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RECONSTRUCTION OF ISLAMIC THOUGHT FROM SIR SAYYID AHMAD KHAN TO IQBAL

Dr. Abdul Khaliq

It is implied in the institution of the finality of prophethood that the Qur'an has an unflinching validity and a relevance for all spatiotemporal situations that we may ever encounter. Every such situation with its own climate of opinion and cultural outlook as well as its own thought-fashions poses a challenge to the primordial teachings of Islam. Muslim Scholars have to meet this challenge every time by freshly interpreting these teachings and discovering a new layer of meaning in them which, they think, is always available. This reconstruction of Islamic thought- has been a continuing process. Mu'tazilites were the first regular school of thought who did this. Recognizing, in their own opinion, that the literalist understanding of the Qur'anic text led to antinomies, contradictions and confusions, they resorted to a demythologization of all the so-called supernatural concepts and the rationalization of emotive phrases. The Ash'arites strongly reacted to the excessive rationalism of the Mu'tazilites and tried to tone it down by tincturing logic with quite an amount of faithful, orthodox religiosity. Muslim philosophy, properly speaking, had its inception in the atmosphere which was saturated with the metaphysical teachings of Greek thinkers, specially Plato and Aristotle, their logic of fixed categories and their concept of a block universe. Muslim philosophers, among them Farabi and Ibn Sina, were so overawed by the forceful invasion of Greek ideas transmitted to them through a very vast and rapid activity of Arabic translations that they became oblivious of the characteristic weltanschauung of the Qur'an. They carried out an interpretation of the Qur'anic teachings in the light of Greek concepts and thus sought to reconstruct Islamic thought in a big way. The fallacies of this frame of reference were later on pointed out by Ibn Taimiya and others. Imam Ghazali undertook the revivification of religious sciences on the basis of a method that he devised, the method of doubt. This method which ensures the founding of a system of thought on indubitable grounds was later on used by Descartes also who happens to be the founder of modern European Thought. Coming closer to recent times, Shah Waliullah can be

easily recognized as the pioneer and the chief source of inspiration for all the later attempts at the reconstruction of Islamic Thought. He was the first Muslim, says Iqbal, 'who felt the urge of a new spirit in him'. He had a realization of those practices and beliefs that had entered into the religious life of the Indian Muslims due to Hindu and other local influences and made a passionate appeal to return to the original truth of Islam and to a rational understanding of this truth.

Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan (1817-1898) was primarily a social reformer and an educationist. He had before him the decadent Muslim society of the later 19th century Indo-Pakistan sub-continent who had lost faith and confidence in themselves and were thoroughly demoralized due to the loss of political power which they had wielded for centuries together. Deliberately oblivious of the new realities they had fallen back into the circuit of a narrow religiosity bordering on superstitious mystification and myopic dogmatism. Their hatred of the English rulers found its way into invoking religious authority in favour of their refusal to co-operate with the English, to study in their schools and colleges of higher education and, above all, to acquire modern science and technology which was imparted in these institutions. It is this religious context of his compatriots that Sir Sayyid Ahmad tried to set in order so that their social perspectives could be modified. By virtue of the reconstruction of Islamic thought which he accomplished he wanted to show that not only Islam would, but in fact positively enjoined upon its believers to recognize and accept the changing realities of life and to study nature and exploit its possibilities as the contemporary science was doing. Islamic teachings could be shown to be reconcilable to the modernist thought-fashions and proved to be progressive. He observed that just as the learned people of the earliest times of Islamic history had tried to reconcile orthodoxy with Greek philosophy, "in the present we are in need of a modern ilm al-Kalam by which we may either refute the doctrines of modern sciences or declare them to be doubtful or show that the articles of Islamic faith are in conformity with them. Those who are capable of the job but do not actually try their utmost to do it... are sinners all of them, surely and definitely... There is none at present," he goes on to observe, "who is aware of modern science and philosophy and (in spite of this awareness) does not entertain in his heart of hearts doubts about the doctrines of Islam which are to-day accepted as such... though I am equally sure that it will not, in the

least, affect the original glory of Islam". Thus, according to Sir sayyid Ahmad Khan, essential principles of Islam contained in the Qur'an are in conformity with the conclusions as reached by his contemporary natural sciences. Physical universe is the work of God, according to him, whereas the Qur'an is the word of God. So how can there be a contradiction between the two. "Islam is nature and nature is Islam" is the title of one of his essays and in fact the burden of his entire philosophy. On one occasion he remarked that God Himself holds on to naturalism: He can initially enact any laws of nature He likes but once they are so enacted absolutely nothing can happen against them. Under the aegis of these and similar observations, he built up a comprehensive point of view, explaining away the so-called supernatural component in phenomena like miracles, prayers and their acceptance by God, sufistic illuminations, prophetic visions, angels, heaven and hell, and so on.

In furnishing the details of this learning, Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan gave extensive quotations specially from the views of the Mu'tazilites, Imam Ghazali and Shah Waliullah. His views on the conformity of the Qur'an with the results of natural sciences—and, in general, his naturalistic rationalism.—have been accepted in one way or the other by a number of later thinkers like Ghulam Jilani Barq, Allama Inayatullah Mashriqi, Ghulam Ahmad Pervez and others. Strangely enough, even the orthodox Muslim religionists of today seek to profess the eternal truth of Islam by pointing out that what the scientists have discovered as late as the 20th century the Qur'an already contains them. Among his contemporaries, Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan met a lot of opposition. It was, however, not his programme of educational uplift and social reforms of the Muslims that was opposed but rather his religious views which were, in fact, instrumental to his primary objectives.

Contemporaneous to Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan and following him, we find a number of religious thinkers who kept up the spirit of, and were inspired by, his characteristic teachings with some modifications and adjustments here and there. Among his younger contemporaries, Syed Ameer 'Ali was clearly so inspired. Regarding the truth of Islam Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan's attitude was on the whole defensive. In his various writings, specially the Spirit of Islam, Syed Ameer 'Ali took the argument on to the positive plane. Instead of arguing that Islam is not inferior to Western culture or that

it does not resist the assimilation of this culture, he sought to establish that, being a system of values closer to the realities of life, it is in fact superior. He did not simply defend and justify Islamic principles and injunctions as rational but rather confidently declared them to be so. However, unlike Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan who had laid great emphasis on the word of God which he considered to be in harmony with the work of God, Syed Ameer 'Ali concentrated on Prophet Muhammad (peace be upon him) as the central theme of his writings. Anyway, like his elder contemporary, he refused to recognize him in terms of the supernatural and the miraculous as the orthodox would do but rather as a perfect man with an excellent moral character, an embodiment of all human attainments and virtues. Like him, too, he regarded Islam as a dynamic religion inherently capable of progress and development as the cultural environments grow and evolve.

Iqbal, one of the greatest thinkers of modern times was also a progressionist. In his attitude to Western culture, he combined the apologetics of Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan with the positive approach of Syed Amerr 'Ali. "The most remarkable phenomenon of modern history," he observed, "is the enormous rapidity with which the world of Islam is spiritually moving towards the West. There is nothing wrong in this movement for European culture on its intellectual side" he believed, "is only a further development of some of the most important phases of the culture of Islam". However, "the dazzling exterior of European culture" should not be allowed to "arrest our movement" so that we "fail to reach the true inwardness of that culture". Consequently, "it is necessary to examine, in an independent spirit, what Europe has thought and how far the conclusions reached by her can help us in the revision and, if necessary, reconstruction of theological thought in Islam". Iqbal made an attempt at such a reconstruction against the perspective of contemporary intellectual moods and scientific discoveries and brought out the liberalism inherent in the doctrines of Islam. Despite its eternity, "the ultimate spiritual basis of all life", he says, "Reveals itself in variety and change.... Eternal principles, when they are understood to exclude all possibilities of change which, according to the Qur'an, is one of the greatest signs of God, tend to immobilize what is essentially mobile in its nature".

Further, in agreement with Sayyid Ahmad, Iqbal was firmly of the opinion that Islam, essentially, need not be apprehensive of any danger to its integrity from scientific advancements and discoveries: it rather encourages such investigations. The spirit of Islam is experiential and inductive. The Qur'an lays paramount emphasis on the 'observation of nature and regards the various facts of experience no less than the signs of God himself. In one of his 'Lectures' Iqbal actually demonstrated how the discoveries of scientists of his times in the realms of physics, biology and psychology were, in general, pointing towards the same Ultimate Reality as in conceived by the Qur'an. This was the so-called intellectual test suggested by Iqbal which the religious experience in Islam qualified. Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan had shown religion to be reconcilable to the scientific discoveries of the 19th century. Iqbal did it to those of the 20th century. As, in general, to the desupernaturalization of various Qur'anic concepts, Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan and Iqbal have remarkable mutual affinities. They have similar views on the creation of Adam, nature of the Divine Trust, mode of prophetic revelations, freedom and responsibility of human beings, character of eschatological concepts and so on.

It was observed in the beginning that Islamic thought has a 'climate of opinion' with reference to which it has to be reconstructed and this is what, in general, has actually been done by various thinkers right from the Mu'tazilites to the present times. However, granting some honorable exceptions, what these reconstructionists failed to adequately recognize is that for which the cognate phrase 'local weather' has been used. 'Local weather' here comprises the indigenous nature of Islamic thought itself which, of course, is delineated in the Qur'an, the Divine revelation. The Qur'an is not an ordinary book giving revelation. The Qur'an is not an ordinary book giving some descriptive statements only. Its primary function is guidance. It seeks the inculcation of moral and spiritual values and the sublimation of man to more and more superior levels of existence. This function is not exterior to, but is rather synthetically woven into, the revealed descriptions themselves. This unique synthesis characterizing the Qur'anic language is to be understood, recognized and appreciated if one is to proceed to a reconstruction of Islamic thought against any particular spatio-temporal context: however long be the distance that we have to go, we must start from where we are, For instance, Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan's formula that the word

of God and the work of God should be in harmony, though an innocent principle to all appearance, would be thoroughly inadequate if the phrase 'word of God' is understood in its plain, ordinary, descriptive meaning because in that case it, being a revealed and so an eternal truth, would be incomparable with the contingent, temporal truths discovered by human beings. Similarly, when Qur'anic descriptions are compared with the statements formulated by Greek philosophy or with the 19th or 20th century scientific descriptions this would be nothing other than what is known in philosophy a 'category mistake'. When Iqbal said that religion will not submit to the jurisdiction of philosophy but on its own terms, he had an inkling of the 'local weather' of Islamic thought but he did not spell it out. Anyway, this is an independent subject by itself and cannot be given even a brief treatment here. It may simply be pointed out by way of a concluding statement that a perception of this 'local weather' must necessarily be presided over by a supernatural metaphysical attitude and a faithful commitment to the Supreme Author of revelation.

SUFISM AND PHILOSOPHY: THE HISTORICAL INTERACTION BETWEEN TWO NEIGHBOURS

Megawati Moris

The Islamic revelation contains a message for mankind tiered in three levels which manifest themselves as *al-islam* (submission), *al-iman* (faith) and *al-ibsan* (virtue or spiritual perfection). These levels are founded on the basis of the *Hadith* of the Prophet (peace be upon him) in which the archangel Gabriel appeared before him as a young man and questioned him on the meanings of the three aspects or dimensions of the Islamic message.¹ These three dimensions which form the inherent hierarchy of the Islamic religion is also referred to as the *Shari'ah* (the Law), *Tariqah* (the Path) and *Haqiqah* (the Truth). It is the presence of this basic hierarchy in the Islamic message which has led to the various interpretations of the meaning of the same Divine Message in Islamic history. The process of crystallization and categorization of the differences in interpretations and intellectual perspectives of the Islamic revelation eventually led to the formation of the various schools of Islamic thought.

In this paper, the relationship between two schools of thought which are considered as neighbors— Sufism and philosophy will be examined. Our examination will focus on their interactions and their consequent results in Islamic intellectual history.

Sufism or *tasawwuf* is founded upon the esoteric dimension or spiritual content of the Qur'anic Revelation and the *Sunnah* (wont) of Prophet Muhammad (May peace and blessings be upon him). Although the Sufis interpret the Islamic message spiritually or mystically, their outlook and attitudes are not always uniform and similar to each other. The differences in outlook among the Sufis have led to the establishment of different schools within Sufism and which emphasize different perspectives based on either

¹ This hadith is found in several versions in the standard sources. See A.J. Wensinck, et al. *Concordance Leiden*, 1936-1969. For a translation of the text from Bukhari and Muslim see, Tabrizi, *Mishkat al-Masabih*, 5, tr. by T. Robson. Lahore: Sh. Ashraf, 1963-1965,

fear (*makhfafah*), love (*mahabbah*) or knowledge (*ma'rifah*). Due to this, the definition of the term Sufism or *tasawwuf* involves different meanings to an uninformed outsider. However, a basic definition of what is meant specifically by Sufism may be provided as follows: "Sufism is the pursuit of the spiritual path, union with Ultimate Reality (*al-Haqq*), and gnosis according to the path and tradition of "Muhammadan poverty (*faqr*)" (spirit humility)."²

Philosophy as a form of intellectuality was not existent during the days of the Prophet (peace be upon him) and his Companions. The system of philosophy appeared and grew in importance as the Islamic community developed and encountered other religions and their intellectual and philosophical traditions, such as that of the Graeco Alexandrian tradition. Philosophy as a school of thought within the Islamic tradition includes "all intellectual schools within Islamic culture which have tried to attain knowledge of the reality of all things and ultimately the knowledge of the Origin, through the power of the intellect."³ In this definition, "philosophy includes both discursive (*bahthi*) philosophy and intuitive (*dhawqi*) philosophy and synonymous in meaning with theosophy (*hikmah*)."⁴ Thus, there is no distinction between philosophy (*falsafah*) and wisdom (*hikmah*). Since philosophy in the traditional Islamic sense includes several schools, in this article, the specific school of philosophy which Sufism is interacting with will be identified.

METHOD OF ACQUIRING KNOWLEDGE IN THE TWO PERSPECTIVES

Throughout Islamic history, Sufism and philosophy have had a number of relationships between them which ranged from that of reciprocity and assimilation to that of opposition and antagonism. However, their relationship can never be considered as one based on absolute incompatibility since their viewpoints are aspects of the Truth itself.⁵ As

² Seyyed Hossein Nasr, "The Relation between Sufism and Philosophy in Persian Culture," trans. Hamid Dabashi, *Harndard Islamicus*, Vol.6, no.4(1983), p.33

³ *Ibid.*, p.33. ⁴ *Ibid.*

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ William Chittick, "Mysticism versus Philosophy in earlier Islamic History: The Al-Tusi, Al-Qunawi Correspondence", *Religious Studies*, Vol. 17 (1981), p.87.

alluded to earlier, the variant and contrasting rapport between the two schools stemmed from the existence of various schools of Sufism and different branches of philosophy and their particular interaction with and limited view of each other.

A distinct feature which marked their interactions was the debates and discussions held between them. These debates centered around each school's methods of acquiring knowledge (*'ilm*) and discussions about the reliability of each method attaining to the truth. The interchange of ideas between Sufism and philosophy was augmented by their interplay with a third intellectual discipline, that of scholastic theology (*Kalam*). The theologians invalidated both the Sufis' and philosophers' claim to have discovered the truth of things. The divergence in perspective between the theologians and the philosophers and Sufis boils down to the same question and that is the method of acquiring knowledge and of attaining to the truth.⁶

To understand the inter-relationships between the three schools of thought it is best to examine their particular modes of acquiring the truth. However, it must be borne in mind that their respective perspectives are not always clear-cut because their differences are based on emphasis and not exclusiveness. What is meant by this is that in practice many members of each school utilize the perspective of the other schools of thought to varying degrees, and the intermingling of view points by individual figures were also common. Hence, variations occurred both at the levels of figure and intellectual perspective. As a result, the distinction between the three perspectives became increasingly clouded through the passage of time.⁷

The Islamic Peripatetic philosophers such as al-Kindi, al-Farabi and Ibn Sina held that intellect (*al-'aql*) alone without the aid of the other two modes of acquiring knowledge -- revelation (*wahy*) or "unveiling" (*kashf*) was enough for man to understand the realities of things and to attain to the ultimate truth. They believed that the very act of acquiring knowledge requires a kind of illumination by the Active Intellect (*al-'aql al alfa'*).⁸

⁶ Ibid., pp.87-88.

⁷ Ibid., p.88

⁸ Ibid., p.89

The Sufis such as Bayazid, Rumi and Ibn al-'Arabi held that man can attain to the ultimate truth only through personal and direct knowledge resulting from the removal of veils separating man from God. This second kind of knowledge called "unveiling" (*kashf*) or "direct tasting" (*dhawq*) can only come about through spiritual practice and divine self-disclosure. The locus of "unveiling" is the heart (*al-qalb*) as opposed to rational knowledge which relies on the faculty of the mind or reason. This God-given knowledge must be based on the outward support of the Qur'anic revelation.⁹

Finally, the theologians such as al-Ash'ari, maintained that truth could only be attained through the Qur'anic revelation and that both. "intellect" and "unveiling" tended to be misleading.¹⁰

In clarifying the inter-relationships among the three perspectives or schools of thought as regards to the method of acquiring knowledge, it is necessary that the meaning of the term intellect (*al-'aql*) be explained in greater detail. This will make the understanding of the views of each school pertaining to knowledge clearer.

INTELLECT IN THE SUFI AND PHILOSOPHICAL PERSPECTIVES

In the Arabic language, a single word *al-'aql* is used to denote both reason and intellect. The distinction and inter-relationships between the two meanings and the dependence of reason upon intellect is always kept in mind when the term is used. Each school of thought elaborates and uses the term *al-'aql* to denote the meaning of intellect as it pertains to the individual school's perspective and inner structure.¹¹

In the translation of the term *al-'aql* as reason, it refers to a means of acquiring knowledge which is confined to the human plane. Hence, the pertinence of the root meaning of *al-'aql* as "to bind" and "to limit", implying the limitation and construction of the human intellect (also referred to as particular intellect (*al-'aql al-juz'i*)) when using the mode of reason to know

⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹ Seyyed Hossein Nasr, "Intellect and Intuition: Their Relationship from the Islamic Perspective", *Studies in Comparative Religion*, Winter - Spring (1979), pp.65-66

Ultimate Reality¹² The knowledge acquired through reason or discursive thought is indirect since it is based solely on mental concepts. This knowledge, obtained indirectly is also termed as “acquired knowledge” (*al-'ilm al-husuli*).¹³

The word *'aql* is also used to refer to the first creation of God it keeping with the saying of the Prophet (peace be upon him): “The first thing created by God was the Intellect.”¹⁴ In this context the Intellect is identical with the Greatest Spirit (*al-rub al-a' zam*) and the Supreme Per (*al-qalam al-a' la*). The Intellect, also referred to as Universal Intellect (*al-'aql al-kulli*) is a repository of God's knowledge of all created being and stands beyond human comprehension. However, the prophets and the saints, to a certain extent are able to achieve union with it. This union is one of the causes of “unveiling,” and happens when the human intellect is illuminated by the Universal Intellect or the Active Intellect (the term used by Peripatetic philosophers)¹⁵ In other words, when the Universal Intellect illuminates the human intellect it enables the human intellect to possess the faculty of intuition (*bads, firasah, dhawq (ishraq, mukashafah)*).¹⁶

The knowledge obtained by using the faculty of intuition is base upon immediate experience and signifies direct vision and participation in the knowledge of the truth. This form of knowledge is referred to a “presential knowledge” (*al-'ilm al-huduri*) or “knowledge of the heart’ this type of knowledge has the directness of sensual experience but concerns the supernal realities. Intuition when wedded to faith enables man to fully understand the meaning of religion, specifically, God word as contained in the Qur'an.¹⁷

¹² William Chittick, “Mysticism versus ...”, op.cit. pp.90-91.

¹³ Seyyed Hossein Nasr, “Intellect and....”, op.cit., p.66.

¹⁴ This hadith is found in several early hadith collections of the Shi' ites. Among the sunnis it is mainly quoted by the Sufis. See Ghazali, *Mizan al-'Amal*, Cairo, 1965, p. 331; Isfahani, *Hilyat al-awliya*, 10 Vols. Cairo, 1971-79, 7:318; Ahmad Jam, *Uns al-Talihin*, Tehran, 1971, p. 330-3; Raghīb al-Isfahāmi, *al-Dhari'a....* Cairo, 1973, p. 73. (Editor).

¹⁵ William Chittick, “Mysticism versus....”, op.cit., p.91

¹⁶ Seyyed Hossein Nasr, “Intellect and....”, op.cit., p.66.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, pp.66-67; 73-74. Iqbal has poited out to the same fact when he discussed the “non-rational modes of consciousness” or “other ways of invading our consciousness” etc. See M. Iqbal, *The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam*, Iqbal Academy Pakistan, Lahore,

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From the above explanation it can be discerned that both Sufis and philosophers agree that the human intellect may be the source of spun knowledge. However, the Sufis questioned the validity of knowledge obtained from the human intellect if it is not illuminated by the Divine Intellect. The philosophers can have no guarantee that they will attain such illumination if there is no spiritual practice or “purification of the heart” on their parts.¹⁸

The Sufis pointed out as proofs, the verses in the Holy Qur’an and the Hadith which allude to the heart as the seat of knowledge, for example:-

O men, now there has come to you
an admonition from your Lord, and
a healing for what is in the breasts
(namely the heart)
and a guidance, and a mercy to the believers.¹⁹

The philosophers on their part were wary of the Sufis’ claim of inspired knowledge. Although they acknowledged the possibility of the identity of the human intellect and Universal Intellect, they were of the opinion that the truth needed to be expounded in a rational way. Here it should be noted that they were not rationalists in the modern sense since they did not attempt to acquire knowledge through mental activity cut off completely from the light of the Divine Intellect. They felt that laws of logic and rational discourse must be employed to explain the operation of the Intellect at the discursive level so that others may also understand it.²⁰

CONSEQUENCE OF INTER-RELATIONSHIPS

1989, p. 13-14. Also see Rumi, Mathnawi, Pourjavady edition, Tehran, Vol. II, verses. 43-52, 65-67, 72. 3, 94-7.

¹⁸ William Chittick, “Mysticism versus....”, op.cit., p.93.

¹⁹ The Qur’an, 10:57

²⁰ William Chittick, “Mysticism versus....”, op.cit., p.94.

The resultant tension that arose from the seemingly opposite viewpoints of the Sufis and philosophers' methods of acquiring knowledge was more creative than destructive. In Islam there has existed tension and opposition between the various dimensions and components of its intellectual tradition but they have never destroyed the unity of Islam and its civilization.²¹ This may be attributed to the fact that the contending parties realized that their modes of knowing may differ but the goal of their aspiration and the source of their knowledge is one and the same: God.

A good example of this point is the famous attack of Abu Hamid al-Ghazali (d. 1111) against philosophy. In his important work entitled *Tabafatu al-Falasifah* (*The Incoherence of the Philosophers*), al-Ghazali attacked Peripatetic philosophy, especially the rationalist tendencies within it. Through his other works, for example, *al-Munqidh min al-Dalal* (*The Redeemer from Error*) and *Ihya' al-Ulum al-Din* (*The Revival of the Religious Sciences*), al-Ghazali pointed to Sufism (*tasawwuf*) as the definitive solution to philosophical doubts which stem from the excessive use of reason. He arrived at this conclusion only after having personally experienced spiritual problems. He resolved them by careful examination of the inner self and investigations of the claims of the dominant schools of thought of his time.²² The consequence of this personal crisis which he resolved and explained in his works, led to a change in the direction of the path of Islamic intellectual life. Rather than putting an end to the flow, al-Ghazali provided the background which made possible the spread of the sapiential teachings of Suhrawardi and Ibn Arabi.²³

Al-Ghazali's spiritual crisis which eventually led him to the "luminous skies of illumination and gnosis"²⁴ was not confined to him alone. It was shared by other philosophers and theologians who realized the limitations of ratiocination (*istidlal*) to obtain spiritual certitude. If philosophy was inundated by Sufi doctrines and was buried in its Aristotelian form, the Sufis on the other hand, assimilated the positive features of Greek wisdom especially in its Neoplatonic version. They kept Greek metaphysical and

²¹ Seyyed Hossein Nasr, "The Meaning and Role of Philosophy in Islam", *Studia Islamica* Vol.37, (1973), p.68.

²² Victor Danner, *op.cit.*, pp. 163-164.

²³ Seyyed Hossein Nasr, "The Meaning and Role....", *op.cit.*, p.69. 24: *Ibid.* p.71.

²⁴ *Ibid.* p.71.

epistemological notions which had relevance to gnostic speculation on the Divine Unity but put aside those aspects which were irrelevant to the spiritual life, such as logic, mathematics, the natural sciences and medicine.²⁵ In fact, Neoplatonic or Greek forms of wisdom had already, since the 3rd century/9th century permeated into the style of thinking of Muslim intellectuals affected by the translation of Greek philosophical works into Arabic.

Ibn al- Arabi (d. 1240), the *shaykh al-akbar* of the Sufi tradition, was preeminent in integrating and effectively actualizing Neoplatonic thought into Sufism. Ibn al- Arabi wrote about gnosis (*irfan*) within an elaborate theosophical or philosophical structure. His was “an eclectic system that had a spiritual unity and not at all a syncretism without interior harmony and concord.”²⁶ One of the titles conferred upon Ibn al-Arabi was “The Plato of his time,” (*Aflatunu zamanibi*), However, he protested against those who construed his works as philosophy.

Philosophy benefited tremendously - from the interaction with Sufism and gradually became itself “the outer courtyard leading those qualified to the inner garden of gnosis and beatitude.”²⁷ In the course of time and process of interaction between the two schools of thought, Sufism influenced and transformed the substance of philosophy. It metamorphosed from a_ simply rational system of thought within the Islamic tradition into an ancillary of esoterism closely connected to illumination and gnosis.²⁸

After the death of the Andulasian master of Aristotelianism, Ibn Rushd (d. 1198), philosophy as an independent and rigorously applied discipline disappeared in the predominantly Sunni Western lands of Islam. It is a well accepted fact that philosophy reemerged in Persia during the Safavid period (10th century/16th century to 11th century/17th century). The philosophy that surfaced in the Shiite land wore a different dress from that which was attacked by al-Ghazali and Fakhr al-Din Razi. Actually, to be exact, there was never a discontinuity of philosophy because Nasir al-Din Tusi, who was one

²⁵ Victor Danner, op.cit., p.167.

²⁶ Ibid.

²⁷ Seyyed Hossein Nasr, “The Meaning and Role....”, op.cit., p.71.

