither mere thought, nor mere feeling, nor mere action; it is expression of the whole man."²⁵ Unity is not an accidental in human life, but it is natural state, which is concretised in the form of religion. In other words, religion is the ontological status of man in Iqbalian thought. Stace expresses unity not only as the natural dimension of man but also universe: "The whole multiplicity of things which comprise the universe identical with one another and therefore constitute only one thing, a pure unity."²⁶

The realisation of unity is equal to the realisation of life, since a divided life is not worth living to Iqbal. He writes: "The coherence of this world by unity alone, life herein means unity in this subterranean world."²⁷ In this connection, the question rises: 'How can we make life worthy?' How can we unite our life?' According to Iqbal, the answer of these questions is hidden in the concept of 'desire (*epithymia*),' which is the motivational power of life. In the words of Iqbal, "Life is the hunter and desire the snare."²⁸ Desire is the key individual and social dynamic in the Iqbalian thought. For Marx, desire for wealth is essential; for Freud, desire for sex; for Russell, desire for power. Unlike these thinkers, Iqbal does not divide desire into compartments, but, it is the total dynamic of life. Desire is identified with the desire to fulfilment of life, because a man without desire would cease to be a man. Iqbal prefers to be a man of full desires, rather than hypothetically claims to be a deity: "Priceless treasure is the agony and burning of desire. I would not exchange

²⁴ Renee Descartes, a French Philosopher, is the father of the idea of duality, which is supposed to be inevitable necessity of human existence. He asserts that "I thence concluded that I was a substance whose whole essence or nature consists only in thinking, and which, that it may exist, has need of no place, nor is dependent on any material thing; so that 'I', that is to say, the mind by which I am what I am. is wholly distinct from the body, and is even more easily known than the latter." R. Descartes, *Discourse on Method*, pt. iv.

²⁵ Iqbal, *The Reconstruction*, p. 2.

²⁶ W.T. Stace, *Mysticism and Philosophy*, Macmillan, 1961, p. 66.

²⁷ M. Iqbal, *The Traveller: Versified translation of the Persian Poem 'Musafir' Living Account of Living People*, (translated by J. Naqvi), Karachi: Royal Book Company, 1991, p. 22.

²⁸ M. Iqbal, *The Secrets of the Self*, Lahore: Sh. Muhammad Ashraf, 1983, p. 60.

my manhood for the glory of Godhead.”²⁹ The idea of being a man of desires distinguishes Iqbal from Christian fiction of Jesus as man-God and atheist humanist imagination of man as God. In Christianity, man is deified through Jesus; God is humanised through Jesus. In atheist humanism, man is recognised as the only God. The essence of Christianity and atheist humanism is the same, because in both approaches, the question essentially is the same: How can man achieve to be a god? The radical difference between these approaches and Iqbalian vision lies in the nature of the question. In the thought of Iqbal, question is not how to make man *God*, but how to make man as *man*. Iqbal rejects a deified man, but he wants to be a real man of desires. Life is the dynamic actualisation of desire. Iqbal writes:³⁰

Life is preserved by purpose:

Because of the goal its caravan-bell tinkles.

Life is latent in seeking,

Its origin is hidden in desire.

Keep desire alive in thy heart,

Lest thy little dust become a tomb.

Desire is the soul of this world of hue and scent,

The nature of everything is a store-house of desire.

Desire sets the heart dancing in the breast.

And by its glow the breast is made bright as mirror.

It gives to earth the power of soaring. It is a Khizr to Moses of perception.

From the flame of desire the heart takes life,

And when it takes life, all dies that is not true.

²⁹ Cited in R.J.D. Burki, ‘Iqbal’s Legacy to the World,’ in T.H. Raja, *Iqbal: A Cosmopolitan Poet*, Lahore: Iqbal Academy, 1996, p. 119.

³⁰ Iqbal, *The Secrets of the Self*, pp. 23-24.

*When refrains from forming desires,
Its opinion breaks and it cannot open soar.
Desire keeps the self in perpetual uproar.
It is a restless wave of the Self's sea.
Desire is a noose for hunting ideals,
A binder of the book of deeds.
Negation of desire is death to the living,
Even as absence of the heat extinguishes the flame.*

In the light of these lines, desire makes the unity of life possible, because wherever there is a *desire*, there is a *hope*, which is the key state in the Iqbalian psychology of desire. What we should hope for when we desire? The answer is *hope for love, hope for power*. Love and power are the essence of human life; they are ontological dimensions of human life. It is the primary task of every human individual to inquire the meaning of love and power from the perspective of Iqbal. This is a necessary condition of being authentic individual. The desire for the unity of love and power makes Iqbal distinctive from Nietzsche's theory of 'the Will to power' and naive Christian fiction of love. Iqbal writes that:³¹

*This brand of desire makes the blood of man run warm,
By the lamp of desire this dust is enkindled.
By desire Life's cup is brimmed with wine,
So that Life leaps to its feet and marches briskly on.
Life is occupied with conquest alone,
And the one charm for conquest is desire.*

³¹ *Ibid.* p. 60.

Life is the hunter and desire the snare,

Desire is Love's message to Beauty.

To Iqbal, there is a lack of desire in the contemporary Muslim world, which is the main reason behind the decay of Muslims,³² because the absence of desire is equal, the absence of life. Iqbal's poems represent a cry for life to the ear of Muslims. Man can feel life through love, which originates from desire. In other words, desire is a result of life, and life is the fruit of love. This is the main condition of becoming human: "Love chiselled me: I become a man. And gained knowledge of nature of the universe." Muslims must study in searching for causes of their decline through looking the place and function of these ontological categories-desire-love-life- in their lives. Love is the governing desire for the potential perfection, which includes every province of life. Iqbal writes, "When the Self is made strong by Love, Its power rules the whole world."³³ Desire for love and life is the Iqbalian message of hope. Life is bearable only through hope: "Hope is like a lamp that lights the path of life."³⁴ There is always hope as long as man lives. To Iqbal, life is not a tragedy, but an experience of hope. Tragedy is a Western construction, which foreign to the spirit of Islamic way of life. Hope is the necessary part of living as a Muslim in the thought of Iqbal: "A Muslim art thou, keep thy heart filled with desire, and always remember that God does

³² In our opinion, the following lines of Iqbal is a good description of present situation of Muslims:

They lost the power of ruling and the resolution to be independent,

They lost reputation, prestige, and fortune.

Their paws that were as iron became strengthless;

Their souls died and their bodies became tombs.

Bodily strength diminished while spiritual fear increased:

Spiritual fear robbed them of courage.

Lack of courage produced a hundred diseases-

Poverty, pusillanimity, low-mindedness.

The wakeful tiger was lulled to slumber by the sheep's charm:

He called his decline Moral Culture."

Ibid. pp. 54-55.

³³ *Ibid.*, p. 43.

³⁴ Cited in M. Maruf, 'Iqbal as a Poet,' in T.H. Raja, (Ed.), *Iqbal: A Cosmopolitan Poet*, Lahore: Iqbal Academy, 1996, p. 88.

not break His promise.”³⁵ Love expresses the readiness for life. In the state of love, man firstly encounters himself, then whole life. In other words, it is the dynamic process of recognition of self and life. Iqbal, as an ontologist of love, writes:³⁶

The luminous point whose name is the Self
Is the life-spark beneath our dust.
By Love it is made more I sting,
More living, more burning, more glowing.
From Love proceeds the radiance of its being.
And the development of its unknown possibilities.
Its nature gathers fire from Love.
Love instructs it to illumine the world.
Love fears neither sword nor dagger,
Love is not born of water and air and earth.
Love makes peace and war in the world,
Love is the Fountain of Life,
Love is the flashing sword of Death.

Love is the source of human independence. Free man is the production of love, since love does not recognise any boundary, or fixed condition; love always looks forward, not backward. Man has to be free if he wants to be a creative individual; man has to love in order to have creative freedom.

³⁵ Cited in *Ibid.* p. 89.

³⁶ Iqbal, *The Secrets of the Self*, pp. 28-29.

According to Iqbal, love has two functions: 'invitation to freedom' and 'declaration of freedom.' He writes:³⁷

The world of love knows no leadership or lordship,

It is enough that it knows the rules of service.

Not everyone who perambulates an idol or carries the sacred thread,

Knows the regimen of idol worship and the rules of being an infidel.

Come to Iqbal's assembly and drink a cup or two,

Although he does not shave his head he knows all about being a Qalandar.

'Unity,' 'life,' 'hope,' 'love,' and 'strive' are the essential elements of human identity. In other words, man becomes human through them: "Faith, constant struggle and intense love are the conqueror of the world; in the struggle of life for men of valour, these qualities are like swords."³⁸ These are definable dimensions of being human, because Iqbal defines himself in their light: "I have lighted the candle of love in the conclave of life, consuming in fire, my soul obliterated the deception of duality and difference."³⁹ The transformation of life into light should be a creative aim and continuous act of man in Iqbalian thought.

Iqbal's answers to life are 'a Yes' without any boundaries. Ontological state of 'being in love' is the best state of Iqbalian limitless Yes. However, this ontological state is not enough for Iqbal, because he wants to be in an ontological act, which is 'having power': "Life has only one law. Life is power made manifest, and its mainspring is the desire for victory."⁴⁰ It is clear that Iqbal's ontology of life runs 'from being in love' to 'having power,' 'from state to act.' This is Iqbalian road toward the destination of life. Searching for

³⁷ Cited in S.A. Vahid, 'The Lyric Poet,' in T.H. Raja, (Ed.), *Iqbal: A Cosmopolitan Poet*, Lahore: Iqbal Academy, 1996, p.52.

³⁸ Cited in M. Moizuddin, *The World of Iqbal; A Collection of Papers*, Lahore: Iqbal Academy, 1982, p. 95.

³⁹ Cited in S.M. Murshed, 'Iqbal, Some Anniversary Musings,' in T.H. Raja, (Ed.), *Iqbal: A Cosmopolitan Poet*, Lahore: Iqbal Academy, 1996, p. 57.

⁴⁰ Iqbal, *The Secrets of the Self*, p. 92.

truth and eliminating falsehood in the life-process is only actualised through power. Iqbal gives a teleological function to power: "Life is the seed, and power the crop: Power explains the mystery of truth and falsehood."⁴¹ Love is the dynamic self-affirmation of life as power is the creative self-actualisation of life. In other words, love is the 'will' to life and power is the 'act' to life. When Iqbal speaks about power as self-actualisation of life he means overcoming every sort of internal and external resistance against life. Iqbal writes:

Subject, object, means, and causes-

All these are forms which it assumes for the purpose of action.

The Self rises, kindles, falls, gloms, breathes,

Burns, shines, walks, and flies.

...

'Tis the nature of the Self to manifest itself:

In every atom slumbers the might of the Self.

Power that is expressed and inert

Chains the faculties which lead to action.

*In as much as the life is in proportion to this power.*⁴²

Self is itself the power of self in the thought of Iqbal. If human self has a power for his full realisation, what can resist against this power? What sort of power can deny the power of self? Iqbalian answer to this question is *the power of being no-self*, because "Self-affirmation brings Not-self to light."⁴³ In Iqbalian ontology, the actualisation of self is essential, but its denial is foreign and accidental power within the self itself. In other words, this is the resistance of the self against the self. Iqbal says 'Yes' the power of being self,

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p. 93.

⁴² *Ibid.*, pp. 18-20.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, p. 16.

but says ‘No’ the power of being non-self. Human ontology is the field of power struggles of these two selves.

Life is the production of the unity of power and love, because they are the sources of being; their disunity is the source of non-being: “By desire Life’s cup is brimmed with wine, So that Life leaps to its feet and marches briskly on.”⁴⁴ Iqbal prays for the unity of love and power in his life: “O Lord! give me strength to surrender my strength to thy will with love.”⁴⁵ Iqbal uses two metaphors of cup and wine, which corresponds to love and power. He demands wine within cup. In other words, he longs for love, which based on power: “Arise and pour wine into the cup, pour moon beams into the dark into the dark night of my thought.”⁴⁶ Man should be a creative fruit of the unity of wine and cup in the Iqbalian vision of man: “Be thou a surge of wine, and the crystal cup thy robe!”⁴⁷ For a creative man, power is not essential, it is only instrumental; the centaur is love. He should not waste time for the quantity of power, but he must focus for the quality of love. In other words, wine is superior to cup just as love is more essential than power, as Iqbal writes: “Do not find fault with the wine-cup. But consider attentively the taste of the wine.”⁴⁸ Although wine, as a metaphor of love, is essential than cup, as a symbol of power, no one of them cannot live without another. Wine is real within its cup just as love is concrete with power. Love and power together can give life to the Self. If love or power disappears from the Self, it means that there is a crisis at the centre of the Self, since the lack of power of love can turn being into non-being. As long as the Self has love and power, he/she can remain as a being. Iqbal writes:⁴⁹

Wine is formless because its self is weak;

It receives a form by favour of the cup.

Although the cup of wine assumes a form,

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 60.

⁴⁵ F. Mahmood, ‘Iqbal’s Attitude Toward God,’ in M.R. Siddiqi, K.G. Saiyidain, and *et al.*, *Iqbal As A Thinker*; Lahore: Sh. Muhammad Ashraf, 1991, p. 281.

⁴⁶ Iqbal, *The Secrets of the Self*, p. 8.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.* p. 12.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.* p. 15.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.* p. 20.

It is indebted to us for its motion.

When the mountain loses its self, it turns into sands

And complains that the sea surges over it;

The wave, so long as it remains a wave in the sea's bosom.

The self can only be whole through love and power. Love is the foundation of the life of the Self while power affirms life and protects it. Not only is the task of power to eliminate any internal and external threats, which are against love and life, but also constructs anything, which affirms love and life. Iqbal encourages people to be in love and have power for life: “My philosophy is the philosophy of the Self. If you want to succeed in life, develop yourself. Learn to stand on your own legs. Have a proper sense of values, and keep evaluating yourself time to time. Do not run away from difficulties; face them like a man and overcome them. Be a man.”⁵⁰ He also says that “When it is a question of fighting the battle of life be hard as steel. But when you are away from that battle you should be as soft as silk.”⁵¹ *Destruction* and *construction* are two relational aspects between love and power in the Iqbalian thought, since love commands power ‘destroy for the sake of life’ and ‘construct for the sake of life.’ The position of power is located in the service of love. The fruit of love-power unity is life in the Iqbalian ontology of life. The state of unity creates a complementary relationship between love and power rather than contradictory one.

Love and power create the Self and the Self creates an autonomous world itself. Iqbalian type of the Self *has* to live in his/her own world, so, he/she *has* to create his/her own world. If the Self is not able to create a world for him/herself, the inevitable result is the alienation and extinction of the Self. The worlds of other are places for suffering and death, but, the autonomous

⁵⁰ Cited in M. Hasan, *Life of Iqbal ; General Account of His Life*, vol. 1, Lahore: Ferozsons Ltd., no date, p. 141.

⁵¹ Cited in M. Hasan, ‘The Educational Significance of Iqbal’s Philosophy,’ in M. Moizuddin, (Ed.), *Tribute to Iqbal*, Lahore: Iqbal Academy, 1982, p. 12.

world of the Self is the homeland for creativity and life; therefore, Iqbal says, “Man must create his own world.”⁵²

Creativity is *summum bonum* of Iqbalian ontology, because to Iqbal it is the goal of life. Iqbal’s ontology centres on teleology. Let ask a question: ‘Is life worth for living?’ Iqbal would answer that ‘Yes! It is worth for living if it is creative.’ *A life for the sake of creativity* is Iqbal’s longing, because creativity is the only action of a real self. According to him, Self has only one quality, which is creativity; Self is a noun, creativity is its adjective. This component is ‘the creative Ego.’ Iqbal asks the Self to recreate him/herself and a New World. The Self must be his/her architecture himself. Even a brick wants to be something; human self must be more than a brick. Iqbal writes:⁵³

Be a conqueror of earth; that alone is worthy of a man.

Thou art soft as a rose. Become hard as a stone,

That thou mayst be the foundation of the wall of the garden!

Build thy clay into a Man,

Build thy Man into a World!

Unless from thine own earth thou build thine own wall or door.

Someone else will make bricks of thine earth.

O thou who complaisant of the cruelty of Heaven,

Thou whose glass cries out against the injustice of the stone,

How long this wailing and crying and lamentation?

How long this perpetual beating of thy breast?

The pith of life is contained in action,

⁵² F. Mahmood, ‘Iqbal’s Attitude Towards God,’ in M.R. Siddiqi, K.G. Saiyidain, and *et al.*, *Iqbal As A Thinker*, Lahore: Sh. Muhammad Ashraf, 1991, p. 275.

⁵³ Iqbal, *The Secrets of the Self*, pp. 89-90.

The delight in creation is the law of Life.

Arise and create a new world!

ALLAMA IQBAL— NEWS, VIEWS AND EVENTS: A SURVEY OF THE ENGLISH NEWSPAPERS OF PAKISTAN DURING 1955

Dr. Nadeem Shafiq Malik

In addition to Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah (1876-1948), Allama Muhammad Iqbal (1877-1938) is rightly regarded as the founding father of Pakistan. Throughout his life span and even after his demise, his indebted community has shown unparalleled respect and admiration for him. The tendency reached its apex after the establishment of Pakistan, when Iqbal Day celebrations used to be observed with great dedication. The English dailies of Pakistan have also contributed a lot in that endeavour. This is the fifth in the series of surveys that the present author has made.⁵⁴ We have made an attempt to trace all such functions as reported in the English newspapers of Pakistan during 1955. It is hoped that this endeavour would reveal, at least to a considerable extent, the perceptions of the great seer and statesman found in the Pakistani journalism and the perspectives that underlie these perceptions.

- In 1955, *The Pakistan Times* published the first news concerned with Allama Iqbal, which appeared on January 21, 1955. It was the text of an appeal issued by the President and the Council of the Iqbal Academy, requesting to all lovers of Allama Iqbal to donate liberally for the building of the Iqbal Academy, which would be constructed in Karachi to commemorate the name of Allama Iqbal and to create a centre for propagating his message. It was stated that the government had already contributed a sum of Rs one lac for that purpose and a further sum of Rs five lacs was to be collected within three months. The statement pointed out that the message of Iqbal was a

* This is the fifth of a series of surveys planned by the author covering the whole gambit of Iqbal Day celebrations for the last five decades or more. For the first, second, third and fourth parts of the survey, dealing with 1950, 1951, 1952 and 1953 respectively, see *Iqbal Review* Vol. 41, No. 2, April 2000, Vol. 41, No. 4, October 2000, Vol. 42, No. 2, April 2001 and Vol. 42, No. 4, October 2001. (Editor)

powerful appeal to all men to rise above the bounds of caste, creed, or colour and if properly understood and disseminated, it was an effective remedy for the ills that affect humanity at present.¹

- On the same day, *The Pakistan Times* reported that Hussain Khatibi, a member of the Iranian good will mission then visiting Pakistan, while addressing the students of the Urdu College, Karachi paid glowing tributes to Allama Iqbal and his poetry in course of his speech. Khatibi, the first Iranian scholar to analyse Iqbal's poetic style and substance, observed that Iqbal and Hafiz were two most difficult poets to understand.²

- On March 12, 1955, *The Pakistan Times* while giving coverage to King Hussain of Jordan's visit to Lahore informed that King paid glowing tributes to Iqbal's genius while addressing a garden party at Shalimar. Next day, the King's tributes took a more traditional form. He visited the burial place of Allama Iqbal, offered *fatiha*, and spread a 'chadar' over the *mazar*. The King was earlier introduced to the members of Central Iqbal Committee who presented him a specially bound set of the work of the Allama Iqbal.³

- *The Pakistan Times* in its issue of March 13, 1955 communicated that the Iqbal Academy, Karachi was making efforts to collect and preserve in the Academy all available writings of Iqbal in his own handwriting. They included his letters and manuscripts of his books as well as all old editions of Iqbal's works and everything written by Iqbal and on Iqbal up to date in old journals, newspapers or out of print books.⁴

Commenting on the move sponsored by the Iqbal Academy to collect and preserve the poet's letters, manuscripts and writings, *The Morning News*, Karachi in its editorial entitled "Iqbal Academy" observed that it deserved spontaneous public response. The paper observed that it would be a befitting tribute to the memory of the dreamer of Pakistan, if individuals, who possess such material, place it at the disposal of the Academy ungrudgingly. Regretting that similar appeals in the past by some provincial governments

¹ "Iqbal Academy: Appeal for funds," *The Pakistan Times*, January 21, 1955.

² "Iranian scholar pays tributes to Iqbal," *The Pakistan Times*, January 21, 1955.

³ "Iqbal's works presented to King Hussain," *The Pakistan Times*, March 12, 1955.

⁴ "Iqbal Academy to collect writings of Iqbal," *The Pakistan Times*, March 13, 1955.

had failed to evoke the desired response, the paper hoped that no such sordid display of selfishness would repeat itself when Iqbal was concerned and public conscience would triumph over private interest.⁵

- With the start of month of April, the English newspapers started giving extensive news about Iqbal Day preparations going on in different parts of the country, which are described in the following pages. *The Civil & Military Gazette* in its issues of April 4, 1955 informed that a joint preparatory Committee for the celebration of the death anniversary of Allama Iqbal on April 21 was formed at Dacca in a meeting of the representatives of local cultural and student organisations. The paper further informed that the programme included a symposium on the life, philosophy, and literature of Allama Iqbal, recitation of his poems and a variety performance.⁶

- On April 11, 1955, *The Pakistan Times* informed that the Pakistan Bengali-Urdu Fellowship Association of Dacca had invited essays from the students of universities, colleges, and schools of Pakistan on the death anniversary of Allama Iqbal. 'Philosophy of Iqbal' had been given as the subject matter of the essay, which should be written in Bengali or Urdu. It was further announced that two prizes would be awarded to the successful competitors.⁷

- *The Pakistan Times* and *The Civil & Military Gazette* in their issues of April 11, 1955, published a statement issued by Khawaja Abdur Rahim and Agha Shorish Kashmiri, Secretaries of the Central Iqbal Committee. It stated that Abdul Hussain Masud, Iranian Ambassador in Pakistan and Raja Sahib Mahmoodabad would preside over, two sessions of a programme of lectures and speeches being organised in Lahore on April 21 in connection with the Iqbal Day. On the occasion, papers and speeches would be read or delivered among others by A. K. Brohi, Muhammad Baqir, Syed Nazir Niazi, Salahuddin and Shahid Razzaqi. It was further revealed that the Aligarh Old Boys Association, Lahore, and Lahore Municipal Corporation were also

⁵ Editorial, "Iqbal Academy," *The Morning News*, Karachi, March 17, 1955.

⁶ "Body to observe Allama Iqbal's death anniversary formed," *The Civil & Military Gazette*, April 4, 1955.

⁷ "Philosophy of Iqbal: Prizes for best essays by students," *The Pakistan Times*, April 11, 1955.

collaborating with the Central Iqbal Committee in the Iqbal Day celebrations.⁸

- On April 15, 1955, *The Civil & Military Gazette* gave further details of the combined effort made by the literary and cultural associations of Dacca to celebrate Iqbal Day in a befitting manner. The paper informed that at a meeting of their representatives held under the presidentship of S. M. Ikram, Commissioner Dacca Division, it was decided that apart from other functions, arranged by the individual organisations, a representative meeting would be held at Curzon Hall on April 21 to be presided over by Shahabuddin, the Governor of East Pakistan. A sub-committee of six, with S. M. Ikram, as convenor, was formed to make detailed arrangements for the meeting. Other members of the committee included M. Hassan, Mujibur Rahman Khan, Kavi Ghulam Mustafa; Abdul Rab Chaudhry and Sufia Kamal. The paper further informed that Anjuman-i-Taraqqi-i-Urdu was also arranging an Iqbal Day *mushaira*.⁹

- On April 16, 1955, *The Pakistan Times* informed that local literary ‘*anjumans*’ including the Multan Academy were making arrangements to observe ‘Iqbal Day’ at Multan on April 21. It was further stated that prominent poets and educationists were expected to recite poems and read papers on the great poet.¹⁰

- On April 17, 1955, *The Civil & Military Gazette* and *The Morning News*, Karachi revealed that the Central Organising Committee of the Pakistan Suba Sena had called upon its units and the juvenile community all over Pakistan to observe Iqbal Day to mark the death anniversary of Allama Iqbal in a befitting way. The paper further communicated that the Organising Committee of the Narayangang Sahitia Majlis, at a meeting also decided to observe Iqbal Day at Narayangang.¹¹

⁸ “Iqbal Day on April 21,” *The Civil & Military Gazette*, April 11, 1955; “Iqbal Day programme,” *The Pakistan Times*, April 11, 1955.

⁹ “Dacca preparing for Iqbal Day celebration,” *The Civil & Military Gazette*, April 15, 1955.

¹⁰ “Iqbal Day in Multan,” *The Pakistan Times*, April 16, 1955.

¹¹ “Appeal to observe Iqbal Day,” *The Civil & Military Gazette*, April 17, 1955; “Iqbal Day in East Pakistan,” *The Morning News*, Karachi, April 17, 1955.

• *The Pakistan Times* and *The Civil & Military Gazette* in their issues of April 18, 1955 informed that Iqbal Day would be observed by Jamia Talime Milli, Malir on April 22 under the presidentship of Sardar Abdur Rab Nishtar.¹²

• On April 19, 1955, *The Pakistan Times* disclosed that the Aligarh Old Boys Association would organise a ‘*mushaira*’ in the Town Hall on Iqbal Day with Justice Khurshid Zaman in chair.¹³

• Iqbal Day was observed at Lahore with great enthusiasm. *The Civil and Military Gazette*, *The Pakistan Times*, *The Times of Karachi*, *Dawn*, *The Pakistan Standard*, *The Khyber Mail*, and *The Morning News*, Karachi reported that with the break of dawn a large number of Lahore citizens paid homage to the memory of Allama Iqbal and offered *fatihā* at his *mazar*. Moreover, wreaths of flower were laid on his grave and the Qur’an was recited. Among those who prayed for the soul of Allama Iqbal at his grave were the Indian Food Minister, A. P. Jain, and Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan, the Pakistan High Commissioner in India. The Punjab Government organised a Iqbal Day meeting in the Punjab University where the Punjab Education Minister Chaudhry Ali Akbar Khan (1911-1967)¹⁴ presided. The speakers included Abdul Majid Salik, Syed Abid Ali Abid, Faiz Ahmed Faiz, Shiekh Attaullah, Muhammad Masud, and Ashfaq Ali Khan while Hafiz Jallundari recited his poems on Iqbal.¹⁵ ► Syed Abid Ali Abid and Ashfaq Ali Khan read their

¹² “Iqbal Day to be observed at Malir on April 22,” *The Pakistan Times*, April 18, 1955; “Iqbal Day at Malir,” *The Civil & Military Gazette*, April 18, 1955.

¹³ “Iqbal Day ‘*mushaira*’,” *The Pakistan Times*, April 19, 1955.

¹⁴ Ali Akbar Chaudhry (1911-1967); politician; worker of Pakistan movement; President District Muslim League, Hoshiarpur, 1944-47; member Council, PPML 1944-47; Council PML, 1948-55; Pakistan Constituent Assembly 1949-51; President Lyallpur District Bar Association, 1955-56; Minister for Education, Punjab, 1935-55; Ambassador in Sudan, 1957; in Saudi Arabia 1958; Minister for Interior and Kashmir Affairs, 1965-66.

¹⁵ “Punjab Government to celebrate Iqbal Day,” *The Civil and Military Gazette*, April 19, 1955; “An advertisement, Iqbal Day,” *The Civil and Military Gazette*, April 20, 1955; “Iqbal Day programme,” *The Civil and Military Gazette*, April 20, 1955; “Iqbal Day programme,” *The Pakistan Times*, April 20, 1955; “Lahore to celebrate Iqbal Day,” *The Times of Karachi*, April 21, 1955; “Lahore,” *Dawn*, April 21, 1955; “Iqbal Day in Lahore,” *The Pakistan Standard*, April 21, 1954; “Iqbal Day meetings,” *The Pakistan Times*, April 21, 1955; “Iqbal Day programme in Lahore,” *The Civil and Military Gazette*, April 21, 1955; “Lahore homage to Iqbal,” *The Khyber Mail*, April 22, 1955; “Wreaths at Iqbal’s toms,” *The Morning News*, Karachi, April 22, 1955; “Lahore,” *The Times of Karachi*, April 22, 1955; “Iqbal Day in Punjab,” *Dawn*, April 22, 1955;

papers on the poetry of Allama Iqbal. Abid Ali read his article entitled *'Taleemehat-i-Iqbal'* in which he described how Iqbal made use of allusions to make his poetry more expressive. ► Abdul Majid Salik read a paper on Syed Mir Hasan Shah of Sialkot, the tutor of Allama Iqbal. He punctuated his talk with a number of incidents depicting the high sense of humour and superior knowledge of oriental languages of Mir Hasan. He observed that Allama Iqbal was very much devoted to Mir Hasan and respected him all his life. ► In his short speech, Faiz Ahmed Faiz also narrated incidents from the life of Syed Mir Hasan Shah, who was his teacher as well at Sialkot for some time. He also recited his old poem on Iqbal, which he had composed on the day of Iqbal's death.¹⁶ ► M. Masud Secretary Agriculture, Punjab in his speech said that the keynote of Iqbal's teachings was 'fearlessness'. He said that Iqbal gave his message to the nation when it was living in a state of terror under the British regime. The message helped restore confidence among the Muslim masses and equipped them to fight for a homeland for them. ► At the conclusion of the session, which was attended by a large gathering, including Hindu and Sikh visitors from India, Chaudhry Ali Akbar, said that the message of Iqbal should be read and re-read so that the spirit he wanted to infuse in the Muslim nation is properly imbibed.¹⁷

- The Central Iqbal Committee, in collaboration with the Aligarh Old Boys Association, and Lahore Municipal Corporation held two sessions in the Town Hall, Lahore. ► Presiding over the morning session, Justice S. A. Rehman said that Iqbal Day should serve as a stocktaking day for the nation. He advised the people to review their individual and collective actions and see whether they had acted on the teachings of Allama Iqbal. He advised his audience to do their own duties honestly in their respective fields in accordance with the teachings of Iqbal, which derived their strength from Islam.¹⁸ ► Khawaja Manzur Hussain (1904-1986)¹⁹ Principal Government

“Lahore observers Iqbal Day: Poet's services to Muslims recounted,” *The Pakistan Times*, April 22, 1955; “Pakistan pays homage to Iqbal: Country-wide meetings,” *The Civil and Military Gazette*, April 22, 1955; “Accord with his mission only tribute to Iqbal: Balance-sheet of our deeds and misdeeds makes painful reading,” *The Civil and Military Gazette*, April 22, 1955; “Glowing tributes to Allama Iqbal anniversary observed throughout country,” *The Pakistan Standard*, April 23, 1955.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁸ *Ibid.*

College, Lahore read a paper on the interplay of emotion and thought in Iqbal's poetry. The paper dealt at some length with Iqbal's passion for harmonizing intellectual perceptions with sense feelings. ► Muhammad Baqir, in his paper 'Iqbal and the social order' claimed that Iqbal had chosen to be known as a thinker rather than a poet. His choice was justified as he had now come to be known as the greatest thinker of the Islamic world of this century. Iqbal, he said, expressed himself in favour of a particular order based on Islam, and strove to establish that order. ► Salahuddin Ahmed in his article '*Iqbal aur Subh-o-Sham*' said that Iqbal was attracted by nature, but his attachment to it was not of the kind Wordsworth, Shelley or Keats had. He never lost himself in nature but managed to retrace. He found himself attached to man among the manifestations of nature.²⁰

• The evening session was held under the presidentship of A.K. Brohi (1915-1987)²¹. ► Speaking on the occasion, Agha Shorish Kashmiri said that nation-building was possible if the masses accepted Iqbal as their guide-philosopher and did not only enjoy his verses as coming from a poet. Iqbal, he said, was a thinker who left a positive message for the nation. It was essential that the masses should mould their character according to the indications available in his poetry and should seek inspiration from the glory of the past, reflected in his poetry. He urged the people to re-dedicate themselves to the pattern of life set forth by Iqbal. He also moved a resolution calling upon the Pakistan Government to declare April 21, the anniversary of Iqbal's death, as a national holiday in Pakistan. The resolution was unanimously adopted by the meeting.²² ► A. K. Brohi in his presidential speech said that the only way to pay tribute to the memory of Iqbal was to pursue with due diligence that course of conduct which might be in accord with the historic mission of the poet. He observed that Iqbal employed poetry as an instrument for soliciting action, or rather he used it as a lover for

²⁰ *Ibid.*

²¹ Allah Bakhsh Khuda Bakhsh Brohi (1915-1987); lawyer, diplomat, politician, intellectual, writer, Central Minister 1953-54; Pakistan's Ambassador in India, 1960-61; President, Pakistan Bar Association, 1964-67; Federal Minister for Law and Religious Affairs, 1978-79; Chairman, National Hijrah Council; Rector, International Islamic University, Pubs. *Islam in the Modern World*; *Testament of Faith*; *Basic Principles of International Law*; *An Adventure of Self Expression*.

²² *Ibid.*

raising the Muslim nation to a level of consciousness where they could more clearly perceive their destiny and having perceived it to pursue it within the frame work of their historic predicament.²³ He observed that for him Iqbal is no ordinary poet of the conventional type. He is a reformer *par excellence* and he uses the God given gift of poetical expression and philosophical insight in awakening man to his sense of responsibility. He teaches the supremacy of moral values; he is never weary of admonishing as never to surrender our moral manhood at the alter or what might appear to be mere expedient and altering course of conduct. He observed that to be a real admirer of Iqbal one had to be a diligent crusader in the cause of Pakistan.²⁴

- The Aligarh Old Boys Association also arranged a post- dinner *mushaira* with well-known poets participating.²⁵

- The APWA Lahore branch also celebrated Iqbal Day. Prominent workers of the Association including Begum Ijaz Hussain Shah (President), Begum Masood Sadiq, Begum Enwar Ali, and Zara Hassan visited the tomb of Allama Iqbal, placed wreaths, and offered '*fatihah*'.²⁶

- In the federal capital, Karachi, several largely attended meetings were held where distinguished speakers made fervent appeals to the nation to trail the path blazed by Iqbal and put his inspiring message into practice. *The Morning News*, Karachi, *Dawn*, *The Pakistan Standard*, *The Times of Karachi*, and *The Civil and Military Gazette* duly covered the functions.

- The Governor General of Pakistan Ghulam Muhammad, who was the patron-in-chief of Iqbal Academy, in his message to the Academy on Iqbal Day, which was prominently published by all English dailies, paid glorious tributes to the memory of the "great seer whose immortal message became the trumpet call for the revival of Islam and the birth of Pakistan." "In the world of thought," said Ghulam Muhammad, "he is one of the few master minds whose message has inspired humanity to dynamic action. In reconstructing Islamic thought, he emphasised the brotherhood of man and spurned provincialism and parochialism." Proclaiming that Iqbal would be a perennial source of inspiration to Pakistan, Ghulam Muhammad urged that

²³ *Ibid.*

²⁴ *Ibid.*

²⁵ *Ibid.*

²⁶ "Lahore Apwa", *The Civil and Military Gazette*, April 23, 1955.

“let us therefore dedicate ourselves afresh today to the spirit of his message which is in essence the message of the Quaid-i-Azam, Faith, Unity and Discipline”.²⁷

- Presiding over a mammoth meeting at Jahangir Park, Mahmood Husain exhorted the people to work steadfastly for the consolidation of Pakistan by translating Iqbal’s message in their day-to-day life. This was the best homage one could pay to the poet, he said. He observed that the immortal message of Iqbal was not confined to the Muslims of the sub-continent alone but was to the entire Muslim world.²⁸ ► Speaking on the occasion, Abdul Hamid Badayuni said that Iqbal gave a new message to the Muslims by calling them “back to the Qur’an” for their guidance and glory. He suggested the setting up of a small committee to conduct research in the teachings of Iqbal and popularise it throughout the world. ► Rashid Turabi in his speech said that Iqbal was the first Muslim thinker who asked the Muslims to create a new world order. Iqbal wanted Muslims to be powerful and strong. ► Earlier, Adeb Shaharanpuri (d.1963)²⁹ recited a poem befitting the occasion.³⁰

- Presiding over another ‘Iqbal Day’ meeting at the Maqbool-i-Aam High School, Sardar Amir Azam Khan (1914-1976)³¹, Minister of State for

²⁷ “City to pay homage to Iqbal,” *The Pakistan Standard*, April 18, 1955; “Iqbal Day today”, *The Morning News*, Karachi, April 21, 1955; “Iqbal Day today: City programme,” *Dawn*, April 21, 1955; “Iqbal Day today,” *The Pakistan Standard*, April 21, 1955; “Country pays homage to Iqbal- The man who envisioned it; Governor- General’s tribute,” *The Times of Karachi*, April 22, 1955; “City pays homage to Iqbal: Poet’s philosophy of self explained,” *Dawn*, April 22, 1955; “Nation’s homage to memory of Iqbal: People urged to translate his ideals into action: Death anniversary observed,” *The Morning News*, Karachi, April 22, 1955; “Conducting research in teachings of Iqbal: Setting up of body urged,” *The Civil and Military Gazette*, April 23, 1955; “Iqbal gave trumpet call for revival of Islam, G.G.”, *The Morning News*, Karachi, April 22, 1955.

²⁸ *Ibid.*

²⁹ Adeb Saharanpuri (d. 1963) famous writer and poet.

³⁰ *Ibid.*

³¹ Sardar Ameer Azam Khan (1914-1976); politician. worker of Pakistan movement; member, Council U.P Muslim League; Secretary District Muslim League; Muzaffarnagar; member, Pakistan Constituent Assembly, 1951; Pakistan Delegation to the Commonwealth Parliamentary Conference, Ottawa, 1952; Election Committee, Pakistan Muslim League, 1952; Minister of State for Defence, 1953-57, Minister for Parliamentary and Economic Affairs, 1958; Chairman Planning Board; PIA; and PPI.