²⁸ Ibid. p.73.

of the foremost philosophers of the 7th century /13th century, revived the Peripatetic philosophy of Ibn Sina through his work the *Sharh al Isharat*.²⁹ Philosophy was channeled into a new direction and was given a new vigour as a result of its creative interaction with Sufism earlier on. This form of philosophy or better translated as theosophy, combined philosophy and gnosis, referred to as *Hikmat* philosophy (*al-Hikmat al-Musa'aliyyah*). This particular school of philosophy emerged from a long development which dated back to the 6th century/12th century and the introduction of new intellectual perspectives by Suhrawardi and Ibn al- Arabi. *Hikmat* had drawn some of its intellectual perspectives from Ibn al- Arabi who had absorbed philosophical elements into his system of Sufism. In turn, this Sufism was absorbed into the philosophical structure of *Hikmat*.³⁰ Hence, to be exact, *Hikmat* is based upon the integration of four major schools of Islamic thought: *kalam*, Peripatetic philosophy, *ishraqi* theosophy and *'irfan*. The foremost among the group of theosophers was Sadr al-Din Shirazi known as Mulla Sadra. He achieved in his own life and in his works, a synthesis of the three means available to man to attain truth: - revelation (*wahy*), illumination and intellectual intuition (*dhawq*) and rational demonstration.³¹

IMPORTANT FIGURES AND THEIR WORKS

In this section, the important Muslim thinkers who played prominent roles in determining the type of relationship that developed between the two perspectives, and their works, will be discussed. The first three groups of figures that are mentioned share a common characteristic in the sense that they all have come out of the Sufi school and then approached philosophy. The other two groups are those thinkers who have been originally theosophers and philosophers but have had inner attachment to Sufism and tried to establish a relationship between Sufism and philosophy.³²

²⁹ Seyyed Hossein Nasr, *The Cambridge History of Iran*. Vol.6: "The Timurid and Safavid Periods", eds. Peter Jackson & Lawrence Lockhart (Cambridge: The University Press), pp. 658-659.

³⁰ Victor Danner, *op.cit.*, pp.167-168.

³¹ Seyyed Hossein Nasr, in: *The Cambridge History of Iran* Vol.6: "The Timurid and Safavid Periods", *op.cit.*, pp.680-681.

³² This categorization of thinkers into distinct groups is based on that of Seyyed Hossein Nasr in his article "The Relation between Sufism....", *op.cit.*, pp.33-47.

JALAL AL-DIN RUMI

The great Sufi poets such as Sana'i, 'Attar and Rumi were responsible for creating the impression that Sufism and philosophy were inherently opposed to each other. They disseminated their opposition to the rationalistic aspect of philosophy by their beautiful poetry. The reproach of philosophy, especially Peripatetic philosophy inherent in Rumi's *Mathnawi* addressed his concern regarding the emancipation of man from any form of spiritual and intellectual; limitations. He has never denied philosophy or logic per se. Moreover the *Mathnawi* itself is a philosophical masterpiece and its understanding is not possible without knowledge of common Peripatetic philosophy.³³

In his first book of the *Mathnawi*, Rumi considered "the leg of those who employ rational arguments is of wood: a wooden leg is very infirm."³⁴ In another passage from his third book, Rumi clarified the relationship between the unaided human intellect and the Universal Intellect from which Sufis receive their illumination: -

The philosopher is in bondage to intellectual concepts; the pure saint is mounted upon the Intellect of intellect. The Intellect of intellect is the kernel, your intellect the husk. The stomachs of animals are always seeking husks. The seeker of the kernel has a hundred loathings for the husks; in the eyes of the goodly saints, the kernel alone is truly lawful. Since the skin of the intellect gives a hundred proofs, how should the universal Intellect ever take a step without certainty?³⁵

SHAYKHAL-AKBAR MUHYIAL-DIN IBNAL-'ARABI

Ibn al-'Arabi the famous Gnostic of Andalusia was the key figure in the development of a particular form of Sufism intertwined with philosophy or specifically, theosophy in its broadest sense. He recognized as the founder of

³³ Ibid., pp.36-37.

³⁴ From Rumi's *Mathnawi* (1:2128), quoted in William Chittick, "Mysticism Versus Philosophy....", p. 93.

³⁵ From Rumi's *Mathnawi* (3: 2527-30), quoted in William Chittick, *The Sufi Path of Love*, Albany: State University of New York Press, 1983, pp.36-37.

the intellectual school of Sufism which conferred upon intellect an exalted position as a means of “attaining Absolute Reality and the Reality of the Absolute.”³⁶ In his work particularly in his *al-Futubat al-Makkiyah* (*The Meccan Revelations*) and (the *Fusus al-Hikam* (*The Bezels of Wisdom*), speculative gnosis *al-irfan*; *al-nazari* are best represented.³⁷

The connection between Sufism and gnosis was manifested ever before Ibn al Arabi in the great Persian Sufi ‘Ayn al-Qudat Hamadani, especially his books *Tambhidat* (*Spiritual Preparations*) and *Dhubdat al-Haqaiq* (*The Most Precious Realities*) and in some of the later works of Abu Hamid al-Ghazali such as *Mishkat al-Anwar* (*The Niche of Lights*). Of course, the exposition *par excellence* of this type of gnosis was best effected in the works of the Shaykh al-Akbar himself.³⁸

SHIHAB A 1.-DIN AL-SUHRA WARDI

There existed a group of Sufis, which was well represented by Suhrawardi, who were philosophers in the strict sense of the meaning of philosophy in Islamic culture since they were proponents of one of the philosophical schools, in contrast to the group of speculative gnostics who were exponents of philosophy in its broadest sense. This former group of Sufi-philosophers created a link between Sufism and philosophy.³⁹

The Master of Illumination Shihab al-Din al-Suhrawardi was initiated into Sufism before he started his studies in philosophy. He established a new School in Islamic philosophy which came to be known as the school of Illumination (*Isbraqi*) whose essence and principle was reconciliation between intuitive (*dhawqi*) theosophy and discursive (*bahthi*) philosophy. For Suhrawardi, intellect has a highly exalted position but his concept of intellect is the Glowing Red Intellect (*‘aql-i-surkeb*) which he considers as the intermediary between the realm of pure light and sheer darkness. This intellect which itself is a source of light, illuminates man’s mind and his

³⁶ Seyyed Hossein Nasr, ‘The Relation between Sufism....’, op.cit., pp.

37-38.

³⁷ Ibid., pp. 38-39.

³⁸ Ibid., p. 38.

³⁹ Ibid., p. 39.

being.⁴⁰ It is evident that Suhrawardi is greatly indebted to both the great chain of Sufi masters for his spiritual inspiration and doctrines, as well as the Muslim philosophers, especially Ibn Sina for the formulation of his philosophical ideas. Some of his famous works included the four large doctrinal treatises, the first three dealing with Aristotelian philosophy and the last with *Isbraqi* wisdom proper which is the *Hikmat al-Isbraq*. The short treatises which were written in symbolic language depicted the journey of the initiate towards gnosis and illumination, for example, the Persian '*Aql-i Surkb*'.⁴¹

AL-FARABI AND IBN SINA

This group includes those philosophers who studied and in some cases also practiced Sufism. Eminent in this group was al-Farabi. Among his works, the *Fusus al-Hikmah (The Bezels of Wisdom)* is especially significant since it deals with both philosophy and gnosis. Ibn Sina, though not a practising Sufi strongly supported Sufism. His "Fi Maqamat al-' Arifin" (On the Spiritual Stages of the Gnostics) in the book *Isyarat wa al-Tanbihat (Directives and Remarks)* is one of the most powerful defences of Sufism ever undertaken by a philosopher and his *Hikmat al-Mashriqiyah (The Oriental Philosophy)* is more inclined towards the Sufi perspective.⁴²

SADR AL-DINAL-SHIRAZI

Finally, during the intellectually outstanding Safavid period there emerged the second group of philosophers who moved towards a complete synthesis between philosophy and Sufism. This group of philosophers different from the group represented by Suhrawardi in terms of their relationship with Sufism. Although there is no doubt that they have attained

⁴⁰ Ibid., p. 41..

⁴¹ Seyyed Hossein Nasr, "Shihab Al-Din Suhrawardi Maqtul", M.M Sharif, A History of Muslim Philosophy, Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1964,

pp. 374-375.

⁴² Seyyed Hossein Nasr, "The Relation between Sufism....", op. cit., p.42.

high spiritual states, there is no solid evidence to prove of their exact attachment to Sufism.⁴³

The founder of this new school of philosophy (*al-Hikmat al-Muta'aliyyah*) is Sadr al-Din al-Shirazi, considered the greatest Muslim thinker in metaphysics. In this school, the synthesis which Suhrawardi presented between the components of rational philosophy, illumination and gnosis and the tenets of revelation was perfected. Sadr al-Din Shirazi utilized the principles of all the previous schools, especially those of Ishraqi theosophy and the gnosis of Ibn al-'Arabi's school and kept them within the matrix of shi site religious sciences.

The outstanding masterpiece of Mulla Sadra is the *al-Hikmat al-Mutia'aliyyah fi'l-asfar al-arba sat al-'aqliyya* (*The Supernal Wisdom Concerning the Four Journeys of the Intellect*) known as the *Asfar*. This most advanced text of *Hikmat* is a final summation of traditional wisdom as well as a precise exposition of Mulla Sadra's own vision and views of earlier gnostics, philosophers and theologians.⁴⁴

* * *

The historical relationship between the two neighbors, Sufism and philosophy, upon close examination and scrutiny was one of mutual benefit and enrichment. We see the evidence of this mutual gain in the development of doctrinal Sufism (*'irfan*) and the formation of the school of *Hikmat* philosophy. *Hikmat* philosophy represents the final synthesis of the three modes of knowing the truth made available to man: revelation, intellectual intuition and reason. This culmination in Islamic intellectual tradition would not be possible without the creative tension and interchange of ideas and viewpoints between the Sufis and the philosophers. The apex would not have been reached without a long preparation of the journey: Ibn Sina anticipated it, al-Ghazali cleared the ground, Ibn al-'Arabi and Suhrawardi presented it and finally, Mulla Sadra perfected it.

⁴³ Ibid., p. 43.

⁴⁴ Seyyed Hossein Nasr, *The Cambridge History of Iran Vol. 6: "The Timurid and Safavid Periods"*, op.cit.,p. 680.

IQBAL'S PHILOSOPHY OF REVOLUTION*

Dr. Waheed Ishrat

English Translation

by

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I

Allama Muhammad Iqbal's philosophy of revolution has emerged from his dynamic concepts of God, universe, history, individual and society. Rejecting the metaphysics based on the static concepts of God, universe, history, individual and society, he made a re-statement of metaphysics which emphasized dynamism and activism. Iqbal adjudged all static ideologies of inaction and quietism, which had crept into the Muslim society from the Greek and particularly Plato's ideology of maxims, and static philosophy, as contrary to the Holy Qur'an. Making them the target of his severe criticism Iqbal adjudged them contrary to the spirit of the Holy Qur'an. He declared in the very first sentence of the preface to his Reconstruction "The Qur'an is a

* A condensed version of this paper was published in the Iqbal Number of the Monthly Sha'er Bombay, 1989, and in the Monthly The Crescent, as well as in Iqbaliyat, (Persian) No.5, 1990 and the Daily Mashriq, November 1990.

This paper was also read in the "Iqbal Forum International" "Halqah Iqbal", "Islamic Philosophical Association", and "Wasa Staff Training Institute", Samanabad, Lahore, on September 5, 1990, October 24, 1990 November 14, 1990, and November 1, 1990 respectively.

Technical terms, which cannot be correctly translated into English, given in original in the text and explained in the "Explanatory Notes" after the text. They are arranged in an alphabetical order.

References to literature cited are given in parentheses in the text a listed in the alphabetical order of the well known name of the, author "References" section. Similarly biographical notes are provided on the important persons referred.

book which emphasizes deed' rather than 'idea". Though the metaphysics of dynamism and activism created by Iqbal is present in his verse, its comprehensive explanation exists in *The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam*. Consequently the topics of "Lectures" themselves show that, discarding the hypothetical methodology based on deductive logic, and basing on the study of nature, history and the individual's own personal states, he establishes such a soiled sense oriented methodology on the foundations of knowledge which is rooted in ligic's inductive style. Therefore, in the thought and intuition created by this inductive methodology the Allama emphasizes the presence of a religious experience on the basis of an organic relationship. By creating an organic relationship between religion and knowledge, and between thought and intuition and the latter's highest stage of *wahy*, he leads on to accept the religious experience as a scientific way of acquiring knowledge, like other social sciences. The basic purpose of both of the first two lectures of Iqbal was to present *wahy* and intuition itself as the foundation of the background of psychology and sciences so as to build a new world of learning based on that foundation, and to establish a new world of learning with the help of the study of the inner knowledge of the Holy Qur'an with the new knowledge and technology as a fore-runner whose metaphysics may be completely based on the Holy Qur'an.

Discussion

Before talking about Iqbal's philosophy I consider it necessary to explain that the term of revolution is usually applied to political revolution, which means a sudden and complete upheaval and immediate change. In addition, this change also includes the concept of subversion or destruction for reconstruction. In the third world revolution also means the overthrow of the established government by martial law or in some other way and capture of the political power by some dictator or despotic ruler. The murder of hundreds s thousands of people in the Russian and French revolutions etc. and establishment of new governments was also called a revolution. In modern world revolution is considered nothing more than a phobia because the change expected by the people from political revolutions does not follow it. The revolution is restricted to mere change personalities and the appearance of some new faces in the wake of the revolution. In the third

world, and particularly Pakistan, as the word 'revolution has become attached to martial laws the average person along with the intellectuals become wary of this word. However, as have applied revolution to such an intellectual and notional change which would herald a new cultural and social change, only t' concept of revolution should be kept in mind which aims at such changes in the intellect and thought which would gradually bring about a new order. I have not used the world evolution because t evolution of a concept or order of things is based on its o foundation, for example, the evolution of the Western mode thought. However, Iqbal does not want the evolution of any existing; order in his thought. He does not want evolution of the existing order based on the foundations of materialistic worldview. On the contrary he created a new spiritual worldview in his order of things in the light! Of modern physics and away from materialistic thought which is not composed of evolution but revolution and whose attribute dynamism and not quietism. Hence when I talk about Iqbal's! Philosophy of revolution I use revolution in a very broad sense. Iqbal considered Islam to be a social and cultural movement; I am presenting revolution in the meaning of that social and Cultural Revolution which Iqbal wanted to bring about at the intellectual; social, and cultural levels. He was not in favor of establishing any order by overthrowing the government overnight by means of destructive measures. On the other hand he was really the herald of a philosophical order whose foundation was spiritual instead of tilt existing order based on materialism. Instead of justifying this point of view of his by the traditional concepts of matter, he used the researches of modern physics in the light of which matter came to be considered mutable rather than immutable and imperceptible instead of perceptible. He based the foundation of his metaphysics on the concept of destructibility of matter from fission of the atom and conversion of electrons and protons into energy or power, leading to its destruction. On this basis he adjudged the basis of the universe to be spiritual rather than material. With this revolution in the metaphysical thought Iqbal explained religion and provided a new inductive foundation to religion. In addition, he also established a new route for knowledge by 'establishing an organic relationship between intuition and thought and considering the religious experience a scientific experience, like other experiences of material nature. In this way, by presenting new social, cultural and rational explanations for Islam and its principle of *Tawhid* in his "Lectures", he pointed out new principles of *Fiqh* by entrusting the right of *Ijtihad* for society, State and

economy to the parliament, which could be used to prepare a new social and cultural framework. In this way, it was the graft of this very revolution in Iqbal's thought which endowed his homeland with the concept of Pakistan and procured the excellent leadership of Quaid-i-Azam. It is the purpose of this paper to plead for focusing attention on Iqbal for bringing about this scientific, intellectual, and cultural revolution, for laying the foundations of the Islamic revolution in Pakistan in the light of Iqbal's thought, so that Pakistan may be molded into a new Islamic Welfare State in the light of his philosophy, and the Islamic world may reach its goal of renaissance on the basis of unity and dynamism.

Iqbal's metaphysics is based on "Absolute Existence" or the dynamic concept of God. Iqbal does not accept Aristotle's concept of God being "The Unmoved Mover". Aristotle thought that God can be adjudged as the source of all movement only by being considered "The Unmoved Mover". According to him if God be considered as dynamic some other center for movement will have to be formulated, Hence, he hypothesized that God is the first cause of the long series of movements and changes, but is stationary Himself. He also argued that if God also is moving we will have to accept the impossibility of the explanation of God's movement. So he says that God is that primal cause which is the cause of the Universe's movement but is Himself beyond movement and change. However, when Aristotle, adjudging God's status as intellectual, says that God is a 'thought' he accepts God as an action and a movement on account of being a thought as well as its object. Neither can 'thought' be considered to exist by itself nor can 'thought' be without movement and action. Movement is a property of 'thought'. Now, when Aristotle himself says that God is "the Thinking Thought" he really wants to say that the 'thought' of God 'exists inside Himself and His movement and 'thought' are within His own Essence, without being dependent on any other thing or object. He Himself is the mover of His movement, is not depended anything else for His movement or 'thought' and his movement thought' are in Himself, He Himself has the power and authority over His 'thought' and movement. As the problem is not solved by accepting God as Unmoving the very concept of God is movement. In spite of all this His movement is within His Essence whose real character is known to Him alone. Unlike Aristotle's thinking He is not the primal cause of movement b Himself wholly and completely movement. He has within

His Essence the subject as well as the object of His movement. Therefore thought also relates to His eternal Perfection in His own time space. In reality the bounds of eternity and time and space are meaningless with reference to Him because these terms have been created by Man which lose their meaning in reference to Him.

Professor Ali Abbas Jalalpuri has presented a detailed discussion of Iqbal's concept of the Deity or the Essence of God. With respect to the transcendental concepts of God, i.e. the discussion whether God is beyond or in the universe, Ali Abbas Jalalpuri considers Iqbal to be a believer in the transcendental concept. Notwithstanding that I consider it inappropriate to bracket Iqbal with any one concept of the Deity, whether transcendental or Assyrian. This is so because in the Iqbal's concepts themselves we see signs of negation of Assyrian concepts. Iqbal accepted the Islamic concept of God in contradiction of the Assyrian or transcendental (Semitic) concepts. In the Islamic concept God is the Omnipotent, the Perfect, the Eternal in His own Essence, who is also our personal God. He is beyond this universe as well as this universe is one of His unlimited manifestations. Hence, the assertion of Ali Abbas that Iqbal, like Bergson and Alexander, did not construct the Islamic Divinity on the basis of presenting the Assyrian theory of Wahdat al-Wujud, but gave scientific form to the Assyrian theory, shows lack of comprehension of Iqbal's concept of God. This is so because, Iqbal fought against this concept all his life, Iqbal did not fully accept either Assyrianism or transcendentalism, but emphasized the Qur'anic concept of the Deity, which fuses in it self the basic component of both the transcendental and Assyrian concept. According to the Islamic concept God is the Infinite, Most Perfect, Absolutely Omnipotent, Essentially Eternal, Independent Essence which transcends the universe, who created the universe from Absolute non-existence with His extraordinary attributes. The creation is based on evolution for its growth and completion. Hence, the explanation of the universe of Nature such a creative act of the self which is offered at the present stage from the human point of view, Whose bounds cannot be defined, in which Nature is a live and consistently expanding celebrated Unity, whose growth cannot be restricted from outside, whose limits are internal, if any, is Iqbal's concept which has been formed from the concordance of the transcendental and Assyrian concepts. Iqbal had more interest in the Qur'anic concept of God than the Assyrian or transcendental

concepts. According to Iqbal, God is a live and effective Power in the creation of the universe, who is not isolated from mankind but has deep relationship with them. Iqbal did not accept the concepts of Wahdat al-Wujud, because in this concept existences do not rise above entities of equal ranks, while in Wahdat al-Shuhud the Essence has a higher rank than Existence. S.M. Raschid has made Iqbal's concept of God so much borrowed from Hegel's concept of the Absolute in the same way as Ali Abbas Jalalpuri has entangled it in Assyrian and transcendental concepts. Really there is no correspondence of thought in the Hegel's concept of the Absolute and Iqbal's concept of the Living, the self subsisting, the Eternal God. Dr, Muhammad Ma'ruf has rightly pointed out in his book Iqbal and His Contemporary Western Religious thought that S.M. Raschid could not adequately comprehend the concepts and thoughts of Iqbal and Hegel. This is so because there is no similarity at all between Hegel's concept of the Absolute and the Iqbal's concept of God.

Iqbal's concept of God is the one of a Being Absolutely Omnipotent, Absolutely Perfect and Eternal in His own Essence Who transcends the universe; which is one of His unlimited potentialities. This universe is the expression of His extra-ordinary power of creation. He is completely dynamic, which dynamism depends entirely on His own Being which does not admit any lack, but is the symbol of His being Live, Self-subsisting, and Eternal. He transcends the boundaries of time and space as well as those of the Beginning and the End. Time and space are His own creation, and do not apply to His Essence. He is the Essence of most perfect Attributes. His Existence also has potentialities when some potential makes its appearance. His attribute becomes. His Attributes like His Essence are All-pervasive, Iqbal's dynamic concept of the universe has emerged from his this very dynamic concept of God.

The universe which is a constant movement has come into existence from absolute non-existence into existence by the extra-ordinary attributes of God. The Holy Qur'an has said, "God is the Light of the Heavens and the Earth". In other words if God has identified Himself with anything it is Light. Light is that unique form in which God has expressed Himself. Light is not the mane of any solid entity but appears in movement, energy and light. Now, viewing with reference to the universe and matter, the atom or

the smallest indivisible part of matter when split changes into energy. Within it are found electrons, protons and an unknown number of other centers of energy which are in constant motion. This means that matter by splitting of its smallest indivisible particle changes from perceptible matter into non-perceptible power and energy. This energy, which modern physics accepts as convertible into light, shows the reality that the existence of the universe itself is a particle of light, a wave of current of light, which means that the reality of the universe is light. Now consider the concordance between the Light of God and the Light of the universe, i.e. the universe is only a wave of the Light of God. This very Light appeared as an effulgence to Hazrat Musa (A.S.) on the Tur. The heart of Light is being molded from God into the universe. Many universes are being or will be benefited from this Light and many universes will be annihilated by the ceasing of some specific wave of God's Light. If the molding of this wave of Light on emanating from God into a universe demonstrates a movement which is specifically assignable to God its comprehension is not difficult, though there is no precedence for it. This very wave of Light is the creator of different objects in the form of the universe. The combination of time and space is the creator of objects, The same wave of Light, which is completely a motion, by coming into existence through explosion, condensation, ascent and descent appears in different ever-changing forms by radiation and spreading and changing form motion into quiescent and stationary states. If everything is moving one moving object will see the other object stationary, because both are in motion with the same energy and velocity. Motion will be felt only when there is some hand in its velocity, style and form. Life collects energy in a material form and evolves. Motion can be witnessed by your body being in constant motion, by changing of your cells and tissues, by the movement of the earth and the growth of the mountains. Non-living objects show their movement by their fragmentation and re-assembly, still, the act of motion is related to every object by its quality and quantity. But motion is certainly the property of all objects.

Life also is a property of the same Light. Motion itself is a quality derived from life, Life itself is motion. If the mountains are growing and if they increase the objects on or in them it obviously means that they also have life. If the electrons and protons are moving within atoms they are expressions of life in the atoms. The cells and tissues of the human body

have life, and move, Life has different forms and expressions at its different levels. Life appears in constantly changing forms in minerals, plants, animals and mankind. The heap of dust which becomes a cup acquires its life by becoming the cup. We do not perceive some subtle levels and stages of life, but life rages through and appears in every thing and produces the act of change. In the same way sensitivity, which is a property of life is also present in minerals, plants and animals. It has different levels. The change appearing in some stones by touch, and wilting or changing color of some plants reflects their sensitivity. Sensitivity also appears in its different forms by its density and its subtlety. Man has such a level of sensitivity as has the perceptive capacity to distinguish, feel and decide whether to do or not to do some act. When Man evolved, or was created by God in the form of Adam, as a result of the continuation, succession and effect of centuries, arrived at the level of perception he descended from his first level. The fruit which he ate was the same ability to distinguish at the level of perception and he distinguished between himself and his sexual opposite, and by the realization of her presence he gave birth to action which resulted in his transfer from paradise to the earth's orbit. By adopting this motion of Man's or Adam's sensitivity he grew on the earth. By the distinction between himself and his opposite sex he acquired the perception which enabled him to remain in possession of the potentiality of changing his life into a new form. Consequently, through Adam and Eve life started molding itself into different forms.

Life is one of the innumerable possibilities, which can appear from life and sensitivity. Hence the possibility which appears becomes a fact. Destiny is the appearance of any possibility. When some object is faced with the appearance of one of the occurrences selected from the innumerable possibilities that occurrence is called the destiny or fate of that object. This destiny is not pre-determined, but every object makes own destiny by selecting one incident out of the innumerable possibilities. This means that destiny is the name of the occurrence of one possibility out of the innumerable open possibilities. Hence, history which presents itself in the shape of the arrangement, of innumerable incidents is also the name of the appearance of one incident out of the innumerable possible incidents. History is the function of the conversion of possibility into incident. As the appearance of an incident out of possibilities is the destiny of history, which

is selects out of its innumerable possibilities, history is the destiny of any object which moves from possibility into fact. This, the metaphysics of motion, is the characteristic of Iqbal's thought, which in turn is based on his dynamic concept of God, universe and history. Iqbal's concept of the individual and society is formed on the basis of this dynamic philosophy of God, the universe and history.

In this dynamic metaphysics of Iqbal the individual, Khudi and society are involuntarily in motion. In Iqbal's view Khudi is intuition of Man's own individuality and uniqueness by which distinguishes itself and creates as well as goes around the orbit of its 'action. In Iqbal's view the appreciation of one's individuality uniqueness has three stages which he has stated in 'avid Namah an the end of this last Lecture "Is Religion Possible?"

Whether alive or dead or on the verge of death you be

Obtaining testimony from three witnesses you should be

First witness, a sense of existence of the Self

Second witness, a perception of existence of others

To see one's Self with help of the light of others

Third witness, perception of Existence of God

And seeing one's Self with the Light of God

Before this establish the Aiman's Light of God

Consider your Self Live and Eternal like God

Realizing your own status is life

Seeing the Essence Unveiled is life

These verses contain the explanation of Iqbal's philosophy of Khudi. Khudi or the individual's self-identification consists of three levels stages. At the first level he views his own Self, analyses himself in light of his qualities, deeds, longings and ambitions. He acquires knowledge of his own Self, and

finds out what he is. Is he a mere lump of flesh or has some other quality also which establishes his identity personality? The individual or Khudi is also the realization of one of the innumerable possibilities, which God creates and establishes with his extra-ordinary attributes. Khudi appears in the form of the center our actions and efforts. This same center is the inner entity or essence of our personality, This should be called “Ego”. The same “e is active behind our likes and dislikes, our decisions and intentions. “ego” appears directly as our existing and real Self. The knowledge “ego” is not inferential in any sense, but is the direct comprehension Khudi itself. It is an Intuition and Intuition alone provides believable foundation of its being .real. Ghazali considers Khudi a separate entity, higher than intellectual experiences and condition According to him it is a virtue which is single, indivisible a immutable. Many kinds of experiences come and go but. the spirit virtue remains unchanged, However, this definition does not provide us with any clue as to the nature of Khudi. Firstly, it is a metaphysical existence, and it has been supposed to exist so as to explain our experiences. However, do our experiences enter into it in the same way as color in a body? Do they have the same relationship with Khudi as conditions or properties with material particles? This is certainly so. Secondly, as Kant points out, the indivisibility and immutability of the spiritual virtues depends upon the uniqueness of experience. But this uniqueness neither proves its indivisibility nor its immutability. Thirdly, this theory is unable to explain the expressions of the schizophrenic personality. Now psychology considers Khudi as a mere heap of human experiences. But Iqbal not only denies its being a mere mixture of human experiences, he considers Khudi as different from Intellect and Experience, and considers its acquisition as dependent upon concentrating on the depths of the inner consciousness and using Intuition. Nevertheless the expression of Khudi after being exposed in Intuition like this is very difficult. According to Iqbal Khudiis a continuous current of life, feelings and influences which is a discontinuous change within ourselves. It is a mere motion which is present as a unit behind the multifarious feelings, which strings them together, and produces the phenomenon of multiplicity in unity and unity in multiplicity.