Refugees and Rehabilitation, paid glowing tributes to the memory of the poet of the East whom he styled as not only a great poet but a great thinker and constructive seer. He said that from the very beginning, Iqbal had the betterment and amelioration of humanity at heart. He spent his entire life striving for human progress with the declared aim that humankind should lead a comfortable and carefree existence. He said that Iqbal's message was immortal and international. He exhorted the people to understand his message and translate his ideals into reality. He also threw light on various aspects of the life of the great poet and his contributions towards the establishment of Pakistan.³²

- Karachi Bar Association also held an Iqbal Day meeting where glowing tributes to the memory of Allama Iqbal were paid. ► Malik Shareh-ud-Din presided over the meeting, which was addressed among others by several advocates including Asghar Ali who threw light on various aspects of the life of Allama Iqbal.³³

- Another Iqbal Day meeting was held at Karachi YMCA where Sheikh Ahmed (1915-1986)³⁴, former Principal of Lahore Mayo School of Arts was the chief speaker. He observed that creativeness, love and ego or *kbudi* were the main pillars of Iqbal's philosophy of art. Talking of Iqbal's concept of art, Shiekh Ahmed said that Iqbal as a philosopher preached action and was against the idealistic inaction of such Sufis who regarded this world as illusion. Self-restriction, self-expression, and self-expansion play an important role in the life of an artist, he said.³⁵ Sheikh Ahmed continued that in order to detect the personality, an artist must follow the path of struggle and strife as according to Iqbal inactivity leads to determination. He said that according to Iqbal, both God and man live by perpetual creation and added that creation was something, which was common between God and man. The destiny of man as God's *khalifa* on the earth was the co-operation with him in his

³² *Ibid.*, Also see, "Amir Azam address Iqbal Day meeting", *The Times of Karachi*, April 23, 1955; "Iqbal worked for unity of mankind: Amir Azam's tributes to poet", *The Pakistan Times*, April 25, 1955.

³³ *Ibid.*

³⁴ Sheikh Ahmed (1915-1986); famous artist; taught art of painting at Lahore and London.

³⁵ *Ibid.*

creativity, he observed. The talk was followed by inauguration of an exhibition of juvenile paintings.³⁶

- Glowing tributes were also paid to Allama Iqbal by Karachi women at a largely attended meeting held under the auspices of the Anjuman-i-Tahaffuz-i-Huqooq-i-Niswan at Malir. ► Begum Najma Jafir, convenor of the Anjuman, presiding over the meeting, said that Iqbal was the greatest second millennium of the Islamic era.³⁷ She eulogised the services rendered by Iqbal in the cause of women. Iqbal, a great reformer as he was, showed great respect and esteem for women. She emphasised that Iqbal wanted Muslim women not to be hoodwinked by the false ideology of Europe. She said Iqbal liked women to become *Umat-ul-Umat* in the real sense of the term.³⁸

- Radio Pakistan, Karachi also arranged special broadcasts in connection with Allama Iqbal's death anniversary. They included ► '*Ek mard-i-qalander ne kiya raz-i-khudi fash*', a musical feature written by Saleem Ahmed; ► '*Iqbaliat*', another musical feature; ► '*Allama Iqbal*', a talk in Urdu by Ejaz Ahmed; ► '*Iqbal's view of art*', a talk in English by Mumtaz Hassan; and ► '*Shair-i-Mashriq*', a musical feature written by Aslam Farrukhi.³⁹

- 'Iqbal Day' was continued to be observed at Karachi for the second day on April 22 by various literary and social bodies. In schools and colleges students gathered to listen various speakers, dwelling on different aspects of Iqbal's works and philosophy of life.

- The biggest function as reported by *The Pakistan Standard* was at Jamia Talime Milli, Malir that was presided over by Mahmud Hussain, President of the Jamia Talime Milli Society. He said that Iqbal was one of the very few Indian Muslim leaders who created a high sense of political consciousness among the Muslims. He was not only a great poet but equally a great thinker

³⁶ *Ibid.*

³⁷ *Ibid.*

³⁸ *Ibid.*

³⁹ "Iqbal Day's special broadcast," *Dawn*, April 21, 1955; "Special broadcasts on Iqbal Day," *The Times of Karachi*, April 21, 1955.

and a man of action. The recital of Iqbal's poems by Jamia's youngsters and a speech on Iqbal by an elder student in English marked the function.⁴⁰

- Another function in that connection was held under the auspices of Bazm-i-Jamaliyat, which was addressed by Abdul Hamid Shimlavi (d.1979)⁴¹, editor *Nai Roshni* and Aqil, editor *Faiẓan*.⁴²

- The Iqbal Day celebrations continued on April 23. *The Times of Karachi*, *The Pakistan Times*, *Dawn* and *The Morning News*, Karachi reported that the Iqbal Academy Karachi observed the Day by holding a meeting under the chairmanship of M. M. Ahmed, Chairman, Department of Philosophy, University of Karachi. A number of educationists read out papers on the life and works of the great poet. Hameed Ahmed Khan of Islamia College, Lahore, Qazi Ahmed Mian Akhtar, Head of the Department of Islamic History, Sind University, Yunus M. Saeed, editor *Vision* and Hamidullah Siddiqui, threw light on various aspects of Iqbal's philosophy and poetry.⁴³

► Hameed Ahmed Khan in his paper "Iqbal and the Universal Note," debunked the charge that Iqbal's poetry had a parochial outlook. It was clear, he said that the 'universal' and 'parochial' were categories which have never been applied to any but the highest poetry. Thus, Iqbal's greatness was already conceded when the question of a parochial note in his poetry was raised, he said.⁴⁴ ► Qazi Ahmed Mian Akhtar read out extracts from his paper in Urdu on the critical survey of what had so far been written on the life and works of Iqbal. He dealt with the various aspects of Iqbal's poetry, basic ideas of his philosophy, his theory of education and his political views, particularly, in the context of *millat* and *watan*.⁴⁵ ► Yunus M. Saeed spoke on

⁴⁰ "City to pay homage to Iqbal", *The Pakistan Standard*, April 18, 1955; "Jamia observes 'Iqbal Day,'" *The Pakistan Standard*, April 23, 1955.

⁴¹ Abdul Hameed Shimlavi (d.1979); journalist; worker of Pakistan movement; editor, *al-Aman*, Delhi; *Payam*, Delhi; member, Reception Committee, AIML Delhi session, April 1943, council, AIML, Delhi, 1942; convenor, Propaganda Committee, AIML, 1943.

⁴² *Ibid*.

⁴³ "City Iqbal Academy remembers the poet," *Dawn*, April 24, 1955; "Academy's tributes to Iqbal," *The Times of Karachi*, April 24, 1955; "Iqbal Academy meeting in Karachi: Papers on various aspects of poet's works read," *The Pakistan Times*, April 25, 1955; "Glowing tributes paid to Iqbal," *The Morning News*, Karachi, April 25, 1955.

⁴⁴ *Ibid*.

⁴⁵ *Ibid*.

the 'Iqbal's conception of Satan,' He thought that for a general understanding of Iqbal's poetry and philosophy, a lot depended on his concept of Satan because it "reflects to a very large extent his concept of God and Man, Satan being the inevitable cause of this eternal drama of life."⁴⁶ ► Hamidullah Siddiqui discussed in his paper juristic implications of Iqbal's philosophy and their relevance to the re-construction of Islamic Law in the light of the requirement of modern times.⁴⁷ ► Muhammad Rafiuddin, Director of Iqbal Academy, submitted his annual report featuring the programmes and activities of the Academy. He revealed that the government had promised to grants Rs 1, 00,000/- to the Academy for construction of a building on the condition that a similar amount of money would be contributed by the Academy itself. He informed that the Academy had appealed to the public to contribute Rs. 5, 00,000/- for its 'Building Fund'.⁴⁸

- On April 23, staff and students of the Deaf, Dumb, and Blind Schools also arranged a Iqbal Day meeting under the chairmanship of Dr. Ghulam Mustafa of Urdu College. A number of dumb and blind students spoke on the life and mission of Allama Iqbal.⁴⁹

- The Pakistan Students Service Bureau, Karachi also invited entries of essays on "*Iqbal aur Fun*" and "Atheistic materialism is the greatest danger to modern humanity" until May 20, 1955.⁵⁰

- Like Lahore and Karachi, Iqbal Day was observed through out rest of the West Pakistan. *The Pakistan Standard, Dawn*, and *The Times of Karachi* informed that Iqbal Day was also planned to be observed at Sind University Hall, Hyderabad where a number of eminent scholars were invited to speak on life and works of Allama Iqbal.⁵¹

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, For a study of Allama Iqbal's concept of satan, see Muhammad Sharif Baqa, *Iblees ki Majlis-i-Sboora*, Lahore, Tarseel Publications, 1986.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*

⁴⁹ "Deaf & dumb pay tribute to Iqbal," *The Times of Karachi*, April 24, 1955.

⁵⁰ "Essays on Iqbal," *The Times of Karachi*, April 24, 1955.

⁵¹ "Hyderabad observing 'Iqbal Day' today," *The Pakistan Standard*, April 21, 1955; "At Hyderabad," *The Times of Karachi*, April 21, 1955; "Hyderabad," *Dawn*, April 21, 1955.

- In the Bahawalpur State, as reported by *The Pakistan Standard*, *The Civil and Military Gazette* and *The Pakistan Times* Iqbal Day was observed at Baghdad-ul-Jadid in the Town Hall under the auspices of the Anjuman Karwan-i-Adab with Khan Baqa Muhammad Khan, Director of Public Instructions, Government of Bahawalpur in chair. Delegates to West Pakistan Teachers Convention also attended the meeting, the highlights of which were sketches, papers reading and poetical recitations. Branches of Karwan-i-Adab held similar meetings in other towns of the state also. The Bahawalpur women also planned to celebrate Iqbal Day by arranging a *mushaira* and staging a drama on the occasion.⁵²

- *The Pakistan Times* revealed that the Iqbal Day was observed throughout Multan in a befitting manner when various literary associations held meetings and paid tributes to Allama Iqbal. All the offices remained closed in Multan on April 21 because of Iqbal Day.⁵³

- *The Pakistan Times* and *The Civil and Military Gazette* communicated that Iqbal Day was observed throughout Montgomery District with enthusiasm. In Montgomery, a meeting was held under the auspices of Bazm-i-Fikr-o-Adab in which various speakers paid glowing tributes to the poet of the East. Similar meetings were also held at Okara, Pakpattan, Dipalpur, Chichawatani and Renala Khurd. A *mushaira* was held in the Sutlej Cotton Mills, Okara in which several poets from India and Pakistan participated.⁵⁴

- At Sargodha, as reported by *The Civil and Military Gazette* and *The Times of Karachi* a special Iqbal Day meeting was arranged by Bazm-i-Adab presided over by Hamid Khalil, Superintendent of Police. Prominent literary personages including Faiz Ludhianvi, Khalid Badayuni, Ahmed Baksh Qureshi and Malik Umar Draz Khan read papers on the life, philosophy and

⁵² "Iqbal Day in Bahawalpur," *The Pakistan Standard*, April 19, 1955; "Preparations to celebrate Iqbal Day in Bahawalpur," *The Civil and Military Gazette*, April 19, 1955; "Iqbal Day observed in Bahawalpur," *The Civil and Military Gazette*, April 22, 1955; "Baghdad-ul-Jadid," *The Pakistan Times*, April 22, 1955.

⁵³ "Multan News: Glowing tributes paid to Iqbal." *The Pakistan Times*, April 23, 1955.

⁵⁴ "Iqbal Day observed at Montgomery," *The Pakistan Times*, April 23, 1955; "Iqbal's works provide solution to problems facing mankind" and "Pakistan pays eloquent tributes to poet of East: Montgomery," *The Civil and Military Gazette*, April 23, 1955.

poetry of Allama Iqbal.⁵⁵ *Dawn*, *The Pakistan Standard*, and *The Pakistan Times* reported that at Sheikhpura, the Iqbal Day was observed by the local literary societies. A ‘*musbaira*’ was held under the auspices of Anjuman Aiwan-i-Urdu. Besides others, Muhammad Amin Gillani, Jalal Lakhnavi and Shaghil participated. Speakers at the function threw light on the achievements of Allama Iqbal in the fields of poetry and politics, with special references to his contribution to the awakening of the Indian Muslims and to the movement for the establishment of Pakistan.⁵⁶

- *The Pakistan Times*, *Dawn*, *The Times of Karachi*, *The Morning News*, Karachi and *The Pakistan Standard* reported that glowing tributes were paid to the memory of Allama Iqbal at meeting organised by local literary bodies in observance of his death anniversary at Rawalpindi. The meeting organised by Military Association of Controller of Military Accounts in the afternoon at its office hall attracted a large number of people including officials and local dignitaries. Prominent local poets and writers recited poems on Iqbal and read out papers on his poetry and philosophy. The feature ‘seven best verses or the best poem of Iqbal,’ in which many speakers participated drew forth special appreciation from the audience.⁵⁷

- Azad Kashmir paid homage to the memory of Allama Iqbal by holding meetings throughout the territory. In Muzaffarabad, the highlight of the day’s programme was a meeting organised by Halqa Arbab-i-Zauq and Bazm-i-Adab at the Government Intermediate College. A large number of officials, literary figures, and public men attended the meeting. About twelve papers were read out by prominent literary figures covering various aspects of the

⁵⁵ “Sargodha News: Iqbal Day celebrated solemnly,” *The Civil and Military Gazette*, April 23, 1955; “Sargodha”, *The Times of Karachi*, April 23, 1955.

⁵⁶ “‘Iqbal Day’ preparations in Sheikhpura,” *Dawn*, April 19, 1955; “[Iqbal Day] in Sheikhpura,” *The Pakistan Standard*, April 19, 1955; “Iqbal Day observed at Sheikhpura,” *The Pakistan Times*, April 23, 1955.

⁵⁷ “Lahore observes Iqbal Day: Poet’s services to Muslims recounted: Rawalpindi,” *The Pakistan Times*, April 22, 1955; “Nation observes Iqbal Day: Tributes also from other countries: Rawalpindi,” *Dawn*, April 23, 1955; “Iqbal Day celebrated throughout country: Shahabuddin addresses public meeting in Dacca,” *The Times of Karachi*, April 23, 1955; “Iqbal gave Muslims a political goal: Country-wide homage: Rawalpindi,” *The Morning News*, Karachi, April 22, 1955; “Glowing tributes to Allama Iqbal: Anniversary observed throughout country in Rawalpindi,” *The Pakistan Standard*, April 23, 1955.

poet's artistic genius and philosophy. Later in the evening, local poets participated in a 'mushaira' held in the memory of Allama Iqbal.⁵⁸

- The death anniversary of Allama Iqbal was also commemorated throughout the Frontier Province. *The Civil and Military Gazette*, *The Pakistan Times*, *The Khyber Mail*, *The Morning News*, Karachi, and *The Pakistan Standard* reported that special meetings were held at the district headquarters where tributes were paid to the great poet-philosopher.

- In Peshawar, a meeting was held with a large audience which was presided over by the Frontier Education Minister, Mian Jaffar Shah (1903-1984)⁵⁹. Besides recitations from Iqbal's poetry, special papers on the poetry and philosophy of Allama Iqbal were read at the meeting. Prominent among those who addressed the meeting were Mir Waliullah Khan of the Peshawar University, Munawar Gilani, Ali Akbar Shah and Imdad Hussain (1910-2000)⁶⁰. Different poets recited verses in praise of Iqbal. Paying glorious tributes to Iqbal, Mian Jaffar Shah said that Iqbal created a living spirit in the Indian Muslims and was a source of inspiration during their political struggle for Pakistan. He was also a source of guidance to humanity in general as a spur to achieve self-respect and self-confidence.⁶¹

- An another Iqbal Day meeting was organized by the Anjuman-i-Taraqqi-i-Urdu, Sarhad under the presidentship of Sheikh Sanaullah (1897-

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*

⁵⁹ Mian Jaffar Shah (1903-1984); politician; took part in the *Khilafat & Hijrat* movements; later joined the *Khudai Khidmatgar* movement; member, INC; NWFP Legislative Assembly, 1937; Education Minister NWFP; member, Pakistan Constituent Assembly, 1955-56; remained Central Minister for Information & Broadcasting, States and Frontier Regions; Food & Agriculture; and Communication; Pub. co-author, *A Statement of Facts about the Present Situation in the NWFP*, 1930.

⁶⁰ Imdad Husain Baig (1910-2000); politician; intellectual; educationist; worker of Pakistan movement; remained Press Secretary of AIML.

⁶¹ "Pakistan pays homage to Iqbal: Country-wide meetings," *The Civil and Military Gazette*, April 22, 1955; "Lahore observes Iqbal Day: Poets services to Muslims recounted: Peshawar," *The Pakistan Times*, April 22, 1955; "Iqbal gave Muslims a political goal: Country-wide homage: In Peshawar," *The Morning News*, Karachi, April 22, 1955; "Frontier celebration of Iqbal Day", *The Khyber Mail*, April 23, 1955; "Glowing tributes to Allama Iqbal: Anniversary observed through out country: In Peshawar," *The Pakistan Standard*, April 23, 1955.

1959)⁶², editor of *The Khyber Mail*. ► At the meeting, Majid Shahid recited a poem specially composed for the occasion. ► Nazir Mirza Barlas, who spoke on the poetry and philosophy of Allama Iqbal, followed him. ► It was followed by a general discussion in which Syed Zia Jafari and Abdul Wadud Qamar took part. The latter narrated some anecdotes from the life of Allama Iqbal whom he had the honour to meet while studying at Lahore. ► The programme ended with a recitation from *Piam-i-Mashriq* by Zafar Abbass Bukhari.⁶³

- Iqbal Day was also observed throughout Baluchistan and Baluchistan States Union by holding literary gatherings, public meetings, and *mushairas* as reported by *The Pakistan Standard*, *The Pakistan Times*, *The Times of Karachi*, *Dawn*, and *The Civil & Military Gazette*. In Quetta, the educational institutions held special functions in which papers were read and lectures delivered both by students and teachers on life and mission of Allama Iqbal. Speeches on his life and works were also delivered by several speakers at a public meeting held under the auspices of the Anjuman-i-Taraqqi-i-Urdu, which was presided over by Dr. Muhammad Ayub.⁶⁴

- At Kalat, a large number of people including Secretariat and *Durbari* staff, students, teachers, and members of the Hindu *Panchayat* gathered in the hall of the Daud High School to pay homage to Allama Iqbal. Speeches in Urdu and Baluchi by Union officers emphasised that the purpose of that function would be lost if the audience only heard Iqbal's verses and over

⁶² Shaikh Sanaullah (1897-1959); pioneer of English Journalism in NWFP; joined *The Muslim Outlook*, Lahore, correspondent, *The Observer*, *The Pioneer*, Allahabad; *The Statesman*, Delhi; *The Daily Herald*, London; proprietor and editor, *The Khyber Mail*, founded in 1932.

⁶³ "Peshawar observance of Iqbal Day," *The Khyber Mail*, April 22, 1955.

⁶⁴ "Glowing tributes to Allama Iqbal: Anniversary observed throughout country: In Quetta," *The Pakistan Standard*, April 23, 1955; "Iqbal Day in Baluchistan," *The Pakistan Times*, April 23, 1955; "Iqbal Day celebrated throughout country: Shahabuddin address public meeting in Dacca: Baluchistan", *The Times of Karachi*, April 23, 1955; "Nation observes Iqbal Day: Tributes also from other countries: Quetta, Mustang," *Dawn*, April 23, 1955; "Iqbal's works provide solution to problems facing mankind: East Pakistan pays eloquent tributes to poet of East: Baluchistan," *The Civil and Military Gazette*, April 23, 1955; "Iqbal gave Muslims a political goal: Country-wide homage: Baluchistan," *The Morning News*, Karachi, April 22, 1955; "Iqbal gave Muslims a political goal: Country-wide homage: Baluchistan," *The Morning News*, Karachi, April 22, 1955.

looked his message of unity, discipline and complete faith in Allah and observance of Islamic dictates which was the real essence of his poetry and which he himself endeavoured to underline all his life. Extracts from Iqbal's works illustrating his message to Muslims and humanity were also recited. The meeting concluded with prayers for the soul of Iqbal.⁶⁵

• 'Marconi', the radio reviewer of *The Pakistan Times* presented an overall view of the Iqbal Day programmes broadcasted by different stations of Radio Pakistan including talks, features, and singing of Iqbal's poems. He observed that these special programmes had acquired a certain fixed pattern tending towards a certain monotony of treatment, as the turning of Iqbal's living poetry into a sort of esoteric philosophy beyond the reach of an ordinary man. He further observed that listening to most features and talks on Iqbal, one missed an essential unity. His philosophy, his ideas and concepts were so minutely dissected and presented in such highly technical philosophical jargon, that the poor listener was definitely impressed with all that parade of learning without in any way getting near the essential spirit of the poetry.⁶⁶ He pointed out that "while reading or listening to Iqbal's poetry one feels uplifted and his ideas find immediate emotional response; while on the other hand, these talks and dissertations leave us just bamboozled, confused and none-the-wiser-for-it, then there must be something wrong somewhere". He further pointed out that in that barrage of features and talks hardly any mention was made of those poems of Iqbal which some how could be construed to serve the ends of current political fashions. On the other hand, those features were full of his Persian poems that were hardly understood by even one percent of the listeners.⁶⁷ Marconi observed that most significant human and interesting programme broadcasted on Iqbal Day, was provided by the village broadcast from Lahore station. The talk in Punjabi by Sufi Ghulam Mustafa Tabassum was one of the best he heard on radio. The significant feature of that talk was the simplicity and directness with which Sufi Tabassum explained the basic concepts of Iqbal's poetry. That simplicity was born of deep study and genuine appreciation of the

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶⁶ Marconi, "Radio review: Iqbal Day programme," *The Pakistan Times*, April 24, 1955.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*

poet's work, the author maintained.⁶⁸ The reviewer viewed that most stirring item was the interview with Iqbal's old servant, 'Ali Baksh. Here was something really human, touching and authentic. But he was critical of Syed Viqar Azeem's feature on Iqbal in the children's programme which suffered from one basic defect. He stressed that at least one of Iqbal's poems for the children should have been presented *in toto* in order to give one complete story at least.⁶⁹

• The radio reviewer of *The Civil and Military Gazette*, 'Raz' also surveyed Iqbal Day programmes broadcasted by Radio Pakistan, which in his view had been common, by repetition. He argued that their pattern was now old enough comprising recitations (*tarranum* and *tehtul-lafz*), features (flat and musical), talks (English and Urdu) and *Iqbaliyat* in which a selected *ghazal* of Iqbal was presented in the mode of *qanwali* with a wealth of '*girab-bandi*' exclusively from the works of Iqbal in half an hour. In his opinion some of those programmes had been recorded and were played from time to time and by now, even the tune seems too had been standardised under the caption '*Iqbaliyyat*'.⁷⁰ The reviewer observed that the radio programmes of that year again constrained one to complain that the stress was on the literary and philosophical aspects of Iqbal and they had already received detailed attention in the past. He mentioned that Iqbal lived in an age when science and philosophy had powerfully rubbed shoulders and as an original thinker, Iqbal could not ignore the new ideas which modern science had been sending to engage the attention of the philosopher. He argued that such side of Iqbal's work had not been studied nor presented on the radio. Moreover, little had been done to assist the influence of scientific ideas on the poetry of Iqbal. The author maintained that Iqbal had a definite attitude towards science in general. Stressing that that little explored region of Iqbal's works should be studied, the author suggested that radio should not rest content with what it had presented thus far on Iqbal.⁷¹ In reality, 'Raz' had raised a very interesting point. Allama Iqbal was a keen observer of the scientific discoveries of his age and always tried to comprehend them. He tried to

⁶⁸ *Ibid.* For a survey of Sufi Tabassum's works on Allama Iqbal, see Sufi Gulzar Ahmed "Sufi Tabassum aur Iqbal Shanasī," *Iqbal Review*, Vol. 19, No. 4, January 1979, pp. 55-70.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*

⁷⁰ Raz, "Radio Review," *The Civil and Military Gazette*, April 27, 1955.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*

study Islam in scientific perspective and proved that there was no difference among them. In this connection, he repeatedly referred to scientific realities stated in the Quran. In his presidential address delivered at the All India Mohammedan Educational Conference, in 1911, he pointed out several scientific contributions made by the Muslims. At the same time, he was much perturbed over the overall scientific decline in the Muslim world and always tried to urge the Muslim youth to study sciences. Syed Waheeduddin has stated that in order to understand Einstein's theory of relativity, Allama Iqbal even studied mathematics. When he heard that an American Physicist, Compton, who later won the Noble Prize, would deliver a lecture in the Government College, Lahore, he especially went to attend that talk and during question break, asked Compton various complex questions to understand the subject matter.⁷²

Tributes from East Pakistan

Like West Pakistan, the Iqbal Day was celebrated with great enthusiasm in East Pakistan. *The Pakistan Standard*, *The Morning News*, Karachi, *The Khyber Mail* and *The Morning News*, Dacca communicated that at Dacca, eight literary and cultural organisations under the guidance of a sub-committee presided over by S. M. Ikram (1908-1973)⁷³, chalked out an elaborate programme to observe the Iqbal Day. They included Purba Bangla Samity, the Pakistan Sahitya Samsad, Pakistan Arts Council, Pakistan Majlis, P. E. N, Tamadun Majlis, Anjuman-i-Tarraqi-i-Urdu and the Dacca Gymkhana Club.⁷⁴

- The biggest event was a public meeting held in Curzon Hall, which represented all literary and cultural associations of Dacca. It was presided over by Provincial Governor, Muhammad Shahabuddin and the hall was packed to capacity. Among those who addressed the gathering were

⁷² Quoted in Fakir Syed Waheeduddin, *Roozgar-i-Fakir*, Vol.II, Karachi, Line Art Press, 1964, pp. 70-71. For an excellent discussion on Iqbal's attitude towards science, see Samiullah Qureshi, *Moznat-i-Fikr-i-Iqbal*, Lahore, Iqbal Academy, 1996, pp. 77-114.

⁷³ Shiekh Muhammad Ikram (1908-1973); civil servant, intellectual, historian; Director, Institute of Islamic Culture, Lahore. Pubs. *Ab-i-Kasur*; *Rud-i-Kasur*; *Manj-i-Kusar*; *Armaghan-i-Pak*; *Sbibli Namah*; *Ghalib Namah*.

⁷⁴ "Iqbal Day in Dacca: Elaborate programme," *The Pakistan Standard*, April 21, 1955; "Iqbal Day programme in Dacca", *The Morning News*, Karachi, April 21, 1955; "Dacca celebration for Iqbal Day," *The Khyber Mail*, April 21, 1955; "Iqbal's death anniversary today", *The Morning News*, Dacca, April 21, 1955.

Muhammad Akram Khan, Muhammad Shahidullah, Abul Hashim, and S. M. Ikram.⁷⁵ ► In his presidential speech, Governor Shahabuddin explaining Iqbal's philosophy pointed out that Iqbal's works contained the solution to many of the problems faced by the mankind in general and Muslims in particular in present day world. Iqbal not only carefully studied political and social problems of Muslims but gave them a political goal too.⁷⁶ ► Speaking next, Muhammad Shahidullah of the Dacca University explained the message of Iqbal with special reference to *Javid Namah* and said that the poet therein had analysed case of man's spiritual and moral decay and provided remedy thereof.⁷⁷ ► Muhammad Akram Khan addressing the gathering said that it was necessary to see Iqbal in correct perspective in order to appreciate greatness of his poetry and philosophy. He argued that his poetry was dynamic and capable of revolutionising human thought and action.⁷⁸ ► Abul Hashim addressing the gathering dwelt on the metaphysical aspects of Iqbal's works and said that according to Iqbal, man except by direct intuitive experience or the religious experience, could not know the ultimate reality. Yet Iqbal's philosophy had shown inter-relation between reason and faith, which were not contradictory to each other.⁷⁹ ► S. M. Ikram in his speech pointed out that Iqbal occupied a very special position in Pakistan. He observed that Iqbal's special significance was due to two reasons. In the first place, it was he who for the first time saw in tangible form the vision of the new state. He placed before the nation the goal of independent Muslim State and gave his powerful support to the idea when all ridiculed it. He continued that apart from it, Iqbal in his poetry and prose works, particularly in his lectures, had dealt with ideological problems with which modern Muslim

⁷⁵ "Eloquent tributes paid to 'ideological father of Pakistan': Iqbal's works contain solution to present day problems, Shahabuddin," *The Morning News*, Dacca, April 22, 1955; "Iqbal gave Muslims a political goal: Country-wide homage," *The Morning News*, Karachi, April 22, 1955; "Iqbal Day observed in city," *The Pakistan Observer*, April 22, 1955; "Glowing tributes to Allama Iqbal: Anniversary observed throughout country", *The Pakistan Standard*, April 23, 1955; "Iqbal's works provide solution to problems facing mankind: East Pakistan pays eloquent tributes to poet of East," *The Civil and Military Gazette*, April 23, 1955.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷⁷ *Ibid.* For a detailed study of *Javid Namah*, see Muhammad Riaz, *Javid Namah: Tehqiq-o-Tauzeeh*, Lahore, Iqbal Academy, 1988.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*

world. These factors gave Iqbal a unique position of national importance, he concluded.⁸⁰

- Other functions held in observance of Iqbal Day in Dacca included one by students of Salimullah Muslim Hall. Sharif Abdullah Haroon, who presided over the gathering, urged upon students to imbibe teachings of Iqbal in their daily lives. By a resolution, the meeting urged upon government to set up an Iqbal Academy.⁸¹ Bengali-Urdu Fellowship Association also held a meeting in observance of Iqbal Day at the District Board Hall, which was presided over by Baqir, President of Association. Distinguished Urdu and Bengali poets excelled each other in paying tributes to Iqbal as poet-philosopher.⁸² Anjuman Mohajareen Mashriqi Pakistan, awarded prizes to students for best articles written on national poet. The students and teachers of Rahmatullah Model High School, Dacca held meeting in observance of Iqbal Day in which eloquent tributes were paid to the poet of the East.⁸³

- A meeting of the women of Dacca city was also held to observe Iqbal Day under the Anjuman Fallah Muslim Khawateen. Begum Amiruddin Ahmed, wife of the Chief Justice of East Pakistan presided over. Speeches were delivered in Bengali and Urdu by Begum Wahab, Begum Quadrat-i-Khoda, Begum Jabbar, Begum Nafis Ahmed, Begum Dilafroz Haq, Begum Masood and Begum Akhlaque on life and works of Allama Iqbal. Poems of Allama Iqbal were also recited.⁸⁴

- As per reports of *The Morning News*, Dacca, *The Civil and Military Gazette*, *The Pakistan Standard*, *The Khyber Mail* and *The Times of Karachi*, April 21 activities at Dacca were rounded off with a *Tamsili mushaira* followed by a general *mushaira* under the auspices of the Anjuman-i-Taraqqi-i-Urdu, Mashriqi Pakistan, Dacca. Prominent poets from Pakistan and India including Jigar Muradabadi, Saghar Nizami, Sahab Qizalbash and Jagannath

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*

⁸¹ *Ibid.*

⁸² *Ibid.*

⁸³ *Ibid.*

⁸⁴ *Ibid.* Also see “Ladies observe Iqbal Day”, *The Morning News*, Dacca, April 23, 1955.

Azad, participated in the general *mushaira*. East Pakistan Governor and his wife also attended the function.⁸⁵

• The Iqbal Day celebrations in Dacca continued on April 22. *The Pakistan Observer* and *The Morning News*, Dacca reported that a joint function and symposium arranged by cultural and literary organisations of Dacca were held at the Bar Library Hall in observance of Iqbal Day. Prominent Urdu and Bengali authors and poets including women recited poems on the 'Ideological Father of Pakistan' while Abdur Rahman Khan, an eminent Bengali scholar presided over the function.⁸⁶ ► Speaking on the occasion, Abul Hashim said that Allama Iqbal was a religious thinker and had conceived creation of an Islamic state. He asked people to act upon Iqbal's concept of *khudi*. ► Begum Sofia Kamal and Qazi Lutf Haq, renowned poets of East Pakistan, read out translated pieces from *Asrar-i-Khudi* and *Rumuz-i-Bekhudi*. ► Other speakers threw light on the life and works of the national poet.⁸⁷

• Dacca Gymkhana Club and Anjuman-i-Taraqqi-i-Urdu also jointly arranged an Iqbal Day meeting which was presided over by S. N. Bakar. ► Speaking on the occasion, Mahmud Hasan, Chairman of the Provincial Public Service Commission, who had personal contacts with Allama Iqbal during his lifetime, observed that he believed that for deeper study of the Qur'an, it was advisable to study Iqbal as well. He observed that Iqbal's concept of God and man was essentially the same as in the Qur'an. He also pointed out that it was very necessary that more and more translations of Allama Iqbal's works were made available to people in English, Bengali and

⁸⁵ *Ibid.* Also see "Iqbal's death anniversary: Grand *mushaira* tomorrow," *The Morning News*, Dacca, April 20, 1955; "Iqbal Day celebrations in Dacca," *The Civil and Military Gazette*, April 21, 1955; "*Mushaira* in Dacca", *The Pakistan Standard*, April 21, 1955; "Dacca *mushairas* for Iqbal Day, *The Khyber Mail*, April 21, 1955; "*Mushaira* in Dacca on Iqbal Day", *The Times of Karachi*, April 21, 1955.

⁸⁶ "Death anniversary of Iqbal: Function arranged in bar library hall," *The Pakistan Observer*, April 22, 1955; "Iqbal Day observed," *The Pakistan Observer*, April 23, 1955; "More tributes paid to Iqbal," *The Morning News*, Dacca, April 23, 1955.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*

other languages. Later, Jigar Moradabadi recited a Persian poem at the meeting. Bengali translation of few couplets of Iqbal was also recited.⁸⁸

- Besides Dacca the Iqbal Day was observed in different parts of East Pakistan with due solemnity. *The Pakistan Observer* reported that a public meeting was also arranged at Narayanganj at its Public Literary Hall in which renowned speakers viz., Shadani, Ghulam Mustafa, and Raghīb Ahsan (1904-1975)⁸⁹ were invited to deliver speeches on the life and teachings of Allama Iqbal. The meeting was planned to be followed by a *mushaira* to be participated by prominent poets of Pakistan and India.⁹⁰

- *The Morning News*, Karachi, *The Pakistan Standard*, *The Pakistan Times*, *Dawn*, and *The Times of Karachi* reported that at Comilla, all the offices were closed for half day as mark of respect to the memory of Allama Iqbal. A largely attended meeting was convened at the Tippera Collectorate, sponsored by the officers and staff of the Collectorate, where glowing tributes were paid to the memory of the poet. Latiful Karim read an essay on the life of the poet at the function. Several speakers delivered speeches on the life, ideals, and works of Allama Iqbal. One of the speakers, Khawaja Ahmed stressed the need of establishing an 'Iqbal Academy' in the town.⁹¹

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*

⁸⁹ Raghīb Ahsan (1904-1975); scholar, writer, historian, politician, intellectual, worker of Khilafat and Pakistan movements; member, Executive Council, Bengal Provincial Muslim League, Working Committee, All India Muslim Conference- Constitutional Committee; BPML, 1938; Council, AIML, 1937-48; Working Committee, BPML, 1940-48; Parliamentary Board, 1940-48; founder Secretary All India Youth League, 1931; Calcutta Muslim League, 1936; Secretary, Bihar Relief Committee, 1946. Prepared the rules and regulations of the National Guards; founder, All India Jamiatul Ulama-i-Islam, Calcutta, 1945; organised All Pakistan Millat-i-Islam Convention Dacca, 1956; member Pakistan Islamic Law Commission, 1957; Pubs. *The Principles of Islamic Economics*; *History of Community Electorate in India*; *The Political Case of Muslim India*; *Congress Misrule in C .P*; *What Muslims Want in India*; *Bihar State Killing*; *History of the Making of Muslim Nationalism in India*; *Husain Shabeed Subrawardy and the Inner History of the United Bengal Scheme*; *Asasat-i-Tameer-i-Nor*; *Iqbal:Jahan-I-Deegar*.

⁹⁰ "Commemorating Iqbal's death anniversary: Public meeting to be held at Narayanganj," *The Pakistan Observer*, April 22, 1955.

⁹¹ "Iqbal Day observed in East Pakistan", *The Morning News*, Karachi, April 25, 1955; "Iqbal Day at home and abroad," *The Pakistan Standard*, April 25, 1955; "Iqbal Day meeting in Karachi: Papers on various aspects of poet's works read, Dinajpur, Comilla, Pabna", *The*

Dr. Quader, in his presidential speech referred to the work of Allama Iqbal. The poet, he said could not fully see his vision of unification of Islamic states of the world materialised in his lifetime. He left behind the spirit of his ideal. The Muslims of the whole world should realise his preaching and make every attempt to live up to his vision.⁹²

- Iqbal Day was observed at Dinajpur on April 21 and the women at Mahial Samiti and the public at the local cinema hall organised public meetings separately. The respective meetings were presided over by the District Magistrate and Rafia Rahman convenor, APWA, Dinajpur. In both the functions the life of the poet and his philosophy were dealt with. In the evening, the annual prize distribution ceremony was held at Parbatipur Jinnah H. E. School where the life and ideals of Iqbal were discussed.⁹³ At Pabna, Iqbal Day was observed under the auspices of the Pabna Sahitya Majlis presided over by the District Magistrate, Ali Ahmed. Two prizes were awarded at an essay competition on the occasion while Nadvi read out poems of Allama Iqbal. A large public meeting was held at the town hall, where Abdul Hai al Quraishi, presided over and spoke on Iqbal.⁹⁴

- *The Pakistan Observer* revealed that on April 22, under the management of A. K. M. Humayun, Assistant Adjutant of Ansars, Rangpur Saddar, a literary and cultural meeting was held at the Rangpur Saddar Ansar Club to observe the death anniversary of Allama Iqbal with renowned poet and translator of the *Shikwah* and *Jawab-i-Shikwah*, Muhammad Sultan in chair.⁹⁵ Students of music class of Saddar Ansar Club entertained the audience with songs composed by the great poet. Local poets, writers and artists were also present. Thoughtful articles and poems written on the life and works of Allama Iqbal were read. The poem recited from the chair and the song of Babu Amiya Sen was highly appreciated. The meeting closed with a prayer for the peace of the departed soul.⁹⁶

Pakistan Times, April 25, 1955; "Tributes paid to Iqbal in E. Wing," *Dawn*, April 26, 1955; "Iqbal Day in East Pakistan," *The Times of Karachi*, April 26, 1955.