According to our above-mentioned statement Khudi also is purely a motion which is part of our continuous feelings and reflections and which is present in our experiences and feelings like a unit which links them together

on a string. Thus, it constitutes a dynamic unit in the experiences and reflections of our perceptions, which are part of the continuous process of ever-changing experiences and their unlimited possibilities. In other words human Khudi is also a name for a creative current of perception which is continuously progressing with production of its unlimited possibilities and which is propelled by the desire for expression. In this human ego we witness the effulgence of God in the same way as we see the manifestation and warmth of the sun in innumerable water-filled cups, or witness the presence of the river's flow and flood in the river's waves. Like our above-mentioned explanation about life and its gradual ascent from minerals, through plants and animals to Man, perception also progresses through rise and fall in different stages and conditions. Its revolving circle starts with the primal source of life and perception, i.e. God. A very subtle and pure ray of Light emerges from God which, becoming gradually materialized appears in extremely subtle particles of Light. These particles of Light, evolving from the particles of air through the particles of water appear in such particles of soil which are indivisible any further and are invisible. These particles are converted into such particles of soil through multiplying and assuming material form, as produce different elements in different objects. All these elements by their mutual combination and interaction create life and its perceptions. Life and perception are not two different things on the contrary as life becomes gradually more and more pure it acquires maturity of perception and the perceptions become more dynamic, mobile and reliable. As life gradually becomes more and more impure the senses become gradually less and less lasting and less and less mobile. This revolving circle of life reverts to its original condition from God, particles, or in the material universe from minerals, insects, plants, animals, to elegant and chosen persons and Man. It keeps on moving between union and separation and the perception continues traveling through its stages in the company of life. Consequently, when the human Khudi attains self-cognizance it progresses from Khudi to Bekhudi, from individualism to collectivism, from Man to society, and finds its place through the visions of history. Perception moves from individual to collective perception and for its cognizance creates cultural and social norms in the same way as God, transforming Himself from a concealed treasure to congregational elegance, created a system for being known. In this state of affairs the new needs, desires, ambitions and longings of Man created in him a restlessness, a warmth, a feeling of

disappointment, and gave him a new strength which created in him the power of dynamism and activism and activism. Iqbal calls this "Love". The human life started with the longing for absorption, and the ardent desire for reaching and meeting the Beloved, The desire for everlasting continuation of the human race was the strongest force in its creation. The very foundation of human society is based on Man's desire to establish and continue the human race. The foundation of all economic struggle, all institutions, the formation and evolution of all civilizations, cultures and societies as well as the sum and substance of "Self" is this continuation and betterment of the human race, Every religion, every belief, existence and institution lasts only as long as it regards the continuance and betterment of the human race as its ideal. In this way the creation of the collective personality of a society, its personality and identification is associated with the betterment and continuance of the human race, Hence any society which is based on the collective existence of people cannot be useful unless it is dynamic itself. The human society is not an artificial entity, but is a natural collection which ensures the satisfaction of their needs. This is so because Man is a social animal which not only likes to live in society but is compelled to do so for his own continuance. He creates different institutions according to his innate and natural needs.

We have stated above that history is the destiny of some object which moves from possibility into reality and history is the act of moving from possibility into reality. In addition we also state that history is also the record of the society's ups and downs. When the different components-and actions of society, changing from possibility to reality, leave some records, and when these records are eventually saved, we create our own trails for the preservation and continuance of our race and for balancing and prolonging our dynamism. In this way, in the words of Byling Brook history teaches us philosophy through the examples of the rise and falls of human civilization, and shows us the ways of shaping the institutions for our environment on proper lines. In this way history changes from a science to an art. Iqbal called history a gramophone record. But Iqbal also calls history a mold of man and his destinies because we ourselves move forward fixing our own speed with history's help. In the same context, with reference to the Holy Qur'an, Iqbal adjudges history as a fountainhead of mutually associated events of knowledge, which is a necessary means of establishment and stability of

Khudi in nature. Thus, history becomes such a fountainhead of the Signs of God which becomes a means of acquiring knowledge from the Self and the universe. In Iqbal's view history is an inductive science, because it derives its inferences from individual examples through logical reasoning. It was this inductive study of history which created in Muslims the habit of inductive methodology. Iqbal does not consider the science of history restricted to historical generalities. On the contrary he says that the Holy Qur'an has established a basic principle of historical criticism. The same science of historical criticism introduced the science of humanities, testing of traditions and use of intelligence. In any case in Iqbal's philosophy of history it is not a mere collection of facts, but in its capacity of being the signs of God is in itself a reliable source of knowledge. This is so because history is a reliable record of human activities as a member of society which moves us towards organizing a series of inferences about the past, present and future through induction, and warns us about the transfer of objects from the realm of possibility to that of fact, Here the question arises whether the knowledge of God is restricted to the universal principles with reference to possibility, or extends to all the details. In the view of Iqbal as well as in our view, as possibility includes the universal principles and there are all possibilities of the universal principles being within the knowledge of God, the knowledge of God about generalities is proven to include that of details. He knows the whole universe of possibilities and that of fact, including all their details. Now the selection of any specific possibility turning into fact is the function of possibility itself. So the knower of this knowledge completely covers possibility and occurrence, but the responsibility for the results of this occurrence will rest squarely on the shoulders of the person selecting it. Its responsibility will not extend to its knower. This is an important problem which demanded reference in view of its importance, Now, as the bestower of this power of the occurrence of possibility is also God the question arises as to why God bestows the power of doing evil. The reply is that God has fully demonstrated the virtue and evil to Man, the source of evil is present within himself and the one persuading towards evil is present in the outside. However, Man's nature has been provided with the criterion for distinguishing between virtue and evil. Man certainly feels restraint and abhorrence at the tith of committing evil as well as after it but he paralyzes his capacity to select properly on account of being overcome by greed, anger and jealousy. Hence, the disposition for selection of virtue and feeling

pleasure after doing a virtuous act has been endowed in Man by God Himself. In the same way the disposition for restraint on sin, and feelings of pain and shame after committing it is also found in Man. Even if goaded by being human he does commit a sin God has kept the door for forgiveness open, even though society may or may not forgive him. In spite of this if somebody misuses this right of selection he alone is accountable for it. If the mistake in the right of election is punishable its correct selection is also worthy of rewards. It is the Divine Will that He preferred a specific selection for a particular person's destiny and nobody has the power to object.

As we have explained above society is essential for the Khudi and the very continuance of Man, because being a social animal Man cannot live his life in isolation. This very nature of sociability has led Man to create different institutions for his inter-relationships, out of which State is the most important and in fact the real institution. All other institutions are affiliated to it and their function is only to ensure the continuity of the State, to keep moderation and balance within it and to devise plans for its evolution and progress. The most primary form of this institution is the family, with its progressively higher forms of brotherhood, tribe and finally nation and State. Iqbal has devised very fundamental principles to keep this institution based upon justice and fair play. Iqbal considers the human society or State a basic training institution for evolution and progress of human Khudi which is an evolutionary, live and dynamic organ. But, because Iqbal places on religion the foundation of the metaphysics of his thought we cannot comprehend his attitude towards State and its different institutions. So let us briefly review Iqbal's concept of religion.

Defining religion in the words of Professor Whitehead Iqbal writes, "Religion is the system of well known truths which, if followed sincerely and understood as they should be, will change morals and character."

By acceptance Iqbal means having faith in the system of the truths of religion. In the words of Farid al-Din 'Attar Faith, without the aid of Intellect, finds its unmarked way like a bird. In Iqbal's view-religion is not mere feelings but includes the component of Intellect also, for which reason the existence of thinking is inescapable for religion. Hence, in Iqbal's view some intellectual basis is needed for religion's principles and beliefs even more than for science, For the same reason Whitehead regards every period

of religion to have a component of Intellect. That is why Sufis and Kalam theologians came into existence very early in Islam. In Iqbal's view the prayer of the Holy Prophet "O God apprise me with the reality of all things" was the starting point of the basis of Intellect which, together with the Greek philosophy, appeared as a strong cultural power. Still this cultural potential of the Greek philosophy was conceived to exist in the Holy Qur'an to a limited extent among the people of insight. The passage from the deductive trend of the Greek philosophy to the inductive trend is the acquisition of Islamic culture itself, which, moving the Muslims from abstract theories and concepts, led them towards comprehension with senses and, together with Intellect and mind, gave the concept of the reality of hearing and sight. After two hundred years the Muslims started feeling that the Holy Qur'an own spirit was contrary to the Greek philosophy. The substance of this revolt appealed in the logical discourses of Ghazali and Ibn Taymiyya. In Iqbal's view Intuition and thought are not mutually contradictory but, being derived from the same fountainhead are mutually complementary. One attains the grasp of the Absolute Reality in stages and the other in its entirety. One sees the eternal aspect of Reality and the other temporal. In other words while Intuition seeks the pleasure of enjoying the Reality in its entirety, thought treads the path with cautious steps and fixes the peculiarities and limits of its different components so as to view them individually one by one. Both need each other for their freshness and strength. So Intuition and Thought are not different from each other, but Intuition is only an advanced stage of Thought, and both have an organic relationship with each other. In Iqbal's view, unlike Kant and Ghazali, thought is not incapable of reaching the destination but is able to reach the Boundless Reality with the deepest dynamism concealed in itself. Thought in its intrinsic value is dynamic, not static. Thought appears in its entirety within the limits of time, which we comprehend with reference to one another, while beyond time its entirety is preserved The Lawh-i-Mahfooz in the words of the Holy Qur'an. All the undefined possibilities of knowledge are present in it from the very beginning, which make their appearance in the form of defined concepts in the continuity of time. In this way the unlimited and undefined possibilities, becoming limited in the continuity of time appear in the form of limited concepts of knowledge, and in this way in every action of knowledge also thought, transcending its limits, enters into limitlessness, and so thought is freed from its limitations. In the breaking of its limits and in the achieving of

its limitlessness alone thought gets that dynamism which keeps it oscillating between limitlessness and limit. Hence, religious thought also, like the flame of longing, is busy in restlessness for acquiring its limited accessibility from its inaccessibility.

The religious experience, which forms the foundation of this Intuition, instead of exhibiting the comprehended, can only explain the controversies of logic. This is so because of the difficulties in the faithful expression of its attributes of concentration, and the uniqueness and individuality of the Sufi's moment of ecstasy. This increasing expression of his condition exhibits and promotes the development and expression of the component of feelings. But feeling itself is a great source of knowledge, which fully preserves the grandeur of knowledge in his religious experience, and makes it possible to acquire the knowledge of the comprehended due to the presence of the component of Intellect. Thus thought oscillates between the temporal and non-temporal limits of the Truth. Hence, by the merging of the Sufi with the Eternal Essence the continuity of time is not negated because in spite of its uniqueness the momentary and ephemeral Sufistic observations are not separate from daily feelings and perceptions. Very soon the Sufi returns from his Sufistic or prophetic condition to the world of physical occurrences. In Iqbal's view it is clear that Sufistic observations are also as real and as reliable in the acquisition of knowledge as some other universe of our observations. In this way in Iqbal's view the revealed books, and particularly, the Holy Qur'an are a reliable source of knowledge, which is the universe of the spiritual observations of the Holy Prophet which was divinely revealed to this heart. In Iqbal's view the echo of the spiritual experience of a prophet is the vehicle of far-reaching results for mankind. This echo is creative. The prophet, returning from his spiritual incidents, enters the current of time, so as to create a new world of goals with the superiority and the powers of the whole world. The pleasure of Union is the last stage for a Sufi as is clear from the statement of Sheikh Abd al-Quddus Gangohi. Defining prophet-hood-Iqbal says, This is that form of the perception of saint-hood in which the occurrences of Union exceed their limits and search for the means of discovering or re-shaping those powers which are the creator of collective life. In other words in the personality of prophets the limited center of life is absorbed in its unbounded depths, so that it may re-emerge with a new power and strength. It annihilates the past and opens up new paths of life to

it. By this concept Iqbal elevates religion much above a system of mere beliefs and rituals to a social and cultural movement which shapes the collective form of Man on the basis of Tawhid and binds this cultural power of religion with the science of Tawhid.

Iqbal, by moving away from the traditional concept of religion and presenting it as a scientific and cultural movement, makes religion itself a social, cultural and scientific current which is moving, evolutionary and constantly acquiring ever new dimensions, instead of leaving it as a puzzle of inert, immobile theories and beliefs. This means that in Iqbal's view this principle of Tawhid is continuously moving towards evolution in its social environment. The seed of Tawhid also produces social and cultural fruits around itself and appears in its ever new forms in every human historical as well as existing environment. In Islam Ijtihad is really another name for scientific reasoning for Islam's principle of Tawhid, which we do for our guidance in our special historical as well as existing, individual and collective environments, so that we may live our lives in life's fast moving evolution. By accepting three sources of knowledge, i.e. the world of Nature, Self, and History Islam has accepted the principle that in the explanation of the principles of Tawhid these worlds cannot be overlooked. Therefore, it is very necessary to 'keep in view the world of Nature, (the physical world), 'self, (psychological and the temporal world) and History (the social and cultural world) in the explanation and clarification of Ijtihad. In Iqbal's view, as the universe is not a static and immobile entity but a moving reality, life also is a mobile reality. When life is the name of an incessant movement, and all social, cultural and civic institutions surrounding it are part of a motion, how long can the rules and regulations of life remain immobile and static? Therefore, even the principles which Islam has called eternal and absolute also contain within them the components of motion, evolution and progress, and together with the needs and conditions of the evolving life they also continue evolving. This is that revolution which Iqbal presented in the form of a constantly evolving system of life and concepts in contradistinction of the concept of religion as an immobile and static religion with fixed beliefs and rituals. Iqbal has reasoned in favor of the principle of Ijtihad on the conversation of Hazrat Ma' az Ibn Jabal, Governor of Yemen, with the Holy Prophet (peace be upon him) in which the former expressed the desire to use his own religious insight to express and apply Islamic principles after the

Book of God and the Practice of the Holy Prophet (peace be upon him). The history of Islamic Fiqh also shows that the scholars of Fiqh, have used this principle freely in Islamic legislation and, with their religious insight, have leaned heavily on Ijtihad in accordance with their existing environment. Hence, in Islam the need and importance of Ijtihad for legislation and religious matters was never abandoned in any period and environment. On the other hand, with the increasing depth and complexity in the evolution of life, its need and importance is increasing. It is the principle of Ijtihad alone which has maintained Islam as a living reality in its competition with other religions. Hence, if Islam claims to be the religion for all humanity and all ages it is incumbent on it to be capable of fulfilling the needs of Man universally and in all ages. In addition, in my view Islam insists on its acceptance and practice from all its believers. The practical aspects of religious doctrine which tailor to the temporary, and temporal needs of different cultures and civilizations should not be emphasized to the extent of turning them contrary to Islamic principles. Distinction should also be made between the requirements of Islam and Arab society of the time of the Holy Prophet (peace be upon him). Islam should insist on its adherents to obey its commandments, but the Arab society of the Holy Prophet's days and its social norms should not be considered Islam and it should not be confined to them. The traditions of the Holy Prophet (peace be upon him) should not be confused with conformity with the Arab society. On the other hand the essence of the Holy Prophet's traditions, i.e. the highlights of character should be emphasized. This is so because the cultural, social and civic norms of the days of the Holy Prophet (peace be upon him) have changed much due to the passage of long time. Applying the social norms of those days to the present age is tantamount to turning the wheels of history backwards. This is obviously un-Islamic because Islam is the name of organizing history on its own principles rather than dragging it back. The main principle is that, keeping Islamic principles and their spirit in view we should shape our civic, cultural, and social institutions in such a way that they should clearly reflect the spirit of Islam together with modernism.

After explaining this basic principle we want to explain that the State which Islam wants to create is such an ideological State as is based on the concept of Tawhid. In, Iqbal's view the ideology of Tawhid is the basic principle of our individual as well as collective lives. The ideal Islamic State

will not be shaped on the principle of race, language, geography or collective gain. On the other hand the Islamic concept, of Tawhid is the basic principle of shaping it. 4 According to this the State and its government is a trust of God, where the ultimate authority rests in God and the pillars of the State are obliged to establish the ultimate authority of God in the State and, being the vicegerent of God on earth create such a collective theology where the law of God may reign supreme, and should select their advisors by mutual consultation and opinion, who would establish Islamic justice, clean economic ways and virtuous society. Iqbal calls this State and the machinery as well as the system for its administration “Spiritual Democracy”, which should be governed through such a parliament the members of which would possess Islamic character and would legislate on the principle of Ijtihad and with due regard to the requirements of the times. In Iqbal’s view the legislation of such an elected parliament, enforced by the powers of the Islamic State, would create a Figh which would satisfy our timely needs on the one hand and, eliminating sectarianism, would reflect our collective perceptions and would be able to create unity among us. Iqbal has two expectations from such an ideological Islamic State. One is the establishment of a precedence which would start the work of change in the other states of the Islamic world, and will result in the establishment of this ideal spiritual democracy in them, which will ultimately lead to the molding of all the democracies born out of this concept of Islamic State into a federation. In this- way the Muslim world will witness the dream of Islamic renaissance come true. The second expectation of Iqbal from this Islamic State, which would be the embodiment of spiritual democracy, will be solving the economic problems of its poor population: The land and all resources belong to God which concept - makes it incumbent on the Islamic State to disallow the continued concentration of these resources in a few hands, and must take periodic initiatives for the just and fair distribution of these resources. In Iqbal’s view the just and fair distribution of there resources. In Iqbal’s view the just and fair distribution of resources and their procure and the elimination of all kinds of feudalism and capitalism is the act of reverting to the real spirit and principles of Islam. For this Islam has undertaken to establish of ‘Ushr, and benevolence in addition to Zakat. When Islam introduces the economy of charity and benevolence in place of the economy of usury it uproots economic disparity completely. The State to be established on the principles of Iqbal’s “Spiritual Democracy” must be

considered bound to provide education, medical treatment, home, and justice and fair play to all people. In this State the society is strengthened collectively in addition to conferring dignity on the individual's individuality, and such institutions, associations and pressure groups are formed as, continuously draw the society, the State and its pillars to progress and evolution. Its goal would be to keep the society and its life dynamic and to keep the society constantly flourishing through Ijtihad according to the requirements of every age and environment and with due regard to the ideology of Islam. This alone is the essence of Iqbal's philosophy.

On the basis of this very philosophy of revolution Iqbal presented the concept of Muslim nationalism in contrast with the. nationalism nurtured by the geographical, racial and linguistic movements of Europe. He adjudged this philosophy of revolution as the charter of the Nation of Islam and created the concept of this Islamic national throughout the Islamic world. This philosophy was also a reaction against the movements of migration, Arab nationalism and the con of a single nation propounded in the Indian sub-continent. This Islamic nationalism was not related to homeland, province, race, collective' interests or economic ends. On the contrary it was based entirely c the creed of Tawhid. It contained the lesson of Islamic unity from the banks of Nile to the city of Kashghar for the defense of the Haram. Iqbal conferred this new enthusiasm on the nation of Islam from Lahore to the lands of Bukhara and Samarqand and talked about making Tehran as the center of the Islamic world.

The Muslims should unite into one body for Haram's defense

From banks of the Nile to the city of Kashghar

I have given a new enthusiasm to the hearts

Form Lahore to the lands of Bukhara and Samarqand

If Tehran becomes the Geneva of the Eastern lands

Perhaps the destiny of the whole world may change

This same Islamic nationalism was the most powerful weapon the Indian Muslims against the Hindu imperialism, which brought about the

defeat of the British, Hindus and their camp followers, as well as the establishment of Pakistan under the leadership of Quaid-Azam. Thus, Pakistan was an ideological State based on the principle of Islamic nationalism, which should have been established on an ideology from the very outset. Unfortunately the absence of Iqbal ideology and the dearth of leadership of Quaid-i-Azam's character made the country the victim of the plunder by feudal lords, landlord capitalists, mullahs and pirs. Consequently, Pakistan was deprived of the State based on the ideology of Islam and Islamic nationalism. It made Pakistan the helpless prey to sectarian, racial, linguistic, provincial and group prejudices. Pointing out an old malady of the Muslims Iqbal had said that Muslims lacked spiritual enlightenment which he had attributed to the Islamic Nation's attachment to monarchy, and the institutions of Mullahs and Sufis. This means that though the malady of the Muslims is due to external causes, the above three are very important among the internal ones. These maladies are slowly consuming their body corporate. Iqbal gave the solution to monarchy in the form of "Spiritual Democracy", annihilated Mullaism and the resulting sectarian mentality by assigning the right of Ijtihad to the parliament. He discarded the institutions of Tasawwuf and Pirs on the basis of their being born in the 'Ajam and are based on "Philosophy of Goats". Distancing himself from the philosophy, Wahdat al-Wujud of Ibn al-Arabi, Hafiz, and Plato he adopted that of Wahdat al-Shuhud of Hazrat Mujaddid Alif Thani.*" Thus, rejecting these three institutions responsible for the Muslims' downfall he established new ways, because in Iqbal's view these institutions were symptoms of the static and stalemated life, and were devoid of the spirit of Iqbal's philosophy of dynamism. Hence if Iqbal's spiritual democracy, Islamic nationalism and spirit of Ijtihad, which is based on the inductive method and is associated with an elected parliament, is accepted and, instead of the 'Ajami philosophy of Tasawwuf Iqbal's ideology of Khudi is adopted the Islamic world can benefit from both the spiritual as well as the material revolution. The same was the subject matter and the *raison d'être* of Iqbal's "Lectures" and poetic works, through which he satisfied the demand of the youth of Islamic Asia and Africa that the time was ripe for the assessment of the basic principles of Islam so that Islam might be understood as a system which concerns the whole of the human race. In addition to this Iqbal also considered the changes in Central Asia in addition to the new current of awakening among Muslims as the prime movers of this movement. On this basis he undertook to review Islamic

theology and in this way, by the comprehension of correspondence and reconstruction between religion and science, established a new theology which, in the words of Maulana Saeed Ahmad Akbarabadi, laid the foundation of a new theology. It also created, in our thinking, a new philosophy of revolution, which is a blessing for the whole human race in addition to Muslims. Still, as Iqbal stood for dynamism and revolution he, not only made himself dynamic and vocal, but also made it clear that in philosophical thinking there is no such thing as absolute and final. As and where we advance forward new ways for thought open up. Many more ideologies, and perhaps more important than those presented in his “Lectures”, will present themselves to us. In any case it is our duty to keep a careful watch on the growth and development of human thought and carry out independent criticism in this field. It is this point of view of Iqbal alone which is the spirit of his philosophy of revolution and tells us that we should continue critical examination of our religious, political, cultural, and social concepts along with the evolutionary progress in human thought, and should always remain in search of a new world for ourselves because the spirit of the lives of nations is the struggle of revolution.

NOTES & REFERENCES

1. Aiman- The valley of Mount Sinai.
2. Figh- The body of literature and knowledge in Islamic jurisprudence.
3. Khudi- The realization by Man of his elegant status in God’s creation according to the Holy Qur’an.
4. Ijtihad- The effort of a jurist to determine the right course of action new situations in the light of the sources of the Shari’ah.
5. Lawh-i-Mahfooz- The guarded tablet in the High Spiritual Universe which the Holy Qur’an has been inscribed since eternity.
6. Mullah- A term applied to rather half-baked religious scholars w interpret the Holy Qur’an and other sources of the Shari’ah literally.

7. Per- The spiritual guide in Tasawwuf. However, in the modern tin this position has become hereditary which leads to its corruption and which is what Allama Iqbal has condemned in his works.

8. Qul al-'Afv- Between the two extremes of capitalism and commune Allama Iqbal supports and preaches the. middle path of Islam contained in the Holy Qur'an 2:219, which teaches Muslims to "spend what is beyond

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their legitimate needs". At the very outset of the Communist experiment Allama Iqbal predicted the arrival of the time when the meaning of the phrase "Qul al-Afv" would be clarified:

0 brave Muslim dive into the depths of the Qur'an May God endow you with renovation of conduct The secret of "Spend what is beyond your needs" May perhaps be revealed in this day and age

9. Tasawwuf or Sufism- The system of comprehension of the nature of creation, the essence of the Creator and the correct guidance in the pursuit of the dictates of the Shari'ah on the basis of Divine guidance obtained through the Love of God, meditation .and supplication to God in terms of the Holy Qur'an 1:6-7. This is in opposition to philosophy which is based on the guidance of the Intellect as opposed to that of the Heart. During the course of its history Tasawwuf has been divided into several groups with variations in their practices. It has also undergone degeneration in its practices to which many reformers, including Allama Iqbal have objected and which they have tried to reform.

10. Tawhid- Belief in and declaration of the Unity of God and fulfillment the demands of that belief. Allama Iqbal has used this term for the "Unity of God" as well as the "Unity of mankind"

11. Ushr- The tenth part of the proceeds from agriculture which are to be given by Muslims into Zakat fund for use of the unprivileged members of the Muslim society.

12. Wandat al-Wujud- The doctrine of a section of Sufis according to which the real existence is the attribute of only one Entity and the rest of the universe is only the appearance of the same Entity in different forms.

13. Wandat al-Shuhud- The doctrine of another section of Sufis according to which the universe is the creation of God and is a reflection of His Image, which is incomprehensible by average persons.

14. Wahy- A form of Divine revelation bestowed only upon prophets. Acceptance of this revelation and its dictates is incumbent on everyone to whom it has been communicated.

15. Zakat- Obligatory tax on Muslims payable on the accumulated wealth of a person at the end of each year. The proceeds of this tax are to be used for the amelioration of the condition of the unprivileged members of the Muslim society.

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2. Will Durrant, Store of Philosophy Translation by Maulvi Ihsan Ahmad, Hyderabad Deccan, 1942, p.49.

3. Muhammad Iqbal Kulliyat-i-Iqbal (Persian). Published by Ghulam Ali and Sons, Lahore, pp. 32-34.

In Mathnavi of Asrar-i-Khudi Iqbal calls Plato “the Ancient Ascetic” the “Ancient sheep”

Many a nation have been poisoned by his poison Slept and were deprived of the taste for action

4. Muhammad Iqbal, The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam Iqbal Academy Pakistan, Lahore, 1989. Preface.

5. Muhammad Iqbal, The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam, cit., p.8.

6. Ali, Abbas Jalalpuri Iqbal Ka Ilm-i-Kalam (Iqbal's Theology), Khirad Afroz, Jhelum, Pakistan, 1987, pp. 61-77.

7. Bertrand Russell, History of Western Philosophy, George Allan & U' Ltd. 1961, p. 135.

8. Ibid., p. 216.

9. Ibid., "There is one unmoved mover, which directly causes a circular motion".

Both these statements, to say the least, are blatant simplifications which, moreover, do not find support from the available materials in Iqbal's writings on the same subject. A more balanced nearer to truth observation would be to say that Iqbal tried to reforms for the institution of Tasawwuf while upholding its positive aspects and, regarding the question of Wahdat al-Wujud, maintained an ambivalent attitude while taking philosophic/metaphysical positions that were not different than those of Ibn 'Arabi. (Editor)

TIME IN SPECIAL RELATIVITY THEORY

Part-II

Aziz Ahmad

5- A MISUNDERSTANDING BY EINSTEIN AND OTHERS.

In his book, *The Meaning of Relativity* Einstein took into consideration the two events of the emission and reception of a ray of light and while deriving the Lorentz transformation, wrote the following:

Before we analyse further the conditions which define the Lorentz transformation, we shall introduce the light time, $l = ct$, in place of the time, t , in order that the constant C shall not enter explicitly into formulas to be developed later.

It is unnecessary to surmise why Einstein wanted to exclude the constant C from “the formulas to be developed later”. What is important to note is the fact that the constant C performs the function of life and soul of his special theory and as such cannot be ignored, and that the so-called light-time $l = ct$ is not time, but distance travelled by light in the time t at the velocity C .

Two pages ahead Einstein wrote the first Lorentz transformation as under:

$$z' = x - vt$$

(29)

A few lines onwards, he wrote the following:

if we introduce the ordinary time t , in place of the light-time l , ‘ then in (29) we must replace l by ct and v by v .

When v is substituted by v and l is substituted by ct , the first Lorentz transformation equation written above as (29) then becomes

$$XrY .$$

XI ' wL

Einstein wrote the fourth. Lorentz transformation as under: — t - yxi
i- v2

Substituting for the symbols 1' and 1, . the symbols ct' and ct respectively and for the symbol v, the symbol as per Einstein quoted

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above, the equation becomes

ct' ct . z~

The symbols ct'and ct and x,stand for the distance ~travelled by li In order to convert these distances into times of travel of light, need to divide them by C. The equation then becomes

ti – _v

G C

Thus, in their actually true from, the above two

L,,renti

transformation equations need to be written as - x . ct

v, G

Y cl

It is now possible to direct attention to an unfortunate mistake or misunderstanding which somehow cropped up in Eintein's mind and which continues to exist in the minds of the relativists, physicists and mathematicians till today. The fundamental problem which Einstein had set up to solve was, in his own words, the following 15:

What are the values x, y; z, t; of an event with respect to K

when the magnitudes x

... of the same event with respect to K. The relation must be so chosen that the law of the transmission of light in vacuo is satisfied for one and the

same ray of light (and of course for every ray) with respect to K and K'

This problem was solved by means of the Lorentz transformation

But very unfortunately, Einstein fell victim to the initial assumption that these transformation equations will be serviceable in respect of the

time and place of any event whatsoever which occurs anywhere in the

system K. In his first paper on relativity, he wrote the following: "To any system of values x, y, z, t , which completely defines the place and time of an event in stationary system, there belongs a system of values x', y', z', t' ; determining that event relatively

to the system K' and our task is now

to find out the system of equations connecting these quantities.

By the phrase "any system of values x, y, z, t ," Einstein was definitely contemplating any event anywhere in the stationary system K. But in order to derive the Lorentz transformation equations, he had to restrict himself to the consideration of the special events of the emission and

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reception of a ray of light. As is apparent from our restructured Lorentz transformation,

$$x' = \gamma (x - vt)$$

Z

$$t' = \gamma \left(t - \frac{vx}{c^2} \right)$$

the symbol ct in the first equation denotes the distance travelled by the ray of light in the time ending with the instant t and the symbol x in the second equation stands for the time of travel of the same ray, from the point of emission to the point x where it is made to terminate in the system K . The Lorentz transformation, therefore, is applicable only in respect of the event of reception of the ray of light at the instant t at some point x in some inertial coordinate system. It is not applicable to other events occurring at places which lie beyond the point to which the ray of light can reach in the specified interval of time from the origin of the coordinate system. Its primary concern is with the place and time of the event of reception of the ray of light relative to the various inertial systems. This fact does not seem to have occurred to Einstein's mind nor to the minds of the subsequent physicists and mathematicians. It may apply secondarily, if at all, to other events only if these happen to occur at the same place and time as of the event of the reception of the ray. In other words, if in the system K , the distance of the event from the point of emission of the ray is greater than the distance which the ray of light can cover till the instant t of the occurrence of the event, the Lorentz transformation cannot enable us to find out, the place and time of the same event relative to the moving system K' ; because X of the distance ct and c of the interval of the restructured Lorentz transformation equations concern only the distance coverable by the ray of light in the interval of time ending with the instant t , which distance in the case under consideration will be less than the distance of the event from the point of emission of the ray. Thus the Lorentz transformation has nothing to do with the events occurring in the region termed "elsewhere" in the Minkowski diagram, in which the distance x of an event is greater than the distance ct which the ray of light can cover till the instant t at the velocity C . The range of applicability of the Lorentz transformation is, therefore, restricted by the light travel distance ct and/or the light

travel time From the x and t of the event of reception of the ray of light in the system K , the VG of ct and the tC of c have to be subtracted respectively in order to obtain the x' and t' of the same event of the

reception of the ray of light in the system K' ; i.,

Minkowski Diagram

Through an unwarranted application of the Lorentz transformation to the events in the “elsewhere” region of the Minkowski diagram the peculiar nature of these events has been elicited to be such that if an event P occurs after event o in the system K, then a system K₁ can be specified in which the same event P occurs before event p, and also! third system K₂ can be found with respect to which these two events o and p occur at the same time. Probably it was this peculiarity of the events in the region termed “elsewhere” in the Minkowski diagram which prompted H. Weyl¹⁷ to his celebrated remark that, “The objective world simply is, it does not happen.” Or in the words of Oliver Costa De Beauregard,¹⁸ “relativity is a theory in which everything is “written” and where change is only relative to the perceptual mode of living beings.” Or in simple words, “events do not happen; we simply meet them.” The import of these jargons exhibits itself as a wonder piece in the hands of the admirers of the theory, according to whom the totality of events of the universe is given and there is no such thing as happening or occurring of events. The late Allama Iqbal could not reconcile himself with this result of the theory which conflicted with his view of time¹⁹ as a “free creative movement.” But as pointed out above, the events in the “elsewhere” region of the Minkowski diagram are not within the scope of the theory and so the earlier-later temporal order of events is not abolished and stands unscathed.

By eliminating the symbol c from the terms yo/ct and making vt of them in the first Lorentz transformation equation, and by amalgamation of the terms x/c into vx/c in the second Lorentz transformation equation, the real physical intent and significance of these terms gets severely damaged and obscured so as to promote serious misconceptions. If so, there is here a little cautionary lesson for the mathematical physicists to exercise care while manipulating terms which stand for physical quantities so that the physical purport of these terms may not get lost through elimination of certain essential symbols.

6. A LOGICO MATHEMATICAL ERROR.

Let us calculate by means of the Lorentz transformation, the time of the system k' at the end A of the rod, i.e. at the origin o' of the system K' when the

ray of light reaches the other end B of the rod AB. The ray of light reaches the end B in one K'-second and at leg 15 of the system K opposite the end B in 3 K-seconds. In 3 K-seconds, the end A of the

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rod which moves in the system K, covers a distance of [3 x 4] 12 K-legs at the velocity of 4 K-legs per one K-second. So the coordinates of the event of arrival of the end A opposite leg 12 of the system are

$$x = 12, \quad t = 3$$

By use of the Lorentz transformation:

$$x' = 0 \text{ S/3 } [2 - 3X 4] \text{ or } 53 \times 0$$

$$t' = 5 - 5/3834' / Sx \% \text{ or SA} \quad 4,85 - S/3 \text{ ZZS}$$

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Thus according to the Lorentz transformation, the time at the end

A of the rod in the system K' turns out to be Q' K'-seconds instead of one K'-second.

Here are two events, one the arrival of the ray of light at leg 15 of the system K and two, the arrival of the end A of the rod opposite leg 12 of the system K. Both occur after 3 K-seconds. They are, therefore, simultaneous in the system K. But in the system K', the same ray of light arrives at the end B of the rod and opposite leg 15 of the system K in one K'-second. Therefore, when the first event occurs, time at the end B of the rod is one K'-second. In this one K'-second, the ray of light travelled 5 K'-legs starting from the end A at zero hour. -

So, when the ray covers a distance of 5 K'-legs and arrives at the end

B of the rod and opposite leg 15 of the system K, the time at the end A, as judged from the system K; need also be one K'-second. But according to

the Lorentz transformation, when the ray arrives at the end B of the rod and opposite leg 15 of the system K, time at the end A in the system K', is not one second, but $Q/5 K'$ -seconds. In the system K, therefore, these events are not simultaneous, the one occurs after one K' -second and the other occurs according to the Lorentz transformation, after V -seconds.

Einstein is said²⁰ to have in mind the problem of measuring time since the age of sixteen years. During the course of his thought and speculation, he must have come across such knots as the above where the Lorentz transformation allots different times at the two ends of the rod AB. It is stated that

Einstein suddenly realized one morning in May 1905 that there was a great gap in the classical treatment of time and that it is not obvious that two events in different places which are simultaneous for one observer must necessarily be simultaneous for another.

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Such an intuition

complications as the above must have enabled him transformation even if they n dismiss st as mere unfamiliar facts and to opt for t

2, knots in his first paper on s Y arise in it. So

special relativity verdict s

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Two events which viewed from. ,,

am a system of coordinates simultaneous, can no longer be looked upon events when envisaged are <

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Several years later, his verdict on this was motion s

no such thing as ter h simultaneity dog c2

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mathematical error transformation, we But by using the usual,
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system y of light from 1' With the flow of n the

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When the ray at light reaches leg in the equivalents 4

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that Such a conformity

\sim stem K.

The ray must also
y of light took 3 K-seconds to reach leg opposite the end B in the system K;
but the same ra took othe s

second to arrive at the end B system K

The excess time of the rod o ray only one K'.

taken by the ray in the system K is 15 K seconds

stem

system movement of the rod Y of light in the system K,

system K in one movement of 4 K in AB. The ray covers 5 K , is due to the see

system order to ray covers 5 K s in the

K' but in one K-second catch up with the end 'moves K-

forward. So the end B moves 4 K in the

so the ray has to cover this additional distance of 4 K

every one Kira ray away 4 K seconds.

every

for its Or in other words, it has to 4 K legs in

system, movement in one 4 K over 5 K excess 1 K

K. So the excess time for the second over every 1 K time of

every 5 K legs in over 5 K seconds,

every 5 K legs in the-system K is 1 K seconds movement of the ray light over then

the movement of the end A Therefore the excess time for the

moves 4 K and A over every 5 K seconds, in case 4 K seconds 'Y' if 5 K -legs hit need also light moved every

5 K seconds in the same one second 1 K -second while the ray

is in Since the end of the rod is 4 K seconds

1; 3 K-seconds the total A has moved over 12 he P°ir y ‘ _ JSK
n 3 ~Ksec excess time taken b

of 3 this excess time is subtracted from the it should ould be
the

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contraction f 3 K s c factor f --minder,- ‘ °iy

cz;_~ srs when corrected b K-time opp<

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w y the system K. So when thew.i

of th

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remainder[-: is divided by the length contraction factor 5/5, it

comes out to be 1 second which is the K'time for the arrival of
the end A of the rod at leg 12 of the system K.

If one K' -second of time at the end A is correct, then the two events,)
i- the event of arrival of the ray of light at the end B and opposite leg 15 of
the system, K and ii-) the event of arrival of the end A opposite leg 12 of the
system K are simultaneous events also in the

system K°

In the restructured Lorentz transformation

$t' - t - \frac{v}{c^2} x$..

V

T V^2/C^2

the term stands for the light travel time at the velocity C , but here we are concerned with the travel time of the end A at the velocity V

4 K-legs per one K-second. Therefore, in the above equation, as per ordinary logic, the term needed to be used should be in place of. By using the modified equation'

c

we get $t \sim \frac{L}{c} - \frac{L}{c} \frac{v}{c}$ or $t \sim \frac{L}{c} (1 - \frac{v}{c})$

e.i. one second of K -time at the end A . Simultaneity, therefore, seems to return in this case.

7. RECEPTION OF A RAY OF LIGHT AND OTHER EVENTS.

The question of time at the end A of the rod may again be considered. The end A is opposite leg 12 of the system K and time here is 3 K-seconds. The Lorentz transformation is not applicable for obtaining the time of the system K' at the end A , in the absence of the event of reception of a ray of light at leg 12 of the system K after travelling for 3 K-seconds. But as the distance of 12 K-legs from the point of emission of the ray is less than the distance of 15 K-legs which the ray of light travels in 3 K-seconds, the event of the reception of a ray of light can be associated with the event of arrival of the end A opposite leg 12 of the system K . It can be supposed that the same ray which goes upto leg 15 of the system K , is splitted up into two on the way at leg [12 + $\frac{1}{2}$] of that system, one part going forward to leg 15 of the system K and the other part which is reflected back at leg $\frac{12}{2}$ of

$Vt/W.1,, ,,L,CW$

the system, K , returns after travelling a distance-of K -legs to stop at 12 of that system . The reflected part of the ray will have travelled total distance of $[12 + \frac{3}{2} + \frac{3}{2}]$ 15 K-legs in 3 K-seconds. We can no calculate the distance travelled by the reflected ray in the system K' . of 12 K-legs is $\frac{48}{3}$ Subtracting $\frac{41}{5}$ from 12, we get When this is divide by the length contraction factor $\frac{3}{5}$, we get $[\frac{12}{5} \times \frac{5}{3}]$ 4 K' -legs travelled the ray upto leg 12 of the system K . Beyond leg: 12, the ray moves for distance of $\frac{3}{2}K$ -legs in the forward direction and the same distance K -legs in the backward

direction and arrives to terminate at leg 12 of the system K. The $\frac{4}{5}$ of $\frac{3}{2}$ is $\frac{6}{5}$ - This $\frac{6}{5}$ is to be subtracted from $\frac{3}{2}$ for the forward moving portion of the ray and this same factor is to be added for the reflected and backward moving portion of the ray. Therefore,

from $[\frac{3}{2} + \frac{3}{2}]$

3 K-legs for the journey of the ray beyond leg 12 and back to this leg 12 in the system K, neither the above $\frac{6}{5}$ legs need be subtracted nor these be added to 3 K-legs for obtaining the distance of the system K in respect of these portions of the light travels. Dividing these 3 K-legs by the length contraction factor $\frac{3}{5}$, we get $[\frac{3 \times 5}{3}]$ 5 K'-legs. Thus, the total K' distance travelled by the reflected ray comes to $[4 + 5]$ 9 K'-legs which, when divided by 5, the velocity of light, gives the time $\frac{9}{5}$ K' seconds, obtainable also by the use of the usual or restructured Lorentz transformation.

It may be pointed out that it is not necessary for the ray of light to get splitted up and reflected back only at leg $\frac{27}{2}$ of the system K. This may happen at leg 12 thereof, the reflected ray travelling $\frac{3}{2}$ legs backwards and after getting again reflected at $[\frac{12 - 3}{2}]$ 2 K-leg, advancing forward by $\frac{3}{2}$ legs to arrive and stop at leg 12 of the system, K. In fact, this additional two way travel of the ray by $\frac{3}{2}$ K-legs each way, can happen anywhere before leg 12 of the system K. Nor is it necessary that there should be a single ray which should require to be splitted up on the way. Two rays or as many as needed can be supposed to be emitted at zero hour when the origins of the coordinate systems coincide, so that each ray may be suitably reflected back at some stipulated leg of the system K.

In Section 3 above, we obtained the result that in our numerical example, the ray of light travels three times less distance in the system K' than in the system K due to its velocity being treated as $c-v$ in tie. system K' when this ray moves forward; and it travels three times more. distance in the system K' due to its velocity being treated as $c+v$ when. it moves backwards. In the case of our reflected ray, its. distance of, forward movement is $[\frac{12 + 3}{2}]$ $\frac{27}{2}$ K-legs and its distance of backward. movement is $\frac{3}{2}$ K-legs. For the $\frac{27}{2}$ K.-legs, the forward distance in the

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system K' will be $\frac{27}{2} \times \frac{1}{3} = 9$ K'-legs and for $\frac{3}{2}K$ -legs, the backward distance in the system K' will also be $\frac{3}{2} \times 3 = \frac{9}{2}$ K'-legs. Thus, the forward distance and the backward distance travelled by the ray in the system K', will each be $\frac{9}{2}K'$ -legs. This brings out the peculiar fact that if a ray of light is emitted at some point A and after reflection at some other point B, is received back at A, it travels equal distances both ways. So our reflected ray travels the total distance of $[\frac{9}{2} + \frac{9}{2}] = 9$ K'-legs and the travel

time for this distance is nine divided by five, $\frac{9}{5}K'$ -seconds.

Here the event of the reception of the ray of light and the event of the arrival of the end A of the rod, occur at the same place and at the same time; each occurs at leg 12 of the system K and at the instant $3K$ -seconds. The Lorentz transformation is applicable primarily only in respect of the place and time of the event of the reception of the ray of light and only secondarily in respect of the other events which may happen to occur at the same place and time as the event of the reception of the ray of light.

The association of the event of the reception of a ray of light with the event of arrival of the end-A at leg 12 of the system K, demonstrates how two events [the event of the arrival of the forward going ray at leg 15 of the system K and the event of the arrival of the reflected ray at leg 12 of that system] can be simultaneous in the system K, but not simultaneous in the system K'. However, the question of simultaneity will be discussed profitably in some detail in another essay, here it is enough to point out, that the lack of simultaneity in one system arises from Einstein's stipulation to treat from the point of view of the stationary system, the propagation of light in the moving system at the velocity $c-v$ in one direction and $c+v$ in the opposite direction.

In our numerical example under discussion, the Lorentz transformation will apply only in respect of the events occurring at the instant $3K$ -seconds within a sphere of empty space of radius $15K$ -legs. The events occurring at this instant in the vast world beyond this sphere will be outside the scope of this transformation. The range of applicability of the Lorentz transformation is thus restricted by the light travel distance ct and the light travel time ..

8. FILLING VACUOUS SPACE WITH MATTER.

It may be contended that as the physical events occurring at the instant $3K$ -seconds, at the surface and within the vacuous, spatial sphere of radius $15K$ -legs of our example, are within the scope of the Lorentz transformation, this transformation can be employed in respect of these events without the formality of associating the event of the reception of a ray of light with the place and time of these events. It

may be so, but in employing the Lorentz transformation directly straightaway to these events, we will be opting for ignorance essential elements of the situation and violating the scientific imp for going to the roots of the phenomena. Anyway neither Einstein nor subsequent physicists seem to be aware of this formality which results not merely in the exactitude and depth of physical knowledge, but points also to a serious objection to the theory.

Einstein was very particular about the propagation of light in v only. While laying down the example of railway embankment and moving train, he wrote,²⁴

we must refer the process of the propagation of light [and indeed every other process] to a rigid reference-body (coordinate system.) As such a system, let us again choose our embankment. We shall imagine the air above it to have been removed.

The removal of air is needed to make the space empty, so that light should propagate in it at the velocity C . Einstein's theory is stated have given birth to the "operational method" not only in physics, but in other fields of scientific and even philosophic investigations, employing only those quantities which arise through actual or possible physical operations. In order to localise an event, he prescribed the following physical apparatus.²⁵

... we can imagine this reference-body supplemented laterally and in vertical direction by means of a framework of rods, so that an event which takes place anywhere can be localised with reference to this framework. Similarly we can imagine the train travelling with the velocity v to be continued across the whole of space, so that every event, no matter how far off it may be, could also be localised with respect to the second framework.

Elsewhere he imagined similar synchronised, ordinary clocks to be placed within each of such framework of rods throughout space.

Nevertheless, he committed an intellectual sin against these physical provisions of his, when he wrote,²⁶

Without committing any fundamental error, we can disregard the fact that in reality these frameworks would continually interfere with each other, owing to the impenetrability of solid bodies.

He seems to have slipped from his imagined physical realm to the realm of pure mathematics in which these frameworks could be

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supposed not to alter the situation. But solid bodies do interfere in the real world and alter the situation which had become merely imaginary and not maintainable as physically operational.

A very large number of physically interesting events may be imagined to take place at the instant $3K$ -seconds in our sphere of empty space of radius $15K$ -legs. To associate the event of the reception of a ray of light with each of such events and to calculate the time and place of each from the stationary to the moving system or vice versa, we will have to imagine an immense number of rays of light or photons emitted at zero hour and a matching number of material reflectors planted everywhere in the sphere to reflect the imagined rays of light to the imagined places of the events.

The objection is whether it is not blatantly self-contradictory to suppose that the space enclosed by our sphere would still be imaginable as empty so that light should be imagined to propagate in it at the velocity C in view of the existence in it of such a large number of imagined clocks, frameworks of rods and the immense number of our material reflectors spread in it throughout.

Anyway, as the Lorentz transformation is basically applicable only in respect of the events of emission and reception of the rays of light, the matter for urgent consideration by physicists and mathematicians is to examine whether the event of the reception of a ray of light is associable with

each of the momentous results of the theory, such as the law of the composition of velocities, increase in mass of the moving bodies and the relation of the proportionality of mass and energy etc. In case, the events of the emission and reception of a ray of light cannot be supposed to be associated with any result, such a result will be an absolutely invalid deduction from the Lorentz transformation.

9.1 TIME RUNS AT THE SAME RATE.

I suppose that the rod AB, this time $5/2$ legs long of the Einstein-Langevin light clock is placed in the system K' , aligned along the positive x axis of this system with the end A at the origin and the end B pointing towards the positive side of the axis of x . I further suppose that another rod CD $5/2$ legs long of another similar Einstein-Langevin light clock is placed in the other system K . aligned along the negative x axis of this system with the end C at the origin and the end D pointing towards the negative side of the x axis. When the origins of the two systems coincide, a ray of light is emitted in the system K' from the end A to the end B where it is immediately reflected back and returns to the end A. Also at the instant of the coincidence of the origins of the

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two systems, another ray of light is emitted in the system K from the end C to the end D where it is immediately reflected back and returns to the end C. Here are two Einstein-Langevin clocks placed in two separate systems, working with two separate rays of light. As before the relative velocity of the two systems is 4 legs per second and the velocity of each ray of light is 5 legs per second.

When the ray of light returns to the end A in the systems K , it would have travelled a distance of $[5/2+5/2]$ 5 legs or 186000 miles and time at this end A will be $5/5$ one second.

I ask what sort of time is this one second at the end A?

Light travelled out and back a total distance of $[5/2+ 5/2]$ 5 legs or 186000 miles. The distance is measurable by the standard metre-stick. Obviously, this one second of time will be no different from the second of

time recorded on your or mine or Einstein's wrist watch. This is the second for which the velocity of light is measured to be C per second.

At the end of this one second, the origin of the system K will be 4 legs away towards the left, because the relative velocity of 4 legs per second between the two systems is measurable in terms of this second. Accordingly, the distance between the origins of the two systems will be 4 legs, unshortened, at the end of this second of time.

In the same manner, when the other ray of light of the Einstein-Langevin clock in the other system K , returns to the end c , time at this end will be one second. This one second will also be no different from the seconds recorded on ordinary clocks and therefore, of the same significance and meaning as the second on the Einstein-Langevin clock in the other system K' . The origin of the system K' at the end of this second will be 4 legs away towards the right and the distance between the origins of the two systems will be 4 legs, unshortened as before.

After another trip by each ray of light on the Einstein-Langevin clock in its own system, the time in each system will be 2 seconds and the distance between the origins of the two systems will be 8 legs.

Time, plainly and evidently, is running at the same rate in both the systems.

It is a different matter, however, when Einstein's stipulation is followed and time in the two systems is calculated by "one and the same ray of light". Thus, the ray of light ravel from the end A to the end B of the rod in the system K , a distance of $5/2$ legs each way out and hack, travelling a total distance of 5 legs. But in the system K , the same ray travels, as compared to the system K ; three times (vide Section 3)

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more distance, i.e. $5/2 \times 3 = 15/2$ legs for its outward journey and three times less distance, i.e. $5/2 \times 1/3 = 5/6$ legs for its inward journey, thus travelling a total distance of $(15/2 + 5/6) = 25/3$ legs. Time for this distance is not one second, but $1/5 \times 25/3 = 5/3$ seconds, somewhat larger time.

This increase in time in the system K is due to the fact that in the system K', the ray of light travels on the Einstein-Langevin clock equal distances both ways, but in the system K, the same ray of light travels unequal distances, three times more distance as compared with the system K', for its outward journey and three times less distance for its backward journey, thereby earning the peculiarity that for the first second on the Einstein-Langevin clock in the system K', it records $1\frac{1}{2}$ seconds

$\frac{3}{2}$ seconds i.e., three times more time, and for the next $\frac{1}{2}$ second of that system, it records $[\frac{1}{2} + \frac{1}{3}] \frac{1}{6}$ second, i.e. three times less time, total time thereof being $[\frac{3}{2} + \frac{1}{6}] \frac{5}{3}$ seconds.

If there is another inertial system with relative velocity of $\frac{7}{5}$ legs per second with respect to the system K', the time in the system K' will remain the same one second, but in the new system, the time of travel of the same ray will get increased to $\frac{25}{24}$ seconds [the matter of calculations leading to this figure is left to the inquisitive reader himself.] In another inertial system, with relative velocity of 3 legs per seconds, the time of travel of the same ray will be increased to $\frac{5}{4}$ second. In yet another inertial system, with relative velocity of $\frac{24}{5}$ legs per second, the time of travel of the same ray of light will get increased to $\frac{25}{7}$ seconds and so on in the case of other inertial systems, in relative motion with other velocities with respect to the system K'. Thus, the time of travel of the ray of light on the Einstein-Langevin clock in the system K' will be the same one second as absolutely invariant, but in every other inertial system which is in relative motion with respect to the system K; the time of travel of the same ray will get increased proportionately to the value of the relative velocity.

The same applies mutatis mutandis in respect of the second of time recorded by the other ray of light of the other Einstein-Langevin clock in the other system K.