⁹² *Ibid.*

⁹³ *Ibid.*

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*

⁹⁵ "[Rangpur] Iqbal anniversary," *The Pakistan Observer*, April 26, 1955.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*

• *The Pakistan Observer* reported that at Saidpur, Iqbal Day was celebrated at the Murtaza Institute Hall under the presidentship of Matiur Rahman, Senior Accounts Officer, Railways. Speeches in Urdu, Bengali and English were delivered dwelling on the multifaceted aspects of the poet's genius. ► Ataur Rahman, speaking in Bengali said that Iqbal's dream of an ideal Muslim homeland would not be realised in Pakistan, unless we sink our differences and regard ourselves as Pakistanis above all.⁹⁷

• *The Pakistan Observer* further described that at Barisal, a meeting of the staff, students and patrons of the Fazlul Haq College, Chankkar was held at the premises of the College to observe Iqbal Day under the auspices of the Literary Association, Fazlul Haq College, with Muhiuddin, Principal of the College in the chair.⁹⁸ In his presidential address, Muhiuddin welcomed the Iqbal Day celebration throughout the country to draw inspiration from the teachings of Iqbal. He compared Iqbal with Rumi, Ghazali, Nietzsche and Bergson and concluded by saying that Iqbal was a worthy representative of Islamic and modern spiritualism. A resolution to form Iqbal-Nazrul Academy in all the colleges of Pakistan was unanimously passed.⁹⁹

• According to *The Pakistan Observer*, the Muslim Sakitya Sdamsad, the Anjuman-i-Taraqqi-i-Urdu and many other cultural and literary associations, celebrated Iqbal Day at Sylhet. Abdul Matin Memorial Library and many of the local educational institutions also observed the Day.¹⁰⁰

• Likewise, the AWWPA Bogra Branch under the guidance and presidentship of Begum A. Aziz observed Iqbal Day at Bogra. Many distinguished women participated in the deliberations.

• Another Iqbal Day meeting was observed by the Bangiya Salitaya Parishad at Bogra Uttara House. Majiruddin Ahmed MLA presided over the function.¹⁰¹

⁹⁷ "Iqbal anniversary," *The Pakistan Observer*, April 26, 1955.

⁹⁸ "Barisal: Iqbal's death anniversary," *The Pakistan Observer*, April 27, 1955.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁰ "Iqbal Day functions," *The Pakistan Observer*, April 27, 1955.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*

Even a cursory glance on the above materials would reveal that Allama Iqbal being the originator of the idea of newly established state enjoyed a special status among the Pakistani intelligentsia. A survey of English dailies of Pakistan which existed during 1953 reveals that he was highly respected for his multi-dimensional services and his views were persistently quoted by renowned personalities of every walk of life, like writers, politicians, intellectuals, civil servants and theologians as guidelines to be pursued in reshaping the proposed structure of the motherland. His ideas were presented as a panacea for all the ills and rallying point for the development of a sense of unity and oneness.

RUMI'S DOCTRINE OF EVOLUTION

William C. Chittick

I was prompted to reflect on “evolution” in Rumi’s thought by the enormous popularity of his poetry in North America and the widespread habit of misinterpreting his teachings. Rumi’s popularity has its roots in the scholarly translations of R. A. Nicholson and A. J. Arberry. But the “Rumi boom” itself is based on the talents of a number of American poets, who recognized a mine of gold when they saw it. They took the ore provided by the scholars and reworked it into contemporary English poetry, often without any knowledge of the Persian language or the intellectual and spiritual tradition that Rumi represents.

In my profession as a scholar of Islamic Studies, I am often asked about the quality of these translations. I reply that most of them are inaccurate and inept. The reason for this is simply that the translators fail to bring out both the literal meaning and the deeper implications of what Rumi is saying. It is true that the English versions often display sparks of Rumi’s fire, and that helps explain why they have become so popular. But, for those who understand the Persian language—and even more so for those who are familiar with the worldview that animates Rumi’s poetry—the translations are lame. One is reminded of Rumi’s famous line,

The leg of the reasoners is wooden—

a wooden leg is awfully unsteady. (I: 2128)

Well, the leg of the translators is even more unsteady than that of the reasoners. This is largely because the translators are unfamiliar with the universe of discourse that was articulated by the very same reasoners whose wooden leg Rumi criticizes. In order to illustrate what I mean, I want to bring in a contemporary of Rumi whose writings can help us understand the context and contents of Rumi’s teachings. This is the philosopher Afial al-Dân K«sh«nâ, who is better known in Persian as B«b« Afial. He was one of the great reasoners of the Islamic tradition, even though he has hardly been studied in modern times. Among his seven or eight treatises, one is a masterly summa on logic. He is a rare example of an important philosopher

who wrote mainly in the Persian language. Nonetheless, he is not well known even in Iran. Those who have heard his name are more likely to know him as the author of quatrains, something in the style of ‘Umar Khayy m.⁵⁵

The best guess at the date of B b  Afial’s death is 1213, which is six years after Rumi’s birth. We know almost nothing about his life, except that he taught and died in the village of Mara  outside of K sh n in central Iran.

As a philosopher, B b  Afial has several exceptional qualities, some of them related to the fact that he wrote in Persian. As is well known, most of the Muslim philosophers were Persian by birth, but they wrote their important books in Arabic. By doing so, they guaranteed that their writings would be read throughout the Islamic world. When B b  Afial broke with this pattern, he effectively excluded his treatises from the philosophical canon.

Lest anyone think that he wrote in Persian because he had not mastered Arabic, I should also mention that he produced some of the most faithful Persian translations of Arabic philosophical texts ever accomplished, even if we judge him by contemporary standards. And, no translator of philosophical texts into Persian has been able to match the beauty of his prose. Moreover, he wrote the original versions of at least two of his own treatises in Arabic. Then, however, he translated them into Persian at the request of his students.

If B b  Afial wrote primarily in Persian, he did so because he was not writing for professional philosophers. Rather, he wrote for a group of highly motivated seekers of wisdom who did not have much training in the Islamic sciences. Any philosopher taking a quick look at his writings might think that they are too elementary and straightforward to merit much attention. However, a closer examination would show that they have something of the quality of Sa’d ’s prose, which is famous for being *sabl u mumtani*, “simple

⁵⁵ A fine edition of most of his works was published forty-five years ago by Mujtab  M nov  and Ya y  Mahd v . *Mu annafat-i Afial al-D n Mu ammad Mara  K sh n * (2 volumes, Tehran: Tehran University Press, 1331-1337/1952-58; reprinted in one volume, Tehran: Khw razm , 1366/1987). For a study of his life and works along with a translation of many of his writings, see W. C. Chittick, *The Heart of Islamic Philosophy: The Quest for Self-Knowledge in the Teachings of Afial al-Din Kashani* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000).

and impossible.” In other words, the language looks easy, but it cannot be duplicated. The truth is that B«b« Afial’s Persian treatises are written in a simple and beautiful prose and, at the same time, they are extraordinarily sophisticated presentations of the main teachings of the philosophical tradition. This helps explain why Mull« Âadr«, the great Safavid philosopher, could take the trouble, four hundred years after B«b« Afial’s death, to translate one of his works into Arabic.⁵⁶

Precisely because B«b« Afial was a brilliant philosopher who wrote in Persian for beginners, his works are remarkably clear. He sets down the purpose and goal of philosophy with a directness that is unparalleled in the philosophical canon. This same clarity and explicitness make his prose writings a great help in interpreting Rumi, who often leaves much unsaid.

When Rumi tells us that the leg of the reasoners is wooden, notice that he is talking about their “leg.” He is not saying that rational thought is useless. He is not objecting to the organized and even organic vision of reality that was expressed in Islamic philosophy, the home of logic and systematic rational discourse. Rather, he is criticizing those who think that analysis, investigation, rational argumentation, and scientific proofs provide a leg strong enough to reach the goal of human life.

The key issue for Rumi is “reaching the goal of human life.” Here we need to remember that he was speaking within the context of the Islamic tradition, for which that goal was clear, even though the language in which it was expressed could be quite diverse according to the school of thought. The Hellenizing philosophers, who are the great logicians and reasoners, had no basic disagreement with Rumi on the goal of life. B«b« Afial articulated the philosophical vision in a language that has little resemblance to any of the schools of Sufism, but he also agreed with Rumi, though he would have pointed out that poets have a right to a certain rhetorical excess. Indeed, a bit of that excess can be seen in some of B«b« Afial’s own quatrains.

⁵⁶ This is B«b« Afial’s treatise *J«vid«n-n«ma* (translated in Chittick, *Heart of Islamic Philosophy*). Mull« Âadr« called the Arabic version *Iksâr al-‘arifân*. For a discussion of the manner in which Sadr« modified and added to the text, see the introduction to my translation of *Iksâr al-‘arifân* in the Islamic Translation Series (Provo: Brigham Young University Press, forthcoming).

So, what is this “goal of human life”? All the Muslim philosophers—Bakr Afial perhaps most explicitly—held that it is to reach the perfection of what is humanly possible, a perfection that stands beyond ordinary experience and awareness just as the sun stands beyond the moon. If Rumi objects to the philosophical expression of this goal, it is simply because, in his view, rational thought and careful logic cannot provide the energizing power to achieve it. Rational thinkers tend to get bogged down in honing their methodologies. Too often they maintain that human perfection cannot be achieved without the specific, rationalistic tools that they themselves have developed. Rumi replies that their methodology is no leg with which to climb mountains. He calls Ibn Sâna, the greatest of the early philosophers, “a donkey on ice.”⁵⁷ The only leg that can take the seeker to the top of the icy mountain of transcendence is the transforming fire of love.

What I want to stress here is that to say that the “leg” is unsteady is not to deny the truth of the worldview articulated and systematized by the philosophical tradition. The proof of this is that Rumi himself speaks for this worldview, though in a language transfigured by poetical imagery.

My foremost guide in the study of Rumi, Annemarie Schimmel, would criticize me here—as she has done in print and in friendly banter—for suggesting that Rumi considers intellect (*‘aql*) not only an important tool but even a necessary asset on the path to God. I reply that the proof lies in the numerous verses that Rumi devotes to achieving the fullness of intelligence. We cannot pretend that these verses become dead letters when other verses tell us to throw away our rational thinking. Moreover, the very fact that Rumi devotes many verses to playing down reason and playing up love indicates that intellectual understanding was a primary focus among his contemporaries and his own disciples. Rumi was no exception to the rule that Franz Rosenthal has enunciated in his fine study of the role of knowledge and rationality in Islamic civilization, *Knowledge Triumphant*. Rumi had no opposition to rational thought per se, as he tells us repeatedly. He simply wanted to insist that reason and intelligence cannot supply the energy needed to traverse the path to God.

⁵⁷ *Dâwn* (Furüzünfar edition), verse 35277.

Rumi clarifies the necessary role of rationality in several passages in which he compares intellect to the angel Gabriel, who guided the Prophet on the *mi'raj*. The Prophet could not have travelled up through the celestial spheres without Gabriel to show him the way. In Rumi's depiction, Gabriel in the outside world plays the same role as intellect in the inside world. Muhammad himself, the greatest of the prophets, needed Gabriel to guide him on the ascent to God. At the very least, this shows that everyone else need to have some understanding of the nature of things if they are to escape from egocentricity and short-sightedness.

I do not want to deny that Rumi considers love the most important factor in the path to God. Love alone is able to provide the energy that allows one to put the correct understanding of things into practice. Moreover, a point may be reached when love takes over completely. When Gabriel took Muhammad as far as the Lote Tree of the Far Boundary (*sidrat al-muntabiq*), he told him that he would have to ascend the rest of the way to God on his own. If Gabriel tried to accompany him, his wings would burn off.

In short, intellect and correct understanding of things can take the traveller only so far. However, the Lote Tree of the Far Boundary is very far indeed, because it marks the furthest reaches of creation, of understanding, and of everything that can be grasped by human awareness.

If Gabriel is needed for the Prophet to reach the Lote Tree, this means that intelligence and correct understanding are needed for seekers to reach the borderline between time and eternity. Only intellect, which is the divine light innate within each human being, makes possible the understanding that Ultimate Reality is one, and that everything other than God is a veil and an illusion. Nonetheless, the final steps into the unknowable depths of the Godhead can only take place on the leg of love. Not even intellectual vision, the highest sort of vision in the universe, can take the seeker into God's own presence.

One more point needs to be remembered in any discussion of intellect in Islamic texts. This is the distinction between what Rumi frequently calls *'aql-i juzwâ* and *'aql-i kullâ*, "partial intellect" and "universal intellect." Intellect, Rumi tells us, was created from the same light as the angels, but our own intellects are only partial, because they have become dimmed and obscured. Partial intellect is blind, because of the pride and self-interest of the human

ego, the *nafs*. It relies upon its own cleverness, not upon God. In this it takes after its mentor, who is Iblis. As his story in the Qur'an makes clear, Iblis is very much the self-reliant sort who thinks that he does not need help from anyone.

If seekers of God are to escape ignorance, delusion, and egocentricity, they must find the light of the universal intellect, which becomes embodied in the outside world as the angel Gabriel. It is Gabriel who brings God's revelations to the prophets in the first place, and it is he who guides them and their followers on the path that leads back to God. In the Islamic universe, Gabriel plays a central role both in revelation and in the spiritual journey, that is, both in the descent of wisdom from God and in the ascent of the human soul to God. Like other Muslims, Rumi understands this to mean that there is no way to God except by means of the prophets. There is no individualistic, do-it-yourself spirituality in Rumi's universe.

In short, Rumi holds that the search for knowledge and understanding plays a fundamental role in any search for God. However, we need to distinguish between two sorts of knowledge. For purposes of this discussion, I can label one of them "visionary" and the other "rational." Visionary knowledge is the illumination that comes directly from the universal intellect. Rational knowledge is the obscured light known as "partial intellect." There can be no ascent to God without visionary knowledge, and this is because such knowledge is identical with the divine light that is embodied in Gabriel, a light that is the source of wisdom and guidance on the path. As Rumi says,

Not every wing can fly across the ocean—

only knowledge directly from Him takes you to Him.⁵⁸

As for rational knowledge, it derives from the obscured light of the partial intellect. It acts more as a hindrance than as a help, because it is too deeply mired in the shortcomings of the individual ego. This is why Rumi constantly

⁵⁸ *Mathnawá* (Nicholson edition), book III, verse 125.

tells his readers to give up their individual attempts to understand things and to submit to the wisdom of the prophets and the saints.⁵⁹

* * *

Having suggested why, in Rumi's view, a proper understanding of things is utterly essential, let me focus on how proper understanding comes to be articulated. Each of the schools of Islamic thought has its own methodologies and concerns. A school like jurisprudence saw its task as delineating right activity, and a school like Kalam set out to defend Islamic dogma with rational arguments. I want to look, however, at the specific approaches to knowledge that were employed in the philosophical tradition, partly because it is only this discipline that dealt with issues that we nowadays recognize as "scientific," such as mathematics and astronomy. However, such sciences were always secondary concerns. The primary focus was to describe and explain the three fundamental domains of reality. These three domains are God, the universe, and the human soul. The discussion of these domains goes on in three sub-disciplines of philosophy, which we can call "metaphysics," "cosmology," and "psychology." Metaphysics deals with ultimate Reality, cosmology addresses the status of the universe from its beginning to its end, and psychology explains the origin and destiny of the human soul.

Here it needs to be remembered that all three of these disciplines have largely been abandoned in modern times. I do not mean that the words are not used, I mean that what goes by these names nowadays has little if anything to do with what was being discussed in Rumi's time, whether in the Islamic world or in the West (not to mention other civilizations). Modern philosophers, after all, have long been telling us that metaphysics is dead — along with God, of course. And, long before metaphysics disappeared as a serious concern of mainstream Western philosophy, most philosophers had

⁵⁹ Lest I be misunderstood, perhaps I need to repeat that, despite the necessity of visionary knowledge on the path to God, Rumi holds that love alone can deliver the prophets and saints not only from their rational and individual limitations, but also from the light of the universal intellect. The universal intellect may be the very radiance of God, but it is not identical with God.

abandoned traditional cosmology and psychology. Instead, they embraced the findings of various scientific disciplines.

So much is it true that traditional ideas on the cosmos and the soul have been abandoned that it has come to be part of popular wisdom that the current “scientific” status of cosmology and psychology has shown the falsity of the speculations of the pre-moderns. Nonetheless, these so-called “speculations” inform the intellectual vision that lies behind Rumi’s depiction of God, the universe, and the human soul.

Even in the best of contemporary scholarship on Rumi, there is often an assumption that his teachings about the universe and its intimate interrelationship with the human soul are window-dressing. The general picture drawn in the secondary literature and taken for granted in the many poetical translations is that we can ignore all the medieval ideas. After all, it is implied, not only have they been proven false by modern science, but also Rumi is speaking about love, not about systematic, rationalistic knowledge.

The net result of this attitude is that many if not most interpreters of Rumi have used his criticisms of rational knowledge to reject the whole body of metaphysical, cosmological, and psychological teachings that inform his vision of things. This might have had some justification if the interpreters were not themselves deeply rooted in a different view of the world, a view that is itself systematic and rationalistic and, at the same time, profoundly antagonistic to everything that Rumi held as self-evidently true. This alternative view of the world has been provided by the scientific learning and the scientific beliefs that inform modern culture. And, it just so happens that the modern world view is far less qualified than the medieval world view to prepare the ground for the transforming power of love.

One result of ignoring Rumi’s worldview is that many of his modern interpreters think that there is no contradiction between being a rational, scientific person in the modern sense and being “spiritual” in the sense that Rumi seems to mean. I think Rumi would reply that you cannot have one mental compartment for scientific knowledge, and another for love of God. The human spirit—also called the “human heart”—is a single reality, with no partitions. In order for the heart to open itself up to God, it must have a proper knowledge of what it is opening itself up to. You cannot love what

you do not know, and every knowledge of God is built on knowledge of the world and oneself. If we do not understand the world and ourselves as they are, we will not be able to know God. Without knowing God, we cannot love him. Modern, scientific knowledge cannot provide us with an understanding of things as they truly are, because it is rooted not in the universal intellect, but in the partial, obscured intellect.

In short, the heart needs to see things as they are, and this means that it must see things as Gabriel, the universal intellect, calls it to see them. Seeing things in terms of the cleverness of the partial intellect blocks the road of love. As Rumi puts it,

The partial intellect is a vulture, you poor wretch.

Its wings are tied up with carrion eating.

The intellect of the saints is like Gabriel's wing,

it flies, mile by mile, to the shadow of the Lote Tree.⁶⁰

In Rumi's view, and in the view of the Islamic wisdom tradition in general, the one light of intelligence cannot be divided. It can only be dimmed and obscured. The spiritual quest involves successive stages of climbing the ladder to God, an ascent that is prefigured in the Prophet's *mi'raj*. At each step on the ascending ladder, the light of the universal intellect, which is innate in every human being, is intensified. At the earliest stages, which are infancy and childhood, the intellectual light is hardly more than a potentiality. Rumi tells us that in actualising the innate light, one person is like a spark, another like a candle, another like a lamp, another like a star, another like the moon, and still another like the midday sun. Only the human selfhood that has actualised the blazing sun of noon can be said to be an "intellect" in the full and proper sense of the word. This noonday sun is embodied in Gabriel, and it has been fully actualised on the human level only by the prophets and some of the saints.

In Rumi's way of looking at things, intellect and angel are the internal and external manifestations of a single, unified reality. This single reality is God's

⁶⁰ *Mathnawá* VI 4138-39.

radiance, or God's spirit. In contrast, the ego—which is our normal, everyday self-awareness—partakes of the darkness that dominates over animal nature; or, even worse, it may be controlled by the rebellious fire that is embodied in Iblis. Our human situation represents the marriage of angelic light and animal darkness, or angel and devil. The purpose of life is to allow the angel to overcome the devil. In *Fâhi m« fâhi*, Rumi makes this point as follows:⁶¹

THE STATES OF HUMAN BEINGS ARE AS IF AN ANGEL'S WING WERE BROUGHT AND STUCK ON A DONKEY'S TAIL SO THAT PERHAPS THE DONKEY, THROUGH THE RADIANCE AND COMPANIONSHIP OF THE ANGEL, MAY ITSELF BECOME AN ANGEL. IT IS POSSIBLE FOR THE DONKEY TO BECOME THE SAME COLOR AS THE ANGEL.

So, here we have a cosmic game of “pin the tail on the donkey.” We are the donkeys. The human task is to see beyond asininity and find the angel's wing, and then to keep the wing firmly attached to the donkey. Gradually, with the help of the wing, human beings can be transformed into something like angels. Only then can they fly, stage by stage, to the heavens. When they become the same colour as the angel itself, they will have reached the top of the created realm. Then and then alone can love work its full miracle.

In this perspective—which is common to the Islamic wisdom tradition—spiritual transformation builds on the innate light of intelligence. Given that this vision of human psychology has long been ridiculed and rejected in the West, it is especially difficult to keep in mind that it underlies everything Rumi is saying. According to him, our only means to happiness and salvation lies in Gabriel's wing. As long as we insist on being asses, we will have no leg with which to climb the icy mountain of transcendence. We will never be able to reach the Lote Tree of the Far Boundary, much less move on further through the transformative fire of true love and encounter God himself.

As soon as we acknowledge that this is Rumi's view of human nature, it should not be difficult to guess how Rumi would react to the whole edifice of modern science and learning. He would see it as a grand monument to the donkey. It can be nothing else, because it is built on the accumulated light of a myriad partial intellects. No matter how many sparks you may gather together, you cannot reconstruct the blazing sun of noon.

⁶¹ *Fâhi mâ fîhi* (Furüz«nfar edition), p. 107.

The very fact that modern science and learning are constantly being partitioned into ever narrower specialties should be enough to alert us to the fact that it has little if anything to do with the unifying light of the universal intellect. Moreover, what are we to make of the unintelligibility of science as a whole? I do not mean simply that science is unintelligible to the general public. I mean that the vast majority of scientists and scholars have no real idea what is going on in other than their own narrow specialties. Even the best of scholars cannot have a genuine overview of the total situation. Those who try to do so have no authority to speak as scientists, because they have given up all the exact and precise knowledge that bestows upon modern learning its specificity and particularity.

In contrast, the metaphysics, cosmology, and psychology of the ancients and the medievals were in fact three subdivisions of one, unitary knowledge. The more one understood any of these disciplines, the more one understood the others as well. Each of them fed into a synthetic vision. If we can take the texts at their word, then we have to acknowledge that the synthetic vision of reality that needs to be achieved is simply the awareness of the nature of things, and that this awareness is innate to human intelligence.

One of the many theological arguments for the unitary consciousness found in the innermost depths of every human being is the Qur'anic idea that God taught Adam all the names (2:31). As Rumi puts it,

*The father of mankind, who is the lord of "He taught the names"
has hundreds of thousands of sciences in every vein.
The name of each thing, just as it is until its end,
was given to his spirit. . . .
Since Adam's eye saw with the pure light,
the spirit and mystery of each name was clear to him.*⁶²

* * *

Having suggested some of the difficulties connected with trying to understand Rumi in terms of modern learning, let me turn to the issue of understanding him in terms of the sciences of his own day. We know that Rumi considered the leg of reasoners to be wooden. Does this mean that in his view, the science and learning of the reasoners was invalid, illegitimate, and, in one word, "untrue"? I do not think so. From the many passages that

⁶² *Mathnawá*, I 1234-35, 1246.

Rumi devotes to the sciences, we can conclude that he accepted the learning of his day as a valid mode of seeing. However, he maintained that science and knowledge have a clear purpose, and that purpose is certainly *not* to keep us comfortable in our everyday life. Rather, the purpose of learning is to act as a support for the real business. The real business is love, and love is total dedication to God and nothing else. The sciences were true, because they provided an adequate picture of the world and the human soul. With that picture as guide, seekers can grasp the nature of the true object of love and devote one's energy to him.

In support of this reading, let me cite a passage from *Fâhi m« fâhi*. In it Rumi answers the concerns of certain people who are hesitating about entering the path to God, because they fear that all of their learning will come to nothing. He says,⁶³

These people who have studied or who are now studying imagine that if they keep on attending here, they will forget knowledge and abandon it. On the contrary, when they come here, all their sciences come to life. The sciences are all paintings. When they come to life, it is as if a lifeless body has come to life. The root of all these sciences is Up Yonder, but they have been transferred from the world without sounds and letters to the world of sounds and letters.⁶⁴

⁶³ *Fâhi m« fâhi*, p. 156. Those familiar with the history of Islamic thought will recognize in this passage a theme that is captured by the title of Ghazâlâ's most famous work, *Lâ'ay«' 'ulêm al-dân*, "Bringing to life the sciences of the religion." The *Lâ'ay«'*, however, deals only with the ritual and ethical teachings of Islam, not with the philosophical sciences such as metaphysics, cosmology, and psychology. Ghazâlâ tells us at the beginning of the work that it is concerned only with *mu'«makat* or "interactions," not *muk«shafat* or "unveilings," the realm of the philosophical sciences. The distinction between these two sorts of learning corresponds roughly with the distinction that is often made between the "intellectual" (*'uqlâ*) and the "transmitted" (*naqlâ*) sciences. For his part, Rëmâ breathes life into both sorts of learning.

⁶⁴ *Fâhi m« fâhi*, p. 156. Those familiar with the history of Islamic thought will recognize in this passage a theme that is captured by the title of Ghazâlâ's most famous work, *Lâ'ay«' 'ulêm al-dân*, "Bringing to life the sciences of the religion." The *Lâ'ay«'*, however, deals only with the ritual and ethical teachings of Islam, not with the philosophical sciences such as metaphysics, cosmology, and psychology. Ghazâlâ tells us at the beginning of the work that it is concerned only with *mu'«makat* or "interactions," not *muk«shafat* or "unveilings," the realm of the philosophical sciences. The distinction between these two sorts of learning corresponds

In this passage the word “knowledge” renders the Arabic *‘ilm*, and “sciences” renders *‘ilm-ha*, its Persian plural. A modern reader of this passage would typically assume that in Rumi’s view, there is no contradiction between love for God and science, because love gives spiritual life to all knowledge, and science is certainly knowledge. It would follow that the science and learning that we pick up from our schools, our universities, and the Sunday supplement can all be given spiritual life.

However, such a reading would be superficial, because it fails to take into account what Rumi means by *‘ilm*. I think I have said enough already to suggest that in Rumi’s view, our type of knowledge, which is based exclusively on the ingenuity and pretensions of the partial intellect, would not qualify as real knowledge. Rumi would consider the world that we have carved out for ourselves in our scientific and academic disciplines to be just like the apple that he describes in the *Mathnawâ*. That makes us the worms, happy in our belief that we know ever so much more than our poor benighted ancestors.

It might be replied that our universe is no apple, because it embraces a vastness undreamed of by the ancients or the medievals. But, no matter how big we think the apple is, its very divisibility and physicality make it tiny in comparison to the tree of the total universe and the gardener who planted and takes care of the tree. Moreover, our apple is even smaller than the partial intellect that sees it. After all, it is our own intelligence that has come up with this picture of the universe. We discovered the picture in ourselves, in precisely the place where we understood it. Our scientific cosmology is a painting that we draw in our own minds. What we are depicting is not the real universe, which, in Islamic terms, is “everything other than God,” but rather, something of our own immensity. It is myopic to think that the mathematical theories of modern cosmology have proven anything more than that human reasoning and mental ingenuity have enormous scope on the physical plane.

From Rumi’s point of view, no matter what the scope of the partial intellect, it cannot begin to understand the reality of the conscious,

roughly with the distinction that is often made between the “intellectual” (*‘aqlâ*) and the “transmitted” (*naqlâ*) sciences. For his part, Rûmî breathes life into both sorts of learning.

intelligent, and intelligible light that is shining in its own depths. It is this light, which knows and understands the names of all things, that gives scientists the rational power to cook up a picture of an infinitely vast universe. Rumi has many passages in which he reminds us of a basic point of the Islamic perspective: Intelligence and thought are not derivative of the body. On the contrary, the bodily realm and indeed the whole universe are epiphenomena of the universal intellect. Take, for example, these verses from the *Mathnawâ*:⁶⁵

*When a single thought comes into the open,
a hundred worlds are turned at once on their heads.*

*The sultan's body is one in form,
yet a hundred thousand soldiers run after it.*

*The shape and form of that pure king
are ruled by one hidden thought.*

**LOOK — ONE THOUGHT HAS SET CREATURES WITHOUT END
RUNNING ON THE LAND LIKE A FLOOD.**

*People see that thought as small,
but like a flood it swallowed the world and took it away.*

*You see that thought gives substance
to every activity in the world —*

*The houses, the castles, the cities,
the mountains, the plains, and the rivers.*

*The land and the sea, the sun and the spheres,
all live in thought like fish in the sea—*

⁶⁵ *Mathnawâ* II 1030-45.

*Why then, O blind fool, do you see
your body like Solomon and your thought like an ant?
To you, a mountain seems large—
thought is a mouse, the mountain's a wolf.
In your eyes the world is frightful and mighty—
you fear and tremble at clouds, thunder, and sky.
You stay secure and heedless from the world of thought.
Less than an donkey, you're an unaware stone.
Merely a painted picture, you have no share of intelligence
Without human traits, you're a young ass.
In ignorance you see the shadow as the object;
in your eyes, the object is a game and a trifle.
Wait—until the day when thought and imagination
spread their feathers and wings without veil!
You will see mountains become soft wool,
and this hot and cold earth will cease to exist.
You will see neither heaven, nor the stars, nor existence—
only the Living, Loving, One God.*

What then is Rumi talking about when he speaks of knowledge, and when he says that the sciences are paintings of what exists “Up Yonder”? By knowledge, he means the whole tradition of transmitted and intellectual learning that was studied among the Muslims. The transmitted learning goes back to the Qur’an and the sayings of Muhammad. The intellectual learning goes back to the same sources, but it also builds on the philosophy and

science of several other traditions, most prominently the Greek. Both the intellectual and transmitted learning are rooted in Gabriel's wing. Remember that in the Qur'anic view of things, God sent revelation to all peoples, which is to say Gabriel appeared among the ancients just as he appeared to Muhammad.

For Rumi, the worldview articulated by Islamic philosophy is true in its broad sweeps, even if he would surely object to some of its tenets. To say that a worldview is true is to say the picture it draws is an adequate representation of the objects that are found Up Yonder. "Up Yonder" is the world of the universal intellect, or the world of God's own omniscience. When Rumi speaks of bringing knowledge to life by awakening the spirit within, he means to say that, once the partial intellect is shaped by an adequate understanding of things, then and only then can the angel's wing lift the donkey beyond asininity. The donkey can itself be transmuted into angelic light and then carried into the infinite expanse of the true universe, which is the realm of luminosity, awareness, consciousness, and love.

* * *

One of the most common misinterpretations of Rumi's poetry is the claim that he believed in "evolution." As should be implicit in what I have already said, this is a misrepresentation both of evolution and of Rumi. However, let me make the reasons for this more explicit. In the process, I will call as witness the "wooden leg" of Báb Afial, Rumi's older contemporary.

First, I need to make completely clear that I am not saying that the word "evolution" is totally inappropriate to describe what Rumi is talking about. The concept of a growing, changing, and evolving soul infuses Rumi's writings and more generally the Qur'an, Islamic philosophy, and the Sufi tradition. However, if we want to understand the significance of this "evolution," we need to grasp what the representatives of the tradition were talking about, and we cannot do so without studying their teachings on the relevant issues. We cannot isolate a few passages from the large picture and then say that Rumi believed in evolution in some sort of Darwinian sense.

Once we look at the large picture, we quickly learn that the Islamic worldview sees evolution in the modern, scientific meanings as an absurdity.⁶⁶ Scientific evolutionism precludes the possibility of design. In

⁶⁶ The first objection that Muslim believers in evolution make to such a statement is typically of this sort: “God is all-powerful, so He could have used biological evolution to ‘knead Adam’s clay.’” First of all, this is an argument that assumes teleology and design, and these are anathema to all scientific theories of biological evolution. Even if we suppose that we can have design and still talk about “evolution,” we are left with serious theological difficulties. For example, the appeal to omnipotence neglects the fact that God has many other attributes as well, and these condition his omnipotence. God is not only omnipotent, he is also, for example, wise, which is to say that he exercises his power in an orderly, systematic, and intelligent way. Even though he is omnipotent, he does not have the power to do things in a stupid way (which is not to claim that we necessarily understand the wisdom of his acts). God never exercises his omnipotence like a capricious king, doing things for no reason other than to show his power. His way happens to be what has appeared in the universe. The universe, in Islamic thinking, includes the whole of creation, not just the physical realm. The whole of creation includes both the more real and the less real. The more real is the spiritual or the intelligible, and the less real is the sensory or the bodily (these are the two worlds that the Koran calls “heaven and earth” or “unseen and visible”).

Given that God does things in an orderly and wise fashion, he does not break his own laws (“miracles” break the laws of nature, not the laws of God). In the Islamic tradition, in which this sort of thinking was commonplace, it was self-evident that body is not independent of spirit, nor, with even greater reason, of God. The modern *Zeitgeist* has taught us to think that the body is the foundation, and that everything else is an epiphenomenon of the body. In this view, what primitive peoples and unscientific thinkers call “soul” and “spirit” can be explained by biology and neurochemistry. This “scientific” view of things is in fact a “scientistic” view, which is to say that it is simply a belief, because it cannot be proven empirically. The belief is reductionist, and it leaves us with the body as subsisting without “spirit,” which is like saying, in Islamic terms, that earth subsists without heaven. No, God created heaven and earth together, though they are not equal and they do not possess the same attributes and powers, nor do they perform the same functions. So also, when there is body, there is always spirit, even though, before the human spirit is blown into Adam’s clay, the spirits that govern the clay are called “angels.” Remember that it is the angels who brought the clay so that God could knead it, shape it, and employ it in creating Adam’s body. But there is no “human being” until the spirit is blown into the clay. Moreover, what are God’s “two hands” with which he created Adam? God does not have parts. His hands have often been taken as allusions to the spiritual and angelic forces that God uses as his intermediaries.

The flattened universe of modern science, which, at best, allows believing scientists to posit a God beyond the world, could never appeal to traditional Islamic thought. The reason for this is simply that such a universe ignores the intermediary realms that are always

contrast, the first principle of Islamic thought, *tawh ad*, or the assertion of God’s unity, demands design from beginning to end.

The principle of *tawh ad* has three interlocking implications. First, it means that everything comes from the One God, who is the omniscient and omnipotent source of the whole universe. Second, it means that everything is constantly, moment by moment and without cease, sustained, supported, guided, and controlled by the One God (as for the role of “free will” here, that is another discussion, and Rumi develops it in detail). Third, it means that every creature without exception is taken back to the One God. When Rumi and others talk about what has been labelled “evolution,” they are talking about the manner in which human beings return to God by making the best use of the gifts that they have been given.

This notion of the “return” to God (*ma‘ ad*), we need to remember, is the third principle of Islamic faith, after *tawh ad* and prophecy. The very concept of “return” demands that we begin by acknowledging that creation has come from God in the first place. In other words, every “evolution” demands a prior “devolution.” You cannot return somewhere unless you came from there in the first place.

For the Islamic worldview in general, understanding how we came into the world is just as important as understanding that we will soon be leaving. The Qur’an tells us repeatedly that God created all things and that he brings all things back to himself. Philosophers in particular have written elaborate treatises explaining how this coming and going works. This whole realm of

present throughout time and space. Two of these intermediary realms played major roles in Islamic thinking—the world of spirits and the world of images, located between spirits and bodies. Our scientific worldview is not able to think of anything remotely worthy of the name “spirit” except as altogether outside the universe (e.g., a Deist God) or as a phenomenon that occurs *after* the body. But the whole point of discussing the Origin along with the Return is to show that the body can be nothing but a sedimentation of the spirit. The spirit, or the intelligence, or the angel, comes first. Intelligence, awareness, spirit, and life precede the body. The orderly structure of the body and of the biological and neurochemical worlds simply manifests the intelligence of the spirit, which works wisely in all things. As Rumi puts it, the body is the “shadow of the shadow of the shadow of the spirit.” The body derives from the spirit, not the other way around. B akr Afial among others devotes a good deal of space to showing how this works.

ideas can be called “cosmology and psychology.” The usual label in Arabic is *al-mabda‘ wa ‘l-ma‘ad*, “the origin and the return,” which is the title of books by Ibn Sâna and Mullâ Âadrâ, among others.

The basic principle in all Islamic discussions of “evolution” is that the human soul needs to undergo a synthetic and unifying growth by which it can go back in happiness and wholeness to the divine, unitary realm from which it appeared in the first place. In coming into the world, human beings followed a trajectory that has left them in separation and dispersion. The very concept of “creation” demands the appearance of multiplicity from unity. However we go about explaining this appearance of multiplicity, the fact remains that when human beings first find themselves—that is, when they first become aware that they are aware—they see that they dwell in dispersion, separation, and ignorance.