If we term the time of travel of the ray of light for equal distances to and fro on the Einstein-Langevin clock in one system as the normal time of that system, and the time of travel of the same ray of light fro unequal distances both ways, out and back, in all other inertial systems as the conventional time, the conventional time in each case will be greater in magnitude than the normal time.

Thus, the normal time of travel of the ray of light both ways on the

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Einstein-Langevin clock in the system K' , will be one second and the conventional time measured by means of this very ray in the system K will be $5/3$ seconds. Conversely, the normal time of travel of the other ray, both ways, on the Einstein-Langevin clock in the system K , will be one second and the conventional time measured by means of this second ray of light in the system K , will be $5/3$ seconds.

Time will be running the same symmetrical way in both the cases of normal and conventional times in the two systems K and K' and as - such will be passing on quantitatively at the same rates.

In the case of conventional time, it seems that there is a case of speeding of time [if time can ever speed up or slow down] rather than its slowing down in the case of normal time when it is calculated by means of "one and the same ray of light" which travels in one particular system equal distances to and fro, but has to travel unequal distances in all other inertial systems on account of length contraction in the moving systems in which the velocity of the same ray of light is reckoned as $c-v$ in one direction and $c+v$ in the opposite direction.

But when separate rays of light which travel equal distances to and fro on separate Einstein-Langevin clocks in separate inertial systems are taken into consideration, the normal times as well as the conventional times run symmetrically in the same way, have quantitatively the same separate rates of normal and conventional times.

9.2 TIME RUNS AT THE SAME RATE.

As before, we suppose the two inertial systems K and K' in relative motion at the velocity of 4 legs per second, the velocity of light being 5 legs per second. The system K is considered as stationary and the system K' is in uniform motion towards the positive side of the x axis, When the origins of the two systems coincide, a ray of light is emitted towards the positive side of the x axis. When the ray reaches leg $15/4$ of the system K , it is immediately reflected back and after travelling a distance of $5/4$ legs, returns to leg $15/4$ -

$5/4]5/2$ of the system K. It, therefore, travels a total distance of $[15/4+5/4]$ 5 legs in this system. Time of the system K for this distance is $5/51$ second.

According to our numerical example, the distance travelled by the ray in the system K' [vide section 3 above] is three times less than in the system K for the outward travel of the ray and three times more for its backward travel. Therefore, in the system K1, the ray of light travels $[15/4x$

$1/3]$ $5/4$ legs outwards and $[5/4x 3]15/4$ legs backwards, travelling a total distance of $[5/4+ 15/4]$ 5K'-legs. Time of the system K' for this distance is $[5/5] 1K'$

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-second.

In the system K', the ray of light travelled from the origin $5/4$ legs forward and getting reflected there, travelled $15/4$ legs backwards, thus reaching leg $[5/4-15/4]$ of the system K'. But in the system K, the same ray travelled $\%$ legs in the forward direction and $5/4$ legs in the backward direction, thus arriving at leg $[15/4- 5/4]5/2$ of this system. The coordinates of the event of arrival of the ray at leg $5/2$ of the system K in one second are:

$$x=5/2, t = 1$$

From these by means of the Lorentz transformation, the coordinates of the same event in the system K' are:-

$$x' = -5/2 \quad 5/3 [5/2 - 4x1] \text{ or } [5/3 x - 3/2] \text{ or } - 5/2$$

$$t' = 1 \quad 5/3[1 - 4/25X5/2] \text{ or } 5/3 [1 - 2/5] 5/3X3/5 = 1$$

Thus the distance and time values of the journey of the same ray of light calculated above in the numerical example for both the systems K and K' are in accord with the Lorentz transformation.

If the time of travel of the ray of light for $[15/4, x 1/5]$ second in the forward direction and for $[5/4x 1/5]1/4$ second in the backward direction in the system K is considered to be running at uniform pace, then from the standpoint of this system, the time in the system K' will be running three

times $[3/4 \times 1/3] = 1/4$ or $[5/4 \times 1/5 = 1/4]$ slower in the forward direction and three times $[1/4 \times 3 = 3/4]$ or $[15/4 + 1/5]$ faster in the backward direction than in the system K. Conversely, if the time of travel of the same ray is considered to be running uniformly in the system K' then from the standpoint of this system, it will be running in the system K, three times faster in the forward direction and three times slower in the backward direction than in the system K'. But for the total journey of the ray of light for 5 legs in each system, the time of travel of the same ray will be 1 second in each system K and K' and as such will have run quantitatively at the same rate.

If from leg 5/2 of the system K, the ray of light gets immediately reflected in the forward direction and travels 15/4 legs for 3/4 seconds to $[5/2 + 15/4]$

] leg 25/4, where it gets reflected back and travels 5/4 legs for 1/4 second to $[5/2 + 15/4 - 5/4]$

‘]- 20/4 or leg 5 of this system, it would have travelled another $[15/4 + 5/4]$ 5 K-legs in another one second.

In the system K', the distance travelled by the same ray of light will be $[15/4 \times 1/3] 5/4$ K legs in the forward direction and $[5/4 \times 3] 15/4$ K'-legs in the backward direction, the total distance travelled being $[15/4 + 15/4]$ 5 K'-legs. The time of travel of the ray of light for this distance will be 5/5 one K'-

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second. In this system, the ray of light travelled 5/4 K'-legs forward from - 5/2 K'-legs and reached $[-5/2 + 5/4] -5/4$ leg of this system from where it is reflected backwards and travelling 15/4 K' -legs arrived at leg $[-5/4 + -15/4] -5$ of this system.

Total time of travel of the ray of light since its emission from the point of coincidence of the two systems K and K' is $[1 + 1]$ 2 seconds in each system,.

After travelling for 2 seconds in each system, the tip of the ray will have arrived at leg 5 of the systems K and at leg -5 of the system K

The coordinates of the event of arrival of the ray of light at leg 5 of the system K will, therefore, be

$$x = 5, t = 2$$

From these by means of the Lorentz transformation, the coordinates of the same event in the system K' are:

$$x' = -5 \frac{5}{3} [5 - 4x^2] \text{ or } [5/3x - 3 \text{ or } -5$$

$$t' = 2 \frac{5}{3} [2 - 4/25x^5] \text{ or } 5/4 [50 - 20/20] \text{ or } 5/3 \times 30 \times 25 = 2$$

25

Thus the distance and time values of the journey of the same ray of light in both the systems K and K', calculated above in our numerical example, are in accord with the Lorentz transformation.

If the ray of light continues its journey, travelling each time the additional distance of 5 legs in each system in the above manner, the time of its travel will go on increasing in each system K and K' at the rate of one second per 5 legs and as such will be running at the same rate quantitatively in both the systems.

For time to elapse quantitatively at different rates in the two systems, the required condition is that the ray of light should travel equal distances out from the point of emission and back to it, in one or the two systems in relative motion. But this is not a necessary condition for the measurement of time, because while calculating the time by means of the same ray in the other system, such as K, this condition has to be dispensed with. In the present section, we have tried to do without this condition altogether and have thereby shown that time can run quantitatively at the same rate in the two system! which are in uniform, relative motion even though it is measured in both the systems by means of "one and the same ray of light" under the condition of the length contraction in the moving system and the velocity of light getting $c-v$ and $c+v$ in such a system.

This proves that it is not the clock or the time which slow

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down, but it is the particular manner in which time is calculated that this effect seems to come about.

EPILOGUE

The aim of this essay has been a modest one of critical examination of the time concept of the special theory of relativity. If the critical examination is successful, it may be taken as an attempt at the *reductio ad absurdum* of this concept. During the course of examination, however, it transpired that the Lorentz transformation is concerned fundamentally and primarily with the events of the emission and reception of a ray of light from which it has arisen and not with any and every event whatsoever. If so, a problem arises for consideration by the physicists and mathematicians whether some of the momentous results of the theory, such as the law of the composition of velocities, increase in mass in the moving bodies, the result of the proportionality of mass and energy, etc. which are deduced by means of the Lorentz transformation, still remain sustainable in view of the above finding of the essay as well as the criticism of the time concept levelled in it.

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TRANSLATIONS FROM IQBAL

* **The Sages**

* **Muslim**

Mustansir Mir

Dr. Mustansir Mir, Assistant Professor of Islamic Studies in the Faculty of IRK & HS at the Islamic University, Malaysia, has undertaken a series of remarkable English translations of selection from Iqbal's Urdu and Persian poetical works. He is an expert in several oriental and occidental languages and their literatures as well as an outstanding scholar of Islamic Studies. With this series of translation his study of Iqbal, spanning more than two decades, is brought to fruition. His consummate skill, based on his long years of training and research, has not only produced for us here translations of extraordinary literary excellence but also gives us valuable insights into the psychodynamics of the poet's mind. These translations, first of a d series to follow, are being reproduced here with the courtesy of the Research and Information Bulletin of the "Faculty of Islamic Revealed Knowledge and Human Sciences (IRK & HS).

THE SAGES IQBAL ON LOCKE, KANT, AND BERGSON: A STUDY OF THREE VERSES

I. Preliminary

Muhammad Iqbal had not only mastered the Islamic intellectual tradition, he had made a deep study of Western philosophy as well, abundant evidence of which is found in his prose and poetical works both. He often commented on the thoughts of Muslim and Western thinkers and writers, and a systematic study of these comments would shed light on aspects of Iqbal's own intellectual life. Here we shall discuss a set of three verses in which Iqbal states the views of three a estern philosophers, Locke, Kant, and Bergson. The piece occurs in payam-i Mashriq (in Kulliyat-i Iqbal: Farsi (Iqbal Academy Pakistan, d ore, 1989 & 1993), pp. 334-5.

II. The Views of the Three Philosophers and Iqbal 's Verses

LOCKE

The English thinker John Locke (1632-1704) denied the existence of innate ideas. Man's mind at birth, he claimed, is like a "white paper" with nothing on it. Knowledge, he said, arises from one's experience of the sensory world, sensation thus being the source of all ideas. He regarded reflection as a source of knowledge also, but reflection, too, he maintained, took sensory images as its data. In his principal work, Locke attempts to show how men, barely by the use of their natural faculties, may attain all the knowledge they have, without the help of any innate impressions and may arrive at certainty without any such original notions or principles. (An Essay Concerning Human Understanding, abridged and edited with an introduction by John W. Yolton [London and Melbourne: Dent/Everyman's

Library, 1976], Bk. 1, ch. 1. sec. 1.)

Here is how Locke explains the origin of ideas:

The senses at first let in particular ideas and furnish the yd empty cabinet; and the mind by degrees growing familiar with some of them, they are lodged in the memory, and names gives to them. Afterwards the mind, proceeding further, abstracts them, and by degrees learns the use of general names. In this manner the mind comes to be furnished with ideas and language, the materials about which to exercise its discursive faculty. And the use of reason becomes daily more visible, as these materials that give it employment increase. (Ibid., Bk. 1. ch. 2, sec. 15.)

IQBAL'S VERSE

Iqbal puts the following words into Locke's mouth:

It was dawn that lit up its cup

With a drink from the sun:

The tulip otherwise bore an empty cup

When it joined the company of flowers.

A brief explanation of the verse may be offered in the following way. When man enters the world (= when the tulip joins the companion flowers), his mind is empty (= its cup is empty). It is only upon being exposed to sensory experience (= it is only upon being illuminated by the rays of the sun through the agency of dawn) that the human receives impressions (= that the tulip's cup is filled with wine; other words, man's mind is, originally, a tabula rasa, the source of one's ideas lying outside one). The similarity between Locke's "empty cabinet" (second quote, above) and Iqbal's "empty cup" is too obvious to be missed.

KANT

While Immanuel Kant (1724-1804) accepted the view of Locke and other empiricists that sensation was the only source of ideas, he insists that "experience itself requires laws which are a priori at the basis of its possibility" (*Prolegomena to any Future Metaphysics that can Qualify as a Science*, tr. Paul Carus [La Salle, Illinois: Open Court Publishing Company, 1902], p. 89; see also pp. 69-70). Space (the principle of extension) and Time (The principle of motion) supply prerequisites for experience, for when everything empirical is taken out of an "empirical intuition," "space and time still remain, which therefore are pure intuitions that lie a priori at the basis of the empirical" (p. 36). Basic to Kant's theory is a distinction between the content and form of experience: phenomenal appearance gives the content of experience, but the a priori principles of space and time alone give form to experience (p. 68). Without these principles, in fact, experience would not be possible.

IQBAL'S VERSE

By nature it had a taste

For crystalline wine:

From the eternity's land of night

Has it brought its star of a cup.

"It" in lines 1 and 4 stands for the tulip. The wine is "crystalline" in the twin senses of "clear" and "shiny". Note that while Locke stressed the original "emptiness" of the human mind, Kant, though he affirms this

emptiness in principle, underscores the importance of the mind as an agent that gives form to experience. Thus the Kantian a priori principles, while they are not creative of experience, are yet necessary to all experience and constitute the conditions of its possibility. In its very act of perception, in other words, the mind “illuminates” the data, which would otherwise have remained in the dark or, one might say, would not have been possible at all--hence Iqbal’s use of the phrase ‘starlike cup.’ To sum up, the human mind, even though initially like an empty slate, has an innate capacity for giving shape to experience. In Iqbal this translates into the following: The tulip, even though it has no wine in its cup, does have a taste for wine. Since, moreover, the formative powers of the mind exist prior to any experience, Iqbal speaks of the tulip’s having brought its shining cup from the land of eternal night.

BERGSON

In coming to grips with the British empiricist movement, Kant, while arguing for the a priori nature of Space and Time, had also stated that Space and Time do not give us knowledge of reality as it is, experience of the “things-in-themselves” always eluding us. This amounted to relativization of knowledge, for what we end up knowing is not reality itself but the phenomenal aspect of it. To the French thinker Henri Bergson (1859-1935), this view is unacceptable. In Bergson, in fact, the terms of the discussion change completely. Their differences, notwithstanding, Locke the empiricist and Kant the idealist (Kant called his philosophy transcendent idealism) both took a discursive approach to reality, and this is what Bergson finds objectionable. Analysis as a mode of knowing presupposes a static, frozen reality, and, in dealing with reality in this form, intelligence deals with snapshots of reality, not with reality itself, which is living, dynamic, and indivisible:

But this ‘inert’ world is only an abstraction. Concrete reality comprises those living, conscious beings enframed in inorganic matter. (An Introduction to Metaphysics [tr. Mabelle L. Andison [Totowa, New Jersey: Rowman & Allanheld/Helix, 1983; repr. of 1946 Littlefield edition], p. 92).

Much trouble arises from a confusion between time, which is an aggregate of discrete moments (Bergson calls it “spatialized time” (p. 149))

and duration, which is continuous, fluid, indivisible (“real duration is what we have always called time, but time perceived as indivisible” [p. 149]). The distinction between duration (*al duree*) and time (*le temps*) is absolutely fundamental in Bergson. Life is mobility, not rest: “it is flux, the continuity of transition, it is change itself that is real” (p. 16); “let us unfasten the cocoon, awaken the chrysalis; let us restore to movement its mobility, to change its fluidity, to time its duration” (p. 17); life, as experienced not in time but in duration, is “unceasing creation, the uninterrupted up-surge of reality” (p. 18; also p. 91: “... the continuous creation of unforeseeable novelty which seems to be going on in the universe”).

There is thus a world of difference between reality as it is experienced whole, directly and immediately--in duration--and reality when it is observed piecemeal and described from the outside--in time. It is through intuition, not intelligence, that one experiences duration: “Intuition is what attains the spirit, duration, pure change (p. 33).

Of the several aspects of Bergson’s philosophy what concerns us most directly is the notion of impulsion. But first a word about two other notions emptiness and fullness. Both Locke (with his *tabula rasa*) and Kant (with his *a priori* but in themselves stark and non-substantial categories of Space and Time) proceed with what Bergson would call emptiness and move towards fullness, and therein lies the rub. For existence rather than vacuum, and fullness rather than emptiness is reality, and so existence and fullness rather than vacuum and emptiness should be one’s starting-point and focus of attention (“the habit of proceeding from emptiness to fullness is the source of problems which are non-existent (pp. 95-96 [emphasis added]). The principle of life does not require an explanation with reference to something other than itself. And life is an evolution, a constant becoming. This brings us to impulsion.

Comparing the movement of thought with the growth of an embryo, Bergson speaks of the “impulsion” that is “given to the embryonic life” and that “determines the division of an original cell into cells which in turn divide until the complete organism is formed” (p. 121). In another place he writes (note the metaphor of the balloon and compare it with the analogy of the embryo):

Reality is global and undivided growth, progressive invention, duration: it resembles a gradually expanding rubber balloon assuming at each moment unexpected form...Reality', as immediately perceived, is fullness constantly swelling out, to which emptiness is unknown (pp. 95.96 [emphasis added])

In other words, it is the inner self that matters:

Let us then go down into our own inner selves: the deeper the point we touch, the stronger will be the thrust which sends us back to the surface. Philosophical intuition is this contact, philosophy is this impetus. Brought - back to the surface by an impulsion from the depth, we shall regain contact with science as our thought opens out and disperses. (pp. 124-125)

But nowhere is the substantiality of change so visible, so palpable as in the domain of the inner life. (p. 148)

The intuition we refer to then bears above all upon internal duration. It grasps a succession which is not juxtaposition, a ' growth from within [emphasis added]... (p. 32)

Along side of intelligence there is in effect the immediate perception by each of us of his own activity and of the conditions in which it is exercised. Call it what you will; it is the feeling we have of being creators of our intentions, of our decisions, of our acts, and by that, of our habits, our characters, ourselves. (p. 93 [emphasis added]).

A little later (p. 105) Bergson, speaking of the gains to be made "in finding some absolute in the moving world of phenomena," says (emphasis added):

But above all we shall have greater strength, for we shall feel we are participating, creators of ourselves, in the great work of creation which is the origin of all things and which goes on before our eyes.

Kant was thus mistaken,

For, in order to reach intuition it is not necessary to transport ourselves outside the domain of the senses and of consciousness. Kant's error was to believe that it was... (pp. 127-128)

IQBAL'S VERSE

It has been necessary to state Bergson's views at some length because the true dimensions of Iqbal's verse about Bergson cannot otherwise be appreciated. It was Bergson's wish "to take philosophy out of school and bring it into closer contact with life" (p. 126). Iqbal, who does not agree with every aspect of Bergson's philosophy, could agree more with him on this point. Here is how Iqbal describes Bergson's views on the subject under discussion:

Neither wine from eternity
Nor a cup did it bring:
It is from the scar of its heart
That the tulip gets its passion abiding.

According to Bergson, the real question is not whether the mind is initially blank (Locke) or whether the a priori principles give form to sensory data (Kant). Both Locke ("the tulip came in with an empty cup") and Kant ("the tulip's cup gives shape to the wine that is poured into it") are off the mark. The whole debate between the empiricists and the idealists is irrelevant, for both groups ignore what really matters; in their eagerness to "understand" reality, they have failed to "live" reality. Life is not something to be subjected to analysis through the use of sophisticated techniques-- this is tantamount to dissecting a butterfly. Rather, it should be experienced--intuitively--in all its richness, multiplicity, and vibrance, its integrity and quality uncompromised by the "machinations" of intelligence. In Iqbal's words, what really matters is the fact that the tulip is possessed of burning passion--the flame of life--whose source lies inside the tulip itself. The first hemistich of Iqbal's verse about Bergson thus criticizes the terms of the empiricist-idealist debate. The second hemistich states the essence of Bergson's philosophy: it is the inner quality of life, impulsion of life to create, the constant movement of life that should command one's primary attention. Since it is the inner quality of life that has true value, it is obvious that direct intuition and not mediated intelligence is the appropriate means of getting access to the heart reality.

III. Comment

In the end, a few general comments may not be out of place.

First, one cannot but marvel at Iqbal's remarkably succinct summing up, in only three verses, of some of the essential views of three major Western philosophers. Iqbal does not simply state their deas, he also indicates, by using the dialogical device, the movement of Western thought from Locke to Bergson.

Second, it is equally remarkable that Iqbal is able to state the philosophies of the three thinkers by using a single imgage, that of the dip. The tulip, Iqbal's favourite flower, appears to be ideal for Iqbal's purposes: in the case of Locke it becomes an empty wine-cup; in the case of Kant it becomes the formal conditioning factors of knowledge and understanding; in the case of Bergson, the "scar" in the "heart" literally, "liver": jigar) of the tulip gives evidence of the principle of life which is its own explanation. Note, to begin with, that the three philosophers are shown to be in dialogue with each other. Kant responds to Locke by accepting the terms of the argument as laid down by the latter (the tulip, the cup, the assembly, i.e., man, his mind, and be world, respectively). But while Locke emphasizes the emptiness of he cup, Kant stresses that the cup is a form-giving instrument. Bergson, however, turns his attention to the inner life of the tulip. Neither Locke nor Kant accounts for the principle of life nor is the quality of Life something that is inexplicable with reference to anything extrinsic to it. The source of the tulip's life and beauty lies within the tulip. As can be seen, Iqbal succeeds eminently in explicating certain concepts in Western thought by using a typically Eastern image. An ore felicitous way of describing Western thought to an Eastern audience could hardly be thought of.

Third, one might ask, which of the three views is Iqbal himself sympathetic to? In the light of several other statements of Iqbal, one in say that, in this particular context at least, Iqbal supports the view of Bergson. Speaking elsewhere of the fountain of water, Iqbal says: "It its inner drive and energy that makes the water of the fountain gush forth and rise" (baland josh-i darun se hu'a he favvara). In other words, Iqbal cites the dialogue between the Western philosophers in order to express his own views, by using Bergson as his mouthpiece. But if so, hen the objections that arise against Bergson's view may be taken to arise against Iqbal's view as well. One such objection is that, in his description of Bergson's thought (as opposed to

his description of the thought of the two other philosophers), Iqbal blurs the distinction between intellectual content and poetic expression, for the statement that the source of the tulip's passion lies in the "scar of its heart" may seem to beg the question. To this charge Iqbal would probably reply, as would Bergson, by saying that the shift from the intellectual to the poetic mode does not represent an evasion of the issue necessitated by the terms of the discussion. That is, the issue ca dealt with in discursive terms, and must be approached different), if the essence and quality of life are inexplicable with reference to' matter, then the discursive approach is inadequate to depiction and its movement. In the verse on Bergson, then, Iqbal's use o image of the tulip becomes a critique of the intellectualistic m knowing and understanding.

MUSLIM

**THE FUTURE SEEN IN THE MIRROR OF THE PAST: A
POEM BY**

IQBAL

INTRODUCTORY

Like other serious Muslim thinkers of his age, Muhammad Iqbal reflected deeply on the challenge of modernity faced by Islam and Muslims. The results of this reflection are set forth in Iqbal's writings prose and poetry both. One motif seems to have been constant: future of Muslims was inextricably linked with their past. This was a belief held not by a starry-eyed idealist or an incurable romantic, by one who on the one hand possessed a thorough understanding historic Islam, and on the other hand was alive to the problems. challenges, and opportunities presented by modernity, In the follow poem, entitled "The Muslim" and composed in June 1912, 11 addresses the issue of the relevance, in today's world, of a 14-until old religious ideology. In the first six couplets of the original Iqbal addressed by his companions, who reproach him for singing a tune that is out of date. In the remaining part of the poem (twelve couplets) Iqbal responds to this charge. The poem is thus divided into two parts, second part beginning with "I am a Muslim, my friend!"

For the text of the poem, see Bang-i Dara, in Kulliyat-i Iqbal: Urdu
(Lahore: Iqbal Academy Pakistan, 1993 pp. 223-224).

MUSLIM

Every breath you draw, Iqbal,
Is laden with sighs;
Your smouldering breast is filled with lament.
The lute of your heart has no song of hope:
Your litter, we believe, has not his Layla.⁴⁵
Your ears seek the sound of a song
That has been sung and is no more,
Your heart is unconcerned
With the commotion of the present.
Your fellow-singers of the garden
Would not hear the tale of the rose⁴⁶:
The assembly would not listen
To your message of old.
Quiet, O bell of the numb-footed caravan!⁴⁷

⁴⁵ Layla, Majnun's lady-love, is usually pictured as riding camel-litter. She symbolizes the object of one's devotion. He symbolizes hope Iqbal's companions thus accusing him of suffering from a lack of hope).

⁴⁶ That is, the tale of the nightingale and the rose (represe here, the Muslim's devotion to an "old" religion or ideology).

⁴⁷ That is, a caravan that would not move. In other words, Iqbal's companions are saying that Iqbal's efforts would be of no avail the caravan for which he serves as the bell lacks the will and des' move and is content to remain where it is.

Your voice causes much despair--quiet!
It cannot be brought back to life,
The assembly of olden times;
Yester night cannot be lit up with candles.
I am a Muslim, my friend
A bearer of the message of Tawhid
And a witness since eternity to that truth!
To Tawhid is due the warm beat
Of the pulse of the existents;
From it, too, the blodness
In the Muslim's thought.
It is for the sake of this truth
That God created the world,
And to guard that truth He created me.
It was I who abolished
The worship of falsehood--
I, indeed, who proved to be
The protector of the laws of existence.
My existence is a robe
That covers the nakedness of the world:
To destroy me would be

A disgrace to mankind!
Of the fate of the world,
The Muslim is the shining star--
One whose brilliance puts to shame
The spell cast by dawn.⁴⁸
The secrets of life are exposed to my view:
I cannot be said to have despaired
Of waging the struggle of life.
How can I be frightened
By the transient scene of sorrow?
I believe in the destiny of my Community!
Of the element of despair my life is free:
The heat of the battle
Gives notice of complete victory.
Yes, my eyes are fixed on the age gone by,
And to the assembly I tell
The same old story.
To the dust of my being is elixir
The memory of the bygone age.
My past is the exegesis of my future;

⁴⁸ That is, it is brighter than the bright dawn.

I keep in view that exciting age--

In the mirror of the past I see the future.

TOWARD A THEOLOGY OF DEVELOPMENT⁴⁹

William C. Chittick

I had certain misgivings about accepting the invitation to speak at this conference because the announced themes and sub-themes presuppose certain ideas about civilization in general and Islam in particular that raise many questions for me. I am not quite sure, to begin with, how the organizers of the conference define the words “culture” and “civilization”. It is clear that these terms are understood to have a value connotation. When they flourish, that is good, but when they languish, that is bad. What is not clear is how we are judge when a civilization or culture is flourishing. What are the specific criteria for making this judgment? Certainly the language employed in the information that was sent to me suggests that the criteria are drawn from modern political and developmental thinking, all of which derives from post-Christian thought in the West.

My second misgiving about the conference has to do with my own interests in Islamic civilization. I have spent most of my adult life studying Islamic thought, with special attention to the school established by Ibn al-Arabi in the seventh century of the hijra. This school, which was a continuation of the efforts of a host of earlier Muslim thinkers and was deeply rooted in the Qur’an and the Hadith, was profoundly influential in the thinking of most Muslim intellectuals down into the nineteenth century. However, it has been abandoned by almost all contemporary Muslim thinkers and theoreticians, especially those who have had a say in governmental decisions. Muslims who have formulated theories and ideologies for Islam have almost universally condemned this school for leading the Muslims astray and preventing the progress and development of civilization. So how can my interest in this school be turned to the issues that contemporary Muslim thinkers consider as relevant to the development of civilization?