All of the Islamic theoretical and practical teachings, and especially the Sufi and philosophical teachings, aim at overcoming the dispersion of the human self and bringing about collectedness, integration, and unity. The goal is to awaken the intelligent and intelligible light of God that the Qur’an calls the “spirit.” This is the same spirit that God blew into the clay of Adam when he created him. It is the divine light whereby Adam was taught all the names. It is the human *fiṣṣrah* or “original disposition,” created by God in his own image. It is the angel’s wing of intelligence and awareness pinned on the donkey of our bodily dispersion and ignorance.

Neither the philosophers nor many of the Sufis—certainly not Rumi—were content to speak of the growth, development, and evolution of the soul without explaining how the human self came to be dispersed in the first place. The fact of Adam’s fall and human forgetfulness was plain to everyone, and it was simply a matter of illustrating how this came about in cosmological and psychological terms—that is, in “scientific” terms—rather than in moral and ethical terms. The issue, in other words, is not simply that Adam “sinned” and then fell. Rather, the issue is the very structure of the cosmos, a structure that determines the situation of human beings in relation to God. Once we understand where we are actually situated, not only “existentially” but also “ontologically,” then we can understand that the “fall” is not just a “symbol.” It is an adequate expression of what actually happened when awareness became embodied as a result of the divine creative

act. It follows that, in order to articulate with rational exactitude the human situation in relation to the cosmos, we need to have recourse to the three interrelated disciplines of metaphysics, cosmology, and psychology.

One of the many distinctions between the Islamic idea of evolution and modern evolutionary biology is precisely that the Islamic texts always focus on the human soul, not the physical and biological organism. I am not suggesting that the body is unimportant, nor am I denying that what might be called an “evolutionary development” occurs in the bodily realm. I am simply saying that in the Islamic world view, the body can only be understood in terms of the soul, and the soul in turn must be understood in terms of the divine spirit, also known as the “universal intellect,” which was breathed into Adam’s clay. If we pretend that there is no such thing as the spirit, then we have no way to understand the significance of bodily growth and development. If we ignore the angel’s, then we are left only with the donkey. The net result will be what we have today—a multitude of practical sciences, each of which examines a specific aspect of human and cosmic embodiment without any awareness of the whole. The goals of these sciences are defined and determined by the obscurity of the partial intellect, not the light of the universal intellect. In Rumi’s terms, these sciences can only be vultures, because they can see nothing that is not body, and they can do nothing but tear its flesh to pieces. As Allama Iqbal put it, “[T]he various natural sciences are like so many vultures falling on the dead body of Nature, and each running away with a piece of its flesh.”⁶⁷

Let me now seek some help in interpreting Rumi’s evolutionary psychology from B«b« Afial. He devotes a good deal of space in some of his treatises to the elucidation of the Origin and the Return, that is, the manner in which the world appears from God and then goes back to God by the same route. His theoretical discussion of “devolution and evolution” clarifies several points that can easily be missed if Rumi is read out of context. Two of these are especially important.⁶⁸

⁶⁷ *The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam* (Lahore: Iqbal Academy, 1986), p. 34.

⁶⁸ I am not forgetting that long before R«mâ and B«b« Afial, many philosophers, Greek and Muslim, had discussed the devolution and evolution of the human soul and had also remarked on the repercussions of these two trajectories in the bodily realm. But with B«b« Afial we have an earlier contemporary of Rumi who is completely explicit on these issues.

First is that the stages of evolution correspond with the stages of devolution. In other words, the return to God is a gradual ascent on a ladder whose steps mark the increasing unification and intensification of the spiritual and intellectual light. This can only happen because human beings came into this world in the first place by successive degrees of darkening and obscuration, and this was a descent from intelligence, into soulish or psychic reality, and then into the visible realm. The integrative movement of the Return to God is the reversal of the dispersive movement of creation. The detailed explanation of the descent into matter makes up the basic subject matter of what I have been calling “cosmology.” Rumi often alludes to this descent. In one verse, for example, he writes,⁶⁹

*Attractions like this have pulled us from the city of the Spirit,
one hundred thousand waystations to this perishing world.*

A second point that B«b« Afial makes completely explicit is that the “evolution” of the soul occurs within the lifetime of each individual human being. There is no question of an “evolution of species.” God creates the creatures in their places, but the human microcosm embraces within itself all the modalities of created being in the universe. This means that every human being embraces inanimate, plant, and animal qualities. Moreover, these qualities appear in stages, the earliest of which are found in the womb, where we are dealing with a substance that is, for all practical purposes, “inanimate.” Then vegetal qualities appear. Only after birth do animal characteristics gradually make themselves fully manifest.

Once human beings begin the process of actualizing qualities and characteristics that are specifically human and not animal, they are faced with the task of becoming fully human. Only by becoming human in the full sense of the word can they go back to God in total equilibrium and harmony, because only as full human beings do they actualize the universal intellect, which is the divine spirit blown into their clay. This means that people have many more stages of the journey to traverse. It also means that different individuals reach different degrees of spiritual “evolution” in the course of

For his teachings on these issues, see “evolution” in the index of my *Heart of Islamic Philosophy*.

⁶⁹ *Dāwan* 2217. For many of the passages in which Rumi discusses the devolution and evolution of the soul, see Chittick, *The Sufi Path of Love: The Spiritual Teachings of Rumi* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1983), pp. 72-82.

their lives. The degree to which people become truly human depends on the degree to which their souls achieve perfection.

Once we understand this from B«b« Afial and other Muslim philosophers, then it becomes easy to grasp the meaning of the following passage from the *Mathnawá*, which is one of several well-known examples of Rumi's "evolutionary" teachings:⁷⁰

*Why should it be surprising that the spirit's homes,
which used to be its dwellings and its birthplaces,
Are not remembered now? This world, like a dream,
has hidden everything, like clouds concealing the stars.
After all, the spirit has walked through so many cities
and the dust has not yet cleared from its perception. . . .
It came first into the realm of the minerals,
and from there it fell in among the plants.
For years it lived among the plants,
remembering nothing of the mineral state because of strife.
When it left the plants and fell in among the animals,
it remembered nothing of the state of plants,
Save only its inclination towards them,
especially at the time of spring and fragrant herbs. . . .
Then that Creator whom you know
kept on pulling it from animality toward humanity.
Thus did it pass from realm to realm,
and now it is intelligent, knowing, and strong.
It does not remember its first intellects,
and it will also be transmuted from its present intellect.
When it is freed from this intellect full of avarice and seeking
then it will see hundreds of thousands of marvelous intellects. . . .
Again it will be pulled from sleep to wakefulness
and then it will laugh at its former state.
"What was that grief that I suffered when asleep
when I had forgotten the actual situation?
"I did not know that all grief and affliction
were the work of dreaming, deception, and imagination.*

⁷⁰ *Mathnawá* IV 3632 ff.

To sum up B«b« Afial's significance for our understanding of Rumi, let me say that he offers a systematic cosmology and psychology, both rooted in a clearly articulated ontology and metaphysics. The picture he draws was more or less standard in the philosophical and Sufi traditions, but it was rarely spelled out with such simplicity and clarity. With B«b« Afial's theoretical teachings in the background, it is clear that Rumi offers a poetical and enticing version of a well-known teaching. At best, it has only a superficial resemblance to evolution in any modern sense.

A BIOGRAPHICAL NOTE ON IBN BAJJAH (AVEMPACE) AND AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION OF HIS ANNOTATIONS TO

AL-FARABI'S *ISAGOGE*

Dr. M. Ismail Marcinkowski*

*“The first important point to note about the spirit of Muslim culture [...] is that for purposes of knowledge, it fixes its gaze on the concrete, the finite. It is further clear that the birth of the method of observation and experiment in Islam was due not to a compromise with Greek thought but to a prolonged intellectual warfare with it.”*⁷¹

Iqbal

Ibn B«jjah and his Times

Ibn B«jjah, with full name Ab« Bakr MuÁammad b. YaÁy« b. al-Á«igh al-Tujábâ al-Andalusâ al-SaraqusÇâ⁷² and known to Latin medieval Europe as

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⁷¹ Sir Muhammad Iqbal, *The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam* (Lahore: Sh. Muhammad Ashraf, 1999 [reprint]), p. 131.

⁷² The information on the life and works of Ibn B«jjah given in this assignment are based on D. M. Dunlop, “Ibn B«jjah”, *Encyclopedia of Islam*, new edition [henceforth *EI*²], vol. 3 (1986) pp. 728-29. Dunlop’s article contains also an invaluable bibliography. The perhaps most comprehensive introduction into the civilization of Islamic Spain in English is Salma Khadra Jayyusi (ed.), *The Legacy of Muslim Spain* (Leiden, New York and Cologne: E. J. Brill, 1992, Handbuch der Orientalistik, 1. Abteilung, 12. Band). See therein in particular on Ibn B«jjah Miguel Cruz Hernández, “Islamic Thought in the Iberian Peninsula”, pp. 787-88. Refer also to the short account on Ibn B«jjah in S. M. Imamuddin, *Muslim Spain 711-1492 A.D. A Sociological Study*, p. 153. See also Claude Cahen, *Der Islam I. Von den Ursprüngen bis zu den Anfängen des Osmanenreiches* (Frankfurt am Main: Fischer Taschenbuchverlag, 1980, Fischer Weltgeschichte, vol. 14), pp. 234 and 308-11. More detailed is Montgomery Watt and Pierre

Avempace, originated from the northern Spanish city of Saragossa (SaraqusÇah)⁷³ or its environs. His ancestors had probably been of local Spanish descent. Not many details about his youth, which he may have spent in the area of his hometown, and his educational background are known to us today. However, Ibn B«jjah was perhaps about twenty years old toward the end of the fifth/eleventh century.

Cachia, *A History of Islamic Spain* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1979, paperback edition, Islamic Surveys 4), pp. 91-102. .

⁷³ In 503/1110 Saragossa was conquered by the Almoravids (*al-Mur«biÇ«n*), who, coming from North-West Africa, had crossed the Straits of Gibraltar, in order to put an end to the political fragmentation of Spain at those days. Spain, or as it had been called throughout the Muslim sources, *al-Andalus*, had been ruled by the so-called 'Party Kings' (Spanish: *Reyes de Tajfas*; Arabic: *Mul«k al-Çaw«'ij*) after the final collapse of the Umayyad regime in 422/1031⁷³. The absence of any kind of central government tempted in the following decades neighbouring northern Spanish Christian states, Castilia, Leon and Aragon in particular, to attack the Muslims in the South in the course of that what was perceived by them as 'reconquest' (*reconquista*). The Muslims had not been able to unite themselves in order to repulse the aggressors.

With his crossing over the Straits of Gibraltar in 479/1086 at the head of a large army the Almoravid Y«suf b. T"shuf«n, himself of Berber descent, brought temporal relief to the Muslims of al-Andalus.⁷³ After sweeping away the *Tajfas* he was in the same year in the position to crush the army of King Alfonso VI of Leon and Castilia in an open field battle at Zalk«qah near Badajoz. However, the Muslim victory was not meant to last. Difficulties in Morocco forced the Almoravids to turn their attention away from the Iberian Peninsula with the result of the loss of Saragossa, Ibn B«jjah's hometown, to the Christian kingdom of Arag«n in 512/1118.

In 503/1110 the Almoravids had with Ibn T«falw«Ç installed a governor at Saragossa, whom they had chosen from among themselves, removing thus the dynasty of the H«dids from that city. Ibn B«jjah became Ibn T«falw«Ç's vizier. His new lord sent him on a diplomatic mission to 'Im«d al-Dawlah b. H«d, who had managed to maintain his rule after the despite the Almoravid onslaught, residing now as an exile in the city of Rueda de Jal«n (R«Çah). 'Im«d al-Dawlah threw his former subject into prison, disregarding thus Ibn B«jjah's rank as an envoy. Although Ibn B«jjah managed to regain his freedom he decided not return to Saragossa. Instead he went to Valencia (Balansiyah), where he was reached by the news of Ibn T«falw«Ç's death. As already mentioned, his home town fell to the Christians in the following year 512/1118. Facing the impossibility of return to Saragossa, he embarked on a travel across Spain. He was again arrested, now by the Almoravids. In spite of his release from prison his restless life continued until he finally passed away in the North African city of Fez (F«s) in 533/1139.

IBN BĀJJĀH'S MAIN WORKS AND HIS ANNOTATIONS ON AL-FĀRĀBĀ'S *ISAGOGE*

Among Ibn Bājjāh's most important philosophical works are the *Risālat al-Wad'* (The Letter of Farewell), the *Risālat al-Ittiḥād al-'Aql bi 'l-Insān* (Treatise of the Union of the Intellect with Man) and, above all, his *Tadbār al-Mutawaḥḥid* (The Rule of the Solitary), all of which had been edited and translated into Spanish by the late Spanish scholar Miguel Asín Palacios⁷⁴, one of the leading experts on Ibn Bājjāh. The original texts of Ibn Bājjāh's works are today for the most part only extant in unique manuscripts.⁷⁵ A discussion of Ibn Bājjāh's philosophical system, which was influenced by the thought of al-Fārabī (d. 339/950),⁷⁶ is beyond the scope of this brief biographical note⁷⁷, but it should be mentioned that most of his works focussed on the question of the possibility of the arrival at the Ultimate Truth by way of the human intellect.⁷⁸ Ibn Khaldūn (d. 809/1406), the well-known 'philosopher of

⁷⁴ Miguel Asín Palacios, "La 'Carta de Adiós' de Avempace," *Al-Andalus* 8 (1943), pp. 1-87; idem, "Tratado de Avempace sobre la unión del intelecto con el hombre," *Al-Andalus* 7 (1942), pp. 1-47; idem, *El Regimen del Solitario por Avempace* (Madrid and Granada: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, Instituto Miguel Asín, 1946). The last mentioned work had not been available to me. Refer also to D. M. Dunlop, "Ibn Bājjāh's *Tadbār al-mutawaḥḥid* (Rule of the Solitary)," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (1945), pp. 61-81, and furthermore idem, "The *Dāwān* attributed to Ibn Bājjāh (Avempace)," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 14 (1952), pp. 463-77.

⁷⁵ Dunlop, "Ibn Bājjāh", p. 728.

⁷⁶ On influences on Ibn Bājjāh's political philosophy from the part of al-Fārabī see Abū Naḥr al-Fārabī, *Fuḥūl al-Madanā. Aphorisms of the Statesman*, ed., trans. D. M. Dunlop (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1961), p. 19 (Dunlop's intro.), and for a sketch of the contributions made by al-Fārabī furthermore R. Walzer, "al-Fārabī" *EI*², vol. 2 (1983), pp. 778-81.

⁷⁷ See M. Āghār Ḥusain al-Maḥmūd, "Avempace - the Great Philosopher of al-Andalus", *Islamic Culture* 36 (January 1962), pp. 35-53 and *Islamic Culture* 36 (April 1962), pp. 85-101; D. M. Dunlop, "Philosophical predecessors and contemporaries of Ibn Bājjāh," *Islamic Quarterly* 2, no. 2, (July 1955), pp. 100-16; W. Montgomery Watt, *Islamic Philosophy and Theology* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1979, revised paperback edition, Islamic Surveys 1), pp. 137-38 and 144. On his political philosophy see E. I. J. Rosenthal, "The Place of Politics in the Philosophy of Ibn Bājjāh," *Islamic Culture* 25 (1951), pp. 187-211.

⁷⁸ Dunlop, "Ibn Bājjāh", p. 728.

history’, found in his *Muqaddimah* or ‘Introduction [to History]’ the following words of praise for Ibn Bǫjjah:⁷⁹

Abë NaÄr al-F««bâ and Abë ‘Alâ Ibn Sâ« (Avicenna) in the East, and Judge Abë ‘l-Walâd b. Rushd (Averros) and the wazâr Abë Bakr MuAammad b. YaÁy«” b. al-Â‘igh (Avempace) [i.e. Ibn Bǫjjah] in Spain, were among the greatest Muslim philosophers, and there were others who reached the limit in the intellectual sciences. The men mentioned enjoy especial fame and prestige.

As an example from Ibn Bǫjjah’s work, we would like to present to a wider audience in the following an English translation of his *Annotations to the Isagoge or the Goal of the Isagoge* (*Ta’lâq ‘al« ‘l-Ïsǫgâjâ aw Gharâi Ïsǫgâjâ*), one of his writings this field of formal logic (*al-manÇiq al-Äërä*).⁸⁰ It had so far not been translated into any European language. The *Annotations* are a commentary on one of the works of al-F««bâ in this field, which is in turn a reconsideration of the introduction to that science given by Porphyry (fl. 232-between 301-306 C.E.).⁸¹ Al-F««bâ’s text, the *Kitâb Ïsǫgâjâ aw al-Madkhal* (*The Book of the Isagoge or the Introduction*), had been edited and translated by D. M. Dunlop.⁸² While comparing both texts with each other, the reader will soon notice that Ibn Bǫjjah has quoted his master Abë NaÄr al-F««bâ at times almost literally. Edward W. Warren has translated Porphyry’s *Isagoge*, which set the patterns for the respective works in this field by al-F««bâ and

⁷⁹ [Abë Zayd ‘Abd al-RaÁ««n ibn MuÁammad ibn MuÁammad] Ibn Khaldën, *The Muqaddimah. An Introduction to History*, transl. Franz Rosenthal, ed., abr. N. J. Dawood (Princeton NJ: Princeton University Press, 1981, first impression), p. 374. The additions in the brackets are Rosenthal’s.

⁸⁰ For an introduction to the subject refer to R. Arnaldez, “ManÇiq,” *EI*², vol. 6 (1991), pp. 442-52.

⁸¹ Porphyry the Phoenician, *Isagoge*, trans. Edward W. Warren (Toronto: The Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1975). On Porphyry see *ibid.*, 9 (Warren’s intro.).

⁸² D. M. Dunlop, “Al-F««bâ’s Eisagoge,” *Islamic Quarterly* 3, no. 2 (July 1956), pp. 117-38. For editions of further writings of al-F««bâ in the field of logic (including English translation) refer to D. M. Dunlop, “al-F««bâ’s Introductory *Risâlah* on Logic,” *Islamic Quarterly* 3, no. 4 (January 1957), pp. 224-35, and *idem*, “al-F««bâ’s Introductory Sections on Logic,” *Islamic Quarterly* 2, no. 4 (December 1955), pp. 264-82. The last mentioned was, together with al-F««bâ’s *Isagoge*, one of the patterns for Ibn Bǫjjah’s *Annotations*. See also Mubahat Türker, “F««bâ’nin bazı Mantik Eserleri,” *Ankara Dil ve Tarih-Coğrafya Fakültesi Dergisi* 16 (1958), pp. 165-286, especially pp. 187-94.

The significance of Porphyry's modest *Isagoge* is determined largely by the controversy over universals that arose during the Middle Ages and by the metaphysics developed with the aid of Aristotelian logic. The *Isagoge* is not an original contribution to metaphysics or logic nor is it intended to be. Rather it is an introduction to, an attempted explanation of, the Aristotelian terms, later called predicables. His purpose was to help the student understand the Aristotelian text by making clear the meanings of genus, species, difference, property and accident. Aristotle discusses the predicables in detail in the *Topics*, a largely early work according to current scholarship, and it is on this Aristotelian treatise, that Porphyry builds the *Isagoge*.

While studying Ibn B«jjah's text it will thus prove very helpful to compare it with al-F««bâ's text, the *Kit«b ʿÿs«gâjâ aw al-Madkhal*, and, above all, with Porphyry's *Isagoge*. Porphyry's brief work might be felt to be the clearest formulation of the subject-matter.

The edition of the original Arabic text of Ibn B«jjah's *Annotations*, which is preserved in a manuscript at the Escorial⁸⁴ and on which the following English translation is based, had been prepared by the late Iranian scholar Professor MuÁammad Taqâ D«nishpazhêh.⁸⁵ In the text of the following

⁸³ Porphyry, *Isagoge* (trans. Edward W. Warren), pp. 11 (Warren's intro.).

⁸⁴ Escorial MS 612. See Hartwig Derenbourg, *Les Manuscrits arabes de l'Escorial, Publications de l'École des Langues orientales vivantes*, II^e série, vol. X (Paris, 1884), pp. 419-23. Confer Miguel Casir (ed.), *Bibliotheca Arabico-Hispana Escorialensis. Recensio et explanatio Michaelis Casiri*, 2 vols. (Osnabrück: Biblio Verlag, 1969, facsimile reprint of the edition of 1760-70). The work of Ibn B«jjah concerned with here is dealt with in vol. 1, p. 179, no. 612. The compiler of the catalogue described it in his brief Latin note as a text in kufic writing, without mentioned year of compilation and the beginning of the text missing ("...codex literis cuphicus exaratus, sine anni nota et operis initio...").

⁸⁵ MuÁammad Taqâ D«nishpazhêh (ed.), "*Ta'lâq 'al« ʿl-ʿÿs«gâjâ aw Gharâi ʿÿs«gâjâ*", *Al-Mantiqiyat li ʿl-F««bâ*, ed. idem, 3 vols. (Qumm: Maktabah-yi jyatullkh al-ʿUim« al-Mar'ashâ al-Najafâ, 1410 lunar/1989), vol. 3 ("Al-ShurêÁ 'al« al-NuÄêÄ al-ManÇiqiyyah"), pp. 40-51. For obituaries see Charles-Henri de Fouchécour, "Mohammad Taqi Danêche-Pajouh, membre d'honneur de la Société Asiatique (1911-1996)," *Journal Asiatique* 285, no. 1 (1997), pp. 23-30, and [anon.] *ʿÿron-N«mah* 15, no. 1 (Winter 1375 solar/1997), p. 164.

translation square brackets [] indicate additions from my part, whereas other brackets {} signify the beginning of a new page in Professor D«nishpazhëh's edition. The following English translation tries to follow closely the Arabic original.⁸⁶

An English Translation of Ibn B«jjah's Annotations on al-F«r«bâ's *Isagoge* (*Ta'lâq 'al« 1-Ïs«gâjâ aw Gharâf Ïs«gâjâ*)

“Abë NaÄr's [i.e. al-F«r«bâ's] aim with regard to the *Isagoge* has already been stated by his saying: “Its intention [lies] in this book, [i.e.] the *Book of the Enumeration of Things*,⁸⁷ which deals with judgements (*al-qa«yab*) and their subdivisions. The benefit of the *Book of the Isagoge* is derived from the *Book* [or: chapter] *of the Categories* (*al-maqël«t*) on imagination (*al-taÄawwur*), and from the remainder of the book [which deals with] the setting of judgements. The item of the relation of imagination to the categories does include that, what [al-F«r«bâ] has enumerated in the *Book of the Isagoge*. [Therein] he has elaborated [further] on imagination. All judgements are in general made up by them.⁸⁸ He presented in the *Book of the Isagoge* that, from which in general all judgements are conceived. At the beginning of his deliberation on the *Isagoge* he discussed the universal concept (*al-taÄawwur al-kullâ*) in any respect. From it the five predicables (*al-aÄanf al-khamsah*) are derived, which are the subject of the *Isagoge*. The benefit that is obtained from the conception of each of the two⁸⁹ is magnificent. Firstly, he proceeds to the mind (*al-dhibn*) in its capacity as genus (*al-jins*). [In his book] are sections on each of the five predicables which are extant due to the categories in the mind.

⁸⁶ The following works have also been consulted during the translation: Najm al-Dân al-K«tib al-Qazwânâ, “Matn al-Shamsâyyah”, in: *ShurëÄ al-Shamsâyyah: Majmëat Äaw«shâ wa ta'lâq«t. Al-juz' al-tbanâ* (Cairo: Sharikat Shams al-Mashriq, n. d.), pp. 287-309 [Arabic text], and A. Sprenger (trans.), “First Appendix to the Dictionary of the Technical Terms Used in the Sciences of the Mussalmans, Containing the Logic of the Arabians in the Original Arabic, with an English Translation” (Calcutta: F. Carberry, Bengal Military Orphan Press, 1854, Asiatic Society of Bengal, Bibliotheca Indica no. 88), pp. 1-36 [English translation of Najm al-Dân al-K«tib al-Qazwânâ's *Al-Ris«lat al-Shamsâyyah*].

⁸⁷ *Kit«b LÄÄ«' al-Asby«'*.

⁸⁸ i.e. the categories.

⁸⁹ I.e., the universal concept and the five predicables.

The [following] statement is the starting point [of his discussion]: “Literally, the application of the specification (*al-takhāḍ*) of the vague⁹⁰ is in most cases accepted, because of the nunnation of the noun, that is connected with it. It is permanently connected with the noun, which is pointing towards universal meaning (*al-maʿnā al-kullā*), in order to lead to it through specification of its meaning. This, nevertheless, is a vague specification”.

The specification, however, is an allotted quality (*al-ʿiḡāb*) that has been imposed upon the universal meaning. It is merely a vague quality on which one has always has to investigate further. [Al-Fḡrḡbā] proceeds [then] straightaway to the peculiar vagueness of this quality. As for the ‘notification’ {41} of its importance it is similar to the saying: “To put on arms for one reason or another”, [a saying,] in which is stupidity. Or as it is said: “When it becomes too troublesome, Zayd moves out”. This then, is what can be understood by ‘notification’. Its absurdity lies already in its quality. But [its quality] leads in general to the specification of the vague, in case [the quality] directs towards the quality of the peculiar (*al-ʿiḡāb al-takhāḍ*). But that quality is in need of explanation by things which elaborate further on the utterance, or it requires an explanation of things which had not yet become clear, in order to clarify them afterwards.

In this manner, Abē Naʿr has in the course of his discussion arrived at the explanation of the proven meaning (*al-maʿnā al-madlīl*) by way of its name, in accordance with his statement: “Every name (*al-ism*) has an expression (*al-lafī*).” He connects ‘*m*’ [i.e. ‘what’] with the word *lafī* and the word ‘*ism*’. The name is generally perceived by the meaning of the expression. In this way, any expression specifies that what is intended to be said on the meaning of the expression. [Because of] that it is said concerning the meaning, that it is generalized by the expressions, or that the expressions are more specific than it.

The definition (*ʿādd*) is always in accordance with the expression, which is equivalent to the meaning. The meaning [in turn], which we derive effectively or occasionally, will always be deduced by us from the expression which is equivalent to it and [thus] not in accordance with the more universal

⁹⁰ Or: the ambiguous.

or specific. Whenever the meaning of the definition is deduced in accordance with the general or specific meaning, error will occur in the understanding and interpretation of this meaning. The definition does [in that case] occur as that what is [actually] not the specific name of that meaning.

What has been presented by him here distinguishes between the equivalent expression and the general expression, which is not more general and not more specific. Often we do not understand the meaning of that what specifies it, because of its difficulty. We intend to understand that what is more specific or more general than it, in order to enhance its perception, including that what specifies or confines it. At that moment, it will be understood from its equivalent expression. Whenever we deduce from a meaning any [other] meaning, which we had confined or made effective or subjective, we are perceiving this meaning in accordance with the equivalent name, and not according to what is said to be the 'more general' or the 'more specific' [meaning].

From among the two topics, Abë NaÄr [al-F««bâ] has dealt thoroughly with that expression which is equivalent to the meaning. In this way, we are able to single out the universal definition (*al-Áadd al-kullâ*) and the individual definition (*al-Áadd al-mushtarak*). And from this we select in the same manner the common name (*al-ism al-mushtarak*). If a name is deduced from the meaning, the common name does share its familiarity. It even subdivides from this {42} the name that is on par with the intended meaning, in accordance with the definition.

That what had been deduced subjectively or objectively must be kept in mind by us. We are [usually] satisfied with the abstract meanings (*al-ma'«nâ*) of the expressions, through abstraction of the expression. We understand the meaning through its synonym and not through that what is more general or more specific than it. Furthermore, we do interpret the meaning by its equivalent name and not by that what is more general or specific. When the meaning is explained by an equal expression, the explanation of the name is equivalent, since the explanation and the expression are both equal to the meaning. Therefore, it is incumbent upon the explanation that it is on par with the equal expression.

It is necessary, that the illustration (*al-rasm*) of the universal meaning is in accordance with Abë NaÄr's statement, since he said: "To any meaning leads an expression, and it is either universal or individual". It is necessary for the definition of the universal meaning that it is a meaning which leads to an expression equal to it, being at the same time its definition. The universal meaning is depending on the expression on par with it. In this respect, the two do resemble each other strongly.

In the same way the individual definition has to be deduced. The individual depends on the expression that is equal to it. It is by no means possible that the two [individual definitions] are resembling each other. Often the individuals of accidents (*al-a'ra'iq*) are understood as addition to the name which is not equivalent to it. This is the case with the additional individuals, for which there do not exist equivalent names. If something else than the equivalent is deduced from its name and conveyed to an individual or individuals, similarity (*al-asbkal*) will occur, and it will be assumed that they are universals. This is the case with all additions: One of the additions multiplies in respect to the others, as in our utterance: "So-and-so and So-and-so and So-and-so are in this house". Our saying "in this house" is a quality of each of So-and-so and So-and-so and So-and-so. Or like our saying: "So-and-so and So-and-so and So-and-so are in front of Zayd" or "are the servants of Zayd". Therein, errors are to be detected. Therefore, we rephrase our statement: "In the house" and "in front of Zayd" are qualities. In more than one regard they bear the common name (*al-ism al-mushtarak*). Therefore, we adopt this attribution without its synonym to each of the attributions. The attribution of Zayd to the non-attribution of 'Umar to this house is precisely the same. It has been necessary, that {43} to each of those two attributions belongs an equivalent name. This had not been the case. It has been impossible to derive the expressions of each of them. This is, what has been understood from the attribution in regard to the species (*al-naw'*) of the attribution, but not from the individual of the attribution. A junction of the name has occurred.

Among this group, a designation of the individual is extant from among the names of origin. It is even surpassed by [other] attributions, such as the supreme generic attribution (*al-nisbat al-ajnas al-'aliyah*) or the intermediate generi (*al-ajnas al-mutawassiÇab*), the other species and their individuals. All of

those concurrences do appear in the expression. Therefore, all of them are to be attributed to a single thing outside the mind, as already mentioned. However, [this is] on the condition that one of the two additions is the cause of those attributions from outside the mind, such as ‘father’ as an individual. Both of them may also share the same individual agent (*al-fa‘il*), such as [in the utterance] “the two others”. [It may also be, that] the two individuals were the two agents of that attribution, such as “the one and the other”, if they both were individuals, and so on. To sum up: All things do attribute a single attribution to a single thing, if that single thing were to be individual, outside the mind. It is necessary, that there is between each of those things a connection, because there is that [particular] attribution extant to it. However, it is equalized in regard to what is attributed to it. In short: any accident (*al-‘ara‘i*) of an attribute or of something else does exist in the aforesaid individual, which is [thus] accidental individual. Therefore, whenever that accident is extant by itself conceptionally, it perceives in comparison with that individual [and with] nothing else. It constitutes a single imagination (*al-‘ahiyat*) and its character constitutes nothing else. It perceives only what is outside the essence (*al-dhāt*), and it does not know the essence [itself]. [The imagination] knows whatever thing is outside the essence. It perceives that, on which it had no information besides this and is [thus] accidental individual. The individual has already been split into parts. Each of them [in turn] is [also] individual. Those parts do relate each individual to another single individual. It assumes in regard to this individual attribution, that the [respective] individual originates from an attribution, which is common to it. That is as if you were to take an individual aspect of Zayd. We say [for example]: “This individual is Zayd. There are the hand and the foot of Zayd and others of his limbs.” Each of Zayd’s parts are individuals, as well as his entirety [constitutes an individual]. Therefore, any individual, that is perceived from his parts and attributed to him, is individual, and each of his parts is [as well] individual and is attributed to him.

{44} Likewise, all individuals are attributed to an individual in its entirety in regard to who is that individual, like [it is said,] that there exists an agent to them, similar to numerous buildings which are ascribed to a single agent, or similar to the existence of a single [particular] position to each extremity. In likewise manner, to numerous individuals is attributed that they are in a

particular house at the same time, such as numerous individuals during a fixed year. Or just like: “So-and-so was born in the year such-and-such and so-and-so was born in the same year”. This does include that what does effect the individuals. It is a vital point that all of them are individual qualities which are conveyed by the way of sharing expressions for numerous things. Abë NaÄr has [already] mentioned how many the single universal categories are in general. [Furthermore, he explained], what each of them [actually] is, and what their extent is in regard to the conception, that has been ascribed to each of them, since to some of them has been ascribed complete conception and to some [others] incomplete.

Know, that from them derives the setting of concepts and the setting of information data, which all of them share in universality, singularity, subjectivism and cognition, and that there does exist a predicate to them. [Al-F««bâ] said concerning their number, that they are five, which had [already] been enumerated many times by the ancients. It is a sectioning that is generally accepted, and in it is truth. He has already explained this in his *Book of Demonstration (Kit«b al-Burb«n)*.

If they are split in accordance with the well-known, we say that they are subjective. The subject [in turn] is divided into two parts: [the first one is] the subject that is antecedent the thing which is known, distinguished and interpreted by things, that are shaping it. [The second is the] subject that is posterior to [the thing] which is known, distinguished and interpreted by things that are not shaping it. But it does arrange them, and its arrangement subjectivity occurs. To each of these two subjective parts exists a general, a specific and an equivalent. There are six of those single universal categories. However, the part of the later [subject] is not equivalent to a thing, but is always either more general or more specific than it. This is *one* part. Thus, five [more] categories do remain.

Concerning the three predicables from among the anterior ones: the more specific is the genus and the more general is the species. The equivalent is the differentia. Concerning the three predicables from among the posterior ones: The more specific and the more general are accidents of which no equivalents do exist. Whenever equivalence to a thing does occur, it is specific, and the equivalent to the posterior is {45} the specific, except it

employs the more specific and the more general directly to the sharing of the name. In this case this sectioning is not enumerated.

Furthermore, he said: “What are those two?”, [referring] to the genus and the species, [treating] them together in one statement. That is to say that each of those two does not complete its conception without the other, since they are added, and between them exists a correlation. If we impose that correlation upon the more general it is commonly called genus. If it is imposed upon the more specific it is called species, since under this species there is [another] species. We do not imagine a species which is equivalent to the genus, but we always imagine something which is only a part of it or more specific. And since the genus and the species are considered to be in concurrence, there are definitions that cause each of them to be conceived as being in seclusion. Genus and species are [also] called absolute. He [al-Fârâbî] presents their definitions by stating: “The genus, in short, is more the general of the two universals. It befits to answer the question ‘what is it?’ The species is the more specific of the two”. The genus is also considered the supreme genus and the intermediate genus. In the same way the species is considered the posterior species and the intermediate species. He presented the definitions of each of the two isolated from each other in one single discussion. He included in it what is said [on them] in generalization, accomplishing it virtually. He stated: “They are single universals, contending [with each other] in general and in particular. Each of them seemingly complies with the question ‘what is this individual?’ It is general, and there is nothing more general than it. And it is specific, noting being more specific than it. The mediators between those two advance to the arrangement of the specifics of the general. The general leads eventually to that what is more general than it. The more general of each of the two is genus and the more specific is species”. He had thus given the definitions of the genus and the species in any respect. Then he stated: “The more general of them, to which no other general does exist, is the supreme genus”. By this, he has given the definition of the supreme genus, to which there is no species, that distinguishes it [further].

Furthermore, he said: “The most specific, to which there does not exist anything more specific, is the posterior species”. By this, he has presented the posterior species, to which there is no genus that distinguishes further.

{46} Then he stated: “Each of the means between them is genus and species. [It is] genus in comparison with the more specific below it, and [it is] species compared with the more general above.” By this he has presented all the definitions of the middle generi and species in extenso. He presented [also] the five meanings entirely in a single discussion in the utmost condensation and in the utmost completeness of concept. In this way, he has given the definition of the genus and the species in any respect, [as well as] the definition of the supreme genus, the posterior genus, the genus that does occur as species and [finally] the definition of the species, that does occur as genus.

You have to be aware that these five predicables had been taken as models by Abë NaÄr in his substantial discussion in order to facilitate their conception. He exposed and explained [them] in [this] essential utterance. All what he pointed out, rests on the patterns. Thus, it is necessary that you set out for the remaining categories. We [will] take examples from them concerning the category of quality (*al-kayfiyyah*) and one of its species.

[Let us take] warmth [as an example]. From among warmth is the [kind of] warmth, that occurs in the human body. We say, that a human is warm, either by natural warmth or by extraordinary warmth. Each of the two is a species under the warmth of human beings, and each of those two species is a genus which is subdivided - one arranged under the other. It is conveyed concerning the extraordinary warmth in the human [body], that is its intermediate genus which is divided into the division of the [four] humors (*al-akhlāḡ*). Each of the [kinds] of harmful warmth of the humours is in fact [further] subdivided according to its occasions, localities and detriments. In accordance with their state they are [additionally] subdivided until they reach the aforesaid fixed individuals. To each species of them belongs a genus, differentiae, properties and accidents.

Likewise [is the case] in respect with the remainder of the categories. In engineering - in regard to quantity - generi, species and accidents do exist. However, the accidents subjective to these things are more numerous than that what does exist in the sciences, the additions [found] in engineering in particular. It is necessary for you to know, that genus and differentia had been taken by Abë NaÄr as models and as illustration of his saying: “They complete the conception and make it known, since they are crucial”.

However, *generi* and *differentiae* (*al-fu'Äil*) had already been received and the reasons had been explained. Likewise is our saying concerning matter (*al-m«ddah*): “The statue is made of copper; {47} a pitcher [too] is [made] of copper”. [Or:] “Human beings consist of bones and flesh; a horse consists of flesh and bones [as well]”. The *differentia* does also exist in matter. Similar to our utterance: “Garments are made of wool, and there are other garments, that are made of cotton”.

The goal (*al-gh«yah*) may be *genus* to numerous thing, in case it is existent [in them] and originating from them. [This is] similar to nourishment, that is existent in many foodstuffs, from which one is nourished. Likewise, the *differentia* may be a goal, and this [occurs] in deed very often. It replaces the form (*al-Äerah*), whether it fashions the form or not. Some of the things do fashion their form and the goal of those forms. From among them are some, which fashion their goal, but not their form. This is in fact very often the case.