⁴⁹ Talk delivered at a conference on Islamic Culture and Civilization in Tehran, Iran, February 8, 1994.

Having accepted the invitation despite these misgivings, I set two tasks for myself: First, to address some of the issues that arise as soon as we look at Islamic civilization in terms of categories drawn from modern thinking. And second, to suggest a few other categories that can be employed as criteria for judgment, categories that are drawn from traditional Islamic thought.

DEVELOPMENT

Development language is strewn with pitfalls for anyone who wants to speak about culture and civilization. What sort of problems arises when we employ the language of development? By “development language” I mean the well-known words that are current in United Nations and governmental agencies throughout the world. I quote list of these words from the table of contents of *The Development Dictionary*, a book that should be required reading for anyone who’s not totally convinced that modern Western society provides the model that all peoples in the world must follow: “development, environment equality, helping, market, needs, one world, participation, planning, population, poverty, progress, production, resources, science, socialis standards of living, state, technology.”⁵⁰

All these words are part of the sacred vocabulary of the modern world. They share the characteristic of being what has been called “amoeba words.” This is to say that they are constantly changing shape according to the needs of the speaker. They have no denotations but many connotations. They can mean anything their speaker wants them to mean, because in themselves they are empty of meaning. However, these words are sacred. To question their legitimacy is to rebel against the gods of modernity and to become an outcast from the religion of progress.

The authors of *The Development Dictionary* have analyzed the history and changing status of each of these words in detail. Let one make a few remarks about the term “development” itself, even though each of the mentioned terms, and many others that are currently in use, deserves detailed analysis.

⁵⁰ Wolfgang Sachs (ed.), *The Development Dictionary* (London: Zed Books, 1992).

First of all, it is perhaps unnecessary to point out that there is no word corresponding to “development” in the traditional Islamic languages, just as the modern meaning of the term only appears in Western languages in the eighteenth and nineteenth century. The use of this word itself, or the redefinition of words in Islamic languages so that they carry its meaning, shows that the idea of development was originally conceptualized by Western thinkers. Moreover, the late date of the term shows that the new meanings given to it were intimately connected with the breakdown of Christian civilization and the industrial revolution.

The moment the word development is employed, especially outside the West, those who employ it have surrendered to the presuppositions of modern Western thought. To speak of development is to acknowledge “underdevelopment”. Hence, it is to accept that programs, modeled on those devised in the “developed” countries, must be put into effect. As Wolfgang Sachs, the editor of *The Development Dictionary* puts it, the use of the word has “converted history into a programme: a necessary and inevitable destiny”.⁵¹ The industrial mode of development has thereby been christened as the one and only legitimate form of social life. “The metaphor of development gave global hegemony to a purely Western genealogy of history, robbing peoples of different cultures of the opportunity to define the forms of their social life”.⁵² By speaking of development, Muslims have already given up the idea of understanding their own history in Islamic terms, since the term has been drawn from outside the Islamic conceptual universe.

Most people will object that nevertheless, we need development in our world. But what is development? Any study of the use of the word shows that, like other amoeba words, it has no precise significance. It is what you want it to be. The problem is that, although no one knows exactly what it is, everyone thinks that we must have it. As Gustavo Esteva writes, “The word always implies a favourable change, a step from the simple to the complex, from the inferior to the superior, from worse to better... But for two-thirds of the people on earth, this positive meaning of the word... is a reminder of what they are not. It is a reminder of an undesirable, undignified condition. To escape from it, they need to be enslaved by others’ experiences and

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, p. 9.

⁵² *Ibid.*

dreams”.⁵³ No one seems to doubt that the concept does not allude to real phenomena. They do not realize that it is a comparative adjective whose base of support is the assumption, very Western but unacceptable and undemonstrable, of the oneness, homogeneity and linear evolution of the world”.⁵⁴

In order for “development” to be conceived of, God had to be forgotten, or at least to be relegated to the background. Since no religion had ever envisaged development .as understood in scientific and industrial terms, religious categories either had to be abandoned, or to be redefined to fit the new circumstances. Suddenly, we had to discover that religion, all along, had been encouraging “development” in the modern sense.

THE DIVINE NAMES

Let me now turn to a brief review of the Islamic perspective on knowledge, science, and human nature. The fundamental point that must always be kept in mind when considering Islamic views of things is that Muslim thinkers have always put God at the head of their concerns. The fact that God plays a fundamental role in every human endeavor has been perfectly obvious. Hence Muslims focused upon understanding God and then, on the basis of this understanding, upon the role of human beings in the universe. Those who wanted to understand what it meant to be human had to understand what it meant to be God. “Theology” was utterly central to the Islamic enterprise. And I mean theology not in the sense of the discipline of Kalam, but in the widest sense of the term-the Qur’anic sense. In the Qur’anic view of things, “theology” can only mean knowing God, and knowing God means knowing the meaning of His ayat--His “signs.”

The signs of God appear in three primary domains: First, in the revelations that God gives to the prophets, the Prophet of Islam in particular, second, in natural phenomena; and third, in the human self. Hence knowledge of God demands knowledge of revelation, knowledge of the cosmos, and knowledge of the self. What makes this knowledge “Islamic” knowledge and not some other kind of knowledge is that the significance of

⁵³ Ibid., p. 10.

⁵⁴ Ibid., pp. 11-12.

things is understood in accordance with the principles established by the Qur'an and the Sunnah. The natural world signifies God, and the human self also signifies God. But the exact mode of this signification is rooted in the Islamic revelation and the conclusions that are drawn there for human activity and destiny.

I am not suggesting that Muslim intellectuals considered it sufficient to know things in the terms established by the Qur'an. Rather, for a great many of them---and for the greatest 'of them---it was necessary to know God Himself in the terms established by the Qur'an, and also to know God Himself by knowing the world and by knowing the self, Without the living knowledge of God, the whole Islamic enterprise is deprived of its lifeblood. After all, anyone can memorize the Qur'an, but if the person does not know the meaning of what he has memorized and cannot grasp how the Qur'an signifies God, he has not known the Qur'an as it should be known. In the same way, anyone can know certain things about the natural world and the self, but if he does not know God through the natural world and the self, this is not Islamic knowledge. Or rather, this is plain ignorance, because God is in fact the reality that is revealed through the signs-- which are scripture, the world, and the self.

Like any other phenomenon in the universe, human society is a sign of God. If we want to know human society in Islamic terms, we need to know it inasmuch as it signifies God. And if human beings are to devise a policy that is going to be an Islamic policy, it has to be a policy .in harmony with those Islamic teachings that focus on achieving the proper human destiny. Hence, in speaking about Islamic "civilization" or "culture"-- and notice that neither of these words has an equivalent in pre-modern Islamic languages-- what we are talking about, or should be talking about, is the community of Muslims (the ummah) in terms of certain qualities and characteristics.

This ummah can be viewed from two different points of view-- what it is in fact, and what it should be. If we look at the ummah in fact, then Islamic knowledge of the ummah tells us about God's actual relationship with the ummah. If we look at the ummah in terms of what it should be, then Islamic knowledge tells us what sort of human activity is pleasing to God. This second sort of knowledge focuses on what God desires for human beings in order for them to reach felicity (sa'ada), that is, a happy state in the

next life. All Qur'anic teaching is focused on the ultimate destiny of human beings, not their destiny in this world. The situation in this world must be shaped with a view toward the absolute importance of the next world. After all, ma 'ad, or the "return to God," is the third principle of Islamic faith and provides the orientation for the first two principles. Hence the Qur'an and the Sunnah reveal God in terms of His guidance (huda) for human beings, guidance that takes to paradise in the next world, not this world. Knowledge of God involves knowing what God wants from people. The Shariah focuses on this kind of knowledge. An ideal Islamic ummah-- that is, an Islamic civilization and culture-- must be molded by this type of knowledge, failing which, it no longer conforms to God's guidance and hence is not "submitted" to His will, which is to say that it is not Islamic.

Presumably, this conference is concerned with what an Islamic society should be. But it makes no sense to speak of goals if you do not know where you are. What I want to do is look at where human society in general and Islamic society in particular is now in terms of the categories of traditional Islamic knowledge. What does the present state of the ummah tell us about the relationship of Muslims to God? And given that the world is made up of many ummahs, what does the present state of world society in general tell us about its relationship to God? Finally, and perhaps most importantly, what does the situation of the modern West tell us about God?

In the Qur'anic perspective, the world is a grand collection of God's signs. God knows all things, and His knowledge is not conditioned by the temporal limitations that govern human knowledge. Hence He knows the world for all eternity and He creates it on the basis of what He knows. As one God who knows all things, He is the principle of both unity and multiplicity.

God's unity can be related to the diversity of things by describing the attributes or qualities that are shared by God and the many things. These attributes are designated by the divine names, such as Living, Knowing, Powerful, Desiring, Speaking, Hearing, Seeing, Merciful, Compassionate, Creator, Sustainer. These names apply to God, who is one, and they also apply to the many things in the world-- though not in exactly the same sense, of course. In the unity of His Self God possesses all these names. And His relationship with the diverse creatures that are prefigured in His knowledge

can be described in terms of these names. Thus, whenever we mention a name or attribute of God, we are mentioning a quality that relates God to some or all of creation.

Inasmuch as created things are many, they dwell in distance from God. God is the Far (al-ba'id). He is distant from the world not in a spatial sense, but in the sense that He possesses, in infinite intensity, the attributes that are ascribed both to Him and to creatures. Compared to God, the creatures possess nothing of those attributes. God is Great, Majestic, Powerful, King, while the world and everything within it is small, puny, weak, a slave. This understanding of God's relationship with the world is known theologically as the assertion of God's incomparability or transcendence (tanzih), and it is the classic position of Kalam. God alone is Real in the true sense, and everything other than God is unreal and vanishing. "Everything is perishing except His Face" (28:88).

From the point of view of God's incomparability, unity pertains to God, while multiplicity pertains to the world. The world is totally other than God, and it possesses none of God's attributes. God's incomparable greatness makes all creatures His servants-- not because of their free choice, but because they gain all their reality from Him. Thus the Qur'an tells us that everything in the heavens and earth has submitted itself to God (3:83). Islam is a fact of existence for all things.

Although God is incomparably great and powerful, He has given His creatures some share, however small, of His own attributes, and He has given the greatest share to human beings, to whom He taught all the names (2:30). Hence human beings know the name and reality of freedom to some degree, and this explains why, even though they are servants of God because of their creation, they are not necessarily free servants of God. They are in fact compulsory Muslims through their creation, but they should be, in addition, voluntary Muslims in order to reach the fulness of their human possibilities. That is why God sent the prophets-- to call His servants to the free acceptance of His sovereignty over them and to rejoice in it.

If we look more closely at the relationship between God and human beings, we find other reasons for the sending of the prophets. For example, inasmuch as human beings are distant from God, the divine attributes that

rule over their situation-- such as majesty, inaccessibility, wrath, severity, and justice-- tell us about the consequences of His distance. Notice that these attributes are the same attributes that rule over hell, whose basic, defining characteristic is to be veiled from God, to be distant from God. God is the source of all good and all that gives joy and pleasure. To be distant from God is to be distant from good, joy, and pleasure. In hell, to be distant from God is also to suffer the pain of regret for not having accepted God's offer to come out of distance and enter into nearness.

The prophetic message demands observance of commands and prohibitions. The goal of these commands and prohibitions is to bring human beings into harmony with the divine reality, or to establish nearness to God. To be near to God entails knowing Him. You cannot be near to God and remain heedless and ignorant of Him. After all, the worship and the service of God that mark the acceptance of God's call demand knowing God as He has revealed Himself. Coming to know God is a life-long enterprise, or rather, it is an eternal, never-ending journey, because it continues in the next world. The Infinite can never be fully known by the finite, and that is the secret of everlasting felicity in the next world. Each moment of existence in paradise establishes a new relationship with God's reality and a new knowledge of Him, and these newly bestowed gifts increase the servant's joy.

The universe is a grand collection of signs, but things do not signify God in the same way. In Islamic cosmology, certain classes of creatures are closer to God, and others are further away. For example, angels are close to God, but inanimate things are relatively distant from God. Nearness and distance are judged by the attributes that rule over the creatures. Angels are luminous and partake directly of the unity of God. Each angel is a whole without parts. In contrast, inanimate things are relatively dark and are dominated by multiplicity.

In the cosmos as a whole, there is a great chain of created things ranging from those that are closest to God and completely dominated by unity to those that are furthest from God so that multiplicity is the ruling factor. Among human beings, the same range of attributes is found. Those people who are closest to God-- the prophets—are dominated by tawhid, and hence they find God everywhere and do whatever they do for God's sake. On the other extreme are found unbelievers in all their diverse kinds. They are

dominated by shirk, the association of other realities with God. People who are dominated by shirk have a multiplicity of diverse and disparate concerns that keep them in forgetfulness of God. Between the prophets and the unbelievers are found those who submit themselves to God's will by following the prophets. They are not completely dominated by unity nor are they completely lost in multiplicity. They struggle in between sometimes moving toward God and sometimes drifting away from Him.

Human beings can choose to turn toward God or they can choose to turn away from Him. To the extent that people sincerely turn toward God, they come to be dominated by the attributes that grow up from nearness to God. These include unity, balance, harmony, permanence, comprehensiveness, luminosity, and realness. In such people, the beautiful attributes of God-- such as gentleness, mercy, compassion, and love-- come to dominate the personality, and the majestic attributes play a role only in function of the beautiful attributes.

To the extent that people turn away from God, they become dominated by the opposite attributes multiplicity, imbalance, disequilibrium, evanescence, particularity, darkness, and unrealness. In such people, the majestic attributes of God dominate over the beautiful attributes by keeping the person distant from God.

The message of the prophets is designed to alert people to their natural distance from God and to invite them to overcome that distance. People should become God's voluntary servants. Then, if they follow God's instructions, God will bring them into His presence. For many Muslim authorities, this is the significance of human "vicegerency" (khilafa). Man becomes a khalifa or representative of God by being His perfect servant. God chooses as His favorites only those who gain worthiness to enter His presence through obedience and service.

If we ask what this way of looking at things has to do with the contemporary world, it is not too difficult to see the answer. The world is always made up of two fundamental tendencies that become manifest on the natural, social, and individual levels. One tendency is that of tawhid, which ties things together and establishes unity, harmony, balance, and equilibrium. The other tendency is that of shirk, which allows things to drift apart and

become confused and disconnected. People dominated by shirk fail to see that all things are interrelated because they are rooted in God.

The result of following up on the tendency toward tawhid is oneness, harmony, wholeness, and nearness to God. The result of following up on the tendency toward shirk is manyness, dispersion, disequilibrium, disintegration, and distance from God. On the social level, the Qur'an sometimes refers to these two tendencies by the terms *salah* and *fasad*, or "wholesomeness" and "corruption". Hence, wholesomeness is the social manifestation of balance and harmony, while corruption is the appearance of disequilibrium, dispersion, and disintegration.

Tawhid and wholesomeness are connected to the divine attributes of beauty and mercy, while shirk and corruption bring about the predominance of the attributes of majesty and wrath. God is happy with those who follow His commands, and hence He brings them near to Himself, but He is angry with those who refuse His guidance, so He drives them far away from himself (as indicated by the Qur'anic expression *bu'd an*, as in *bu'd an li'l-qawm al-zalimin* [11:44]).

To cling to tawhid yields wholesomeness, wholeness, harmony, happiness, and joy in both this world and the next world. To cling to shirk yields corruption, partiality, disequilibrium, suffering, and estrangement in this world and the next. Of course, these qualities are sometimes difficult to perceive in people, because they are internal qualities. But what is internal in this world-- all the qualities that make up our personalities-- will be external in the next world. The resurrection, as the Qur'an indicates, is the place where veils are lifted and secrets are bared.

TWO MODES OF UNDERSTANDING

Tawhid is correct understanding of the actual nature of things. It is to understand the universe and everything within it in terms of the one God. In contrast, shirk is a false understanding of the nature of things, because it is to understand things in terms of a diversity of unconnected principles. There is nothing wrong with a diversity of principles, as long as they are tied back to the one, ultimate Principle. The divine names, after all, are diverse principles

whereby we understand God. But if the diverse principles are not integrated by God's unity, that is shirk.

Tawhid is a human attribute that needs to be established and made continuous. People establish it by following the guidance of the prophets. Guidance, in turn, is directed toward two fundamental modes of human understanding that many Muslim thinkers have called "reason" ('aql) and "imagination" (khayal).

A rational understanding of tawhid leads to the assertion that God is absolutely other than all things. There is only one God, and He governs the universe with absolute and total control. This is tanzih and, as mentioned, it is a normative perspective for the school of Kalam.

In contrast, imaginal understanding-- which plays almost no role in the school of Kalam-- has the power to see God present in all things. When God says in the Qur'an, "Wherever you turn, there is the face of God" (2:115), reason provides clever interpretations to prove that does not mean what He says. Imagination, awakened by the Qur'an, sees God wherever it looks. When the Prophet said, "Ihsan is to worship God as if you see Him," he was addressing imagination, reason. Reason knows nothing about "as if".

When imagination is inspired by God's revelation, it provides a mode of understanding that is complementary to tanzih. This mode is sometimes called tashbih, seeing God as similar to things. For Ibn al-'Arabi and his followers, to see God from the point of view of reason alone, or to see Him from the point of view of imagination alone, is to see with one eye," like Iblis. True knowledge of God demands that people see God with both eyes. Then they will be able to understand that God is both distant and near, both absent and present.

The point of view of tanzih or incomparability is supported by all Muslim thinkers, especially the authorities in Kalam. Sufi authorities, following the Qur'an and the Hadith, add tashbih, while never denying tanzih. The perspective of tashbih, rooted in a vision of God's presence in all things, gives life and power to Islamic poetry. After all, it is poetry that inspires people's faith in God's mercy and gentleness, not Kalam. Ibn al-'Arabi tells us that if religious matters were left in the hands of the Kalam

authorities, no one would ever have loved God (Fortunately, however, few Muslims took Kalam very seriously, so love for God is a primary characteristic of Muslims throughout the centuries. and it helps explain the tremendous popularity of the ghazal.

Kalam can find no room for the love of God because it pushes God beyond human reach and describes Him almost exclusively in terms of attributes of majesty and severity. The God of Kalam intimidates people and frightens them. Of course, it is good for people to be frightened, because they will then be more careful about observing the Shariah. Nevertheless people also need to love. The God of poetry attracts people because He is described in human terms that anyone can understand. He is a God who loves His servants and attracts love in return. And this also encourages people to be more careful about observing His expectations of them, as set down in the Shariah.

CIENTIFIC RATIONALITY

One of the most pernicious errors of the contemporary world is that modern scientific knowledge and the technology that comes along with it are legitimate and neutral. This error is especially surprising among Muslims, who have plenty of intellectual resources in their own tradition to grasp the fallacies implicit in the scientific world view. In any case, there are numerous philosophers, historians, and social critics in the West who have shown that scientific neutrality is a myth. One of the major focuses of the intellectual movement known as ‘postmodernism’ is to bring out the contradictions in the claim to the neutrality of any form of rational knowledge. Nevertheless, the idea of scientific neutrality continues to have powerful supporters. In the Islamic world, it is often met in the idea that people can have both Islam and technological development without any contradictions. Somehow Islam is going to protect people from the moral bankruptcy of much of Western society. Yet there is no evidence that Muslims are in fact being protected.

It has often been pointed out that however much scientists pretend that modern scientific knowledge is disinterested, it is essentially a form of knowledge for control. In contrast, knowledge in the premodern world has been called “knowledge for understanding.” In order to have knowledge for control, it was necessary to do away with any connection between knowledge

of the world and knowledge of right activity, or ethics. This was done in Western thought by subverting the connection between reality and the Good-- the "Good", being, of course, a primary name of God. The end result of this sort of thinking was that scientific rationality allows for no moral distinctions whatsoever. Postmodern observers of this situation, however, do not conclude that anything is wrong. On the contrary, they have simply concluded that there is no such thing as right and wrong. As one historian observes,

The premoderns said that without an identity of reality and the Good, there would be no right and wrong, and the postmoderns say that there is neither Good nor right nor wrong... For only a brief period in the history of the West--the period of modern times did anyone seriously suppose that human beings could hold knowledge without God.⁵⁵

In short, because of the triumph of science-- knowledge without God, which is knowledge for control and power-- few people have questioned whether or not science and the technology that puts it into practice are legitimate in themselves. Those who do question it are ignored because, after all, they have little power, and power rules.⁵⁶

But let us get back to the connections that were just made between two ways of looking at God -- as incomparable or distant and as similar or near --

⁵⁵ J. Bottum, "Christians and Postmoderns," *First Things*, No. 40, Feb.

1994, p. 29.

⁵⁶ The underlying issue in talk of development is the desire for power and control. Perhaps, in the modern world, there is no escape from this desire. Perhaps countries must have power in order to preserve their own identities. But this does not mean that we should then say that power is good and that ° the Qur'an urges Muslims to establish modern nation states on the basis of an ideology of power. It does not mean that we can ignore the theological implications of claiming for oneself or for a country or for any contemporary organization and attribute that belongs by right only to God. And this of course is why such conferences as this are held: Muslims instinctively understand that the wish to establish dominating control over others is not necessarily sanctioned by God-- quite the contrary. One must face a fundamental issue, and that is whether or not it is possible to have a modern political entity that is "Islamic". Not, I think, if we take the adjectives modern and Islamic seriously. As long as we define them loosely, however, then various degrees of compromise are possible. But it is incumbent upon Muslims to know that they are compromising and that God is not necessarily pleased with those compromises.

and two ways of understanding God -- the way of reason and the way of imagination. Modern science and technology are both rooted in rationality, even if imagination plays a certain minor role. Reason operates by analysis and differentiation, that is, by limiting and defining things. If we go back far enough in history, we find that modern science is deeply rooted in the rationalistic theology of Christianity on the one hand, and in the will to control found among magicians and sorcerers on the other hand.

Christian theology, like Kalam, tended to establish distance between God and His creatures. By using abstract language cut off from the concrete concerns of everyday life, theologians contributed to the separation of God from the world. Mainstream Western thought came to be so thoroughly dominated by the perspective of tanzih that eventually God was abstracted completely out of the picture. God in His inaccessible heaven became the exclusive concern of theologians, who were peripheral players in Western thought. And the world became the exclusive concern of the scientists, who established the mainstream of Western intellectual life.

As long as a world view finds God present in the world, in society, and in the human self, God's concerns will be taken into account. In such a world view, people know that they have to observe God's instructions in everything they do, because God can never be absent from them. In practically every, world view except that of the post-Christian West, God (or the gods, as the case may be) is constantly present with things as well as with people. God makes demands on human beings in respect of the things of the world, and He expects people to interact with others and even with inanimate objects on the basis of His demands. Failure to do so leads to the corruption not only of society, but- also of the natural world. As the Qur'an puts it "Corruption has appeared in the land and the sea because of what peoples' hands have earned" (30:41).

Imagination, which is typically voiced in accounts of origins— or in "myth" in the positive sense of this term--, reminds people that God and His activity are present in all things. With the eye of imagination, it is not difficult to look at things "as if" God were present. Rationalistic theologies always devalue myth, at least by interpreting it and telling us that it does not mean what it says. Pushed to the extreme, rationalism attempts to eliminate imaginal understanding altogether.

Modern, scientific rationality is much more severe in its attacks on myth and imagination than rationalistic theology. Science presents myth as superstition. To the extent that scientific rationality dominates over a world view, the religious imagination is no longer able to find God in the world or in the self. Hence the world and the self become devoid of God. Decisions about the world and the self are left not to God, but to the scientists and technocrats, who take over the role of ulama and priests. In the modern West, this has led to the cult of experts, who must be consulted in all affairs. Dependence upon experts is obvious on the governmental level, but it is also obvious on the personal level, where people give up their own autonomy to the scientific and technological ulama, who are now doctors, engineers, mechanics, and specialists in a thousand other fields. Even mothers no longer raise their children without consulting the experts.

The fundamental characteristic of modern scientific knowledge is to be empty of unifying principles. The modern social and humanistic sciences, rooted in the scientific world view, have the same characteristic. In other words, modern knowledge is rooted in shirk, not tawhid. There is no unity in modern thought because unity is strictly a divine quality, and without knowledge of God, it is impossible to understand the nature of unity, much less establish it. Not being able to perceive the divine, unifying qualities in things, science necessarily yields ever-increasing multiplicity and dispersion--mountains of information that cannot possibly be known by any individual, much less integrated. Rationality has built a new Tower 'of Babel. Scientists and scholars cannot communicate with each other because they have no common language.

In their concern for establishing God's incomparability, rational theologians abstract God out of the cosmos. Reason functions by dividing, separating, and analyzing. It is essentially reductive, because it takes wholes and explains them in terms of parts. It cannot see wholes, because it divides and analyzes by its very nature. "In its very essence the analytic, scientific method is reductive without limit. Applied to man, it is the universal solvent."⁵⁷ What it dissolves is interconnectedness and meaning.

⁵⁷ Jeffrey Burke Satinover, "Psychology and the Abolition of Meaning", *First Things*, No. 40, Feb. 1994, p.15.

The typical tool of science is mathematics, which eliminates all qualitative distinctions among things, except those that can be described mathematically. These qualitative distinctions are precisely what carries the meaning of the things, that is, their meaning in terms of ultimate principles, that is, tawhid. In other words, qualification of understanding drives the divine qualities from created things, ben God's names and attributes cannot be described in mathematical terms.

One of the best recent analyses of the results of following an exclusively rational methodology in human affairs is provided by the historian John Ralston Saul in *Voltaire's Bastards: The Dictatorship of Reason in the West*.⁵⁸ This broad-ranging study brings out the appalling consequences of making reason the principle upon which to build a civilization. Reason, after all, is simply a method of analysis. It provide no basis for understanding wholes from within itself. It has no means to perceive the good and the beautiful. It only provides a method for dividing, dissolving, taking apart, and reducing. The good and the beautiful cannot be perceived without a myth, and mythical thinking is beyond the range of reason.

In traditional civilization, reason had a limited sphere of influence. On the basis of the civilization's founding myth, reason provided a method to differentiate and distinguish between the good and the evil, the beautiful and the ugly. The grand mistake of Voltaire and other prophets of rationality was not to understand that reason itself cannot supply the principles of good and beauty. Once reason becomes sole principle of human affairs, it dissolves and destroys.

One of the many results of what Saul calls the "dictatorship of reason" is the modern world's enormously efficient machinery for destruction. This destruction is most obvious on the level of external human existence, where the fruit of rational methods has been the most war-filled century of history. As Saul writes,

It is difficult to think of another era in which individuals have so carefully turned their backs upon the evidence of their own continuing violence by treating each dark event as if it were somehow unexpected-- or

⁵⁸ New York: Free Press, 1992.

the last of its kind. And they have done so in the midst of our millenium's most violent century.

Never has savagery so dogged Western civilization and yet.... whatever it is that our mythology of scientific discoveries and philosophical arguments so actively pretend about the evolution of society, it is war which has led the way and continues to lead the way in the twentieth century.⁵⁹

One the level of meaning, however, scientific rationality has be even more destructive than on the level of human lives and institution because it effectively removes meaning and direction from human endeavors. As a perceptive contemporary psychologist has pointed out, the end point of “all scientific method applied to human behavior... is appalling: the elimination of choice, meaning, and purpose in human existence”.⁶⁰ The result is that “for the first time in Western history, our most respected institutions are preaching social anarchy”.⁶¹

For the purposes of the experts and technocrats, no harm is done, because they have no concept of what it means to be human or where human beings should be going. As Saul points out, “The technocrat has been actively-- indeed, intensely-- trained. But by any standard comprehensible within the tradition of Western civilization, he is virtually illiterate”.⁶² This illiteracy is intentional and willful. “It isn't surprising that the modern manager has difficulty leading steadily in a specific direction over a long period of time. He has no idea where we are or where we've come from. What's more, he doesn't want to know, because that kind of knowledge hampers his kind of action. Instead he has learned to disguise this inner void in ways which create a false impression of wisdom”.⁶³

Moreover, all the change done in the name of rationality is done without protest by the public. “The parliamentary systems demand that a government justify its actions in public. The scientific community has changed our life

⁵⁹ Saul, p. 178.

⁶⁰ Satinover, p. 16.

⁶¹ Ibid., p. 122.

⁶² Saul, p. 110.

⁶³ Ibid., p. 111.

more in this century than any parliament, and yet it feels obliged to justify nothing”.⁶⁴

The traditional function of myth and imaginal thinking was to allow unity to be seen permeating all levels of the universe, society, and the human soul. God was never absent, and through His presence He was constantly concerned for the welfare of His servants. The traditional function of reason was to prevent shirk, or the divinization of lesser realities. If God is present in natural phenomena, there is a danger that some people will identify Him with natural phenomena and lose sight of His incomparability and transcendence. Again we come back to the two eyes of reason and imagination. Things cannot be seen correctly with one eye. God must be seen as both absent and present.

True myths are revealed by God by means of the prophets. They are rooted in tawhid, and their function is to allow people to make contact with God in everyday life, in ritual, in nature, and in all things. When there are no longer true myths-- myths rooted in tawhid-- there are false myths, rooted in shirk. People cannot live without myths, because myths provide concrete ways of understanding the meaning of life. Reason can never supply meaning from within itself. “Rational structures, with their enormous accumulations of power, produce no mythology”.⁶⁵ This helps explain the vast proliferation of false myth in modern society.

On the theoretical level, many of these false myths are connected with science and development. Any idea or ideology that is not rooted in tawhid and that supplies a basis for interpreting human thought and activity is a false myth. And the most pervasive and influential of these false myths are the ones that we do not recognize as myths and which determine our natural and normal ways of thinking about things. These myths grow up largely from the popular perception of science and its promises of utopia. If you want a list of few of them, look again at the amoeba-words that animate the development discussion. But what is of fundamental importance is that all the myths of

⁶⁴ Ibid., p. 315.

⁶⁵ Ibid., p. 512.

science and development share one thing in common, and that is ignorance of tawhid, or rather denial of tawhid, and this can only be shirk.⁶⁶

BEAUTY

Every civilization has myths that provide the starting point for rational understanding. The traditional myths are revealed by the 124,000 prophets of history with the aim of establishing tawhid. Modern myths are based largely on human dreams of a scientific and technological paradise, and they permeate the modern mentality through the omnipresence of the sacred amoeba words. If the discussion is to be carried out in Islamic terms, these words will have to be abandoned.

If Muslims are to remain Muslims and not become second-class Westerners, they have no choice but to return to the resources of their own tradition. There they will find all the standards they need for judging gods and myths. These standards can be summarized in terms of the key technical terms of Islamic discourse as established by the Qur'an, the Sunnah, and the Islamic intellectual tradition. The importance of the intellectual tradition needs to be stressed. If it is ignored, the central Qur'anic concepts will be redefined in terms of the modern myths of development, progress, revolution, and social change. Only careful study of how Muslims have always understood the key terms of their own discourse can prevent false assimilations. Without recourse to the intellectual tradition, Islamic terms will themselves be turned into amoeba words that mean what their users want them to mean. They will become slogans employed in order to support an ideology. The world Islam itself is not immune, and a look at how it is used by every sort of political and ideological movement in the Islamic world shows that it has often employ of content.

To conclude these very brief and incomplete thoughts on the theological roots of development, let me suggest a single example of a traditional Islamic

⁶⁶ On the popular level, meanings provided for great masses of modern people by the ritual dramas of television. As Saul remarks, "The most accurate context in which to place television programming is that of general religious ritual... Television--- both drama and public affairs--- consists largely of stylized popular mythology" (Saul, p. 454). For a thorough critique of the mind--- destroying power of television, see Jerry Mander, *Four Arguments for the Elimination of Television*, New York: Quill, 1978.

standard of judgment, one that is easy to apply to the contemporary situation. That is the already mentioned concept of *ihsan*. I would translate this word as “doing what is beautiful”. The implication is that things should be done exactly as God wants them to be done, in keeping with divinely revealed norms, And this demands constant awareness of the presence of God. As soon as you forget that God is with you, you will not be doing things as He wants you to do them. Hence, the famous Hadith of *ihsan* can be rendered as, “‘Doing what is beautiful’ is that you worship God as if you see Him”.

Beauty is a divine attribute. Although this Hadith alludes to *husn* rather than *jamal*, the sense of the two words is close. The dictionaries tell us that *husn* refers to beauty of the eyes, and *jamal* refers to beauty of the nose. The importance of beauty is suggested by another well-known Hadith that employs the words *jamal*: “God is beautiful, and He loves beauty.” The principle of *tawhid* allows us to see that this means that all true beauty belongs to God alone, and that anything other than God is not beautiful. Or rather, everything other than God is beautiful only to the extent that it is “wholesome” (*salih*) and avoids corruption, or only to the extent that it acts as a vehicle for the beauty of God.

Beauty is the name given to the whole category of attributes that are contrasted with the attributes of Majesty. As already mentioned, the divine attributes of beauty, mercy, and gentleness are oriented toward establishing nearness with the creatures. Every beautiful thing is attractive and lovable. The only truly beautiful thing is God, so only God is truly attractive and lovable. To the extent that one recognizes God’s beauty, one is drawn toward God. In contrast, to the extent that one sees God’s majesty, one falls back away from Him in fear and awe. But majesty is complementary to Beauty, not contradictory. Moreover, beauty has the last say, because “God’s mercy takes precedence over His wrath”. The attributes of beauty and mercy are the fundamental determinants of reality.

The opposite of beauty is ugliness. Ugliness, of course, is not a divine attribute, nor is it an attribute of God’s creation inasmuch as God’s commandments are observed. Ugliness is a human attribute that rises up out of ignorance and forgetfulness of God and disobedience toward His commandments.

As an attribute of mercy and nearness, beauty is closely allied with unity, balance, harmony, proportion, equilibrium, and realness. In contrast, majesty has a strong connection with multiplicity, disequilibrium, and distance from God, but this is a distance from that is worthy and appropriate for God's servant. Beauty's opposite, ugliness, is not worthy for anything. Hence it is intimately connected with everything related to nonexistence, dispersion, dissolution, destruction, corruption, ruin, and evil.

The divine beauty is reflected in the cosmos in revelation, nature the self, and human productions and institutions. In revelation, beauty is found in the Arabic text of the Qur'an and in the life and character traits of the Prophet. Beauty is found throughout nature, wherever the hands of human beings have not interfered. Even the grand catastrophes of nature have an awesome beauty. In the human self beauty is found in noble character traits that reflect the nobility of the prophetic model. In social institutions, beauty is found interpersonal love and in healthy and wholesome relationships. It is especially obvious in art on all levels-- calligraphy, recitation of Qur'an and poetry, music, architecture, clothing, carpets, utensils, so on.

In traditional Islamic civilization, art and artifacts are beautiful as a matter of course, but this is not the case in the modern world. On the contrary, today ugliness has become the rule in human productions, because beauty can only be found through the manifestation of divine qualities and perception of these qualities is not supported by typically modern knowledge and praxis. Hence the typical artifacts, institutions, character traits, and objects of the modern world are ugly. This is to say that God does not love them, because He loves beauty, not ugliness. It is also to say that they dwell in distance from God, and hence in multiplicity, dispersion, dissolution, disharmony, and corruption.

Let us come back to ihsan or "doing what is beautiful". It is of course an essential element of Islam. The Prophet cited it as one of the three basic components of religion, along with Islam and Iman. The Qur'an establishes ihsan as a divine attribute and praises ihsan in those human beings who possess it, the muhsinun. Note that of sixteen Qur'anic verses that tell us which people God love, five mention the muhsinun. (In three God is said to love the muttaqun, in two the muqsitun, and in six more verses, people

defined by various other praiseworthy attributes.) Just as God loves beauty, so also He has a special love for those who do what is beautiful.

The implications of *ihsan* for judging concrete situations in the world is suggested by another Hadith that is mentioned in most of the standard sources:

God has prescribed doing what is beautiful for everything. When you kill, do the killing beautifully, and when you slaughter, do the slaughtering beautifully. You should sharpen your blade so that the victim is relieved.

The first sentence of this Hadith is of special importance, because it sets down a universal rule. Just as God has created the cosmos as beautiful, so also human activity, which must follow the divine model, has to be performed beautifully. Doing what is beautiful has been prescribed for all things.

Then the Hadith turns to the specific instance which perhaps occasioned the saying in the first place. The Prophet is telling his Companions that the Qur'an has commanded doing the beautiful. They should not think that acts that are normally considered ugly are in any way excepted. Killing is ordinarily an ugly act, and killing a human being without just cause is sufficient reason to end up in hell. In the same way, slaughtering animals for food is not an act that most people find pleasant and attractive, and with good reason. Nevertheless, God has allowed it, and hence it should be done in the most beautiful way possible.

In the third sentence of the Hadith, the Prophet gives a specific example of what doing the beautiful involves on this level, where a certain ugliness is inevitable. The knife should be sharp so that the animal's throat can be slit quickly and it will not suffer. Likewise, if it is a question of killing a human being, whether in war or as retaliation, it should be done with a sharp sword. This command is not unrelated to a large number of prohibitions found in the Shariah concerning war when it must be waged.

In short, doing what is beautiful is mandatory for Muslims in everything they do. The reason for this is obvious as soon as we remember that *ihsan* is to worship God as if you see Him. Every act of a Muslim must be done in

service and worship of God. God must be seen in every situation and every act. As soon as people do things while forgetting God, they are doing what is ugly, and God does not love those who do what is ugly. “Doing what is ugly” is not a had translation for *zulm*, which is traditionally defined as putting something where it does not belong. Thus the Qur’an tells us that “God does not love the ugly-doers [al-zalimin]” (3:57, 3:140, 42:40). In the same way, it says that “God does not love corruption” (2:205) and “God does not love the workers of corruption” (28:77).

In order to do things beautifully and to avoid corruption people must have an understanding of what beauty and wholesomeness are. This understanding does not come easily to rational understanding, because reason works by abstracting and divesting things of their qualities. Seeing beauty is a characteristic of imagination. This obvious as soon as we think of the beauty of poetry or music, in which the power of producing images is utterly central to the art. The beau that we see can only be the beauty of God, since “none is beautiful but God”. Hence, when imagination sees beauty in things, it is seeing God’s beauty. This comes back to what I said earlier: imagination is the faculty that perceives the presence of God. Those who do not see beauty do not see the presence of God, and those who do not understand beauty do not understand how God can be present in things. They do not worship God “as if” they see Him, that is, with the power of imagination.

I will not go any further in drawing conclusions. I think my line of reasoning is clear. Anyone who wishes can follow it through and apply it to numerous concrete situations in the contemporary world. Let me simply state openly what I feel to be the general conclusion that one must reach: Islamic activity in the modern world, at least on the social and political levels, has known little about beauty. Until beauty is recovered by Muslims, until they do what they do in a beautiful manner as established by principles laid down by God and the nature of things, there can be no revival of any culture and civilization that deserves the name “Islamic”.

IQBAL AND THE FUNDAMENTALS OF ISLAM

Dr. S. M. Zaman

Shaykh ‘Abd-ul-Quddus (d. 945 A.H.) of Gang oh, great sofi saint-scholar of the Nizamiyyah order in the 10th/ I6th C.; reflecting on the ascension of the Prophet (SAW) to the heavens (Mi’ raj), is reported to have made an intriguing remark. He said:

“Muhammad (SAW) of Arabia ascended the highest Heaven and ‘ returned. I’ swear by God that if I had reached that point, I should never had returned”.⁶⁷

Iqbal begins his fifth lecture entitled ‘The Spirit of Muslim Culture’ with this quotation.and then proceeds, to comment on it in a manner which is characteristic of his philosophic view of the world, the place of man therein, but above all the essential difference between the mystic and the prophetic experience. The sublimest aspiration of the mystic is to achieve a state of spiritual ecstasy, wherein he becomes one with his Lord and Beloved, as the natural destination of his spiritual journey. But the Last Prophet of Allah, mercy and compassion for all creatures (Rahmat-lil-’Alamin) had to return to distribute the blessing, the light, the ecstasy if you will, to the rest of mankind, in all parts of the globe, for all times to come. Says Iqbal:

In the whole range of Sufi literature it will be probably difficult to find words which in a single sentence, disclose such an acute perception of the psychological difference between the prophetic and the mystic types of consciousness. The mystic does not wish to return from the repose of ‘unitary experience; ... The Prophet’s return is creative. He returns to -insert himself into the sweep of time with a view to control the forces of history, and thereby to create a fresh world of ideals. ... The desire to see his religious experience transformed into a living world-force is supreme in the prophet’.⁶⁸

⁶⁷ Muhammad Iqbal, ' Allama Sir: The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam, Iqbal Academy Pakistan, Lahore, 1989 (rep.) p. 99

⁶⁸ Ibid.

In his own modest way, Iqbal tried to follow and emulate the example of his Master, the Prophet (SAW), when in the celebrated avid Namah he unfolded the fascinating story of his poetic journey through the heavens, guided by his mentor 'Pir-i-Rumi'. The pseudonym Iqbal uses for himself as the spiritual traveller in this heavenly excursion is Zinda Rud, the living stream, which conjures up a picture of the yearning soul-- the streamlet running through mountains, plateaus and plains--- in an eternal desire to become one with the ocean. The Prophet's Ascension (Mi' raj), of which one of greatest lessons is the accessibility of the entire cosmos to man,⁶⁹ been a favourite theme in Islamic literature. In fact a modern Span orientalist⁷⁰ has conclusively established that Dante's Divine Co was produced not only under the inspiration and influence of the Futuhat al-Makkiyah, but the great Italian poet drew quite heavily at this source. Iqbal derew inspiration from both in creating this masterly work of higher poetry, truly his magnum opus.

Like the Prophet descending from the highest station of qaba qawsayn auw adna (al-Qur'an, 53:9)⁷¹ in the midst of fallen humanity to deliver the call for fulfillment of man's divine destiny as the vicegerent of God, and to reveal man's true potential of which the Prophet's Mi'raj was but a demonstrative pointer, Iqbal saw the resuscitation of the universal truths of pristine Islam at the centre of his poetic and philosophic mission, to infuse a fresh life and spirit into the edifying and elevating institutions, which had degenerated into lifeless and formal ritualism. This is the theme which keeps reverberating in his poetry like a favourite refrain, running as a common strand into the fabric of his entire thought, everything else woven round it elegantly and artistically

⁶⁹ Cf. Iqbal:(I have learnt this lesson from the Mi'raj (ascension) of Muhammad (SAW), that heaven itself is within the target-range of man.) See Kulliyat-i-Iqbal Iqbal Academy Pakistan, Lahore 1993, p. 364.

⁷⁰ Miguel Asin Palacios, *La Escatologia Musulmana En La Divina Comedia* was first published in 1919 from Madrid. An English version, translated and abridged by Harold Sunderland appeared in 1926, under the title of *Islam and the Divine Comedy* (Newyork, E.P. Dutton & Co.) A 3rd edition of the Spanish original came out in 1961 (Madrid). English translation has been reprinted several times from Lahore, Though the work is still valuable for its translations from Ibn 'Arabi's works, the biographical details which it provides are, more or less, regarded as inaccurate by the recent scholarship on the subject. The conclusions drawn by the author about Ibn 'Arabi and the Islamic intellectual heritage in general are still more dubious and questionable,

⁷¹ Trans. "And was at a distance-of but two bow-lengths or (even) nearer.

in a panorama of stimulating shades and textures, rousing the very best in the human being:

What with melody and what with music ---- all this is but a device to drag the strayed rein-less camel to the caravan.

Leading the caravan is the Mir-i-Hijaz (The Lord of Hijaz SAW), Love and devotion to him is the quintessence of faith and the ultimate acid test for the purity of belief. Unflinching allegiance to him is the guarantee for bliss, happiness and success here and in the here-after. Allah says in the poet's diction:

If you owe love and loyalty to Muhammad (SAW), I am yours. This whole universe is insignificant-- you will have The Pen and the Tablet to write your destiny yourself, as you wish.⁷²

In a well-known poem of Armaghan-i-Hijaz⁷³, posthumously published in 1938, Iqbal was even more emphatic in stressing the importance of the devotional bond with the Prophet (SAW). Says he:

Lift yourself to the feet of Muhammad(SAW), because he is the faith, the entire faith; if you fail to reach him, the rest is all paganhooood and heathenism.

Kenneth Cragg arranged the chapters in his popular book titled Call of the Minaret according to the sentences of the call to prayer, the adhan. One of the most important features of Iqbal's thought and poetry, as seen by the most eminent Iqbalist in western scholarship, Prof. Annemarie Schimmel, is his "view of the essentials of Islam, i.e. the five Pillars of Faith, and the Creed which is taught to every Muslim child".⁷⁴ Having made this observation, she devotes the bulk of her discourse, no less than 230 pages, to Iqbal's interpretation of the five Pillars of faith and the Essentials of Faith or Creed. Unity of God, Prophethood of Muhammad (SAW), Salat (prayer), Fasting, Zakat (obligatory alms), Hajj (pilgrimage) and Jihad in one group and belief

⁷² 'Jawab Shikwah' Bang-i-Dara, in *Kulliyat-i-Iqbal* Iqbal Academy Pakistan, Lahore, 1993, p. 237.

⁷³ Armaghan-i-Hijaz, in: *Kulliyat-i-Iqbal* Iqbal Academy Pakistan, Lahore, 1993, p. 237.

⁷⁴ A. Schimmel: *Gabriel's Wing*, Lahore, Iqbal Academy, 1989 (2nd ed.), p. vii.

in God, His Angels, His Books, His Messengers, the Last Day (Yawm al.Akhirah) and the Pre-destination in the other, form the constituents of this discussion. It is as ironic as it is-simple and true that the initiative for studying Iqbal's thought as interpretative of the fundamentals of Islam should have emanated from outside the Muslim world. But this is the surest, if not the only, approach for us, particularly the Muslims, to understand Iqbal's message in its true perspective, bereft of all - philosophic casuistry and dialectical hair-splitting.

In a brief presentation like this, one can only allude to the real meaning of some of the Islamic beliefs and practices, which he so forcefully and movingly brings to bear on the reader's mind. On the creative grandeur of adhan (call to prayer) and its true significance, he says:

The dawn which causes the forces of darkness to tremble with fear, is brought forth by the adhan of a true believer (momin)⁷⁵

And look how he laments the loss of spirit in the labyrinth of ritualism.

The ritual of adhan has survived but the Bilalian spirit has departed, just as philosophy remains hut bereft of Ghazali's discourse.

The mosques mourn the loss of worshippers_ those noble souls adorned with the attributes and qualities of Hijaz.⁷⁶

In a poem in the Zarb-i-Kalim, he bemoans the departure of spiritual vision, and the consequential loss of meaning in prayers:

It is highly improbable that you may find communion with God, when even the true standing of man is hidden from your view.

There is neither any grandeur nor any beauty in your prayer, nor does our adhan carry any message of the dawn.⁷⁷

How beautifully the liberating, uplifting and elevating dimension of salat (prayer) is brought out in these verses:

⁷⁵ Zarb-i-Kalim, in: Kulliyat-i-Iqbal op. cit. 'Subh', p. 526.

⁷⁶ Bang-i-Dara, op. cit. 'Jawab Shikwah', p. 231.

⁷⁷ Zarb-i-Kalim, op. cit., 'Mulla-i-Haram', p. 536.

Though Adam (man) is old, the false gods of Lat and Manat are young, visiting every age in a new guise.

This one prostration (before God), which you take so oppressively cumbersome, in fact delivers you of the need for a thousand prostrations (before others).⁷⁸

On the philosophy of pre-destination, he sharply condemns the attitude of passive surrender and inaction and says ruefully:

To--- day their mode of action betrays an attitude of abject surrender to fate,

But once their own intentions used to shape the will of God.⁷⁹

Urging a westernized and philosophy-stricken youth of noble Sayyid descent to discover his 'self', he says:

Had you not lost your self, you would not have become a prisoner and a devotee of Bergson.⁸⁰

Man is in search of peace and stability, in quest of a Code of life.

[But] the ultimate end of reason is a loss of the sense of presence; the end result of all philosophy is remoteness from real life.

It is Din (Faith) which straightens the path of life.

It is Din (Faith) which is the secret of Muhammad and Abraham.⁸⁰

Without Qur'anic wisdom and adherence to its system, it is impossible for Muslims to survive:

O Muslim, if you want to live (with honour), it is not possible to do so without (adhering to) the Quran.

⁷⁸ Ibid., Namaz', p. 550.

⁷⁹ Ibid., Tan ba Taqdir p. 528.

⁸⁰ Ibid., Ek Falsafah-zadah Sayyid-zadeh Key Nam', p. 530.

And where is that most edifying and fortifying force, the live force of belief in the unity of God, unity of His message, unity of the Ummah, unity of thought, unity of action?

Taw-hid (belief in One God) was once a living force in the world!

But alas, today it has been reduced merely to a problem in the Science of Theology!

Commander of the army, I have seen your soldiers.

Their scabbards are empty of the sword of belief in One God!

Alas, neither the mullah nor the jurisconsult knows the secret that unity of thought without unity of conduct is an empty dream!

What is a nation? What is the leadership of nations?

How can these poor mullahs who only know how to lead two rak'ahs of prayer, understand this secret?⁸¹

Once again, look at the beauty, the brevity, the simple and straightforward reason, with which the age-old riddle of pre-destination is explained in the Islamic perspective, in the form of a dialogue between Iblis (Satan) and Yazdan (God).⁸² Says Iblis:

O God, the Creator of the universe with the command of kun (come into existence), I bore no malice or grudge with Adam that poor prisoner of space and time!

(Moreover) it was not possible in thy presence to utter a word of pride or arrogance.

But (the fact is), it was not thy will that I should make a prostration.

God responds to the Devil's cunning apology with a straight but incisive question.

⁸¹ Ibid., 'Tawhid', p. 537.

⁸² Ibid., 'Taqrir', pp. 559-560.

[When did you discover this secret (that it was not My will that you should prostrate before Adam)? Before your refusal or afterwards?]

This brief question and the Devil's one-word reply help understand the chronic controversy with greater ease than volumes of theological and philosophic discourses have succeeded in doing. Iblis answers,

Afterwards, My Lord, the creator of the perfections of Existence

If the will of God dawned on the Devil after his refusal, how could he then take shelter behind His will? So, Yazdan (God), looking at the assembly of angels, declares.

Baseness of nature has taught him this ruse; he says it was not my will that he would prostrate. How he calls his freedom of action the decree of fate! How the ruthless fellow himself names his burning flame as mere smoke!

To conclude, I cannot do better than recall the last paragraph of Prof. Schimmel's Foreword written in 1988 to the reprint of her famous work entitled *Gabriel's Wing*, and I quote her words:

I sincerely hope that Iqbal will continue to inspire the people of Pakistan by reaching them the important role of the human being as the khalifa of God, working on His earth and called to ameliorate it in responsibility for his fellow beings while never forgetting that the earth belongs to God".⁸³

⁸³ Schimmel, *op. cit.*, p. xv.

COMMUNICATIONS: A REPLY TO SOME CRITICS OF IQBAL

Dr. Muhammad Maruf.

Under the title “Testing Iqbal’s Philosophical Test of the Revelations of the Religious Experience”⁸⁴ Dr. Ishrat Hasan Envar has, in fact, critically examined Iqbal’s use of the Intellectual and Pragmatic tests in his famous Second Lecture. He starts with Iqbal’s distinction—implicit in his title, as Dr. Ishrat says—between the religious experience and revelation, and the philosophical test of revelation which is an third thing. Now, there is no doubt that an experience is one thing and a revelation from that experience is mother, for experience is the inner, subjective side while revelation is the outward manifestation thereof. In fact, by ‘revelation’ is meant here what is revealed’, the message, and it is always ‘what is revealed’ that can be true or false. Thus, Iqbal is justified in captioning his chapter as ‘The Philosophical Test of the Revelations of the Religious Experience’, for it is always the revelation that is subjected to test and verification. Revelation is the ‘experient’ in Iqbal’s sense.

Most of the criticism against Iqbal’s view of religion is based on a misconceived notion of the nature of ‘experience’ itself. All experience, whether natural or spiritual, is basically a state of feeling so far as its internal’ aspect is concerned; I mean, the real experience itself. Take, for instance, the experience of a red patch or an ache. What is the internal, original sense of red colour or of tooth-ache can at best be directly experienced by the experiencer himself only; nobody can experience my sense of red colour or my tooth-ache directly. Hence, all experience in itself is incommunicable to another, and the same is true of religious experience, says Iqbal: it is private and personal, to be more precise. But all experience, even of colour and ache, is communicated in the form of judgement/statement. Let us go further into an analysis of a given perception of. say, a red patch of colour. This experience/perception comprises an internal sensation which is caused by an

⁸⁴ Title of an article written by Dr. Ishrat Hasan Envar, *Iqbal*, Vol. 41. No. 3, July 1994. An earlier response to Dr. I. Hasan Envar's article has already appeared in the July 1994 issue of *Iqbaliat* (Editor)

external phenomenon called object; then the sensation is referred to the external source which is then objectified, i.e. called by the name of an object: this is assigning 'meaning' to the sensation or, sensibilia'. The sensation or sensibilia is totally private and inaccessible to anybody else: say, in my mind the sense produced by stimulation is x by an object A; what happens is that through association Learnt through repeated experience and instruction of the parents, I learn to associate the sense of x with an object A: that is, I learn that whenever a sense x is produced in me, it "means" an object A to me. This process of associating a sensation to an object is called assigning "meaning", and but for this assigning of meaning, no sensation can be understood even by me, not to speak of communicating it to someone else. Now same is the process of learning "meaning" by all of us. Thus communication is possible on the ground of "community" of experiences by any two of us conversing. When I tell someone that I am viewing a patch of red colour, I do so after passing through the process mentioned above; the someone whom I tell will understand me only if he has himself passed through a similar process/experience. This is the sole mechanism involved in all communication or possibility of communication. Here I take a more abstract experience to make the point clear. Suppose I report to a friend of having head-ache myself; he can follow me only if he has been through this experience himself at any time in life. In my case, I have never experienced head-ache in life; so, when someone talks of head-ache, I recall some pain in my belly or some other part of the body which I have experienced and imagine head-ache to be some similar sort of ache. Thus, no communication is possible without some community of experience. This explains why more and more abstract experiences are difficult to communicate: for instance, I enjoy an exquisite sun-rise in the morning. Now, it is extremely difficult to communicate my experience to another as it is not easy to assign it "meaning". The same applies with equal force to a mystic/religious state of mind, for in all such senses the community of experience gradually thins out. Thus, in all experience, the internal side or aspect is more like feeling, as Iqbal very rightly says, for it is the feeling-aspect of mind which it is difficult to convey. He is right in stressing that experience itself, religious. experience in this case, is basically incommunicable; and it is only through 'idea', i.e. judgement, that all experience can be externalized, that is, made public or communicable to others. As said before, even my experience of a patch of red colour is communicable thro statement or judgement only. What is true

of ordinary experiences is more so of less concrete and common experiences like aesthetic or religious/mystical experiences. Thus, all experience, whatever its contents, is communicable through judgement only, a point which Iqbal has stressed so emphatically, and in particular, in the case of religious states.