The agent, too, may be *genus* when different goals are attached to it, like our indispensable acts. Often the agent is used as *differentia*, like in our saying in regard to the wall: Its frame⁹¹ has been erected. It has been by a mason using stone, bricks or clay in order to bear the roof⁹. In this saying on the *differentiae* use has been made of the form, the agent and the goal. Concerning his statement on the *differentiae*: “It is the single universal, that separates [from itself] each of the partial species of its substance from the other species, which is in joint-ness with its *genus*”. The *differentia* is in regard to that, what deduces, a logical reception. The joint-ness perceives that, what is from among the species and its sharer in regard to *genus*. If a natural reception is deduced, its nature portrays from something else than what is perceived in its mind the joint-ness. The discussion has so far been about the single universal, which leads to the species, that is always solitary and its entirety.

He presented in this fashion also the definition of *genus* by the *genus*, which is emerging from his discussion, because of his saying: “*Genus* and *differentia* share in all, what each of them knows on the species, its essence and substance, though the *genus* knows of the species its substance, with

⁹¹ Or: fundament.

which it shares something else or the substance, by which it shares something else”. Out of this differentia two definitions for the genus do emerge: one of the two is the single universal, that knows from the species its essence and substance, with which it shares other [things]. {48} This is its definition with regard to its acceptance, that is recognized for the species. In this way joint-ness is perceived. It is characterized by that, what participates. The other definition is the single universal, that knows of the species its essence and substance by way of that, what shares with it something else. It perceives it and disregards any joint-ness. In this manner, it does arrive at the area of ambiguity,⁹² even if it were of a joint generic character.

On the first [definition] he said: “From the species its essence and substance are known, through the things, that we perceive jointly”. And on the second [he stated]: “From a species its essence and substance are known through a thing, whose state of affairs are joint”. On the first one he deduced two designations concerning the joint-ness with the meaning. From the second one he deduced the meaning intentionally, but from the circumstances it shares.

From that, what he said about the differentia two definitions do emerge: One of them is the single universal, that knows of the species its essence and substance, which it specifies. It perceives by itself the specification [as well]. He said [concerning this]: “By the thing, that we perceive selectively”. The second [definition] is concerning a thing, whose circumstances are specifying it, but not proceeding to the specification.

According to his statement, property (*al-ḵḵāḵ*) is the single universal, that is only a species in its entirety, being always from something other than from what it knows the essence and substance. By his statement he intended to say, that to a species does belong that species, to which there exists an equivalent accident, be it posterior or intermediate. By way of selection, then, it specifies from among the species that [particular] species, to which there does exist something from its accidents, that is equivalent to it.

According to his statement: “The accident equivalent to the species is the property”. The definition of property is in relation to the species, since it is

⁹² Or: vagueness.

always employed as distinction of the species, in regard to the particular equivalent to that species. The genus is divided by the property, too, as already mentioned. The property is extant in the species, whether the species are intermediate to its arrangement or posterior to it. The property is [also] extant in those generi, that are species. It is also property to that species, that is disposed to it. That means, it selects⁹³ by it from all the species, that generalize it, a genus. He stated: “Therefore, its definition is related to the species to which the property is equivalent”. Not called property is something, that is extant regarding a supreme genus, {49} since between the supreme genus and another supreme genus does not exist joint-ness. Therefore, that joint-ness is in need of something, that specifies it. For that reason, it supports the supreme genus from among the accident that, what equalizes them.

That accident is not called property, like the materialization of the category of substance from among the ten categories, the fixedness of the category of quantity, the stronger and the weaker [of the category of quality] and the equalization of cognition in regard to the objective of the addition, which is addition in truth. Similar to those accidents, the categories are shaped by us, which are supreme generi. Therefore, there does not exist anything, that rests on them, since they are supreme. Rather, it has been shaped by thing apart from it, [but] equivalent to it. Therefore, the category of addition joins the remainder of the categories of attribution in a firm participation of attribution. In them⁹⁴ those properties are kept, which are extant in the analogies to the supreme genus, from which the reflections and the definition ([here:] *al-ta'ráf*) do come. This does not bear resemblance to an acceptance of property besides the equivalence of the species. Except the equivalent accidents to the supreme generi were to be inside the properties, for they are not more general and nothing is more specific than them. [In that case] they do resemble the properties because of equivalence.

His statement on the definition of the accident is, that: “It is either more general or more specific”. By this he meant, that nothing is equivalent to the single existing, since all from among the accidents, that do exist equivalent to a single, are accidents. The term accident is employed by him specifically.

⁹³ Or: it selects.

⁹⁴ The attributions?

The accident is commonly hold to be equivalent accident and non-equivalent accident. In particular the non-equivalent is hold single existing. It is necessary for you to know, that the absolute accident is extant in the substance, and, in regard to the intelligibles of the accident, that they take the place of another from among them - either a category replaces another category or a category [replaces] an accident of property. In relation to another category it is accident.

In regard to the category of substance he explained, that the categories of the accident, that is extant in them, is either equivalent or non-equivalent. The category of substance has already singled out the nine categories which are extant in it and not extant in others, such as the category of location (*maq̣ilat 'al-ayn*) and the category of possession (*maq̣ilat 'labē*). Those two [categories] are not extant in essence, except in the category of substance (*maq̣ilat al-jawhar*). {50} In the category of quantity (*maq̣ilat al-kam*) the category of quality of quality category of quantity (*maq̣ilat al-kayf*) is extant at a great deal, such as [in the utterance] “one of the pair” and “the single”. Both are qualities in number. Or like the shape of three-dimensional bodies [on the one hand] and surfaces [on the other]. In it [i.e. category of quantity] the category of attribution is extant, such as in “the multiples” and “the portions”. The category of location conceives from the quantity that, what follows the its utterance in order to become affected. In the category of quantity the category of position (*maq̣ilat al-waī'*) is extant from among the categories of the accidents. In the category of attribution the remainder of the categories are extant as its constituents. To the remainder of the categories analogies do exist - such as “the son” and “the father” in regard to substance, “double” and “specimen” regarding quantity, “the intenser” and “the weaker” concerning quality and “the above” and “the below” in regard with location - if the two do occupy the two extremes of the [respective category].

The accident is employed regarding the distinctions of the generi and the species. Often it is used concerning the predicables of the species. We say, for instance, on the Nubians, that they are those, whose skins are black and who are living in such-and such place. They are [thus] distinguished by three categories, i.e. the category of possession, the category of quality and the category of location into common accidents, from among which that is

gathered, what equalizes them. This does resemble the distinction of the individuals by more general and more specific accidents and by what is above them. Likewise, we are saying: “Zayd is the white one, who does wear [a black] garment, [being himself] at the right side of So-and-so”. Three categories are distinguished by this. It is if to a subject were something the equivalent to three of the attributes to the category, even, if it singles out from what is equal to it in regard to that place, besides who is in it. It separates from the remainder of the characteristic saying, that, what does not exist in the definition or descriptions.

His statement concerning the triangle is, that its angles are equivalent to two right angles. He said: “It is the property of the triangle”. This brings forth a property to what has been said above, [namely] that it is in truth like that. Therefore, the equivalence of the two angles to two right angles is extant in others than triangles for angles, that are both existing at two sides of its lines. Moreover, it is also property to other [geometrical] figures. In the same way, the equivalence of the angles of quadrangles to four right angles is with regard to non-quadrangles extant in those angles with two intersecting straight lines.⁹⁵ [Concerning] the remainder of the figures [he stated, that] the equivalence of their angles, amounting to that what it is equivalent to them from among the right angles, is property in truth. {51} This is similar to what we are saying about the pentagon. Its angles are equal to six right angles. And in regard to the hexagon: [Its angles are equal] to eight right angles. And concerning heptagons: [Its angles are equal] to ten right angles. Likewise [will be the case] with all figures continuously. The [number of the] angles of all figures is in comparison with the previous ones exceeding about the equivalent of two right angles. Therefore, any figure does extend in comparison with the previous one about the shape of a triangle. Consequently, all of them are divided into triangles, however they [actually] may be shaped.

Any figure - supposed you were to place a spot in its middle at any place of the centre - and furthermore if you were to draw from that spot lines in the direction of the borders of each side of the angle - would be portioned by triangles in accordance with the number of sides. Whenever you multiply the number of the [triangle's] sides (*al-aîl*«) with any number to which the

⁹⁵ Translation not certain.

triangle is equal [?] from among the right angles, four combined [?] right angles will be subtracted from the sum⁹⁶ (*mijtama*) around the point. The remainder would then be a quantity (*adad*) of what the angles of that figure constitute from among the right angles.”⁹⁷

⁹⁶ Or: addition (?)

⁹⁷ Translation of this paragraph not certain.

THE AUTHENTICITY OF TRADITIONS: A CRITIQUE OF JOSEPH SCHACHT'S ARGUMENT E SILENTIO

Dr. Zafar Ishaq Ansari

One of the major theses which has gained general acceptance among Western scholars of early Islam is that the traditions (*aĀdāth*) from the Prophet (peace be on him) or from his Companions belong, on the whole, to a period considerably later than that to which they are ascribed. These traditions, it is claimed, arose as a cumulative result of attributing doctrines (in fact arrived at by individual reasoning), via a chain of authorities all the way to the Prophet and his Companions. The obvious motive for doing this on the part of different persons or schools was to gain an authoritative character for their respective doctrines. Put in plain terms, this thesis claims that the corpus of traditions from the Prophet is largely the product of a large-scale, pious forgery.

I

The trend of questioning, and in fact denying the authenticity of traditions was already evident during the second half of the nineteenth century in the works of prominent Western scholars such as William Muir, Aloys Sprenger, Alfred von Kremer and Theodore Noeldeke.⁹⁸ It was, however, in the writings of Ignaz Goldziher, (whose second volume of *Muhammedanische Studien* is devoted to a critical study of *Āadāth*), that this trend found its first most sustained and vigorous expression. Goldziher's main argument was that the traditions reflect the attitudes and viewpoints obtaining in the second and third Islamic centuries and have little to ten about the early part of the first century to which they allegedly belong. This argument instantly, gained a

⁹⁸ See this writer's "The Early Development of Islamic Fiqh in Kēfah with Special Reference to the Works of Abē Yēsuf and Shayb«nā", Ph.D. thesis, (Typescript), Institute of Islamic Studies, McGill University, Montreal, 1966, pp. 193 f. with relevant notes (cited hereafter as Ansari, "Early Development"). For a study of the growth of a sceptical attitude to *aĀdāth* among Muslims see G. H. A. Juynboll, *The Authenticity of the Tradition Literature: Discussions in Modern Egypt*, Leiden. 1969.

wide acceptance among the Western scholars of Islam, and has since remained with them as an established thesis.⁹⁹

After Goldziher a number of Western scholars have used the traditions extensively as a source material in their studies on the early centuries of Islam. Among them two stand out very prominently: A.J. Wensinck and Joseph Schacht. Wensinck used the traditions with a theological bearing to study the development of Islamic theology and adopted broadly the same approach as Goldziher's.¹⁰⁰ Schacht, on the other hand, concerned himself with the "origins" of Muslim jurisprudence and hence considered the role of the traditions in the development of Muslim law— in the development of both substantive doctrines and of legal theory. He not only confirmed Goldziher's essential thesis but went considerably beyond him. He claimed that the tracing of traditions back to the Prophet was developed very late in Islam; that a considerable number of legal traditions from the Prophet were "put into circulation" after circa 150 A. H. which, according to him, marks the beginning of the "literary" period of *Āadāth* transmission. Schacht's scepticism was even more rigorous than Goldziher's. This would be evident from the "methodical rule", which, according to Schacht, follows from Goldziher's results. Schacht has expressed this in the following words:¹⁰¹

⁹⁹ There are some notable exceptions, the most outstanding of whom is Nabia Abbott. In her Chicago, 1967 she has *Studies in Arabic Literary Papyri 4 II: Qur'anic Commentary and Tradition*, marshalled over whelming evidence to show the highly exaggerated character, even falsity of the above-mentioned hypothesis. In other studies which, for a variety of reasons have seriously questioned the thesis especially Fūat Sezgin, *Geschichte des Arabischen Schrifttums*, Vol. I, Leiden. For a brief assessment of the significance of the works of these two scholars see C. J. Adams "Islamic Religious Tradition", in L. Binder, ed., *The Study of the Middle East*, New York, London, Sydney and Toronto, 1976, pp. 66–69. A very significant work, which essentially follows the trend of Goldziher and Schacht, has appeared lately. See G. H. A. Juynboll, *Muslim Tradition: Studies in Chronology, Provenance and Authorship of Early Āadāth*, Cambridge, London, New York, 1983.

¹⁰⁰ For more recent studies on the early history of Islamic theology and the use of *Āadāth* materials in them see Josef van Ess, especially *Zwischen Āadāth und Theologie: Studien zurn Entstebten pradistinatianischer Uber lieferung*, Berlin and New York, 1975. See also the recent work of Michael Cook, *Early Muslim Dogma: A Source Critical Study*, Cambridge and New York, 1981.

¹⁰¹ Joseph Schacht, *The Origins of Muhammadan Jurisprudence*, III impression (Oxford, 1959). p. 149. Cited hereafter as *Origins*.

... every legal tradition from the Prophet, until the contrary is proved, must be taken not as an authentic or essentially authentic, even if, slightly obscured, statement valid for his time or the time of the Companions, but as the fictitious expression of a legal doctrine formulated at a later date.

This was Schacht's position in *Origins* that appeared in 1950. Fourteen years later when *Introduction* came out, he appears to have moved to a position which seems even more pronouncedly extreme: "Hardly any of these traditions, as far as matters of religious law are concerned, can be considered authentic¹⁰²

Schacht has frequently used the argument *e silentio* to show the non-existence of many traditions in the early period of Islam. This argument, in his own words, consists of the following:¹⁰³

The best way of proving that a tradition did not exist at a certain time is to show that it was not used as a legal argument in a discussion which would have made reference to it imperative, if it had existed... This kind of conclusion is furthermore made safe by Tr. VIII, 11, where Shayb«nâ says: "Thing is so unless the Medinese can produce a tradition in support of their doctrine, but they have none, or they would have produced it." We may safely assume that the legal traditions with which we are concerned

¹⁰² Joseph Schacht, *An Introduction to Islamic Law*, (London, 1964), p. 34. Cited hereafter as Introduction.

¹⁰³ *Origins*, pp. 140 f. For an example cited by Schacht himself which seems to contradict one of the assumptions on which his argument is based, see *Origins*, p. 142 under the heading, "Traditions originating between Auz«â and M«dik". Here Schacht notes the need for "caution in the use of the argument *e silentio*", though he frequently disregards it.

It is noteworthy that Schacht himself often uses works of a later period as sources for the doctrines prevailing during the first and the second centuries. This would seem to be in flagrant violation of the canons he enunciates (*ibid.*, pp. 140 f.). Schacht cites an argument of Shayb«nâ in favour of a doctrine of his school, for instance, on the basis of a late fifth century work viz., Sarakhsâ (d. circa 483 A.H.), *Mabs«Ç*, and observes that Shayb«nâ "develops the argument in a masterly way and introduces a judicious distinction; this seems to be the argument that Shayb«nâ did really use". (*Origins*, p. 271). Again, an alleged doctrine of the early second century is referred on the basis of 'Iyâ (d. 544 A.H.) quoted in Zurq«nâ Commentary of *MuwaÇÇa'*, (*ibid.*, pp. 107 f.). For other instances see *ibid.*, pp. 273 and 303, and often.

were quoted as arguments by those whose doctrine they were intended to support, as soon as they were put into circulation.

In his actual resort to this argument, however, Schacht is not consistently mindful of his own restrictive stipulation, viz., “that a tradition would be deemed non-existent at a certain time if it was not used *as* an argument in a discussion which would have made reference to it imperative.”¹⁰⁴ His slipshod resort to this argument would seem to suggest that the Muslim scholars of the second and third centuries were in a perpetual state of “discussion”, an assumption which is patently unacceptable to common sense.

The present paper is not concerned with the question of the authenticity of traditions, nor with Schacht’s views on that question as such. Rather it is addressed exclusively to Schacht’s *e silentio* argument on which he mainly bases his case for the non-authenticity of traditions.

II

Even a casual reading of the *Origins* makes it evident that Schacht’s “methodical rule” and his line of argumentation are highly sweeping. It would seem altogether unreasonable to claim validity for Schacht’s argument unless we were to make the following assumptions:

- 1) that during the first two centuries of Islam whenever legal doctrines were recorded, their supporting arguments, especially the traditions, were also consistently mentioned;
- 2) THAT THE TRADITIONS KNOWN TO A JURIST (OR TRADITIONIST) WOULD NECESSARILY HAVE BEEN KNOWN TO ALL THE OTHER JURISTS (AND TRADITIONISTS) OF HIS TIME;**
- 3) that all the traditions which were “in circulation” at a particular period of time were duly recorded, were widely publicised and were subsequently preserved so that if we fail to find a tradition in the works of a known scholar that is tantamount to its non-existence in his time – in his own region as well as elsewhere in the realm of Islam.

¹⁰⁴ *Origins*, p. 271.

None of these assumptions can be corroborated by historical evidence. In fact, it can be positively shown that they do not cohere with the known facts of the period concerned.

The earliest works embodying traditions which have come down to us were composed around the middle of the second century and subsequently.¹⁰⁵ The composition of these works was motivated by a complex of factors. One of these was the desire to record the doctrines followed by the scholar's predecessors, especially the generally accepted doctrines of his school. It was for this reason that often it was deemed sufficient to record the doctrines of one's school, without necessarily recording alongside in support of those doctrines, traditions from the Prophet or Companions.¹⁰⁶

It is well known that many doctrines derived from the Qur'an were recorded in these writings without any reference to the relevant Qur'anic verses.¹⁰⁷ There is ample evidence to show that this was equally true in regard to traditions. There is a great number of instances where a jurist recorded the doctrine of his school on a legal question but did not care to cite the tradition which was relevant to, and/or was supportive of his doctrine, even though it can be incontrovertibly shown that he knew that tradition.¹⁰⁸ Indeed, it would

¹⁰⁵ According to Schacht, the literary period of Islamic legal history begins around the year A. H. 150. (See Joseph Schacht, "Pre-Islamic Background and Early Development of Jurisprudence", *Law in the Middle East*, ed. M. Khadduri and J. Liebesney, Washington, D.C., 1959, vol. I, p. 50). Margoliouth's view seems to be substantially the same. (See D.S. Margoliouth, *The Early Development of Mohammedanism*, London, 1914, pp. 39 f.). In our own view while the composition of books began earlier, hardly any of those books is extant. Moreover, the earlier collections were generally small and fragmentary. As more comprehensive collections appeared, the earlier works gradually became superfluous, began to fall into disuse, and in course of time disappeared. For the early period of traditions see Fütat Sezgin, *Geschichte des Arabischen Schrifttums*, *op. cit.*, and Abbot, *op. Cit.* See also M. M. Azami, *Studies in Early Ādāth Literature*, Beirut, 1968.

¹⁰⁶ See Ansari, "Early Development", pp. 62 ff., 218 ff., and 225 ff.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 192, and chapter 4, n. 51.

¹⁰⁸ See, for instance, Abë Yësuf, *K. al-ÿthor*, (Cairo, 1355), 1048 and compare it with Shaybæ'nâ's *ÿthor Shaybænâ*, (Karachi, circa 1960), 878 which shows that a certain doctrine which was recorded by Abë Yësuf as a tradition from the Prophet and transmitted by lbrkhâm, was recorded by Shaybæ'nâ in his *ÿthor* as the doctrine of lbrkhâm, without referring to any tradition from the Prophet. (Hereafter cited as *ÿthor A.Y.* and *ÿthor Sh.* respectively. Numbers refer to traditions rather than pages). In the same way in Abë Yësuf, *Iktilaf Abâ*

be interesting to explore the traditions found in the earlier works but not found in later works. This *would* mean working on the reverse of Schacht's assumption, and would, we may presume, produce quite startling results. We carried this out on a limited scale and found it of considerable significance. For if it can be shown— and in our view it can— that a large number of traditions found in earlier works are not found in works of a later period, let alone in contemporaneous works, and that the jurists of the period under discussion often felt themselves under no obligation to cite the many traditions which were known to them, even those that supported their doctrines, the ground of Schacht's argument is seriously put in doubt. In the following pages we have essayed a comparative study of a fair assortment of legal doctrines of some second century jurists to illustrate the inadequacy of Schacht's assumptions.

We would start *our* study by comparing the two Muwaḥḥaṣ, viz., those of Mālik and Shaybānī. Mālik's Muwaḥḥaṣ', as we know, is a repertory of the legal doctrines of the Medinese school and also a major early collection of *al-Āḍāth*. Mālik (b. circa 95 A.H.), the founder of the Mālikī school, was considerably older than Shaybānī (b. 132 A.H.). Shaybānī, who belonged to the legal school of Abū Ānāfah (d. 150 A.H.), prepared an edition of Mālik's Muwaḥḥaṣ'. Besides incorporating the opinions expressed, and the traditions recorded by Mālik, Shaybānī's edition also presents the variant doctrines of the author and his school, occasionally followed by traditions in support of those doctrines.

A large number of traditions found in the Muwaḥḥaṣ' of Mālik are not to be found in the Muwaḥḥaṣ' of Shaybānī and this in spite of the fact that Shaybānī was the younger of the two.¹⁰⁹ What is even more curious is that

Ānāfah wa Ibn Abī Laylā, Cairo, 1358, 116 (cited hereafter as V. 1, and cited according to its paragraph-division, for which see *Origins*, pp. 321 f.). Abū Ānāfah's disciple Abū Yūsuf mentions a certain tradition from the Prophet while *ythar* A.Y., 738 mentions it only as a doctrine of Abū Ānāfa. Abū Yūsuf, *K. al-Kharāj*, (Cairo, 1352), p. 91 reproduces a tradition from the Prophet with *isnad* on the question of *muḥarrā'a* cited by Ibn Abī Laylā, but Th I, 51 which records the doctrines of Ibn Abī Laylā (a doctrine with which Abū Yūsuf agrees), mentions the same tradition but without its *isnad*.

¹⁰⁹ It might be contended that the comparison between the two *Muwaḥḥaṣ* and the kind of conclusion we are drawing from it are not justified. The main reason for it is that the *Muwaḥḥaṣ'* of Mālik in fact signifies the edition of the work prepared by Ya'qūb b. Ya'qūb

occasionally the traditions of M«dik’s MuwaÇÇa’ [*Mum.*] which are supportive of the doctrines of Shayb«nâ’s school are not found in his Shayb«nâ’s MuwaÇÇa’ [*Mum. Sb.*]. The following will illustrate this.

- The section on timings of the prayers in *Mum.* (pp. 3 ff.) contains in all 30 traditions, out of which only three have been mentioned in *Mum.Sb.* (pp. 42 ff.).

- On the question of the preferred time for morning prayer, the disagreement between the Kufans and the Medinese is well known. ‘The Medinese were in favour of performing the morning prayer when it was still dark, while the Kufans were of the view that prayer should preferably be held a little later when there was some light. *Mum. Sb.* (p. 42) mentions this doctrine of the Kufans. Strangely enough, Shayb«nâ makes no mention of a tradition from the Prophet which is found in *Mum.* (pp. 4 f.) and which supports the doctrine of his school.¹¹⁰

- On the question whether touching of the genital parts necessitates fresh ablution, there are six traditions in *Mum.* (pp. 42 f.) whereas *Mum.Sb.* (p. 50) has only two. The omitted traditions include one from the Prophet and another from Ibn ‘Urnar.

- On the question of *ghusl* owing to *jan«ba*, *Mum.* (pp. 44 L) has four traditions, out of which only one is found in *Mum. Sb.* (pp. 70 f.). The omitted traditions include two traditions from the Prophet.

- The Section entitled “Ghisl al-mar’« idh« ra’at fâ al-man«m...” in *Mum.* (pp. 51 L) has two traditions whereas *Mum. Sh.* (p.79) has only one. Of these, the latter work does not contain the tradition that has

al-Laythâ (d. 234). Thus, contrary to what we have done, the *Mum.* of M«dik should be treated as a later work than *Mum. Sb.*

In response to this, two points are to be made. First, that Schacht himself treats *Mum. Sb.* as the later work and draws certain conclusions on that ground. See *Origins*, p. 143. Second, were we to accept *Mum.* as the later work and then compare its traditions with those of *Mum. Sb.*, the results yielded by such a comparison would even more seriously undermine the foundations of Schacht’s methodology.

¹¹⁰ It is interesting to note that in Shayb«nâ, *K. al-‘Anjaj*, (Lucknow, 1888) (pp. 1 f.), where Shayb«nâ cited several traditions in support of the doctrines of his school, the above-mentioned tradition of *Mum.* has been cited. (The above-mentioned work is cited hereafter as *Anjaj*).

been recorded in *Muw.* (pp. 51 L) as a tradition from the Prophet with the *asnād*: Mḏlik - Umm Salina - Umm Sulaym, - the Prophet.

- The entire section entitled “*al-Wuḥūḥ min al-qubla*” in *Muw.* (pp. 43 f.), is not found in *Muw. Sh.*

- The whole section entitled “*al-ḥāḥir fā al-m*” “ (*Muw.* pp. 22 ff.) is not found in *Muw. Sh.*

- The sections on *-al-Bawl q*’*iman* “ and on “*al-Siw*” (pp. 64 ff.) are not found in *Muw. Sh.*

- The section “*al-Nid*’ *fā al-Āak*” (*Muw.* PP. 67 ff.), if compared with the corresponding section in *Muw. Sh.* (pp. 82 ff.), shows that several traditions of *Muw.* (viz, nos. 1, 3, 5, 6, 7, 9) are not found in *Muw. Sh.*

- The section entitled “*Kafan al-mayyit*”, (*Muw.*, pp. 223 f.) contains three traditions, of which *Muw. Sh.* (p. 162) has only one (no. 1 in *Muw.*), a tradition from ‘Abd Allḥ b. ‘Amr b. al-‘ys. Out of the two traditions which it does not contain, one reports the manner in which the Prophet was wrapped in the coffin.

- The section on “*Zak*’*t al-fiḤr*” in *Muw. Sh.* (p. 176) does not contain the tradition from Ibn ‘Umar found in *Muw.* (p.283).

- The traditions found in the sections of *Muw.* entitled “*Man k*’*tajīb ‘alayh zak*’*t al-fiḤr*” (p.285)” *Makālat zak*’*t al-fiḤr*” (p. 283), are not found at all in *Muw. Sh.*

- In the section on “*Isti’db*’*n al-bikr wa al-ayyim*” three traditions are found in *Muw.* (pp. 524 f.), while only one is found in *Muw. Sh.* (p. 239). The missing ones include a tradition from - the Prophet.¹¹¹

- The section on “*li*’*n*” in *Muw. Sh.* (p. 262) does not contain several traditions found in the corresponding section in *Muw.* (pp. 566 ff.).

- The section on the prohibited forms of the sale of dates in *Muw. Sh.* (pp. 330 L) contains only one out of the three traditions

¹¹¹ *The non-citation* of this tradition does not prove that Shaybḥnā was unaware of that tradition for he refers so to it in *Āujaj*, p. 289 with exactly the same *asnād* as found in *Muw.* and bases his doctrine on this very tradition. And this precisely is our point: that it is unjustified to assume that a scholar always cited the tradition that he knew, and even more so that the non-citation of a tradition by a scholar necessarily indicated its non-existence.

mentioned in *Muw.* (pp. 623 L), even though all three go back to the Prophet.

The same can be illustrated by comparing the works of Abë Yësuf and Shayb«nâ, particularly *jth«r A.Y.* and *jth«r Sh.* for a large number of traditions recorded in *jth«r A.Y.* are not found in *jth«r Sh.*, although the author of the former work was older.¹¹²

- *jth«r A.Y.*, 845 a tradition from Ibn Mas‘ëd on *mu‘«raba* is not found in *jth«r Sh.*
- *jth«r A.Y.* 830, a tradition from the Prophet regarding disagreement on price between the buyer and the seller is not found in *jth«r Sh.*
- *jth«r A. Y.*, 666, a tradition from ‘Umar found in the section on divorce and *‘idda* is not found in *jth«r Sh.*
- On the question of *nafaqa* and *sukna’*, *jth«r A. Y.* has several traditions, i.e. 592, 608, 726 and 728. These are not found in *jth«r Sh.*
- *jth«r A. Y.* 704, 707 709 which are related to *li‘«n* are not found in *jth«r Sh.*
- *jth«r A. Y.*, 492, 092, and 696 which deal with *ü«r* are not found in *jth«r Sh.*
- *jth«r A. Y.*, 857, a tradition from Silim on *muz«ra‘a*, is not found in *jth«r Sh.*
- *jth«r A.Y.*, 779 and 780 which refer to *far«‘ü* are not found in *jth«r Sh.*
- *jth«r A.Y.*, 399, 401, 597,607, etc., on miscellaneous subjects are not found in *jth«r Sh.*¹¹³

This shows that even though there is no reason to believe that Shayb«nâ did not know these traditions, his work does not record them - a fact which falsifies the assumption underlying the method followed by Schacht in his

¹¹² This was in spite of the fact that Shayb«nâ was younger than Abë Yësuf, who in fact was also his teacher. Moreover, Shayb«nâ edited the works of Abë Yësuf and himself composed works which were either based on or parallel to those of Abë Yësuf. Hence, if a considerable number of traditions which are mentioned by Abë Yësuf are not found in the parallel works of Shayb«nâ, it greatly undermines the validity of those assumptions (mentioned above p. 4) which alone can validate the *e silentio* argument of Schacht.

¹¹³ See Ansari, ‘Early Development’ chap. 4, nn. 115, 116 and 120.

attempt to establish the “growth of traditions.” In this connection the following possibilities, each one of which is plausible, have been altogether ignored.

1. That the person concerned might have heard and then forgotten the tradition in question;¹¹⁴
2. That he might have heard that tradition, but might not have considered it authentic;
3. That he might have known a tradition, but owing to the fact that not the entire quantity of traditions known to the jurists has come down-to-us, especially of the jurists of the relatively early period of Islam, there is no mention of those traditions in the works presently available to us, even though those traditions might once have existed.

To brush aside all these considerations and much evidence to the contrary and insist on an immoderate scepticism can hardly be considered worthy of mature historians.

¹¹⁴ For explicit mention of forgetting traditions, or their *isnad*, or of loss of books containing these traditions, and of not citing all the traditions that one knew, see *Kharǧ* p. 57, and al-Shaʿfiʿi, *Risāla*, ed. Ahmad Muhammad Shaʿkir, Cairo, 1940, p. 431. Shaʿfiʿi’s passage is all the more instructive. He mentions the following (1) there are several traditions which he has cited in his work as interrupted even though he had heard them as *muttaʿīl* and *masbūr*. He preferred, however, to mention them as interrupted traditions because of his lack of full memory. (2) He lost several of his works and so he had to get the traditions which he (still) remembered verified by scholars. (3) He omitted several traditions for fear of increasing the bulk of his work. He put forth what was enough, says Shaʿfiʿi, without attempting to record A that he knew. See Shaʿfiʿi, *K. al-Umm*, 7 vols., Bēlǧ, 1321-5, vol. IV, p. 177; vol. VI, pp. 3, and 172; and vol. VII, p. 4].

PRINCIPLES OF ISLAMIC ART

A TALK GIVEN BY

S. H. NASR

IN LAHORE, 1995

Text Transcribed by

Muhammad Subeyl Umar

Since I come from a land which, like the host country, is exceptionally rich in its artistic heritage and master pieces of Islamic art and which represent one of the most important branches of Islamic art, I would like to present a few points about religious art, focusing myself on Islamic art and referring to it as one of the greatest specimens of an art which draws its wisdom, world view and artistic inspiration from a specific religious tradition and its sapiential doctrines. I would express these points with reference to the very essence and nature of Islamic art and not particularly in reference to the art of a specific land but as it is in itself.

First of all, the question of Islamic art. It was a category not accepted until a few decades ago. The reason was that the western scholars judged all the other civilisations from the point of view of their own civilisation. Until the end of the Middle Ages all European art was Christian art. With the gradual weakening of Christianity and the rise of secularism the national borders began to emerge as the distinguishing features of art. Thus we witnessed the emergence of categories like Italian art, French art of the 18th century, the German art of the romantic period, American art of the 20th century and so on and so forth. Western scholars started looking at other things and other civilisations, including the Islamic, in a similar way. A whole subject, a separate discipline, developed that pertained to the study of art, considered as distinct from the making of art. Generally speaking, the study of art is a 19th century German invention. It was born of the 19th century German philosophical thought, which still carries with it its origin, and the ideas, which brought it about. When it came to be applied to the Islamic world, this way of looking at the art of the Islamic world tried to belittle as much as possible the Islamic character of Islamic art and attention was usually paid to regions. All the major collections and museums of the West had collections on Persian Art (it being the most famous and easily available),

Mughal art, Andalusian art etc. The category of Islamic art did not exist. Once in a while some one would write a book on Muhammadan Art. Even that was rare.

The idea that there should be a study of Islamic art and that it is really a distinct category of art was initiated with in the West, more than any one else, by the late Titus Burckhardt (Ibrāhām ʾIzz al-Dân)¹¹⁵ to whom we all owe the greatest debt in the understanding of Islamic Art. The event that really crystallised this was the festival of the world of Islam, in London, in 1976. It was the first time that Islamic Art was presented qua Islamic Art. It was objected at that time that the event did not include the regional titles i.e. Persian Art, Moroccan Art, Indian Art! It is true that regional arts exist but all of these are integrated into a larger worldview, which is that of the Islamic Art. All of the art produced in the Islamic world, from the rise of Islam to the time when, about 150 years ago, the Western Civilisation began to make its encroachment, was Islamic art. The fact that Islam didn't undergo the process of secularisation that began in the West during the renaissance should not make us forget the truth that every thing made by Islamic civilisation is Islamic Art. The West, on the other hand, had decided otherwise. That was its own prerogative and its own history and it is quite correct to say French Art or English art after the Middle Ages. But before the Middle Ages the situation of the West was very similar to that of the Islamic civilisation. One could distinguish between the Spanish art of the 13th century and the Irish art. The Book of Kelts is not like the illuminations of France. Never the less they all belonged to the Christian civilisation. Every body would accept the usage of "Christian Art" for that earlier period. The whole argument that we read in the newspapers by the modern secularist writers saying that since they use English painting, Italian architecture, etc. in the West, why can't we use this as well? This is because of two civilisations that have not followed the same path. If Islamic civilisation continues in this direction and becomes totally secularised which it has not, a Turkish painter would do something totally different from a Pakistani painter and we could talk of Turkish art, Pakistani art etc. Meanwhile much of which we see as Turkish art, Persian art, Mughal art are really specimens of Islamic art in the sense that they carry the ethos and principles of a particular revelation. This is not accidental. The term Islamic art does not mean art made by Muslims. For example there are buildings in every Islamic city, designed and built by Muslims that have absolutely nothing to do with Islamic art. It is because Islamic art is not to make a few domes here and attach a few arches there. Islamic art has its principles. This leads us to the question of the worldview that informs the various artistic and intellectual manifestations of different civilisations.

¹¹⁵ See M S Umar, "Titus Burckhardt" in *Iqbal Review*, Vol. 40, Nos. 3-4, 1999, pp. 123-146.

The type of art cultivated in every civilisation depends upon the structure of that religion which creates that civilisation. For example, in Islam and in the Far East, the art of calligraphy is central. Calligraphy (كُتُبُ) is central to Islamic art as it is to Chinese and Japanese art. But in two other great civilisations, the Hindu and the Western, it is very secondary. Writing Latin or Divanagari in artistic calligraphy is very secondary. In contrast Islam has never developed sculpture because of certain religious views. They treated painting in a very different manner as compared to the West. The central sacred art in Christianity is the depiction of the image of God-made-Man i.e. Christ which acted as the source for all Christian art and most of the modern art, which happens to be painting, is a de-sacralization of the Christian art of the Icon. In Islam, where the Divine never manifested Himself in a human form,¹¹⁶ this type of art can never be central. It is very essential to understand that even today when painting is so important in the West it has its historical reasons. Whereas other forms of art like calligraphy and architecture are so central to the Islamic World and not so to the modern and post-modern Western civilisation.

Another point that should be considered here is that the Turkish art or the Persian art or Mughal art that look different at the surface participate in the same language and the same spirit. The question must be asked; where does this come from? Many of our religious scholars who are supposed to be the guardians of the Islamic learning do not find it easy to provide an answer. The reason for that is twofold. First of all the sharâ'ah is the source of Islamic law, it is not the source of Islamic art. It tells us how to act. It doesn't tell us how to make, except by putting certain prohibitions on what not to make e.g. not to put a statue in front of a mosque or adorn the mosque with images. Islamic Law forbids that. But how do we go about doing art? That is not in the sharâ'ah. Many people looking in the sharâ'ah and not having found the principles of Islamic art have severed themselves

¹¹⁶ See Muslim, *Birr*, 115; Bukhārâ, *Isti'dbâ'n* 1. The hadâth is Bukhārâ says that “*k̄balaq All̄khu 'l-j̄ydama 'ak Ā'ëratihâ*” i. e. God created man in His form, meaning a reflection of Divine Names and Qualities. But the external human face is never considered to be similar to God. That is *kuf̄r* according to Islam.

The Prophet ﷺ referred to this peculiar characteristic of human beings when he repeated the famous saying found in the Bible — a saying that has also played an important role in Jewish and Christian understandings of what it means to be human — “God created Adam in his own image” *صورته على صورة الله* though we will employ “form” for “image,” in keeping with the Arabic text. Many authorities understand a similar meaning from the Qur'anic verse, “God taught Adam the name, all of them” (2:31). In effect, all things are present in human beings, because God taught them the names or realities of all things.

completely from the Islamic artistic tradition thus resulting, for example, in creating some of the most monstrous buildings; more monstrous than those of the colonial period. These are done by the Muslims on the basis that this is the art of our period.¹¹⁷

Let us ask ourselves a question about what is that has created the Qaraviyân Mosque, perhaps one of the most beautiful in the Islamic world or the Cordoba Mosque. Both are so similar yet so different. Both are so serene. You cannot go into a mosque without a feeling of peace and tranquillity that is a characteristic of Islamic architecture. It was brought about ultimately by the oral tradition which was handed down from master to student in every generation. It was not connected to the sharâ'ab but to the Aaqâqab which is the heart of the Qur'«n. Qur'«n is the origin of Islamic art, though not in an external sense. It is a great task for serious Muslim scholars to bring this out.

Some parts of this question are relatively easy to understand. The very rhythmic structure of the Qur'«n, when we talk about non-plastic arts, is the source of the phenomenon that every Muslim people, from Malaysia to the Arab world, have developed an exquisite art of poetry. English is very rich in poetry also. But is it accidental that in every Islamic country poetry plays a much more important role than it does in any Western country except Spain. It is because Spain was a part of d«r al-Isl«m for 800 years and all of the languages¹¹⁸ of that area were influenced by the cadence of Arabic. This is obvious. However there are other aspects that are much more subtle.

Why is it that all Islamic mosques are characterised by emptiness? Why is it that in Islamic architecture emptiness is fullness? Why is the role of the ground more important in the Islamic civilisation than any other civilisation except Japan? Why have they developed the art of carpets, which existed earlier but never had such an importance? It is because of the significance of the floor, the ground. Why is the floor of the ground significant? It is because ultimately the forehead of the Prophet touched the ground when he bowed before the Divine Throne. The daily prayers are performed on the ground. The ground is sanctified. One can give many examples because these are not merely accidental things. But let us mention that which is absolutely essential.

¹¹⁷ Billions of dollars have been taken by western architects to enjoy the gullibility of the Islamic world.

¹¹⁸ Latin, Provençal and even Catalin and Castillian. It is significant that Spanish has won practically no prize for physics or chemistry while having a large number of prizes in poetry and literature.

The principle, the truth of the Nature of Reality which dominates over Islamic art and the philosophy of beauty which governs it, comes directly from the Qur'ân and hadâth. It is, however, much too subtle to be seen externally. One of the reasons is that you don't have a book in Islam on the philosophy of beauty or how they did architecture? No body knows how the Badshahi Mosque or the Taj Mahal or Ispahan mosque was built. This tradition was handed over orally from generation to generation through the artistic guilds, those of chivalry, the brotherhood organisations that were ultimately connected to the Çarâqah or the esoteric path. What are these principles that have dominated over all forms of Islamic art from its beginning?

The first is tawââd, the doctrine of unity. All authentic Islamic art must reflect Divine Unity. There are consequences for that. First is that you must always have an integration of the form. There is a centre to it.⁵ Islamic art is always a cantered art. It has a centre from which it speaks-whether architecture, calligraphy, miniature, carpet weaving etc.-and that is a reflection of tawââd. One can extend this principle to great lengths, as it is the most important of all principles of Islamic art. It means to exclude from Islamic art all forms of idolatry.

Theologically idolatry means to make an idol or statue and say that it is God. This is only the external understanding of idolatry. But an understanding of Islamic art is always related to Sufism which tries to transcend the external forms to reach tawââd within, to understand the unity of creation. It is not accidental that every great calligrapher of Islamic lands is related to Sufism. Anyhow the first important principle i.e. tawââd works on many levels; of integration, of lack of alienation, of lack of tension between parts, integration of the psyche of the listener instead of dispersion etc. These are all the consequences of the principle of tawââd.

Second principle is that of Jamâl. Up till modern times all art took beauty into consideration. Modern art has developed the cult of ugliness, considering beauty to be trivial and unnecessary and even a luxury. The modern theoreticians of art considered that art should be related to utility and not to beauty. The Islamic perspective has been summarised in an important Âadâth that defines Islamic art in the whole of Islamic civilisation. "Allâhu Jamâalun yu'âibu 'l-jamâl" (God is beautified and He loves beauty). Beauty is reality, ugliness is unreality. To live in ugliness is to live in illusion, in unreality. This is in contrast to much of the modern art, which tries to discover the ugly, the evil and says that it

⁵ One is reminded here of the work of the famous Austrian art historian whose work *Art without a Center* which he criticized modern art.

is important, the good is not important. Much of the modern literature tries to bring out the filth in the depths of the souls of the human beings considering that to be the real and important and beauty and goodness to be irrelevant. Islamic art in all of its forms, from literature to painting, has a common goal. It seeks to bring out the beauty of things. God creates all things and they reflect the Divine Jam

*There is the famous saying, "In every thing there is a sign which bears witness to His Oneness." Islamic art tries to accentuate that aspect instead of hiding it. Jam is therefore *sina qua non*, absolutely essential condition of the creation of any form of art which is Islamic. It is proven by the fact that just a century and a half ago every thing in an Islamic city was marked by beauty, even the things of common daily use, from shoes, combs, cloth to kitchen utensils. That was one of the reasons why in Islam there is no distinction between fine arts and non-fine arts. This is a horrendous tragedy for the human species to have fine arts. It means that all of the rest of life is bereft of art and beauty. You do a few paintings and put these in a building that is to be visited for a few hours while the rest of life is devoid of art. In Islam such distinctions are totally irrelevant. There is also the distinction of major arts and minor arts in the West. The paintings of Michelangelo are one of the major arts and minor art is, for example, the bowl in which you have your soup. How many times you see Michelangelo and how often you use the bowl? This makes a lot of difference from the point of view of the human soul. Islam demolished that sort of an idea by stating that the art that is closer to the soul is the most important and that at every level of art there should be a sense of beauty.*

*Thirdly, there is the un-iconic character of the Islamic art. In many civilisations art flows from the representation of the Divinity. Examples of the Christian or Hindu art could be cited in this regard. All Christian art is dominated by the image of Christ. On the other hand, un-iconic art means an art that refuses to depict the divine in a direct form. It excludes a statue or an image that represents divinity. The reason for it is the emphasis of Islam upon *taw* on the highest level. It is not a religion based upon the manifestation of divinity like the Hindu avatars or Christ who, in a sense, is the Abrahamic avatar since for the Christians he represents the descent, the incarnation of the Divinity. Islam places itself on the position of the Divinity Itself, the pure Divinity, the Absolute Reality which cannot descend in the world of forms or it would no longer be the Absolute. You cannot have a direct form or image of Allah. That is why Islamic art is characterised by an attempt to bring the Sacred into the world without representing the Divinity directly.*

When we go into a Hindu temple or a Christian Church, the central thing that attracts your attention is a painting, statue or image that in the direct representation of the Divine

presence. In Islam when you enter a mosque the presence that characterises it is that of emptiness. The lack of any point to be taken as the centre of divine presence. Every thing points to the Divine presence without an object, a stone, a painting, a wood cut image etc. This one single fact creates the completely different consequences in Islamic art, in architecture, city planning etc. Its concentration upon al-Áad is the secret of the richness of mathematical designs in Islamic art. This un-ionic nature of Islamic art is also the very origin of the incredible development of geometry and arabesque because the geometric form, which represents symmetry and not asymmetry, always comes to a centre. Look at the traditional Islamic arch. We have two of these, the Persian and the Maghribi. They always point to a centre. That is why Islamic art does not include asymmetrical gardens or buildings. In Islamic the forms of geometry represented for us the celestial. That is why Islamic philosophy could absorb the Pythagorean idea of mathematics so easily since it was a kind of Abrahamic overflow into the Greek world. Geometry and mathematics represent the intelligible world, the archetypes upon which God created the physical world in which we live. We may not dwell on this point but to emphasise that the use of geometric designs and mathematical patterns is there not for ornamentation only. They remind us of God, of the centre, the Divine centre that is always present and it is a proof or a demonstration of the famous verse of the Qur'án "where ever you turn there is the face of God". Islamic art, in fact, is the application of this verse because in the traditional Islamic civilisation "where ever you turn there is the face of God". You could not run away from it.

The next principle of Islamic art is what we can term as "Realism". It is not as defined by the modern British empiricists. It is used here in the older philosophical sense, "to remain true to the nature of reality". Islamic art tried to avoid fooling itself and its audience i.e. making something appear something that it is not hence the avoidance of three dimensionality. Islamic mathematics had developed perfectly the possibility of creating three dimensionality in art but it never did. Mughal art, Persian art, Turkish art i.e. the three great miniature arts of the Islamic world were always two dimensional and as soon as three dimensionality came into India through Dutch painters that was the swan song of the great Mughal miniatures. Same was the case in Persia, though it came later. The paper is two-dimensional. To make it appear three-dimensional is to fool your selves. That is to be unfaithful to the nature of the material with which you worked. Same is true for stone, brick, stucco whatever you are working with. The thing should be as it is. The great Gothic cathedrals of Europe are among the greatest examples of sacred art. When we go into a good cathedral e.g. the Notredame of Paris, your head goes up because the whole construction is to pull you towards heaven. It is as if the stones are moving towards heavens. The stone is heavy. In the Islamic context this is going against the nature of the stone.

Islam does not try to do that. As soon as you enter a truly great mosque you find the centre right here. The stone does not try to fly. The flying buttresses and flying stones cannot occur in Islamic art.

The original Islamic art is always realistic. It tries to remain faithful to the subject with which it deals and to understand the nature of the material with which it works. It was the same principle, which prevented Islam, and to understand the nature of the material with which it works. It was the same principle that prevented Islam from developing naturalism. In Islamic art realism is totally opposed to naturalism. Naturalism was avoided by Islamic art precisely because naturalism tries to make a thing appear what it is not. It draws a horse which is exactly like the horse in the street but it is not that horse. Naturalistic art came into the Islamic art as a result of the influence of the European art that destroys this relationship. If you draw a horse that is exactly like a horse what does it add to reality? This was banned in Islam. Not painting but naturalistic painting was banned by the Aādāth that spoke of the punishment of the painters on the Day of Judgement.

Islam is not opposed to painting. It is opposed to the image of the Divinity. It is opposed to naturalism. In the most beautiful Persian miniatures of the Safavid period, which were the peak of this branch of Islamic art, the horses do not look like the horses in the stables. What is the artist doing here? He is really painting the Spiritual world, paradisaical world. He is not painting the world of nature and need not claim to be naturalistic. The only time Muslim painters were allowed to paint naturalistically was for scientific purposes i.e. to depict a particular stone for books on the subject or to depict the body for the books on medicine and anatomy. That was allowed. Out of it the artist was not supposed to be naturalistic because naturalistic art is to try to play the role of God, and as is well known, Islam has never allowed man to claim the nature of Divinity for himself.

The Titanic, Promethean character of man appeared in Europe after renaissance. Its example can be seen in the Michelangelo's statue of David. It is not the David of the Psalms. He is a David, which is Herculean, with a big head protrusion, battling heaven. That kind of man never developed in Islam and therefore the need to be bombastic and express one's ego didn't come about. So the greatest artists were able to produce their incredible works in the context of what it means to be human. Not to be an other God, creating, but always be humble before God, to be his servant. It is that kind of man which is in Islamic art. Once the image of oneself changes, the whole of art and society would change.

Another very important principle of Islamic art is the significance of the nothingness of the world. It goes back directly to the most important verse of the Qur'ân and the first shabadah « ikh illa Allah. This is understood on every level, from the anthropomorphic, popular interpretation to the profound metaphysical understanding that there is no reality but Allah. Reality means Divinity. Artistically « ikh illa Allah means emptying all things other than Allah of their own reality and returning all reality to God. That is why that void or emptiness is fullness for the Muslim soul. Why is it so important for us? It is because it generates faqr, i.e. poverty in the spiritual sense. Even the most luxurious buildings of the Safavid and Mughal periods that seem to be so exuberant-some of them having gold designs etc. - are not totally worldly luxury. Geometry, arabesque, the principles of intelligibility and the lack of naturalism always control this exuberance and luxury. Poverty is always kept. The original mosques were extremely simple and it is natural in the growth of a civilisation that it grows from unity to multiplicity. The usual superficial argument advanced in this regard is that all Islamic art is a removal from the origin and it is not needed. This is unacceptable. It fails to understand how the mentality and the psyche of people in a civilisation, as it grows more and more distant from the original message of tawÁâd, is in more and more need of the representation of tawÁâd in multiplicity. This is why traditional Islamic art goes from the simple white washed rooms or simple spaces of early Islamic centuries to the Shah Mosque or Wazir Khan Mosque and other great mosques that are all, nevertheless, Islamic art of the highest order. So this is not against poverty. Poverty in the sense of realising our nothingness in front of Allah and the fact that all richness comes from God. It is a sine qua non for the understanding of Islamic art.

Islamic art is always non-individual. It is not there for the expression of individualism. Principles transcend individuals and that is what transforms the artist. Art in the Islamic world was also a way of spiritual realisation. Many of the people who practised calligraphy, architecture etc. were also attached to a spiritual discipline. It is a wedding between artistic guilds and Sufi orders in the Islamic world, which still survives. The artist, as a result of the spiritual discipline, never tried to simply represent his ego or try to be individualistic, to be different. He tried to participate in the Divine reality and creativity always came from this. In Islam originality means always to go back to the origin. Not representing one's ego. This also is the reason that deep down in Islam there is no division between secular and religious art. There is a difference between traditional art and sacred art that is at the heart of the former. There is also a difference between religious music i.e. chants of the religious orders and secular music that for example was played before

Jahangir. But all musicians in the court of Jahangir were also Sufis. Also look at the quality of that music. Even today when you listen to Bismillah Khan, the famous *shahnā* player you cannot not think of God. That is not secular music. The whole division between secular and religious is false. If one is working to revive Islamic arts one must remember that the very word secular does not exist in Arabic or other Islamic language. The word *dunyā* does not mean secular. It means worldly but now every body uses it. The very category of secular has no meaning in the Islamic civilisation and words don't exist for it. This proves that the idea of a division between religious art and secular art is meaningless.

Now let us say something about the hierarchy of the arts. We have mentioned the principles. What is, then, the hierarchy of the arts? In other civilisations there are other hierarchies e.g. painting is the highest art in Christianity, statues of the gods is important in Hinduism. In the Islamic art the highest art is the art that has to do with the Word of God. The nature of the Islamic revelation is based on the manifestation of the Divine Word in the form of word and not flesh or thing or human being as in other religions. Therefore the highest art is the art of the chanting of the Qur'ān, psalmody of the Qur'ān. It is an oral art. In the visual arts there are two arts that are most closely related to the Qur'ānic art. First is calligraphy, which is the visual writing of the Word of God. That is the supreme art in Islam. Then other forms of visual art that go all the way from ornamented buildings to the bowls of soup. You cannot walk through an Islamic city without seeing the word of God every where. The incredibly beautiful art of calligraphy of Islam which is more developed than in any other civilisation in the world, even the Chinese and Japanese, for its variation of forms. It is the peak of the visual arts because it is the art of the Word of God. All other writing flowed from that.

*After calligraphy, which has the honoured position, and complementary to that is architecture, creation of places in which the Word of God reverberates. In later Islamic history the two were wedded together and much of the Islamic art of the last 700 years is a remarkable combination of the two. Not only in mosques but also in palaces. Where would have been Alhambra without the ornamentation of *lā ghālib illā Allah!**

Then after these two great arts, Islam has a very large category of dealing with the arts. Importance of this is judged by the criterion of being closer to the human soul and the more effect it has on the human soul. Limitations of time not allow me to go into the details of the hierarchy that comes into existence by the application of the principles and criteria that were very briefly alluded to. Nearest to our soul is our body. Therefore all art has to do

with the body. First of all is the art of the dress. Dress is the closest to us after our body. What we wear effects how we feel inside. Classical Islamic civilisation produced the most beautiful male and female dresses. The male dress was always very masculine and the female always very feminine. The philosophy of dress in Islam was to bring out the male and female beauty, the latter not being however for the public. The male dress was to bring out the patriarchal character of man. It was also to facilitate the prayers. The idea that the beauty in the external form of worship is not important-importance is that of just praying-is false. It is to negate totally the aspect of Divine Jamal.

MUHAMMAD IQBAL: HIS INFLUENCE AMONG THE MUSLIMS OF SRI LANKA

Dr. M. N. M. Kamil Asad

Allama, Iqbal had influenced the Muslims of Sri Lanka. Soon after the death of Iqbal there was talk given by late Mr. A. M. A. Azeez about the life and works of Iqbal in Tamil over the radio Ceylon. Late Mr. A. M. A. Azeez every year the death of Allama Iqbal was celebrated by Young Men Muslim Association in Colombo in which Late Mr. A. M. A. Azeez was the president. Every year the death anniversary was celebrated a Souvenir was published in Sri Lanka by the Young Men Muslim Association in Colombo in the memory of Allama Iqbal.

The celebration took place until 1987. The first Tamil book was published in South India by Jayma title *Who is Iqbal*.¹¹⁹ In this book the author first dealt with the life of Allama Iqbal and then translated various pieces of poetry from Iqbal pertaining to his philosophy and his political ideas. Then a second book was published by late Mr. A. M. A. Azeez in Tamil on 1960's. In this book the author again first dealt with the life of Allama Iqbal. He discussed some of his verses too. Then the author translated a part of Iqbal's *The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam*.

An other book appeared in 1987. This book was written in Tamil by Mr. Haleem Deen. The title of the book was *The Great Poet, Iqbal (Mahakavi Iqbal)*. In this book he deals with the life of Allama Iqbal. Then he discusses the political thinking of Allama Iqbal. He does not discuss the poetry of Allama Iqbal.¹²⁰

Allama Iqbal's thinking has a great influence among the Muslims of Sri Lanka. First Iqbal's concept of Tawhid has a great influence among the Muslims of Sri Lanka. The second concept of Allama Iqbal's concept of Nationalism also had a great influence among the Muslims of Sri Lanka.

¹¹⁹ Jayam, *Who is Iqbal*, Tamil, Madras, 1957, P: 10-229.

¹²⁰ Haleem Deen, M. H. M., *Mahakavi Iqbal, (Great Poet, Iqbal)*, Tamil, Colombo, 1987, P: 10-44.

Then the other concept of Iqbal's theory of education; that the Muslims must enter the western educational system and shall not enter into the western cultural system. Many schools for Muslim males and females were started in Sri Lanka. The Muslims of Sri Lanka entered into the western education systems but they did not enter in to the western cultural system.

The other concept of Allama Iqbal's that the Muslims must follow the shari'ah and must unite to get the political rights in their countries. The Muslims of Sri Lanka too followed this political concept. Allama Iqbal started to interpret the Islamic philosophy with quotations form the Holy Qur'an and the Hadiths. The Muslims of Sri Lanka began to study the philosophical approach of Allama Iqbal.

In politics Allama Iqbal was critical of mixing religion with politics.¹²¹ During this period many Muslim politicians had the views that the politics and the religion must be separated from one another. Allama Iqbal was against the colonial power occupying the Indian sub continent. The Muslims held that the British occupation of the sub-continent was unlawful and unethical.

Allama Iqbal who against the views of the atheists. He believed in the Islamic concept Tawhid. At this juncture the Muslims in Sri Lanka never supported the communist party.

Now, nearly sixty-four years after the death of Allama Iqbal the Sri Lankan Muslims are stills studying the political philosophy of Allama Iqbal in the universities.

¹²¹ Abdul Wahid, *Studies in Iqbal*, Lahore, 1986, P: 250.

IQBAL REPLYING TO A GHAZAL OF HAFIZ

Stephan Popp

Muhammad Iqbal's long-standing love-hate relationship to Ḥafīz of Shāhraz̄ is widely known. On the one hand, he blamed him to have spread quietism and deprived Muslims of progressing in *Asrār-i Khudā*; on the other hand the influence of Ḥafīz in Iqbal's ghazals cannot be ignored. The strong influence of Ḥafīz on Iqbal has been discussed on a broad scale by Yūsuf Ḥusain Khān in his book *Ḥafīz aur Iqbal*. This article will deal in detail with an example of the most plain form of intertextuality in Persian literature, the 'reply' (in Persian: *javāb*) or 'study' (*tatabbu'*), in which a poet reworks a famous poem, in most cases of Ḥafīz of Shāhraz̄, in his own words trying to introduce to the model something new yet fitting the old frame. From the times of 'Abdurrahmān Jāmā (d. 1492) onwards this became a touchstone for the quality of a poet, who could show that he was equally well versed in writing 'classical' and 'contemporary' poetry by taking a classical poem and adding to it "a slightly different interpretation, a novel twist."¹²²

It is not astonishing that Muhammad Iqbal, trying to write *not like Ḥafīz*, often refers and even replies to him. With the title of his first Persian ghazal collection "Mai-i Bāqā" being a plain allusion to Ḥafīz's famous third ghazal, and *Payām i Mashriq* being a reply to Goethe's West-Eastern Divan, which in turn celebrates Ḥafīz, the context of "Mai-i Bāqā" clearly points to Ḥafīz's ghazals as an underlying text, and 10 of the 45 ghazals (no. 1, 5, 14, 23, 26, 28, 36, 41, 42, and 43) are indeed replies to Ḥafīz. Reading the ghazals of "Mai-i Bāqā", we encounter a certain appeal to the reader to put it on equal terms with the great Persian classic, but we also find that its ghazals often are difficult to read because they compromise with the style of Ḥafīz in order to compete with it. In contrast to that, the language of the ghazals in *Zabēr-i 'Ajām* is less compromising and therefore more plain, so that we can state that the process of dealing with Ḥafīz's poetry is ended in *Zabēr-i 'Ajām* and Iqbal's own mode of expression takes full control. However, this does not

¹²² Subtelny, Maria Eva: „A Taste for the Intricate: The Persian Poetry of the Late Timurid Period.“ In: *ZDMG (Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft)* vol. 136 (1986) / 1, p. 63.

mean that we do not encounter allusions to À«fiï. Of the 123 poems in part I and II, there still are 13 ghazals that agree in metre, rhyme and selection of keywords to a ghazal of À«fiï, in other words, they are ‘replies’ to them, to be precise nos.12, 23, 33, and 55 in part I, and nos. 6, 15, 23, 27, 29, 46, 50, 52, and 62 in part II. In this article, I will concentrate on *Zabër-i ‘Ajam* I 23, which is a ‘reply’ to À«fiï’s ghazal no. 264.¹²³

*S«qâ, pour on my liver (i.e. organ of emotions) the liquid flame,
 Pour another turmoil of Resurrection in a handful of dust.
 He cast me (as Adam) on the earth by a grain of wheat,
 You, cast me beyond the skies by a sip of juice!
 Give to love the potent wine that knocks men over,
 Cast the layer of this wine in the cup of cognition.
 Science and philosophy have slowed me down.
 My Khïr! Cast this heavy burden all out of my head!
 Reason did not attain melting by the heat of the red wine.
 Remedy it with that bold wink!
 The event still consists of fear and hope quarrelling,
 Let them all fail to remember the turning of the sky (i.e. their fate)!
 One can pour tulips and roses into the autumn’s bosom.
 Arise and cast vine vein blood on the old branch (of the world)!¹²⁴*

Let us turn first to the ghazal of À«fiï Iqbal’s poem is replying to:

¹²³ Qazvânâ Ghanâ edition, equalling no. 258 in Kh« nlarâ’s edition.

¹²⁴ S«qiy«, bar jigar-am shu’la-yi namn«k and«z,
 Digar «shëb-i qiy«matba kaf-i Kh«k and«z!
 ú ba d« -yi gandum ba zamân-am and«kht;
 Tu ba yak jur’a-yi «b «-yi afl«k and«z!
 ‘Ishq r« b«da-yi mard-afgan-u pur-zër bidih,
 L«-yi ân b« ba paim«na-yi idr«k and«z!
 Hikmat-u falsafa kardast gir«n-Khüz mar«.
 Khïr-i man! Az sar-am ân b«r-i gir«n p«k and«z!
 Khîrad az garmâ-yi ‘Aahb« ba gud«zû narasâd.
 Ch«ra-yi k«r ba «n ghamza-yi ch«k«k and«z!
 Bazm dar kishmakash-i bâm-u umâd ast hanëz;
 Hama r« bûkhabar az gardish-i afl«k and«z!
 Mütav«n rûkht dar «ghâsh-i Khaz«n l«da-u gul;
 Khüz-u bar sh«kh-i kuhan Khën-i rag-i t«k and«z!

Stand up and pour delightful juice into the golden cup,

Pour before the head cup turns to earth.

After all, we dwell in the valley of the silent,

Now pour a sparkle into the dome of the skies.

The glance-stained eye is far from the Beloved's face,

With his face reflect a glance out of the pure mirror!

O cypress, with your green top when I become dust

Take the pride out of your head and throw a shade on this dust!

Take our heart, which your snake tresses have bitten,

With your lips to the antidote hospital!

Know that the yield of this field cannot be relied upon.

Cast a fire from the (burning) liver of the cup on the lands!

I took a bath in tears, as the mystics say:

"First become pure, then set your eyes on that pure one!"

O Lord, that self-seeking ascetic, who did not find but shame,

Cast the smoke of his (cursing) sighs in the mirror of perception!

(i.e. he shall experience his curses himself.)

À«fï, because of His scent, tear apart the suit like the rose

And throw this suit on the way of that smart figure!¹²⁵

¹²⁵ Khēz-u dar k«sa-yi zar «b-i Çarabn«k and«z,
Püshtar z'«nki shavad k«sa-yi sar Kh«k and«z!
'ÿqibat manzil-i m« v«dâ-yi Kh«mâsh«n ast.
À«diy« ghulghula dar gunbad-i afl«k and«z!

To compare the content of the two poems, we turn to structural analysis, which is a potent method to achieve the literal sense of a text. This is already a fairly old method, which originated in France in the 1950s starting from Ferdinand de Saussure's linguistics¹²⁶ and the Russian structuralists of the 1930s, especially Vladimir Propp.¹²⁷ Post-structuralists like Jacques Derrida, the late Roland Barthes, Julia Kristeva and especially Umberto Eco and Wolfgang Iser have shown in the past twenty years that the meaning of a text is not confined to its literal sense, because texts only say as much as they need to say and consist in large parts of empty space that the reader's imagination must fill¹²⁸. Taking Homer as an example, Umberto Eco explicates it thus:¹²⁹

And every interpretation of the opus, by filling the empty and open form of the original message (the physical form, which has been preserved without change through the centuries) with new senses, gives rise to new messages of sense which enrich our codes and ideological systems by transforming their structure, and prepares the readers of tomorrow for a new situation of interpreting.

Accordingly, if we interpret a text, we first must find out 'what is written there' in order to discover 'what is not written there' and where readers join the text to produce meaning. This meaning need not be what the author 'intended', as the empty space in texts may offer other ways to produce meaning to other people than the author. For example, *Gulliver's Travels* became famous as a book for children although Jonathan Swift intended it as a biting satire of British society, or the *Rub*«*'y*«** of 'Umar Khayy*«*m, which

¹²⁶ To be exact his lectures, which his students edited under the title *Cours de linguistique générale*, Paris 1916.

¹²⁷ It is not the panacea for providing an 'exact scientific' basis for history, social science, and the humanities, that it first was held to be.

¹²⁸ Cf. Iser, Wolfgang: "The Reading Process", in: *New Literary History* 3 (1972), p. 279 – 299.

¹²⁹ „Und jede Interpretation des Werkes veranlaßt, indem es die leere und offene Form der ursprünglichen Botschaft (die physische Form, die sich unverändert während der Jahrhunderte erhalten hat) mit neuen Bedeutungen erfüllt, neue Bedeutungs-Botschaften, die unsere Codes und unsere ideologischen Systeme bereichern, indem sie sie umstrukturieren und die Leser von morgen auf eine neue Interpretationssituation vorbereitet.“ ECO, Umberto: Einführung in die Semiotik, 8th ed. Munich 1994, p. 192.

were read as a celebration of women, wine, and song by their editor FitzGerald, and as a guide to supreme spiritual experience by Paramhansa Yogananda. I hold that no matter on which side the author is, readings that differ from the author's view are not wrong, but add to the meaning and the cultural significance of a text.

In order to find out the literal sense of our two poems by means of structural analysis as described by Michael Titzmann,¹³⁰ we will look for words with similar meanings, and for words that are linked by grammatical apposition, like "red wine". These words are called equivalent to each other and linked by a sign of approximate equality (\approx). Words that are not equivalent must be either opposed to each other, or not related at all, and because reading means constructing relations between the words of a text, words that are not related at all will be hard to find. The mind of a reader will usually put in opposition whatever is not equivalent because not to be related is the same as not to be understood. Opposed groups of words are marked by the abbreviation of versus (vs.). In the end, all the groups of equivalences and oppositions are arranged to a so-called 'paradigm' of the text. The paradigm rests in most cases on one or two basic oppositions, which represent the basic idea of the text, or the 'axis' around which all the parts of the text is arranged.

The ghazal of *À«fîr* can be analysed structurally in this way:

1 you₁ (S«qâ) \approx pour \approx [delightful juice vs. cup \approx head] vs. dust

2 \approx [sparkle vs. dome \approx skies] vs. valley \approx silence \approx dwell

3 \approx reflect \approx [glance \approx Beloved vs. mirror \approx pure] vs. eye \approx stained \approx far

4 you₂ (Beloved) \approx [cypress \approx pride \approx green top vs. take out \approx throw shade] vs. I \approx dust

5 \approx [snake tresses \approx bitten vs. lips \approx antidote \approx hospital \approx take] vs. we \approx hearts

¹³⁰ In: TITZMANN, Michael: *Strukturelle Textanalyse*, 3rd edition Munich 1993.

6 ≈ cast ≈ fire ≈ liver vs. lands ≈ field ≈ yield ≈ cannot be relied upon

7 {[that pure one vs. I ≈ bath ≈ pure ≈ tears ≈ first ≈ mystic]}

8 vs. [Lord ≈ cast ≈ in mirror ≈ perception vs. ascetic ≈ self-seeking ≈ find shame ≈ sighs ≈ smoke]}

9 He ≈ scent ≈ smart ≈ figure vs. À«fii (I) ≈ rose ≈ suit ≈ tear apart ≈ throw on the way

Axis: [S«qâ ≈ pour wine] ≈ [Beloved ≈ be graceful] ≈ [ascetic ≈ shame]

vs. I ≈ À«fii ≈ we ≈ becoming dust ≈ pure ≈ waiting ≈ praising

À«fir's poem shows very typical features of a classical Persian ghazal. Its focus is the relation of the speaker to his Beloved, the S«qâ, enemies and the audience. The Beloved may be a real girl friend, or a trope for a prince, in which case "kiss" often stands for "payment", or God himself, in which case "drinking" and "flirting" are expressions for being touched by more intensive modes of existence. Often we are not able to decide which kind of beloved a ghazal intends, and especially À«fii apparently plays with these possibilities, so that the ambiguity in his ghazals may be a feature of the text. In the example cited the "cypress" of verse 4 is a typical image for a king, and verse 6 sounds like an admonition to a prince, but the imagery of ablution, tears and purity in verse 7 tends more to devotion. A hint to solve the puzzle in the future may be that in Sufi theories beautiful people embody God's beauty, and kings often bear the title "Shadow of God" (*Êillu Lk**h***), so that they may serve as an intermediary between God and man as well.

The poem is plainly divided into three parts of three verses each. In the first part, the speaker addresses the s«qâ demanding wine; the second is directed to the Beloved asking for relief from the Beloved's neglect, and the third part turns to an imaginary audience and deals with the speaker himself as a devout adherent of the Beloved in contrast to a hostile ascetic.

The first part dealing with wine equals "wine" with "delightful", "sparkle", and "mirror", attributes known to a supposed audience and all

drawn from the image of young red wine in a cup. There is no attribute that could explain the meaning of this image, so it may be anything from real wine up to divine mercy. The second part addresses the Beloved with a request to show kindness to the speaker, using three times the rhetorical figure of ‘beautiful explanation’ (*Ausn-i ta’lâl*). The last of these verses addresses the Beloved as the patron of a feast, for which he must pay much of his property, and as ‘fluid fire’ is a common trope for “wine” and wine is a major good to be provided with this property on the feast, À«fiï’s speaker can state that the beloved shall generously burn his royal possession with wine today. In the third part, the speaker presents himself as sincere to his beloved, praises him again and defends himself against a “self-seeking” enemy, who either is an ascetic but nor a ‘lover’ or depicted as such. Wine does not appear any more, because it is only a symbol among others to express the focus of a classical ghazal, ‘love’ relationship in its three possible modes. In cases the speaker recommends himself to the Beloved, demands like that for wine are rather out of place.

What remains is to regard the parts that the poem leaves to the readers’ imagination. These are the identity of speaker, S«qâ, Beloved, ascetic, and wine, as in all classical ghazals. The beauty of the ghazal, thus its appeal to the reader, derives from the widely varied settings in which the main theme is repeated, especially with À«fiï. As we have seen, verses are not arranged without any logic, but within a frame that allows both the speaker to bring forward his arguments for his love and leave enough freedom for the various settings to associate each other within the reader’s mind.

The reply Iqbal has written on this ghazal of À«fiï fulfils the requirements of a replying poem by taking over the metre *ramal-i makhbûn* (◡ ◡ – – | ◡ ◡ – – | ◡ ◡ – – | ◡ ◡ –), the rhyme “-«k and«ç”, and even the rhyming words, of which only the last one does not appear in À«fiï’s ghazal. In theory, it is enough that some of the rhyming words reappear in the reply, so this ghazal is formally as close to the original as possible and in departing from this scheme in the last rhyme by the use of “t«k” (vine), a very common word with À«fiï, it apparently beats À«fiï with his own weapons. At this point, it urges the reader to wonder why À«fiï did not use the word “vine”.

Iqbal’s ghazal in *Zabër-i ‘Ajam* I, no 23, has the following paradigm:

you ≈ S«qâ ≈ cast

≈ **wine** ≈ liquid flame ≈ vine vein blood ≈ sip ≈ potent ≈ bold ≈ knocking men over

≈ **heat** ≈ melting ≈ wink

≈ turmoil ≈ resurrection ≈ (burden) out ≈ **beyond the skies** ≈ fail to remember

≈ tulips ≈ roses (≈ **spring**)

vs.

(I ≈) my liver ≈ handful of dust ≈ my head ≈ cognition ≈ **cup** ≈ event ≈ grain

≈ science ≈ philosophy ≈ **reason**

≈ love ≈ quarrelling ≈ [fear vs. hope] ≈ **earth** ≈ turning skies

≈ old branch ≈ **autumn**

Axis: cast ≈ you ≈ wine ≈ passion ≈ up vs. on ≈ me ≈ cup ≈ tired of being down

The axis results easily out of the *radâf* “cast!” (*and«z!*), a call that requires a subject and an object. The basis of this poem (like of the first three verses of À«fiî’s ghazal) is thus the sentence “Pour me wine”. This, not a love relationship, is the red thread its verses vary under different settings. Regarding what the expression of “wine” is equivalent and what it is opposed to, we find that the equivalences are rather traditional; wine was always called “fluid fire”, “strong” and “creating turmoil”, and connected with spring. What is more noticeable is the statement that wine drinking creates spring, whereas in classical poems spring is the cause of wine drinking. Additionally, this spiritually understood spring is not restricted to a single person, but applied to the entire world; consequently salvation is called not only a personal, but also a social phenomenon. Other than with À«fiî, the speaker is opposed to S«qâ and wine throughout the poem, so the relationship displayed in it is not so much that of lover and beloved, or lover and rival, but of “wine” and “drinker”, that is of passion and a person striving for passion, as the equivalence of “wine” with “turmoil” (*«shâb*) and “melting” (*qnd«z*) and the “liver”, the organ of emotions as its recipient, shows. Typical for Iqbal’s poetry is moreover the motif of transcending the “skies” in opposition to the narrowness of this world, “philosophy” and “reason” in opposition to “wine”, the strength of the wine increasing the strength of “cognition” instead of knocking the speaker over and called a remedy not

against an adverse lot, but against fate and fatalism itself. Although it is an old desire of mystics to ascend into heaven like the Prophet, a poetical notion of “up \approx wide vs. down \approx narrow” is not found in classical Persian poetry, whereas it is frequent in Europe, where it provided the basic for Dante’s *Divina Commedia* and later is paramount in Romantic Poetry. In Iqbal’s verse, the sky acts as a limit between “narrow” and “wide”, and the desire to transcend limits is one of the most characteristic traits of both Iqbalian and Romantic poetry. In the same way, we can regard reason and fate as limits to be transcended.

In accordance with temporary suppositions on ghazal structure this poem consists of an opening verse, a middle part, in which the order of verses is rather arbitrary and exchangeable, and a closing verse. As already in medieval times, this loose structure provides the freedom the verses need to create multiple cross-references in the reader’s mind. This principle has been prevailing over rests of stricter rules of coherence between verses since about the time of J«mâ; a logical structure would hinder the associative, imaginative beauty of the ghazal. In the opening verse, wine itself and its power is introduced. It clearly refers to the opening verse of À«fiî’s ghazal, as the rhyming words are the same, and the theme “Give me wine before I die” also appears in both verses. Consequently, we can state that Iqbal here interprets À«fiî’s “golden cup” as liver, the organ of emotion, and demands a resurrection right now, not after death. The second verse also alludes to À«fiî’s second verse, because both the rhyme “skies” and the theme “earth versus sky” reappear in Iqbal’s verse. The ‘novel twist’ Iqbal is giving the verse consists in the speaker’s demand to leave the world behind, whereas À«fiî’s speaker stays within a drunken world. After these two verses, the themes of Iqbal’s ghazal depart from those of Hafiz in order to expound Iqbal’s views. The settings offered in the middle part are the world, cognition, science, reason, and fate, presented as limits and in opposition to the transcending power of wine. The ghazal closes with the promise of ‘spring’ as a result of this ‘wine’. Wine is clearly specified as “passion”, but what is left open to the reader for imagination and identification with the poem, is above all the aim of this passion. The reader may substitute his own passions here, and this is the way Iqbal’s poetry can appeal to many different people.

So although Iqbal's ghazal is as close as possible to its model formally, the opposition of "wine" to limits such as the world, reason and fate reveals an influence of Romanticism deriving from Iqbal's earlier days. In addition, reason in opposition to love (alluded to by "wink", *ghamṣā*), fate as an obstacle instead of an excuse, and the boldness of passion refer to Iqbal's own activist approach of removing limits.

We see how deliberately modern ideas appear in an emphatically classic environment, and how this is done by merely inserting one single word or by minor changes in the relationships expected. There is no declaration in this poem such as "Wine now means passion!" Instead, the classical style is retained as much as possible and the changes made are as minute as possible to create the effect of new sayings by old tunes. The very task of a 'replying' ghazal is exploited to the full in this poem.

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KATIB I KUN FA YAKUN

HAJI DIN MUHAMMAD LAHORI

THE CALLIGRAPHER

Dr. Muhammad Iqbal Bhutta

Very few people know that Allama Iqbal, our National poet was also a great connoisseur of the art of Calligraphy. He himself could write *Shikasta* style in a good hand. His talent as a calligrapher was overshadowed by his pre-eminence as a poet and remained hidden from the general readership.¹³¹

In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the traditions of Calligraphy were deep rooted in the Punjab especially in Lahore, Sialkot and Gujranwala Districts.¹³² During this period learning of Calligraphy by young children was a part of the curriculum of their education. As the result of this process Allama Iqbal appears to have acquired proficiency in Calligraphy. Due to his keen interest in this art he always selected a master Calligrapher for composing his poetic works. The renowned Calligrapher of Lahore *À«jà Dân MuÁammad* was one among them, who also held the title of *Ra'is-al-kebaÇÇ«Çân*.¹³³

The expertise of *À«jà Dân MuÁammad* in both the *Nasħ* and *Nasta'laq* scripts was up to the mark. *À«jà Dân MuÁammad* was a follower of saint Mian Sher Muhammad of Sharqpur who himself was an eminent Calligrapher of high class. The Son of *À«jà Dân MuÁammad* named Ghulam MuÁammad was a good artist, calligrapher, engraver, *sangs«z* and also a block-maker. He died at an early age. Due to his sudden death, *Dân MuÁammad* remained under the spell of melancholy and died.¹³⁴

¹³¹ Muhammad Iqbal Bhutta, "Iqbal – The Connoisseur of Calligraphy," *Iqbal Review*, 40:3 October, 1996 Iqbal Academy Pakistan, Lahore, p.77

¹³² Muhammad Iqbal Bhutta, "KhaÇÇaÇâ ke Froogh Mein Lahore K« ÀiÄÄa", Ph. D thesis, History Department Punjab University, 1998. P. 144

¹³³ Ali Ahmed, "Lahore kü KhaÇÇ«Ç", *Nuqush*, Lahore No, Idra Farogh i Urdu, Urdu Bazar Lahore, 1992, P.

¹³⁴ Muhammad Ikram al-Haq, *Dabistan i Khattati*, Aiwan-e-Kahtatan-e-Pakistan, Lahore 1976. P. 6.

This artist designed the poster regarding Allama's election campaign in 1926 from the Shafâ' League's platform¹³⁵ for the viceroy's Council. During this campaign, the Calligrapher was required to design the poster in a very short span of time. Dân MuÁammad was closely associated with Allama Iqbal and was much influenced by latter' ideas and philosophy.¹³⁶

Iqbal selected him for composing his poetic works after having examined his calligraphic specimens in the form of several epigraphs, cenotaph, epitaph posters, books, etc. On the same occasion Dân MuÁammad did the calligraphy for Iqbal's poetry and distributed free of charges to the citizens for infusing the spirit of freedom among the Muslims of South Asia. He had also designed a number of posters of the heroes of the Muslim Ummah.¹³⁷

À«jâ Dân MuÁammad was also an enthusiastic supporter of Allama Iqbal. As already stated, in the election for the membership of Punjab Legislative Council in 1926 À«jâ Dân MuÁammad himself stated that Sir Sh«di L«l successfully persuaded Malik Muhammad Din to fight this election against Allama Iqbal. A bold and odd size poster was pasted on the walls of Lahore city from the supporting side of Malik MuÁammad Dân. After seeing this poster of the same size on behalf of the Allama Iqbal's supporting side. By the very next day À«jâ Dân MuÁammad, Calligrapher, had it ready and it was done really very well. He also got it pasted in the whole area of Iqbal's constituency during the same night. When Allama Iqbal learnt about the quality and promptness of Dân MuÁammad, he was much impressed and awarded the Calligrapher the title *K«tib-i-kun Fayak«n*.¹³⁸ كاتب كن فيكون¹³⁷

À«jâ Dân MuÁammad had performed Haj at the age of 23.¹³⁹ During the Pilgrimage he visited Egypt, Iran Saudi Arabia where he did calligraphy on a number of Mosques and signboards without charging a single penny for his

¹³⁵ Abdullah Malik, *Tabrik i Pakistan*, Lahore 1976. P.396.

¹³⁶ Syed Tahir Ali Rizvi, "À«jâ Din Muhammad Khusnavis", in *Daily Mashriq*, 7th August, 1971.

¹³⁷ See item under Accession No.1977-542 (Documents Section), Allama Iqbal Museum Lahore.

¹³⁸ Javed Iqbal, *Zinda Rud*, Vol. III, Sh. Ghulam Ali & Sons, Lahore, 1984, P. 298.

¹³⁹ Syed Tahir Ali Rizvi, *op. cit.*

services. After his return to Lahore, he also did calligraphy for the poetic works of Allama Iqbal.¹⁴⁰

During his work on Iqbal's Poetry À«jâ Dân MuÁammad always kept in his mind the glorious tradition of Islamic Calligraphy especially in the City of Lahore. He was greatly impressed by Iqbal's attachment with the Prophet ﷺ as expressed in *Armagh«n i Áij«z*. Syed ñ«hir Rizvâ writes:¹⁴¹

Occasionally, I contacted À«jâ Dân MuÁammad for the Calligraphy of some *qiÇ«t* and *Çughr«s*. He used to be seated on floor with a cushion. The kashmiri tea was being server to his guests. Kashmiri *sm«w«r* was located just near him. He enjoyed reading the poetry of Iqbal in Persian and Urdu and telling the meanings of the Quatrains of Iqbal's poetry to the audience of the meeting.

À«jâ Dân MuÁammad wrote the epigraph on the face stone of Javid Manzil, now Allama Iqbal Museum, Lahore. It reads as:

جاويد منزل 1354ء كته دين محمد

He also did the calligraphy for the tombstone of Allama Iqbal's mother at Sailkot. Other work of his penmanship are the face stone of which is today the National College of Arts, Lahore in *Naskh* style it reads:

كسب كمال كن كه عزيز جهان شوى

and two Arabic quatrains which are now exhibited in the Faqâr Jaki-ul-Dân Collection in the Lahore Museum which read as:

بلغ العلى بكماله. كشف الدجا بجماله. خسنت جمع خساله. صلوا عليه واله.

The number of specimens of his calligraphy can be seen in and around Lahore with different families who had an interest in the Art of Calligraphy. One specimen of his calligraphy was Dân MuÁammadi Press, Bull Road Lahore which after the demolition of the concerned buildings, has now disappeared. It was in *Nasta'îlâq* and *ñughr«* styles in bold at least with a *qalam*

¹⁴⁰Ibid.

¹⁴¹ Ibid.

(pen) of 12 inches wide. Once upon a time Malik Dān MuĀammadowner of Dān MuĀammadi Press wanted to proceed to an anniversary procession of Saint Ā«bir Piy« of Kalyar Sharif in India. He required calligraphy of an introduction of a book consisting of 48 pages which were to be distributed to the participants of the same procession. The same book was written out by Ā«jā Dān MuĀammad in a night under the light of a lamp and handed over it to Malik Dān MuĀammad¹⁴² as he was considered a *ẓēd navās* (fast scribe) he had also written in Urdu کرنال شاپ Karnal Shop in new Anarkali which was very much appreciated by his contemporary calligraphers. The Urdu letter پ of Karnal Shop measured some 35 feet long and about 18 feet wide.¹⁴³ A residential area inside Delhi gate was also named after his name and till to day is called “Kēch« Munshā Dān MuĀammad.” In the Art of Calligraphy Dān MuĀammad was a disciple of Ā«fī Nēr Ullah¹⁴⁴ and Munshā ‘Abdul Ghanā Nathē a renowned *k«tib* of Lahore.¹⁴⁵ He followed the style of Nathē K«tib in *Nasta‘lāq* for writing several cenotaphs’ and a number of titles of various books he was famous for bold calligraphy in a minimum space. This great Calligrapher died in 1971 at the age of 92 at Lahore and buried in the graveyard of Miani Sahib.¹⁴⁶ The author was fortunate to meet him in 1970 when he was breathing his last days.

JACQUES JOMIER, *The Great Themes of the Qur’ān*, tr. From the French by Zoe Hersov, London: SCM Press, 1997, Paperback, xii+129 pp.

REVIEWED BY DR. ZAFAR ISHAQ ANSARI, Islamabad.

Some twenty years ago Fazlur Rahman (d. 1988) published one of his main works, *Major Themes of the Qur’ān* (Minneapolis, Chicago: Bibliotheca Islamica, 1980). In his ‘Introduction’, Fazlur Rahman noted that modern [Western] literature on the Qur’ān falls into three broad categories: (i) works that seek to trace the influence of Jewish and Christian ideas of the Qu’rān; and (ii) works that attempt to reconstruct the chronological order of the

¹⁴² Muhammad Iqbal Bhutta. *op. cit.* P.145

¹⁴³ Ali Ahmed *op. cit.*

¹⁴⁴ Hafiz Noor Ullah who has introduced the Lahori style of Nastaliq in Lacknow with Qazi Naimat ullah Sahri.

¹⁴⁵ Syed Ikram-al-Haq. *op. cit.* P6

¹⁴⁶ Muhammad Iqbal Bhutta, *op. cit.* P.145

Qur'ān; and (iii) works that aim at describing the content of the Qur'ān, either the whole or certain aspects to receive the most attention, it has had the least" (p. xii). He also felt that the Western scholars "consider it a Muslim responsibility to present the Qur'ān as it would have itself presented, retaining for themselves the work of objective analysis..." (ibid., p. xii).¹⁴⁷

Fazlur Rahman himself tried to fill in this gap and to fulfill this "Muslim responsibility to present the Qur'ān as it would have itself presented" by writing *Major Themes of the Qur'ān* is a coherent work, whose myriad elements are tied together by certain frequently recurring themes, has found increasing articulation and emphasis.¹⁴⁸

The present work by Jacques Jomier, a Dominican friar, originally appeared in 1978 in its original French under the title *Les grands thèmes du Coran* (Paris: Editions le Centurion). Now, after the laps of about two decades, its English translation *The Great themes of the Qur'ān* (London: SCM Press, 1997) has been published. *Inter alia*, the work attempts to fill in the lacuna pointed out by Fazlur Rahman. Attractively produced (with an elegant and sober cover design laced with an attractive calligraphy of Qur'ānic verses), concise in volume (excluding the 'Introduction', but including an index, it consists of nine chapters spanning some 129 pages) and is characterized by a lucid style that addresses a broad readership. Its avowed purpose is to assist those Western non-Muslims who "live in the Muslim world, work with Muslims and would like to understand and be on friendly terms with them..." (p. ix). The best way some of the great themes developed in the Qur'ān returns again and again (p. xi).

¹⁴⁷. For an informative and critical survey of the relatively recent writings on the Qur'ān roughly until 1979, see Fazlur Rahman's 'Introduction' in the above-cited work, pp. lxi-xvi.

¹⁴⁸. It would be of interest to mention that one of the chapters contributed by Khuram Murad (d. 1996) in "The Foundations of Islam", the first in a series of six volumes on Islam scheduled to be published by UNESCO, has exactly the same title: "The Major Themes of the Qur'ān". It would be of further interest to know that Muhammad Abdul Haleem's recent book is entitled *Understanding the Qur'ān: themes and Style* (London and New York: I.B. Tauris, 1999). Likewise, the recently-published *tafsir* of the late Muhammad al-Ghazālī, is titled *A Thematic Commentary on the Qur'ān*, (Herdon, VA: The International Institute of Islamic Thought, 2000). In South Asia, the idea that the Qur'ān as well a search of its sūrah centres around a set of themes which endows the Qur'ān with coherence, has been developed to a much greater extent than elsewhere. For a study of this trend see Mustansir Mir, *Coherence in the Qur'ān* (Indianapolis: American Trust Publications, 1986)

The author, who has written extensively on the Qur'ān¹⁴⁹ shows a sensitive awareness of the importance given, and the veneration shown, to the Qur'ān by Muslims. Jomier both perceives and draws attention to the sanctity of the Qur'ānic text for the Muslims. To mention a few instances, the author points out that while translations of the Muslim. To mention a few instances, the author points out that while translations of the Qur'ān are used to make “the ideas of the Qur'ān known to the faithful”, it is only its Arabic text which is considered “the ideas of the Qur'ān known to the faithful”, it is considered “truly sacred” and therefore that alone “is used in liturgical recitations”. This sanctity constitutes the basis for the veneration that “surrounds the Qur'ān” in Muslim circles. This, for instance, is evident from the fact that any mistake made in reading the Qur'ān, even “mispronouncing the smallest letter...” is followed by “immediate, almost brutal [sic] reaction of those around if ever such an error occurs” (p. xi) (Emphasis added.) It is, again, owing to this sanctity that ritual purity is demanded of those who touch the Qur'ān. For the same reason, the Qur'ānic verses are chanted on the most moving occasions in family and social life as well as at the times of national crises (ibid). Jomier vividly describes the place of the Qur'ān in, and the nature of its impact on, the lives of the Muslims in the following words:

...the endless liturgical recitations; the tension of the crowd that listens and expresses its admiration for the virtuosity of the reciter as much as for the meaning itself; the continued repletion of certain verses in ritual prayer; the use of entire phrases as decorative motifs in the most magnificent monuments of Islamic art; the masterpieces of calligraphy that it has produced; the appeal to its authority to end all discussion...the continual affirmation of its miraculous character and its inimitable qualities, so that it alone offers a solution to the gravest problems in every time and place; the unfailing acceptance of the text

¹⁴⁹. Jacques Jomier's first work in the area of Qur'ānic studies in 1954: *La Commentaire Coranique du Manār* (Paris: Maisonneuve, 1954). This was followed by a number of articles, and monographs including his *Bible et Coran* (Paris: Editions du Cerf, 1959). See also his article “Aspects of the Qur'ān Today” in A.F.L. Beeston, et al., eds., *Arabic Literature to the End of the Umayyad Period* (Cambridge, New York, etc.: Cambridge University Press, 1983), pp.260-79. For his introductory work on Islam see his *How to Understand Islam* (London: SCM Press, 1989).

as the supreme criterion of literary aesthetics... all this creates an atmosphere that is difficult for non-muslim to imagine... *It is not only the intellect that is affected [by the Qur'ān] but all the fibres of one's being*" (pp. xi-xii). (Emphasis added).

Being the Word of God, the Qur'ān is without doubt for Muslims, "the most sacred object on earth", and "God's supreme gift to humanity" (p.1). No wonder, certain rules of etiquette are followed and due respect shown in handling it. "If there are other books, the Muslim always places the Qur'ān on the top of the pile" (p.2). If the Qur'ān is dropped by mistake, it is picked up at once and wiped, and its cover is kissed (p.2). Respect for the Qur'ān and meditation on the verses that are remembered and which sustain the faithful in their relationship with God are two characteristic aspects of the Muslims' attitude towards the Qur'ān (p. 3).

In the first chapter entitled "What is the Qur'ān?" (pp. 1-7), Jomier explains that to the Muslims, the Qur'ān is the climax of the guidance provided by God to mankind through the prophets; "an encyclopaedia that contains the essence of the revelations made to the prophets, preserving them so perfectly that the reader has no need to have recourse to other sacred books. All the essential points, in every way, are given to him in the Qur'ān" (p.1).

The Qur'ānic teachings, simple in their essentials, according to the author, revolve around:

...certain central ideas that it repeats insistently so that they are imprinted on the mind and especially the heart of the believers, like example, God is all-powerful; He is the sole creator, infinitely good and forgiving. All that man has is a gift and grace from God. Men are good and bad; God guides them by His messengers and His books. All the communities that preceded Islam possessed the truth for a time. Then they fell away and were unfaithful to their vocation, so that today Islam alone is the criterion of all truth. *The world has been entrusted to the Muslim community to reign peacefully, but if need be by war; this is the Law of God* (p. 3). (Emphasis added).

A part of this chapter is devoted to briefly describing how the Qurʾān was collected into a composite text and thereby preserved (see pp. 4-7). Jomier's account, however, shows little appreciation for the *en toto* preservation of the Qurʾānic text in such manner that its integrity has commanded a remarkable consensus over the centuries. That this is a history achievement with no parallel in human history can scarcely be doubted. It is thanks to this consensus about the integrity of the Qurʾān that it has continually shaped the outlook and behaviour of Muslims. Equally remarkable, the Qurʾān has held them together by a strong bond of common belief in, and devotion to, a shared worldview and has provided them the fundamental principles of their way of life. Surprisingly though, Jomier also makes no mention of, let alone show any appreciation for, the otherwise astonishing fact that for fourteen centuries since the advent of Islam a large number of Muslims in each generation has memorised the entire text of the Qurʾān, thus interiorizing, as it were, the Word of God. It would take little effort to appreciate how spiritually enriching such an experience has been for Muslims, or how very significant a role it has played in preserving the Qurʾān and spreading its teachings. In Jomier's work, however, this great saga is rounded off in a manner that seems to miss out this whole dimension regarding the Qurʾān:

The Arabic script then in usage was still rather like shorthand, less accurate than the present script and open to ambiguous interpretations. The orthography was slowly perfected and *two centuries later the text was definitively established*" (p. 5). (Emphasis added).

The last sentence, *inter alia*, categorically owns the extreme scepticism to which a section of Western scholarship has lately tented, and which is epitomised in John Wansborough's Qurʾānic Studies.¹⁵⁰ To put it succinctly, this group of scholars has come forth with the thesis that, to quote Fazlur Rahman, "as it [i.e., the Qurʾān] stands, it is post-Muhammad".¹⁵¹ Jomier unequivocally accepts this thesis and shifts the date of the centuries later" [than its revelation]. He does so in disregard of overwhelming evidence to the contrary and in opposition to the findings of the generality of both Muslim and Western scholarship that the Qurʾānic text that we have in our hands goes back to a very early period of Islam. Jomier's scepticism certainly

¹⁵⁰ (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1977).

¹⁵¹. See his Major Themes of the Qurʾān, p. xiii.

strikes one as odd, especially because the extreme scepticism of John Wansborough and some other scholars about Qur'ān from 1977 onwards is at best a hypothesis, and a tenuous one at that. It is also surprising that this hypothesis was uncritically presented by Jomier in 1978 as an established historical fact.

In chapter 2, “Mecca and the Early Days of Islam” (pp. 8-24), the author attempts to highlight the basic teachings of Islam, mainly with the help of the *Makkan sūrahs*, especially *sūrahs* 105, 106, 93, 94, 96, 53, 110. Jomier sees these *sūrahs* describing God “as the Lord who is very powerful and *good to these who are closely or remotely touched by prophecy and who submit obediently to His guidance*. Then comes the attitude that is demanded, explicitly or implicitly, from man in return” (p.8) (Emphasis added). One is left wondering whether a serious reading of the Qur'ān impresses one with the image of God Who is good, merciful and compassionate, and loves, sustains and cherishes all his creatures, or of a God who is good only “to those who are...*touched by prophecy and who submit obediently to his guidance*”. One perhaps has just got to go through *Sūrat al-Rahmān* (*sūrah* 55) to come a clear conclusion on the point.

The Qur'ān being, among other things, a record of the teaching imparted by the Prophet at various stages of his early *sūrahs* are a reliable source to appreciate the Prophet's state of mind, the problems of his life, and the manner in which his Message was received by his people during the early years of his mission. The most momentous incident during this period was when, in the course of his retreat in the Cave of Hirā', he heard a voice: “Recite: In the Name of thy Lord who created...” (p. 15). This was the beginning of the “call”. On returning home in a state of perplexity and perturbation, the Prophet narrated the incident to his wife, Khadijah. It is significant how Jomier describes the sequel of this holiest and most overpowering experience of the Prophet: “Muslim tradition goes into fairly crude detail when it reports how Khadijah encouraged her husband. When he returned to the house, having seen the angel again, *Khadijah embraced him in an uninhibited fashion permitted only conjugal intimacy*” (p. 16).¹⁵² (Emphasis added).

¹⁵². To appreciate what Jomier is alluding to, see Ibn Hishām, *al-Sirah al-Nabawiyyah*, eds., Mustafa al-Saqqa et al, Part I comprising vols. 1-2, 2nd edition (Cairo: Mustafa al-Bābi al-

The ‘crude detail’ comprises the following: (i) The Prophet, during these days, was seized with a deep sense of perplexity on account of the extraordinary experience that he had in the Cave of Hirā’: his vision of an angel, who communicated to him an unusual message. (ii) Khadijah, who knew her husband quite thoroughly, expressed her full faith in his veracity, uprightness and benevolence, and endorsed, on that account, that his experience was true and that there was no occasion for him to entertain any fear because God could not let any harm come upon a person such as he. (iii) Khadijah also tried, by a variety of means, to have the Prophet turn his mind off that experience. She also took him to her relative Waraqah who had embraced Christianity and was versed in the Scriptures. Waraqah assured the Prophet that he who had visited him was no other than the angel who had come to Moses before. (iv) The Prophet, however, continued to observe this strange figure with his “feet astride the horizon” even after his return from the Cave of Hirā’ and naturally felt much perturbed. Khadijah, wanted to make sure that he whom the Prophet first saw at Hirā’ and continued to see subsequently was an angel rather than an evil spirit. In order to ascertain that, she made the Prophet sit, by turns, on each of her two thighs. Then she made him sit in her *hijr* (lap), and “disclosed her face and having cast aside her veil while the Prophet was sitting in her lap”.¹⁵³ But when Khadijah asked him, after having him sit in her lap, and after disclosing her face and casting aside her veil,¹⁵⁴ he confirmed that he could no longer observe that figure.

Hablabi, 1955), pp. 238-239. For its English translation see Ibn Ishāq, *The life of Muhammad*, tr. A. Guillaume (Lahore, Karachi Dacca: Oxford University Press, 1955), p. 107. Among the early Islamic sources on the life of the Prophet I have not been able to locate these two traditions mentioned by Ibn Hishām in any other work of note. Among the writers of a relatively later period I was able to locate these traditions in Abū Bakr Ahmad ibn al-Husayn al-Bayhaqi, *Dalā’il al-Nubunmah*, ed., ‘Abd al-Mu ‘ti Qal’ji (Beirut: Dār al-Fikr, 1985), vol.2, pp. 151-152 and Abū al-Fidā, Ismā’il ibn Kathir (d. 774/1373), *al-Sirah al-Nabawiyyah*, ed., Mustafa ‘Abd al-Wāhid, 2nd ed. (Beirut: Dār al-Fikr, 1978), vol.1, p.410.

¹⁵³. Ibn Hishām, *al-Sirah*, p.239; *Life of Muhammad*, p.107.

¹⁵⁴. The Arabic word used in the original for the word translated into English as veil is *khimār*, i.e. head covering. Loc. cit. According to another tradition, Khadijah took the Prophet between herself and her *dir’*. *Dir’* according to Lane (see q.v. D R ‘ in his *Lexicon*) is “a garment or piece of cloth, in the middle of which a woman cuts an opening for the head to be put through and to which she puts arms (sleeves) and the two openings of which (at the two sides) she sews up, or a woman’s garment to be worn above the *qamis*”.

Thereupon, she confidently assured the Prophet: “O son of my uncle, rejoice and be of good heart, by God he is an angel and not a Satan”.¹⁵⁵

The reason underlying the statement of Khadijah is not difficult to grasp. Had this figure whom the Prophet observed been an evil spirit, the prospect of an amorous encounter, the anticipation of manifestations of intimacy between a man and a woman, of which sitting in the lap and taking off the veil could have been construed as preliminaries, would have made the evil spirit linger on. On the contrary, such matters would be of scant interest to angels who have an overly spiritual disposition. Thus the disappearance of the figure clearly indicated that the one whom the Prophet saw was an angel and not an evil spirit. All that was done by Khadijah was, quite evidently, to make the Prophet feel reassured.

Be that as it may, it seems to be an unhappy choice of expression on Jomier’s part to describe the incident in the words that follow: “... *Khadijah embraced him in an uninhibited fashion made possible only by conjugal intimacy*”. It is surprising that Jomier should have portrayed the simple incident, in total disregard of its context, into some kind of an erotic encounter. Surprisingly, he does not even remotely hint that Khadijah gave any expression to that warmth and love which form an inalienable part of the life of normal, healthy spouses – a warmth and love which, one might say, stem from God’s infinite love and mercy. For sure, there would have been nothing objectionable if Khadijah had shown something of the warmth and love that characterised the relationship between her and the Prophet. Interestingly, however, nothing to the effect is reported in the Muslim tradition. The reason for this, apparently, was not that a warm conjugal relationship between the spouses is frowned upon by Islam, or that the relationship between the Prophet and his wives was a frigid one. Far from that, but on this particular occasion there was no display of “conjugal intimacy” from either of the spouses. This is understandable because there was no occasion for any ‘embrace’, let alone for an embrace in an ‘uninhibited fashion’ because the attention of both was focused on the very unusual experience through which the Prophet was then passing, and which was making him uneasy. One is at an utter loss at Jomier’s strange interpretation of the event. It seems to be an instance of interpreting acts in total disregard of both their intent and context.

¹⁵⁵. Loc. Cit.

In the chapter the author also deals with the Makkan sūrah's of a somewhat later period. He treats them, and rightly so, as shedding light on the Makkan opposition to the Prophet and his followers. So, as shedding light on the Makkan opposition to the Prophet and his followers. This is evident, among other sūrah's, from sūrah 96, especially its verses 6-29. The severity of the Makkan unbelievers' opposition increased over time. This is reflected, for instance, in sūrah 110, which embodies a curse to Abū Lahab, the Prophet's uncle, who was his inveterate enemy (p. 22). Faced with intense opposition and hostility, sūrah 110 indicates that the reaction of the fact that this violence was "tempered ... when clemency is possible or preferable" (p. 23).

Chapter 3 is entitled "Hymns to God the Creator" (pp. 25-360). Creation, says Jomier, has a place of paramount importance in the Qur'ān. God is emphatically presented as the Creator of the heavens and the earth, and creation is mentioned as the most characteristic manifestation of God's power and goodness (p. 25). No wonder, the Qur'ān exhorts men to meditate on creation (see Qur'ān 3:190-191, and often). The creation of the universe as presented in the Qur'ān, according to Jomier, is broadly in line with the Biblical tradition except that the former puts emphasis on "the lesson to be learned" from it (p.26). presumably for this reason, unlike the Bible, there is no coherent account of creation in the Qur'ān (ibid). The Qur'ānic account also has no reference to God's resting on the seventh day, though it does mention that God created the world in six days (p.26).¹⁵⁶

In Jomier's view, the reference to God's creation – the creation of the heavens and the earth, of plants and animals, etc. – is mentioned in the Qur'ān in such manner that man "turns at once to God" (p.27). I personally share this perceptible observation of the author. In my now view, descriptions of God's creation and its wonders, which one encounters very frequently in the Qur'ān, are not them meant *per se*. instead, such descriptions

¹⁵⁶. The Qur'ān emphasizes that the act of creating the world did not wear God out (Qur'ān 50:38). God was not tired, and hence did not need a day of rest. (This implication of the above-quoted verse was pointed out to me by my colleague, Professor Muhammad al-Ghazali, which is acknowledged with thanks. I would also like to gratefully acknowledge the useful comments on the first draft of this review by some of my colleagues and friends, especially by Dr S. Nomanul Haq, Mr. S.M.A. Iqbal and Modassir Ali).

seem to be invariably related to some of the underlying purpose of the Qur'ānic Message such as summoning man to respond to his Creator who is full goodness, benevolence and compassion to all his creatures in gratitude and obedience. I find Jomier's statements here quite enriching.

In the "Hymns to God the Creator" (see, e.g., the Qur'ān 16:3-18), the verses in question emphasised God's "goodness, mercy and forgiveness" (p.3), or His "power and wisdom" (p.35). In consideration of all this, man is required to respond to his Creator in gratitude (16:14). On the whole, one finds a great deal in the chapter that enables one to understand of the Islamic concept of God better.

Chapter 4, "Adam, Father of Humankind" (pp. 37-51), attempts to articulate the Qur'ānic vision of good life. After recounting the narrative of Adam and Eve in the Qur'ān, the author concludes: "Among men, there are good and bad. Adam is good; temptation took him by surprise and he fell, but he got up at once, trusting in divine forgiveness and mercy. He surrendered to God. His experience ends with God's promise to guide men" (p.47). At this stage the prophetic dimension is introduced: "God's mercy which, in the hymn to the Creator, gives men the benefits of nature, will grant them a series of prophets to guide them, with Muhammad as the glorious culmination of the series"(ibid).

The chapter also has some insightful observations about the view of sin in Islam and Christianity. The author notes, and rightly so, that "sin is seen in a different light" in the two religions (p.49). In Islam, man is "the servant of God, a servant who loves to serve his master. He is alone before him and Islam emphatically rejects any mediator. Each man will bear his own burden..."(p. 49). These observations, however, are rounded off with the somewhat startling statement that Islam "*stresses the fact that God is too exalted to be affected by human acts...*"(p.49). (Emphasis added).

The author's statement that the Christian concept of sin is at variance with the Islamic one can hardly be disputed. For one thing, human beings are not conceived in Islam to have been born with the burden of sin: Adam and Eve whom Satan had caused to stumble in Paradise were taught by God himself the words they ought to use to seek God's forgiveness. They sought forgiveness and were forgiven by God before they said farewell to Paradise

and set their feet on earth. In stead of being born with a burden of sin, human beings are born on that true, pure spiritual state which the Qur'ān at this point calls “*the fitrah of Allah*” (30:30). However, had the author briefly highlighted at this point to some of these salient features of Islam, a fuller picture of the Islamic viewpoint would have emerged. I would venture to point out a few things which, in my view, should have been mentioned to help the reader understand the distinct Qur'āic/Islamic perspective on sin and some of its implications. For instance, it would have been illuminating to point out that since man is born free of sin, there remains no need for Good to sacrifice his son for man's redemption.

It is true that, as the author observes, Islam emphatically “rejects any mediator”. It is also true that the Islamic worldview emphasises man's status as God's servant. It is also true that man is the servant of his Lord who is the Nourisher, the Cherisher, who routinely describes Himself as “The Compassionate, the Meriful”. This Lord, according to the Qur'ān, is *Ra'ūf* (Intensely Kind) (2:143; 2:207; etc.) and *wadūd* (Intensely Loving) (11:90;85:14). One only wishes that the author had dilated on the matter a bit and given a fuller picture of things of things by stressing these aspects of God in Islam which, in our view, have not been sufficiently stressed. Even so, the remark that the God in Islam is “*too exalted to be affected by human acts*” (p.49) sounds to me odd and jarring unless it be meant that man's good acts can neither benefit God nor can his evil acts cause him any harm. But the context in which the statement occurs rules out the possibility that this is what the author means.

The Islamic view of sin could have been further illuminated if the author were to cast a cursory glance at the *ahādith*, which emphasis the notion of repentance in Islam.¹⁵⁷ According to a number of Ahādith, God simply yearns that his servants turn to him in repentance and indeed rejoices when they actually do so.¹⁵⁸ Whenever a sinner repents and seeks pardon from his

¹⁵⁷. It can be said that we should not expect Jomier to refer to non-Qur'ānic sources to understand Qur'ānic concepts. This can hardly be sustained in view of the fact that in his book Jomier does refer to various non-Qur'ānic sources such as *Tafsīr Jalalayn* to explain Qur'ānic concepts.

¹⁵⁸. See Saḥīḥ al-Bukhārī, *Kitāb al-Da'wāt*, Bāb al-Tawbah; *Saḥīḥ Muslim*, Kitāb al-Tawbah, Bāb fi al-Hadd 'alā al-Tawbah wa al-Farḥ bihā; *Sunan al-Tirmidhī*, Kitāb al-Da'wāt 'an Rasūl Allāh, Bāb fi Fadl al-Tawbah wa al-Istighfār wa mā Dhukira min Rahmat Allah.

Lord, he needs no intermediary to approach him since God is very closer to him “then his jugular vein” (Qāf 50:16); and even if a person as perverse as a hypocrite were to seek God’s forgiveness, he is assured that he would find God “Most Forgiving, Most Clement” (al-Nisā’ 4:64). This act of repentance purifies a sinner to a degree that he becomes, in God’s sight, as one who did not sin at all.¹⁵⁹ One only wishes that the author had introduced this information, which is so vitally relevant to the question of sin for it helps one understand the characteristically Islamic concept of sin.

Chapter 5, entitled “Abraham, the Muslim” (pp. 52-62), opens with the statement that throughout the ages there has been only one religion. The essential element in religion is “ active, free and trusting submission to God, who is all-powerful and compassionate”(p. 52).¹⁶⁰ (Emphasis added). It is presumably for this reason that the Qur’ān emphasises Abraham as a glorious embodiment of Islam: “Abraham was not a Jew, neither a Christian; but he was one pure of faith [a hanif], a Muslim...”(3:67). The highest point in Abraham’s total devotion to God came when he was asked to sacrifice his son in God’s cause. Abraham accepted the suggestion heartily and went out to do the bidding. Miraculously, his son was saved: God delivered the son, replacing him with a ram. Who was this son whom Abraham, in compliance with God’s command, was prepared to sacrifice? Was he Ishmael or Isaac? The disagreement between Muslims on the one hand and Jews and Christians on the other regarding this question is well-know: Muslims have tended to the view that Abraham took Ishmael, his son from Hagar, for sacrifice, whereas the Jews and the Christians believe him to be Isaac, Abraham’s son from his other wife, Sarah. Jomier claims that many Muslim commentators in the early centuries admitted that it was Isaac, but the unanimous opinion in the Muslim world is inclined to the view that son was Ishmael (p.56).

Be that I t may, Abraham is hailed in the Qur’ān as the “direct forefather of the religious movement launched by Muhammad” (p.58). It is clear that this belief provides a strong basis for kinship and a rallying point for the spiritual “children of Abraham”, for all those who look upon Abraham for inspiration as an ancient standard-bearer of monotheism, as the patriarch of

¹⁵⁹. See Ibn Mājah, *al-Sunan*, Kitāb: al-Zuhd, Bāb: Khikr al-Tawbah.

¹⁶⁰. This characterisation of islām (“submission”) merits appreciation, especially because at times even Muslim scholars fail to express this point.

all those who are unwavering in their commitment to God's unity. One only wishes that the ecumenical and reconciliatory potential of this doctrine will not fail to inspire all those who, despite their mutual differences, cherish the monumental historical role and inspiring figure of Abraham.

In chapter 6, "The Prophets who were 'Saved' " (pp. 63-79) the author explains the Islamic doctrine concerning the prophets and their mission. Prophets call their people to worship one God. They are found all over: they were sent to, and spoke the language of their people (p.67). A part of this chapter is devoted to drawing the reader's attention to the well-known objections raised by the non-Muslim, especially Jewish and Christian, scholars to the Qur'ānic statements regarding some of these prophets, or their parents and relatives (pp. 75-79). For instance, the Qur'ān mentions 'Imr'ān as the father Mary, the mother of Jesus. "It resembles the name Amram, Moses' father in the Bible..." (p. 75). In the Qur'ān, however, we find Mary mentioned as Aaron's [Hārūn's] sister (p.75). similar questions have been raised concerning Korah and Haman (p.78). whatever has been said by Muslim scholars to explain these matters, has been mentioned perfunctorily and has been construed to be a means to get over a theoretical difficulty (see pp.75 and 78 f.). It appears that the author summarily rejects the Muslim explanations on these matters without even caring to consider them seriously.

Chapter 7, "Jesus, son of Mary" (pp. 80-92), is useful chapter and brings out the Muslims' attitude towards Jesus, son of Mary. A great deal of material presented in the chapter would perhaps come as a surprise to many Christians who are not aware of the Muslims' great veneration of Jesus. Such is the state of misinformation about Islam that the Prophet and the Qur'ān are generally viewed as hostile to everything associated with Christianity. Many Christians would probably be astonished to find that the Qur'ān portrays him as a "true Muslim" and extols him for his filial devotion and his praying and almsgiving. In fact, the Qur'ānic portrayal of Jesus is at times very moving. Let us just consider one such instance where Jesus says the following about himself:

Behold, I an God's servant; He has given me the Book, and made me the Prophet, and has made me blessed wherever I may be; and has enjoined upon me prayer and almsgiving as long as I live, and to be

dutiful to my mother; and he has not made me arrogant, bereft of grace. Peace be upon me the day when I was born and on the day I die, and the day I shall be raised to life [again]. (Qur'ān 19:30-33).¹⁶¹

To be sure, notwithstanding the distinct position of Muhammad who represents the culmination of Prophethood, the Qur'ān shows ample respect to all Prophet: Each of them received truth from God and hence Muslims may not make any distinction, as regards the authenticity of the Message of Messenger of God from another (Qur'ān 2:285). Also, all Prophets are held in the Muslim religious tradition as impeccable, and hence Muslims tend to reject, as the author rightly says, “any exegesis that would impute grave offences to the sinless, infallible prophets” (p.82). Even so the reverence in which Jesus is held and the warmth and fervour which pulsate through the Qur'ānic portrayal of him are far too conspicuous and powerfully expressed to be missed by any reader.

All this does not detract from the fact that the Qur'ān is absolutely uncompromising on the question of Jesus' divinity, strongly rejecting every suggestion that he was either God or son of God. True, Jesus has been titled in the Qur'ān as ‘Word’ (or ‘Speech’) of God, and a spirit from God (p.88), The author looks very carefully at the statements relevant to this question in the Qur'ān and does not fail to note that the Qur'ānic expression, ‘Word of God’ for Jesus represents the idea “that he was created by a word of God” (p. 87), that is, Jesus represents the idea “that he conveyed to Mary” (p. 88). Jomier even perceptively notes the use of “the definite and indefinite articles” by the Qur'ān when it calls Jesus at one place “a word from God” and at another, “a spirit of God” (p.88), emphasising thereby that Jesus, according to Muslims, is “‘a’ and not ‘the’ spirit of God” (*loc.cit.*).

This is quite true. For the Qur'an draws a clear and impregnable line of demarcation between the Creator and every genre of his creation, both animate and inanimate. This is an issue of most vital importance for Islam on which it would not brook compromise. Admiration respect, veneration for God's Messengers, and holding them as impeccable, yes. All this is admissible, but only as long as the line of demarcation before the Creator and

¹⁶¹. Even though the translation conveys the meaning of these verses, it fails to reflect much of their extraordinary literary force and splendor one finds in the original Arabic.

his creatures is not blurred. This also explains the significance of the Islamic shahādah which affirms God’s uniqueness, but then goes on to add “...and Muhammad is his [i.e. God’s] servant and his Messenger”.

Chapter 8 “The Muslim Community” (pp. 93-107) delineates the vocation of the community that comes into existence by the commitment to live by the Message of the Qur’ān. The Qur’ān alludes to the various stages through which this community passed during the life of the Prophet and the problems with which it was confronted. All this forms the background against which the Qur’ān provided the community with necessary attitudinal and behavioural guidelines.

The Qur’ān declares Muslims to be the “best community” (33:110). The reason for it, as indicated in the verse itself, is none else than that they “enjoin what is right, forbid what is wrong, and believe in God”. This lays down, as the author points out, the “Muslim’s mission in society” (p.105). The author refers to a parallel in the Christian religious tradition to explain what is meant by the expression “best community”. He points out that “it is the counterpart of the phrase ‘You are the salt of the earth, addressed by Jesus to his followers in the sermon on the Mount” (p.105).

Chapter 9 “Argument and Persuasion” (pp. 108-120) sets out the thesis that the Qur’ān does not simply present a set of doctrines, but also constantly argues in support of those teachings so as to persuade its audience, including its detractors. These were mainly the pagans of Arabia and the People of the Book – i.e. Christians and Jews. The chapter attempts to highlight the salient features of the Qur’ānic style of argument and persuasion which are, *inter alia*, its simplicity, its concreteness, its arousal of admiration and fear by the frequent evocation of God’s omnipotence and occasionally, the induction of an emotional element in this discourse.

The Qur’ān constantly returns to the affirmation that God is one and has no equal or associate. To fix this truth firmly in the hearts and minds of the faithful, according to the author, the Qur’ān appeals to their experience. To illustrate: the pagans of Arabia acknowledged that the heavens and the earth had been created by none other than God. The Qur’ān makes them repeat: If thou asked them, “Who created the heavens and the earth?”, they will surely say, “Allah” (Qur’ān 39:39).

Jomier goes on to add:

Hence the Qur'ān emphasises the impotence of other gods who are incapable of creating even a fly, providing benefits or opposing the decisions of the creator God. If they are so powerless and incapable, what good is it to treat them as gods and believe in them? (pp.109-110).

God's omnipotence also provides a basis for several Qur'ānic arguments. Thanks to faith in God's omnipotence, for a Muslim credibility of "doctrines like the resurrection of the resurrection of the dead or the triumph of the prophets is not at all extraordinary when viewed from this perspective. God can do anything" (p. 112).

The author finds the Qur'ānic arguments to refute polytheism and affirm monotheism are on a ground "common to all monotheistic religions" (p. 113). "Indeed, in many respects Muslim apologetic has resembled certain Jewish or Christian apologetics. In the face of the surrounding paganism, Islam sided with the biblical religious that also believe in one God and resurrection of the dead, doctrines rejected by the biblical religious when it proclaimed the "(they) had been corrupted that it had come to proclaim the true religion in all its purity... Hence there is a second order of apologetic arguments intended to establish the authenticity of Muhammad's prophetic mission and hence the authenticity of the Qur'ān" (p. 114).

The book also has a short 'Conclusion' (pp. 121-124). In 'Conclusion', the author points out that in the Qur'ān one finds "the sense of God the Creator and the grandeur of creation singing the praises of its author, a theme that is also present in the old testament, as it is in Christianity..." (p. 121). In the Qur'ān one also encounters "fundamental religious values, with their openness to God, that are very similar for Christian and Muslim" (p. 121).

At the same time, the author also emphasises that:

...the essential differences between Christianity and Islam: a different sense of the majesty of God, a different view of the way God approaches men, vocation... All these differences could be said to come down to one: the way in which Christians and Muslims conceive

of Christ and his role. Or, to revelation: is the pinnacle of revelation realised in a sacred book like the Qur'ān or in a living person like Christ? (pp. 112-122).

Here, indeed, the author has put his finger on the very core of the difference between the two major religious traditions – Islam and Christianity.

The book ends with these words, which are very illuminating indeed.

It is difficult to understand the fascination that the Qur'ān exerts without mentally putting oneself in the place of the Muslim, who finds God when he recites it, looks to it for guiding principles, and finds God when he recites it for guiding principles, and for whom the Qur'ān is the presence of God. Even minute descriptions of a region will remain incomplete if they do not allow for the light. In reality the most insignificant landscape takes on another aspect as soon as the colours glow in the sun, or when the rain, despite brilliance as it falls, casts a pall over human beings and forms. A description of the Qur'ān must reflect this light, which is the encounter with God. (p.124)(Emphasis added).

In the foregoing pages we have extensively surveyed Jomier's 'The Great Themes of the Qur'ān, giving a chapter-by-chapter expose of its contents. As we went along, we also expressed our appreciation for a significant number of insightful observations by the author which enrich the reader's understanding of the Qur'ān. At the same time, we also gave vent to our critical observations whenever they seemed called for. (These critical observations were, on occasions, clearly expressed; on others, they were simply hinted at by adding our emphases while quoting some of the author's statements). Now that we are trying to wrap up the trees; to evaluate the book as a whole after having gone through its different parts.

To begin with, this work obviously forms part of the Western scholarly tradition on Islam. The rudiments of this tradition can be traced back to the very first century of Islam, the earliest work being the polemical treatise of John of Damascus. John saw with his own eyes a triumphant Islam rise to ever new heights of glory, winning a multitude of converts, including his Syrian fellow- Christians. His treatise clearly aimed at demolishing the

theoretical foundations of Islam so as to stem its rising tide. During the millennium and a half since its advent, Christendom has perceived Islam as its foremost adversary, at both the theological and political levels. During the medieval period, Christian Europe's hatred against Islam was no fiercer than almost any fairy tale, any legendary gossip, any juicy hearsay was seized as gospel truth.¹⁶² This is also true of the 'scholarly' findings of the medieval literati who seemed ready to accept even trash as long as it was in tune with the deeply entrenched bias against Islam that pervaded the European Christian milieu.¹⁶³

One of the most outrageous manifestations of Christian Europe's rancour against Islam was Dante's consignment of the Prophet to the lower layer of Hell. But as the tradition of serious scholarship on Islam developed especially from the 17th century onwards, the more fantastic stories about Islam naturally began to recede into the background. By the last quarter of the 19th century, when a fairly dependable base of relevant material on Islam had been formed, a more objective and positive picture of Islam and its Prophet

¹⁶². The baseless stories about Islam and the Prophet which gained currency among the Christians of Europe are just too many, and quite a few are in a very bad taste. To mention some: the Prophet had trained a dove who picked grain in his ear to signify his reception of revelation; he had a bull with documents on its horns to support his claim to be a Prophet. Both the Prophet and his followers were described as idolaters! The Prophet was also depicted as one who originally a Christian but later became a heretic. According to some accounts, the Prophet was a cardinal who had failed in the election process to become pontiff and seceded from the church in revenge. Another embodiment of this consuming hatred was the disgusting story regarding the Prophet's death: that it occurred as a result of him being devoured by pigs. See J.M. Bauben, *Image of the Prophet Muhammad in the West: A Study of Muir, Margolionth and Watt* (Leicester: Islamic Foundation 1996), chap 1. See also Mahomet Aydin, "Contemporary Christian Evaluations of the Prophet hood of Muhammad" in *Encounters*, vol.6, no.1 (2000), pp.25-69, esp. 26 f. See also Norman Daniel, *Islam and the West: The Making of an Image* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1960), *passim*.

¹⁶³. Out of the many, let us mention a few instances from what was believed by the Europeans in the 6th century: The name Muhammad (= *Mahomet*), they thought, signified in Arabic 'Deceit'. Consider another account: "Mahomet's stomach grew weak, and one sort of meat began to loath him; (Chodaige = Khadijah) was state, and others fancied him; he therefore purposed in his law (then in hatching) to allow all sorts of carnal liberty; and to encourage them to his example, solemnly ... espoused *Aysce*(= 'Ā'ishah) ..." Norman Daniel, *Islam and the West: The Making of an Image*, p.282.

began to emerge. It needs nevertheless to be remembered that, in the words of Norman Daniel:

...even when we read the more detached of scholars, we need to keep in mind how mediaeval Christendom argued, because it has always been and still is part of the make-up of every Western mind brought to bear upon the subject.¹⁶⁴

While the stride towards better standards of scholarship on Islam is noticeable in several fields, advance towards a more positive direction in studies pertaining to the Qur'ān and the Prophet has been, relatively speaking, both difficult and slow. About half a century ago, W. Montgomery Watt noted the following:

None of the great figures of history is so poorly appreciated in the West as Muhammad. Western writers have mostly been prone to believe the worst of Muhammad, and wherever an objectionable interpretation of an act seemed plausible, they have tended to accept it as fact.¹⁶⁵

Even if the progress was slow there can be no doubting the fact that progress has been taking place quite steadily.¹⁶⁶ The base of knowledge

¹⁶⁴. Norman Daniel, *Islam and the West: The Making of an Image*, rev. ed. (Oxford: 1993), p.326, cited by Ismā'il Ibrāhīm Nawwāb, "Muslims and the West" in Zafar Ishaq Ansari and John L. Esposito, eds., *Muslims and the West: Encounter and Dialogue* (Islamabad: Islamic Research Institute, and Washington, D.C.: Centre for Muslim Christian Understanding, Georgetown University, 2001), p.33. Unfortunately this revised edition of Daniel's work not available to us at the time of writing.

¹⁶⁵. Montgomery W. Watt, *Muhammad at Mecca* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1953), p. 52.

¹⁶⁶. A part from the purely academic aspect of things, a basic change that has taken place is the abandonment of the notion that the Prophet was an impostor. The turning-point was Carlyle's vigorous affirmation of the Prophet's sincerity. In the course of time this virtually became a point of consensus among scholars and generated, on the whole, a more respectful attitude towards the Prophet as well as the Qur'ān. In fact quite a few prominent Western scholars and theologians (e.g. Watt, Hans Küng, David Kerr, etd.) who have, in recent decades, declared that Muhammad was indeed a Prophet through whom God spoke to humanity. This is definitely indicative of a growing positive attitude towards Islam and paves the ground for better understanding of Islam. See Mahmut Aydin, "Contemporary Christian Evaluation of the Prophet Muhammad" in *Encounters*, pp.25-60, passim. It needs to be pointed out, however, that even those who affirm the prophet hood of Muhammad do not,

derived from the primary sources of Islam today is much more solid and extensive and is available to those concerned by Western Islamists who set about to carefully study, understand and grasp the significance of the vast accumulation of relevant material. In fact the academia is heavily indebted to the Western scholars who edited and published some of the most important and primary sources of Islam, and a deal else of much academic value.¹⁶⁷ Thus, in several respects many contemporary scholar' works on the Qur'ān and the Prophet appear more solidly grounded in facts and-if this is not considered to patronising – generally embody more mature judgements. Jomier's seriousness of effort to understand the Qur'ān and a high degree of awareness of its contents are evident from the numerous flasher of insight that are found interspersed throughout the book.

We have, however, also indicated to elements in work which we found to be disconcerting. These, however, are by far outweighed by his achievement- a more enhanced understanding of the Qur'ān Message, both its core and details.

in fact, mean precisely that which is meant by Muslims when they affirm his prophet. See *ibid*, esp. 32-35, where the author discusses the position of Watt. See also pp. 46-48 where the author discusses the position of Hans Küng.

¹⁶⁷. This would be quite evident if we were to compare the writings of the last century's Western scholars of repute such as Hamilton Gibb, Louis Massignon, Wilfred Cantwell Smith, Montgomery Watt, Marshall Hodgson, Ignaz Goldfziher and Joseph Schacht with the writings of their predecessors, their predecessors. It needs, however, also to be pointed out that during the last quarter of the 20th century, these has emerged a group of Western scholars who display an extreme form of scepticism. The best known scholars amongst them are John Wansborough, Michael Cook and Patricia Crone. In studying early Islam, these scholars tend to place their primary reliance on the Greek and Syriac sources of the period concerned, relegating the Islamic texts to a position of near-insignificance. Apart from developing a new methodological approach, albeit of questionable validity, these scholars seem to be devoid of the empathy and richness of imagination, let alone an overall respect for the Islamic tradition, which characterised the works of some of the earlier mentioned scholars such as Gibb, Massignon and Smith. Nothing perhaps would illustrate the mood of these authors than the following statement of Patricia Crone and Michael Cook in the 'Preface' of their jointly written book, *Hagarism* (Cambridge, New York, etc: Cambridge University Press, 1977): "This is a book written by infidels for infidels, and it is based on what from any Muslim perspective must appear an inordinate regard for the testimony of infidel sources" (p. viii).

Given the many positive features of The Great Themes, we are hard put to explain some of the things which, in our opinion, are apparently discordant both with Jomier's scholarly stature and the overall tone and tenor of his work. One of these is the story about Khadijah's attempt to set the Prophet at rest soon after his experience of receiving revelation of Hirā (see pp.6-9 above). The manner in which Jomier has presented this account can only be described as infelicitous.¹⁶⁸ There are also a few instances where we felt that Jomier fell short of mentioning things that would have given a fuller and more adequate view of the matters under discussion.¹⁶⁹ How does one explain these alongside the fact that much in the book is of considerable merit?

I am confident that it does not detract a whit from Jomier's scholarly merit to say that the explanation for this, at least partly, might be found in what Norman Daniel calls "the survival of medieval concepts".¹⁷⁰ As we are well aware, highly negative images of Islam have been embedded in the minds of Westerners for well over a millennium. It is beyond all doubt and who have made a consciously biased to interpret things negatively.¹⁷¹ This, to the best of my surmise, has happened in this case.

Notwithstanding this, the book is likely to serve the avowed purpose of its writing: to assist the Westerners to find their way to a better understanding of the Qur'ān.

¹⁶⁸. It would be interesting to see this story as known to San Pedro Pascal of Spain and also his denigrating remarks about the Prophet in that regard. See Daniel, *Islam and the West*, pp.29f.

¹⁶⁹. See for instance pp. 4-6 and 11-12 above.

¹⁷⁰. Title of the last chapter in Daniel's *Islam and the West*, pp. 271 ff. Cf. Watt's remark: "In medieval Europe there was elaborated the conception of Muhammad as a false Prophet who merely pretended to receive message from God, and this other medieval war propaganda are only slowly being expunged from the mind of Europe and Christendom". W.M. Watt and Richard Bell, *Bell's Introduction to the Qur'an* (Edinburg: Edinburgh University press, 1970), p.17. (emphasis added.)

¹⁷¹. To be fair, we Muslims too might be harbouring some negative images of the West and it would not at all be surprising if even some of our well-informed scholar's judgements about Christianity and the West might occasionally be affected by these images, without even realising that.

IMAD-AD-DEAN AHMAD AND AHMED YOUSEF, *Islam and the West: A Dialogue*, United Association for Studies and Research, Springfield, VA, and American Muslim Foundation, New York, 1998, Pages 250, ISBN1-882669-17-7, Price £12.95

REVIEWED BY YOGINDER SIKAND

With the collapse of the Soviet Union, Islam has come to be seen by sections in the West as the great, menacing 'Other'. Samuel Huntington and his likes have been tirelessly stressing that Western Civilisation now faces a grave threat from the Muslim world, and have cautioned Western governments to take the challenge of Islam seriously. Scores of books have been written on the subject to drive home the same message. The 'clash of civilisations' threatens to turn into a self-fulfilling prophecy. That Islamic revivalism is not necessarily anti-Western is the point that this immensely readable book seeks to make. It consists of a series of discussions between nine leading non-Muslim Western scholars of Islam, mostly US-based, and Muslim scholars and Islamist activists, some from the US and others from the Arab world. As such, this dialogue is a pioneering effort to bring Islamists and scholars in the West who write about them on to a common platform so that they could exchange views, clarify their misconceptions and arrive at at least some basic minimum consensus. A wide range of issues are discussed thread-bare, ranging from Western imperialism and racism to women's issues and Islamist democracy, that, put together, shed much light on what is a little understood phenomenon. A striking feature of the presentations included in this volume is the concern on the part of Western analysts of Islamist movements to judge them on the basis of the threat, if any, that they pose to Western, specifically American, interests. That itself is hardly surprising, for this is their primary responsibility as opinion-makers and advisors to the American authorities. Yet, the perceptive reader can hardly help feeling that the Islamist project is seen through coloured, Western lenses and not as a phenomenon in itself, with its own standards and its own legitimate world-view. That itself is hardly the way to launch a genuine dialogue between Islam and the West.

Nevertheless, the frankness with which the presenters discuss their own perceptions of Islamism is commendable. Graham Fuller, for instance, in his paper 'Islamic Movements and Western Interests: Strategic Imperatives', is

honest enough to admit that the way Western governments would deal with Islamic movements critically hinges on what the implications of the Islamist project would be for Western strategic imperatives, particularly access to oil and Middle Eastern markets and the safety of Israel. Anthony Sullivan takes roughly the same conservative position, and argues that although Islamic movements may differ with the West on crucial issues such as these, they could learn to co-operate to jointly defend private enterprise and traditional social values. Sullivan sees Islamists as radical in rhetoric but conservatives when it comes to economics, and hence perceives possibilities of collaboration between them and conservative sections in the West. Alternate Islamic voices that call for an interventionist state that actively seeks to improve the living conditions of the poor are completely ignored.

A major concern of some of the presentations included in this volume is to account for the origins and emergence of Islamist movements in large parts of the Muslim world. Although on some points they seem to disagree, the general consensus that they arrive at is that Islamism is a negative reaction to the failure of secular, nationalist regimes to improve the living standards of ordinary Muslims. Rather than see the emergence of Islamist movements as a legitimate expression of the growing desire on the part of Muslims to lead their lives in accordance with the teachings of their faith, the presenters locate the phenomenon as developing out of a feeling of frustration and a situation of prolonged economic stagnation and political repression. This, for instance, is the point that Louis Cantori, William Zartman and Robert Neumann make, although with minor variations.

While these may indeed be contributory factors accounting for the timing of Islamist movements, to see the movements as simply reactions to economic and political factors is clearly misleading. Such a perspective fails to understand Islamic movements as participants in the movements would themselves view them. Islamist activists would hardly agree that their commitment emerges not from their own understanding of the Islamic imperative, as they see it, but, instead, from a powerful rage against what the world has promised them but has failed to deliver.

If Islamist movements seem to have acquired mass support in many Arab countries, as some of the presenters admit, the question of how they can be co-opted within the democratic political structure is one that is of crucial

significance for Western policy makers. Contributions by Charles Butterworth, Joyce Davis and Michael Dunn in this volume reflect this concern of how Islamism can be reconciled, if at all, with political pluralism. Western-style political democracy is seen, by some presenters, to be the normative, universal style of conducting politics which Muslims should abide by. There seems to be a distinct lack of appreciation for alternate conceptions of democracy that some modern Muslim scholars have evolved, which are grounded in the Qur'an and the Sunnah of the Prophet. One need not necessarily agree with all of this, but clearly these alternate views need to be examined.

On the whole, however, this book excels and is certainly compulsory reading for anyone interested in relations between Islam and the West today. Its concern with the Arab world, rather than with the Muslim world as a whole, is, however, unfortunate, as are the typographical errors that abound.

CELEBRATING IQBAL DAY

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CELEBRATING IQBAL DAY—THOUGHTS ON ISLAM

Delivered to The City Club of Cleveland, Cleveland, Ohio, November; 9,
2001

We in the United States have not had much to celebrate since September 11. But today, November 9, is a day for celebration. Twelve years ago, on November 9, 1989, the Berlin Wall came down. An era of incalculable evil came to an end. That victory should put our contest against Osama bin Laden into perspective. Nearly 125 years ago, on November 9, 1877, Muhammad Iqbal was born. Muhammad Iqbal was one of the great poets of the 20th century, one of its brightest philosophers, one of the most sublime voices of Islam in all of its history. Muhammad Iqbal is the spiritual founder of Pakistan. His day, like Washington's birthday used to be here, is a holiday

for a founder that the whole nation celebrates. Almost certainly, there will be demonstrations today in Pakistan that will support bin Laden, and dishonor the message of Iqbal. But it is for the Iqbals of Islam, great and ordinary, that we contend. So let me speak of the battle that led to the collapse of the Berlin Wall, and let me speak of Iqbal in today's battle. As centuries go, the 20th will be one of the easiest to describe. It was the century of the West's great and bloody civil war. It began with the assassination of the Archduke Ferdinand. It ended with the fall of the Berlin Wall. It was a century when the notion of individual rights spread around the world. It was a century when the rights of individuals was never more egregiously attacked. It was the century of a great war between those who worshipped the state and those who championed the individual in the face of state power. The United States was drawn into the first chapter of the great civil war in 1917. We were drawn into a second chapter in 1941. We led the final and decisive battle in the last half of the last century. The 21st century has begun with our being drawn into Islam's civil war. It is a war between those who idolize a political and totalitarian Islam, and those who champion a traditional Islam, an Islam of many varied and even conflicting voices. Like the West's civil war, Islam's civil war is being waged ideologically and diplomatically as much as it is militarily. Hitler's greatest triumphs were diplomatic, when he convinced the leaders of the democracies that if they would only satisfy some deep-seated territorial needs of Germany, all would be well. He gained sympathy because democratic leaders felt some guilt in having imposed the onerous Versailles treaty on Germany. He gained power and sympathy in Germany on the basis of the same harms. Most of all, he convinced many in Germany that they were victims of a great grasping conspiracy of international Jewry. He attacked religion and freedom. And he destroyed millions of lives. The Soviet Union had much more ideological success when it took on the mantle of the expansionist totalitarian state. It too set up a great devil: international capitalism. It gained many sympathizers among the free world's intelligentsia. It played upon the poverty of the third world. It set up fifth columns around the world. It developed a network of client states and sympathetic political parties. It attacked religion and freedom. And it destroyed millions of lives. Hitler and Stalin had sympathizers and even allies. They were the anti-Semites, or the fellow travelers, intellectuals who championed eugenics, or intellectuals who championed Marx. Bin Laden has sympathizers and allies within the Muslim world. Some are rigid fundamentalists. Some are

intellectuals. Some are merely anti-American. Some are repelled by secularism. The free world won the civil war in the West when it realized that it was engaged in a battle against evil, against the lust for power, against the false god of politics. It took a while. The West had to struggle against the moral relativism that obscured the real aims of Communism. Only when the free world's leaders unabashedly saw that it was a moral cause that they defended, only when they called upon the religious traditions of the West that championed the inherent dignity and respect of each individual, only when we affirmed the inestimable good of freedom, did we have the will to stay the course and overcome the threat. It was Truman, Reagan, Thatcher, and it was Pope John Paul II who called the evil for what it was and shook down its rotten edifice. Bin Laden's extremism has not yet consolidated its power, the way Nazism did in Germany and Bolshevism in Russia, unless of course, you call Afghanistan a consolidation. But it has the same objectives, and uses the same methods. It seeks to dominate Islam with a political ideology free of even the constraints of the classical law of Islam. It uses methods of organized terror parallel to Nazism and Bolshevism. It sets up cells as the Communists did. It makes effective use of propaganda. It justifies itself by calling upon political symbols, not the Rhineland or the Sudetenland, but Saudi Arabia, Palestine, Andalusia. It lists political wrongs: the crusades and the post World War I settlement, just as Hitler did. And it creates the great Satan: America and International Jewry. If it succeeds, it will do to Islam what Hitler did to Germany and nations it overran, and what Stalin did to Russia and the nations it overran. In the West, the free world that won the civil war against terror and tyranny now examines what it is it fought for, what it is to become. The free world set its face against evil, but that does; not insulate us against institutional imperfections, against the sins of flawed human nature. Are we to be secular, or religiously inspired? Are we to be a community, or riven by divisions? Are we to be acquisitive and materialistic, or, as shown by this country after the world trade center attacks, generous, faith filled, and self-sacrificing? The same kind of self-examination in Islam now comes in the train of its own civil war against evil. And the primary question will be, as it always has been for Islamic civilization, what will be the place of law in the religion? Will it be an adjunct to spirituality and righteousness, or will it be a set of rules that constrain, that are valued for its own sake, not for what it permits the expansive spiritual soul? In other words, will it be the voices of an intolerant form of Islam, or even an

extremist Islam that will come to dominate that great civilization? Or will it be the voice of men like Muhammad Iqbal? Muhammad Iqbal was a master of Western philosophy, a barrister, a poet of greatness, a man who revered all religions and a reformer of Islam. Above all, Iqbal was interested in the self, the expansive creative personhood of every individual; Iqbal thought life was movement, an unfolding of the supernatural and natural elements in each human person. In his poem, *The Tulip of Sinai*, for example, Iqbal likens the self to a rosebud, and God to the sun. Learn from the rosebud how to live, O heart. It is a symbol of life's search for light. It springs out of the darkness of the earth, But has its eye on the sun's rays from birth. His radiance is in hill and dale, and flowers All have their cups full of his lustrous wine. He has left unilluminated no one's night: In each heart does the light of His love shine. A bud sprang up in the narcissus bed, And dew wash sleep out of its eyes, Thus out of Selflessness did Self arise: The world at last found what it had long sought. Think on that line: Thus out of Selflessness did Self arise. Is that not what every great religion teaches about the love of God and the uniqueness of each individual? And this was his image of Islam. Thus in his inmost being man, as conceived by the Quran, is a creative activity, an ascending spirit who, in his onward march, rises from one state of being to another. If he does not take the initiative, if he does not evolve the inner richness of his being, if he ceases to feel the inward push of advancing life, then the spirit within him hardens into stone and he is reduced to the level of dead matter. (*The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam*) Conversant with all the traditions of Islam, Iqbal believed all contributed to an understanding of the relation between God and Man, but none did so exclusively. These early traditions included the Murji'tes, who were the advocates of toleration and equality within Islam. They counseled peace among Muslims, recognized non-Arab Muslims as equal to Arabs, accepted a sinning Muslim as still a member of the faith, and emphasized faith over works as the means to salvation. They were opposed to the Legalists who sought to define righteousness by the law. A second party, the Mu'tazilites, championed the role of reason within Islam. They made use of works of pagan philosophers that had come into the expanded Islamic empire. Reason, the Mu'tazilites taught, could ascertain the truth even without the aid of revelation. Good and evil could be known by all men. But because of the weakness of the human will, revelation was necessary to confirm to man what was truly good and to provide men with rules of behavior that unaided reason could not

apprehend. Many of the great Islamic philosophers, though not of the Mu'tazilite party, championed reason. Many modern-day Islamic reformers and thinkers are also, in their own way, heirs to the Mu'tazilite tradition. A third group, the Kharijites, was the enemy of all. The Kharijites held that any person who strayed from the perfect practice of Islam was ipso facto an apostate subject to being killed with impunity. Any leader who did not hold true to the principles of Islam was likewise illegitimate and should be overthrown and killed. True to their beliefs, they committed frightful massacres on Muslims whom they believed no longer practiced the faith. They made war on those who later become the Sunnis and those who were to be the Shi'ites. Generally regarded as heretics to the Islamic tradition, they were eventually put down, but are precursors to the politicized Muslim extremists of today. The Legalists, of course, bested their rivals to become the dominant voice in Islam. Over the centuries, they developed the system of law, the Shari'a, that was in many ways more than 500 years ahead of the English common law but in other ways remained primitive. Sufism, the mystical voice of Islam, developed in reaction to the dry spirituality of the Legalists. The Sufis' spirituality, their unrivaled poetry, evinced an element of Islam that continues to awe the world. Iqbal studied and praised all the traditions of Islam, except, of course, Kharajism. Thus he extols Sufism, the mystical voice of Islam, for demonstrating to the self the inner experience of God. But he faults Sufism for not understanding the concreteness of nature. At the same time, Iqbal praises the philosophical school of Islam, the Mu'tazilites, for demonstrating to the self the rational structure of the universe, but faults it for neglecting the inner experience of the divine. He believes that law will be a means for the self to find its fulfillment, but faults it for hardening into unyielding rigidity. In fact, he opposed the literalistic fundamentalism and called the Shari'a in the hands of the ulema a form of Arabian imperialism. Instead he called for a new jurisprudence, a new ijtihad, which he defined as movement. He believed democratically elected legislatures had the divinely sanctioned right to create new laws based on the Quran and the authentic traditions of the Prophet. He wanted movement and dynamism to return to Islam. The long centuries of imperial rule within Islam had deadened it with an immobile weight. The only alternative open to us, then, is to tear off from Islam the hard crust which has immobilized an essentially dynamic outlook on life, and to rediscover the original verities of freedom, equality, and political ideals with a view to rebuilding our moral, social,

and political ideals out of their original simplicity and universality. The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam Iqbal called upon Islam to transcend its history. He believed democracy is the natural form of government for Islam and that Islam's message has been corrupted by centuries of autocratic empires. His notion of the inner dynamism of religion can be seen in his poetic dialogue between God and man, a dialogue that has echoes in the Jewish tradition as well. GOD I made the whole world with the same water and clay, But you created Iran, Tartary, and Ethiopia. From the earth I brought forth pure iron, But you made from that iron sword, arrow, and gun. You made an axe for the tree in the garden, And a cage for the songbird. MAN You made the night, I made the lamp; You made the earthen bowl, I made the goblet. You made deserts, mountains and valleys; I made gardens, meadows, and parks. I am one who makes a mirror out of stone, And turns poison into sweet, delicious drink. We are, as President Bush said last night, in a war to save civilization itself. We are fighting in this new civil war against hate and for voices like Iqbal's. I notice that there are high school students here today. This is a generational war. This will be your war. As my father and his generation defeated Nazism for me; as my generation stared down Communism for you; so you must win this war for your children. There is no end to history. This is no end to the drama of salvation. There is no end to hope. Happy Iqbal day.

BEACON OF KNOWLEDGE: CONFERENCE IN HONOUR OF SEYYED HOSSEIN NASR

Ibrahim Kalin

Beacon of Knowledge: Conference in Honor of Seyyed Hossein Nasr was held on November 2-3, 2001 at the George Washington University, Washington DC. The conference featured eight panels, thirty-six speakers, an exhibit of calligraphy and paintings, poetry recitation, and a concert of classical Persian music. The conference drew a crowd of around two hundred people.

The Beacon of Knowledge conference was convened to honor Prof. Seyyed Hossein Nasr and his contributions to the field of Islamic and Iranian studies, perennial philosophy, and the relations between Islam and the West. In his opening remarks, Stephen J. Trachtenberg, president of the George Washington University, underlined the importance of the scholarly career of Dr. Nasr in bridging the gaps between sciences and humanities on the one hand, and Islam and the West, on the other. He also noted that the approach Dr. Nasr advocates in the fields of culture and civilization has gained a further importance in the wake of the September 11th attacks on America.

The keynote speech of the conference was delivered by Keith Critchlow of the Visual Islamic and Traditional Arts Department (VITA) of the Prince of Wales' Foundation, London, UK. As an old friend and colleague of Dr. Nasr, Critchlow emphasized Dr. Nasr's contributions to the revival of the study of traditional arts and the establishment of the VITA while at the same time providing insights into the personal friendship of over thirty years between him and Dr. Nasr. Dr. Critchlow also made a wonderful presentation of the activities of VITA with slides and showed some remarkable examples of the works of the students studying at VITA.

The first panel of the conference was devoted to the personal testimonies of some friends and students of Dr. Nasr. N. Assar, S. Nemitz, P. Felsenthal, A. al-Hibri, D. Burrell, and M. Shirazi talked about their friendship with Dr.

Nasr, some of which go back to the 1940s and 1950s before Dr. Nasr began his graduate studies. This was certainly one of the most special and moving parts of the conference whereby the listeners, especially the younger students of Dr. Nasr, were taken back to his childhood years.

This was followed by the presentation of seven panels over two days by a number of scholars in the field of Islamic and comparative studies. The presentations were a reflection of the depth and breadth of Dr. Nasr's scholarship and hence ranged from the school of Illumination and science in the Islamic world to the perennial philosophy, Sufism, and the Muslim-Christian dialogue. Speakers included such prominent scholars as Mahdi Aminrazavi, Osman Bakar, Laleh Bakhtiyar, David Cain, William Chittick, Emma Clark, Amirah el-Zain, Ali Gheissari, Alan Godlas, Mohammad Faghfoory, Patrick Laude, Oliver Leaman, Luce Lopez-Baralt, Muhiaddin Mesbahi, Sachiko Murata, Latimah-Parwin Peerwani, Ibrahim Pourhadi, Abdallah Schleifer, Jane Smith, Mary Tucker, John Voll, Gisela Webb, and Hossein Ziai and such young scholars as Ejaz Akram, Caner Dagli, Ramin Jahanbegloo, Ibrahim Kalin, and Waleed al-Ansary. This was a real intellectual feast as the speakers opened new areas of discussion and raised a number of important questions.

Another highlight of the conference was the art exhibit by Muhammad Zakariya and Vicente Pascual. Muhammad Zakariyya put together some of his works of calligraphy, among the best to be found in the Western hemisphere, while Vicente Pascual joined him with his serene and contemplative paintings. To this should be added a poetry recitation by Peter Felsenthal, an old friend of Dr. Nasr and poet himself, with nay (flute) by I. Kalin as live background music. The art dimension of the conference reached its peak with the classical Persian music concert by the Chakawak Ensemble on Saturday evening.

Dr. Nasr's hour-long speech after the end of the panels was perhaps the most important and interesting part of the conference. In a rather uncharacteristic way, Dr. Nasr spoke about himself and his career in public for the first time, narrating his life story from his childhood years in Iran and his arrival in America to his enrolment at MIT to become a geologist and his years as a scholarly and public figure before and after the Iranian Revolution in Iran and finally in the United States. For those who have known Dr. Nasr

through his writings, classes or public appearances, this was a unique opportunity to get to know Dr. Nasr by his own words. This was followed by the presentation of a gift to Dr. Nasr by his students and the conference committee. The gift, prepared in Zanzan, Iran by a group of Persian artists, was appreciated by everyone for its stunning beauty.

Given the quality of its content and the number of attendance, this was surely a very successful conference and will be remembered for a long time. The diligent work of the conference committee composed of Mehdi Aminrazavi, Muhammad Faghfoory and I. Kalin is to be acknowledged here. To this should be added the remarkable dedication and ability of volunteers Rebekah Adkisson, Ejaz Akram, Lori Bedotto, Katie Haman, Juliane Hammer, Nuriya Garcia Masip, Fuad Naeem, Juan Polit, Zohra Zirat, and others who made this conference a real success.

There is a plan to publish the conference proceedings as a book. In the mean time, those who are interested can visit the conference website at www.beaconofknowledge.com for the conference program, abstracts and some pictures.

NEWS FROM THE FUTURIST COMMUNITY

PAKISTAN: FOUNDED IN FUTURISM

A recent book published by the Pakistan Futuristics Foundation and Institute shows how the founding of Pakistan was a demonstration of how the future is built. *Iqbal's Futuristics* is a study of Indian poet and philosopher Sir Muhammad Iqbal, who, in association with the Muslim League in 1930, called for a separate Muslim state; this eventually led to the creation of Pakistan. Author Maqbool Elahi argues that the creation of Pakistan was the direct result of this future vision of Iqbal and others (including Muhammad Ali Jinnah, Sir Syed Ahmad Khan, and Chaudhary Rahmat Ali). "Born in the last quarter of the nineteenth century, Iqbal was a Futurist out and out," Elahi writes. "From his youthful days his writings showed that he had the gifts of keen observation, insight, analysis and foresight." Iqbal saw looming on Europe's horizon a World War in the early twentieth century; he also foresaw the ineffectiveness of the League of Nations, the end of communism, and the conquest of space. Iqbal "visualized problems which the Indo-Pakistan subcontinent was to face in the future," says Elahi. "He advocated that man should be aware of his own potentialities and his role in the world as its most important person. Individuals equipped with this knowledge of self should raise a society and learn to live together respecting each other as equal men." Iqbal's message, the author concludes, "will be valid for times beyond even the twenty-first century. In fact, it is a message to the whole humanity for all times to come."

For more information, see: *Iqbal's Futuristics* by Maqbool Elahi. The Pakistan Futuristics Foundation and Institute, H. No. 37, St. 33, F-8/1, Islamabad, Pakistan. Telephone and fax (92 51) 262116. 1995. 400 pages. \$8. Paperback.

Other recent books published by the Institute include *Towards the 21st Century--Introducing the PFI: Basic Documents (1986-1995)*; *Pakistan and the 21st Century: New Human Order* by Ikram Azam; and *Towards the 21st Century: New Education* by Ikram Azam.