Now, when any experience is communicated to anyone, it is always in the form of a judgement/statement; and as soon as it is expressed in a statement, it is open to the question of verification/verifiability. In his first Lecture, while discussing the nature of religious experience, Iqbal says:

Now when a judgement which claims to be the interpretation of a certain region of human experience, not accessible to me, is placed before me for my assent, I am entitled to ask, what is the guarantee of its truth? Are we in possession of a test which would reveal its validity?⁸⁵

In fact, whenever an experience or state of mind is expressed overtly in a judgement or proposition, it becomes amenable to verification. This is what Iqbal has stressed the need for at the end of his first Lecture “Knowledge and Religious Experience”. And he has expressed a satisfaction that a religious proposition or revelation, is, fortunately, open to the same tests as any other propositions; we don’t have to devise any special tests. These tests are the intellectual test and the pragmatic test. An assertion or expression which claims to be a proposition comes within the preview of truth-falsity dimension which can be established only by applying tests of truth.

The two tests— intellectual and pragmatic— are not mutually exclusive as Dr. Ishrat has erroneously supposed; they rather evaluate the two different aspects of truth— the former its theoretical, the latter its practical aspect. The philosopher, no doubt, keeping in view his avocation, will try to go for the intellectual test of religious propositions; whereas the prophet will go for the pragmatic test, his mission being basically practical and practicable. Even a prophet/mystic is faced with the question of genuineness of his experience: the Holy Qur’an bids the Holy Prophet.⁸⁶

⁸⁵ M. Iqbal, *The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam*. Sh. M. Ashraf, Lahore, p. 27.

⁸⁶ A. Yusuf Ali, *The Holy Quran*, XXIII:97-98.

When St. Teresa was questioned regarding the validity of her experiences, she said about those who doubted her visions, "I showed them the jewels which the divine hand left with me;_ they were my actual dispositions".⁸⁷ Thus, it is obvious that a religious man with a view to confirming his or her experiences refers to its results which can be seen by outsiders. Iqbal himself applies this test to ward off the objections of the critics of the Holy Prophet thus replying to these Western critics who dubbed him as a psychopath he says,

Well, if a psychopath has the power to give a fresh direction to the course of human history, it is a point of the highest psychological interest to search his original experience which has turned slaves into leaders of men, and has inspired the conduct and shaped the career of whole race of mankind.⁸⁸

In fact, Prophetic experience; having a purely practical significance, is more amenable to pragmatic test.

As regards the intellectual test, Iqbal has used this term in a very wide sense to include the various tests which come within the preview of rational proof i.e., both Coherence and Correspondence tests. He believes that all true knowledge must correspond to each other and there must be complete coherence in it: let there be no inconsistencies in it. Hence he believes that if various kinds of knowledge indicate towards truth, even if a partial truth, they must ultimately correspond to, or tend to correspond, to the Ultimate Truth or Reality which trot religion purports ton set up dogmatically. The fact that Iqbal seeks correspondence, not confirmation, of the religious truths and realities does not assign any superiority to other kinds of knowledge over religious knowledge. He refers to this fact when he says, 'Philosophy, no doubt, has jurisdiction to judge religion, but what is to be judged is of such a nature that it will not submit to the jurisdiction of philosophy except on its own terms.'⁸⁹ Again, since religious approach is 'dogmatic' and direct in the sense that it seldom feels any need to offer proofs, it is other forms of knowledge and science which help a philosopher in finding

⁸⁷ Dr. M. Maruf, Iqbal's Philosophy of Religion, Islamic Book Services, Lahore, (1977), p. 99.

⁸⁸ Reconstruction, p. 190

⁸⁹ Ibid., p.2.

“correspondence” with a view to finding same kind of ‘confirmation’. However, as Iqbal holds, it is not religion seeking confirmation from other sciences and philosophies; it is rather other forms of human knowledge seeking confirmation from religious ‘truths’ regarding their own findings: religious truths are the final goals where— to all human knowledge has to lead— It is because, if all sciences aim at finding the truth, then who will provide the touchstone to their success if not religion; this shows why religious approach is dogmatic. But, it is also the case that no sooner does the scientific findings draw nearer the religious ‘truths’ than they feel satisfied regarding their own directions and goal. In fact, both need each other so far as the human situation is concerned. Thus, Iqbal very rightly remarks that thought and intuition (science and religion) are not opposed to each other; in their probe into reality they rather ‘complement each other’.⁹⁰ He goes on to add, ‘Both are in need of each other for mutual rejuvenation, Both seek visions of the same Reality which reveals itself to them in accordance with their function in life.’⁹¹ Thus, these critics are misconceived who think that by appealing to the findings of various sciences Iqbal is degrading the status of religion; this misconception is, unfortunately, very common among the protagonists of religious or spiritual knowledge. In fact, they make a tacit distinction between the spiritual and the material which is against the very spirit of Islam.

Again, the critics of Iqbal, including Dr. Ishrat Hasan, have largely failed to understand the true nature of philosophical method, as used by the renowned thinkers, both in the East and the West. Philosophy is critical and evaluative. It proceeds by examining critically the prevalent views in the field of a particular subject. When a philosopher starts philosophizing he begins by taking up some view or views on the subject he is philosophizing on. Most of the modern thinkers, when writing on a subject like Mind-Body relationship, begin with Descartes’s view of strict Mind-Body dualism and that of Interactionism.⁹² Starting with this, he, like Prof. H.D. Lewis⁹³ of the University of London, examines it critically till he carves out his own views e.g., milder form of dualism in the case of Prof. Lewis. In this process he will

⁹⁰ Ibid.

⁹¹ Ibid., pp.2-3.

⁹² W.K. Wright, *A History of Modern Philosophy*, Macmillan, N.Y, pp. 79ff.

⁹³ Hywel D. Lewis, (1910-1933), a renowned British philosopher.

examine all these views on the subject which come closer to his views on the subject of discussion. For example, Prof. Lewis will examine the views of Prof. Shoemaker, Prof. Williams etc., who have also written on the Mind-Body problems in our times. Similarly those who intend to write on the nature of Reality will either start with Plat's Idealism or with Aristotle's Realism, and then proceed to carve out their own views on the nature of reality. Iqbal, in his *The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam* has followed the same philosophical procedure which is right in line with philosophical methodology. He is not, as sometimes erroneously thought, confirming the Islamic tenets in the light of Western scientific and philosophical thoughts; he is on the other hand developing his own views on the Islamic principles, and in the process critically examining the scientific views of, say Einstein on Space-Time Relativity, and philosophical views of Russell, William James, Bergson and so on, who came closer to his own views; but what is important, he did not accept any one of these views totally which shows that he has only examined them in the light of his own views, only partly accepting them where they seem to collaborate. In Iqbal's own words, 'With the reawakening of Islam... it is necessary to examine, in an independent spirit, what Europe has thought and how far the conclusions reached by her can help us in the revision and, if necessary, reconstruction of theological thought in Islam'.⁹⁴ In other words, Iqbal desires that we should approach the Western knowledge with a critical mind and spirit lest we should be dazzled by its bright exterior. He is very emphatic when he says, 'The only course open to us is to approach modern knowledge with a respectful but independent attitude and to appreciate the teachings of Islam in the light of that knowledge,...'.⁹⁵ Thus, Iqbal in his *Lectures* has followed the true philosophical procedure and has derived logical conclusions from his premises. In my studied view, the critics of Iqbal have themselves misconceived the very natural of method used by the technical and professional philosophers.

NOTES

⁹⁴ *Reconstruction*, op. cit. p. 8.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 79.

A NOTE ON INDIAN MODERNISM*

Muhammad Suheyl Umar

Time is limited. We have two of our senior colleagues who would, in turn, enlighten us on the subject. Even more limited is my ability to elucidate the present theme especially because it has been taken up earlier by such an outstanding scholar as Dr. Seyyed Muhammad Naquib al-'Attas himself.⁹⁶ The matter is further complicated by the fact that we have a history of more than a century to narrate in order to form an idea of the unfolding of the secularization process in its Indian setting. This is an obvious impossibility given the short span of time at our disposal. I, therefore, propose to leave out all discussion about the concept of secularization itself since the present audience has, more or less, attended the earlier lectures and we can presume its familiarity with the meaning and different ramifications of the idea. Secondly, I would confine myself to the first phase of modernism in the Indian subcontinent, inaugurated by Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan and his Ali Garh movement. Within these parameters I would focus my discussion on two important factors at work in the process that gave rise to modernism which, inevitably and unfailingly, produces secularism, westernization and/or rejectionist fundamentalism. In the light of the discussions carried out earlier on this forum and with reference to what Dr. 'Attas has had to say in the last two seminars⁹⁷

these two factors could be described as:

- 1) Error and confusion is knowledge.

* This brief address was delivered at one- of the Saturday night seminars at International Institute of Islamic Thought and Civilization, Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia in Nov. 1993. These seminars constituted a regular feature of the intense intellectual activity of the Institute, drawing into its fold the general public as well, apart from the academic staff of the organization.

⁹⁶ For the views of Dr. 'Attas concerning secularism and its process of unfolding see Prof. Seyyed Muhammad Naquib al-'Attas, *Islam and Secularism*, ISTAC, Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia, 1993, p. 15. Also see p. 133-168 for his views on 'De-Westernization of Knowledge'

⁹⁷ Dr. 'Attas had taken up the theme in the preceeding sessions.

2) Loss of Adab and erosion of authority.

I refer precisely to that frame work which has been employed by Prof. 'Attas to study secularism firstly because it saves us from explaining the paradigm itself and secondly because I feel that these are the factors that were at the core of all the Indian modernist, secularist thinking.

But, before going to the subject matter itself, let us consider a point of importance. In the past Islam had encountered many civilizations with precepts that were alien to the Islamic ethos, e.g. Greek, Indian, Persian and the Byzantine. What accounted for the successful pattern of such encounters and assimilations was the confidence which was at base of the Islamic institutions of power as well as the intelle activity of the religious scholars. Which was, in turn, based on t knowledge or in other words, on an absence of confusion and error in knowledge. Moreover, these alien civilizations only posed intellectual or cultural challenges and not military or political ones vis-a-vis which Islam could have found itself consistently in a subordinate position. (The sole exception being the Mongol invasion where the conquerors were culturally inferior and Islam imposed its own culture on them.) The encounter with the West on he Indian soil, on the contrary, occurred in the wake of British colonization and was overshadowed by the superior military and political performance of the invading civilization. Moreover, this civilization was different from all the early ones in the respect that its world view was at complete antipodes to all the traditional civilizations, since it was based on secularism and various secularizing philosophies dominating the West ever since the middle ages. The main effect of this contact with the West on the collective Muslim psyche was to rather shake their confidence in their own civilization which they were compelled to view in a state of decadence. In the face of the new challenge and the realization of something wrong in their own civilization the Muslim response diverged into two different and more or less contradictory channels, namely the modernist and the traditionalist. Here, instead of naming the thinkers and mentioning their ideas, which would not be possible in a short time, I would try to summarize their respective positions vis-a-vis the Western challenge.

The traditionalists, with the aftermath of the war of independence in 1857, turned rather inwardly and concentrated on preserving as many facets

of the Islamic cultural, intellectual and religious heritage as possible to allow the continuous presence of faith and practice in the society. This, however, didn't preclude the possibility of shunting off ideas in the political as well as social and literary domains, which the traditionalists intermittently kept doing. This is a position of conscious inaction (i.e. action that is outward and political) which could be identified with the school of Deoband, Nadwa and other centers of learning among the traditionalist Muslims. Attacked by the modernists and the fundamentalists alike, and ignored by the western scholars, this position shows their superior sense of proportion which made them to attend to the first things first, that is, to rectify the error and confusion in knowledge which is a prerequisite to effective and legitimate action. They had realized that the path to development first passed through thought, which for so long as Muslims are Muslims and non-western, had to be genuinely Islamic.

No such realization of the importance of genuine Islamic thought and concomitant efforts at its preservation and furtherance is observable among the second channel of response that we termed as modernist. These modernists were either westernized thinkers groping for a veneer of Islam to legitimize their alien views (Amir 'Ali, Charag Ali) or Muslims in search of westernism, trying to justify their yearning for importing from without by constant references to Islam (Sir Sayyid, Hali, Shibli. To borrow prof. Pye's expression, "The universal practice is that of finding the present in their own history"⁹⁸ In other words their position vis-a-vis the western challenge was that these thinkers viewed their cultural heritage as based on the same principles which, they believed, did underlie the grandeur of the Western civilization. For development and to live up to its potentials the Islamic society would have to go back to those basic precepts, lost to the indigenous culture, but conveniently at display in the west.

Emphasis has shifted, in-stages, as far as the identification of these principles or precepts is concerned. Following statement from Sir Sayyid clearly gives us an idea.

⁹⁸ Lucian W. Pye, "Identity and Political Culture", in Leonard Binder et al, Crisis and Sequences in Political Development, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1974) pp. 120.

If people do not shun blind adherence, if they do not seek that light which can be found in the Qur'an and the indisputable hadith, and do not adjust religion to the science of today, Islam will become extent in India.⁹⁹

Apart from the last part of the statement which is already suspect, there seemed to be nothing wrong with the advise. But keeping in view that Sir Sayyid and his cohorts themselves embarked upon this project this seems more of an announcement of the modernist agenda where all the three factors, enumerated in the beginning of our talk, could be discovered at work. I repeat:

Erosion of authority

Lack of Adab

Confusion/error in knowledge.

Let us see how:

To shun blind adherence and to seek light from Qur'an and hadith required qualifications. Was he qualified for that? All his authentic biographers do not support this point. His official biographer and close and faithful follower A.H. Hali says:¹⁰⁰

He studied no more than Gulistan and Bostan or couple of other books of the same type. Then he started Arabic and studied Sharh Mulla, Sharh Tahzib, Maybadhi, Mukhtasar al-Ma'am and Mutawwal; even these were not studied like the ordinary students but with extreme negligence and lack of concentration. In the same period he took a fancy for studying medicine..... After a few month he abandoned it as well. In 1846, he made a certain progress in this. regard.

⁹⁹ Fazlur Rahman, Islam, University of Chicago Press, 1966, p.216, cf. Vali Reza Nasr, "Religious Modernism and its Echo in the Political Development of the Islamic World", Hamdard Islamicus, Karachi, Vol. viii, No. 3. p. 20.

¹⁰⁰ A. H. Hali, Hayat-i-Javid, Hijra Int. Publishers, Lahore, 1984, Part I, p. 42, 52-3.

Same is the observation of Abu al-Hasan Nadwi.¹⁰¹

He had received a religious education of an intermediate level and his expertise in religious sciences and the Qur'an and Sunnah was not deep and broad.

An other biographer, Mahmud Ahmad Barakati, also gives a si view.¹⁰²

His father was a care free man so his education could not be looked' after properly. At the age of 17/18 he was married and his education was discontinued immediately afterwards.

Imagine of some body who new intermediate Persian and no English except his signatures.¹⁰³ was, in all his later career dabbling with Tafsir, Usul Tafsir. Fiqh, Kalam Theology, criticism of Hadith and reconciling religion with estern science. It was a clear case of erosion of authority and lack of adab ince it was nothing short of a conscious effort to render the religious authorities obsolescent, and hence to eliminate their position in the society, and a lack of recognition and acknowledgment of ones true and proper place in relation with them. Confusion and error in knowledge is even more evident when we analyze any of these fields in which he presented his ideas Here, again, we are faced with a bulk of literature that could be presented and analyzed to show that the modernists first accepted alien models of thought, foreign world views, and erroneous ideas and then interpreted or distorted Islamic precepts accordingly. By and large,. this is the point of view which was adopted by the traditional Ulama of India vis a vis Sir Sayyid's attempts at religious and educational modernism. This is, moreover, the approach which can place Indian modernism in its proper perspective and provide veritable keys to its understanding.

¹⁰¹ S. Abu al-Hasan 'Ali Nadwi, Muslim Mumalik main Islamiyyat awr Maghrabiyyat ki Kashmakash, Karachi, 1974, p. 94-95.

¹⁰² M.A. Barakati, Sirat-i-Faridiyyah Lahore, 1964, p. 16, cf. D,r. Zafar Hasan, Sir Seyyed awr Hali lea Tasawwur-i-Fitrat Institute of Islamic Culture, Lahore, 1990, p. 72.

¹⁰³ See Zafar Hasan, op. cit., p 81. Also see Hali, Hayat-i-Javid, op. cit., part II, p. 21.

ISLAMIC METAPHYSICS OF BEAUTY

Shahzad Qaiser

Aesthetic behaviour is structured on metaphysical foundations. There are four principal dimensions of esoterism, namely intellectual, volitive, moral and aesthetic. From the traditional point of view, beauty has both the sensible aspect and the spiritual edifice. It is 'integral aesthetics' which takes into consideration the fundamental and relative aspects of beauty. Schuon says "By 'integral aesthetics' we mean in fact a science that takes account not only of sensible beauty but also of the spiritual foundations of this beauty." It is in the perspective of integral aesthetics that we shall make an attempt to unravel the Islamic metaphysics of beauty.

Islamic metaphysics starts from the idea that all the Real is in the Invisible and that the Supreme Reality is Absolute and Infinite. It uses the word Haqq which literally means Truth or Reality in referring to the Absolute. The Absolute in its absoluteness is unknowable. It is. Nameless and It has no signs by which It can be approached. It is beyond human perception, conception or imagination. No qualification or relation can be attributed to It for It even transcends transcendence. It is at once, solely itself and totally itself and is 'the most indeterminate of all indeterminates.' No linguistic category can describe It. It is 'the most unknown of all the unknownn, as well as the 'Mystery of mysteries' and no one, in principle, can have an access to It. The Absolute does not manifest itself in its absoluteness. 'The self-manifestation of the Absolute does not yet occur.' There is as yet no theopany or tajalli. The Absolute in its absoluteness is understood as dhat or essence and it is identified with Allah's Essence and is known as al-ahadiyah. Here God is considered in respect of Himself for there are yet no relations. attributions and correlations. All relations, attributes, correlations arise by virtue of the Infinite which is one of the fundamental aspects of the Real and is known as al-wahdiyah. It is All-Possibility. From here arises communication, radiation, relativity, differentiation, contrast and privation.

Islamic metaphysics explains the emergence of the principle of differentiation within the undifferentiated Reality by referring to the

following Holy Tradition: 'I was a hidden treasure and I desired (ahbabtu, loved) to be known. Accordingly, I created the creatures and thereby made myself known to them. And they did come to know Me'. Here one sees the original emergence of the principle of differentiation within the Reality. The Reality loved to see His own Essence in 'another so that His own mystery could be revealed to Him. Nature acted as Divine Mirror but it was an unpolished mirror and thereby the mirror of the cosmos required Adam who 'was the very principle of reflection for that mirror and the spirit of that form.' The perfect man is 'the perfectly polished mirror that perfectly reflects the divine light 'and by virtue of which the Reality sees Himself perfectly. Muhammad was the most perfect mirror in this context. His this underlying cosmic purpose which made God address the Prophet in these words: 'If thou were not, I would not have created the heavens'. Thus, the Absolute by dint of the Infinite projects into relativity and this projection is termed as Perfection. Manifestation thereby proceeds from the Infinite. In the Infinite, beauty is essential, formless, undifferentiated and unarticulated whereas in and through manifestation it becomes tangible. Beauty is essentially a deployment. This undifferentiated beauty at the level of the Infinite becomes manifest by the principle of differentiation which is identified with Ahmad. Ahmad symbolizes the principles of Infinitude, perfection, beauty. It is to be remembered that the manifested beauty of God at the level of the logos is principial and not cosmic. It is when the primordial beauty manifests that Ahmad's formlessness assumes Ahmad's form. And this process leads to the creation of the universe and man for did not the Reality wanted to see. The essences of His most Beautiful Names?

The principle of complementarity between transcendence and immanence helps us to understand beauty. The perspective of transcendence is that 'nothing is really beautiful because God alone is Beauty' and the perspective of immanence reveals that 'every beauty is really beautiful-because it is that of God.' The complementarity does not separate us from God but brings us close to Him. This point is further explained in the Islamic metaphysics of Shahadah. The first Shahadah (La ilaha illa'Llah) is 'There is no divinity (or reality, or Absolute) outside the only Divinity (or Reality, or Absolute). The expression ilah (divinity) can be given every positive meaning for transposing in divines. For our purposes, we can say: there is no beauty outside the only Beauty. The second Shahadah

(Muhammadun Rasulu ‘Llah) is: ‘Muhammad (the Glorified, the Perfect is the Envoy (the mouthpiece, the intermediary, the manifestation, the symbol) of the Divinity’. In the second Shahadah the expression dab stands for the Divinity and it can also be given every positive meaning for manifestation in the Cosmos: We can say that beauty is the manifestation of Beauty.

The complementarity between transcendence and immanence is further visible in the doctrine of Oneness of Being (wahdat al-wujud). It accepts the idea of ‘the Indivisible One_and_Only’ but goes on to assert that ‘the One—and Only is the One and All’. It is not merely a doctrinal truth but has effective means of realization. Khawaja Ghulam Farid, for instance, depicts this stage in the following verses:

Lover, know the omnipresence of Punnal with certainty.

Thy Friend’s demonstration is in each form: be Heavens or earth.

Laudation to the conduct of the Beautiful: who descendeth in each form.

Recognize the Essence in all forms: do not place the other beside Reality.

The immanence of beautiful Friend, Punnal is manifest everywhere.

Know that the First, the Last, the Outward, the Inward is His Manifestation.

At a place exhibits ornamental beauty: at a place recurs as lover. He dwells in each manifestation: He contemplates Himself.

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

The move of the Primordial Beauty is queer; the style is subtle, the manner is novel. Himself is the lover; is Himself rival. Has won the world by becoming heart ravisher.

The unity is manifest in all things. The Beautiful manifest is Himself Manifestation.

Radiant Beauty is witnessed everywhere. The hidden secrets have been disclosed.

What tradition love has taught me. Divine Beauty is visible everywhere.

Wherever I see openly there appears to be mystery. All Beauty and its elegance is evident. All painfulness seems painlessness. Oneness of Being made me discover noble tradition.

Beautiful or ugly is mere pretension. Keep your understanding posited on Oneness.

Beauty and ugliness are manifestation of the Self. The lovey colourless is in each colour.

These last two verses bring us to the problem of ugliness. Metaphysics lends to beauty its own content and considers ugliness as state which obstructs the manifestation of Divine Beauty. A perfect of beauty in its totality leaves no room for ugliness which is merely disequilibrium in the world and has no self-subsistent reality. In words of Schuon: the Creation, or the world which in its disequilibrium contains ugliness but is beauty in its totality. This totality the human soul does not realize, save in holiness.'

Beauty and love are intimately linked. Both point towards the same reality by reflecting the Inward in the outward. The Divine Essen assumes the form of the personal Divinity which makes love possible. The Prophet loved women, perfume and prayer with a divine love which means effective realization of beauty. It is pertinent to note that in the context of Islamic metaphysics there is neither profane beauty nor profane love. Beauty is Divine and like Divinity it is all-embracing All that is beautiful cannot exist outside the realm of this Divine Quality. The Prophet says: 'God is beautiful and He loves beauty' This means that God loves His own manifestation in

the world. Thus there is no profane beauty for beauty has its ontological roots Divinity which lends its objectivity characterized by regularity mystery. Likewise, not loving with a divine love simply amounts to reducing the sentiment to a form devoid of essential reality.

Beauty and truth are inseparable. And this takes us to the heart of the Islamic metaphysics of Beauty. In the words of Schuon: 'there is no real beauty which does not have truth concealed in it, and there is no real truth from which beauty does not emanate'. Divine Beauty shines forth at every level of existence and beauty is characterized by both outward and inward reality. And it is this beauty which is the essence of art and which is possible by virtue of contemplation of things. It is precisely this vision of things which the profane 'art' misses. Titus Burckhardt says: "The essence of art is beauty, and beauty by its very nature is an outward as well as inward reality...Modern European art, whatever beauty it may offer incidentally, is generally enclosed within the particular psychic world of its author; it contains no wisdom, spiritual grace. As for modern science, it neither possesses nor demands any beauty. Being purely analytic it scarcely opens its eyes to a contemplative vision of things. When it studies man, for instance, it never contemplates his entire nature, which is at once and the same time body, soul and spirit. If we make modern science responsible for modern technology, it is at the very basis of a whole world of ugliness... Perhaps the greatest lesson traditional art can teach us is that beauty is a criterion of truth'.

CULTURAL HUBRIS

Reviewer: Javid Iqbal Amiri

***POST-MODERNISM, REASON AND RELIGION* BY ERNEST GELLNER, PP IX + 108, ROUTLEDGE, LONDON AND NEW YORK, 1992, PRICE NOT GIVEN**

Here are some commonplaces about Descartes. That he is the father of modern philosophy; that his methodological doubt provides the only firm foundation on which to build a 'secure' philosophy; that nonetheless, the methodological doubt culminates, paradoxically for a philosophy, in solipsism. This last commonplace must bear further dwelling on for it is important to our present discussion. That his self doubt ends up giving the average Cartesian merely self-certainty and no more is old hat. The crucial question that arises in this context is, if his methodology leads him and others of his ilk--namely the western thinkers--- to such 'a purblind conclusion as solipsism, how has the west managed to survive to this day and more than that how has it been able to put the semblance of ideational unity-in-multinamity that we espy so often, either openly or implicitly in western writings? The answer is, the Cartesian methodology is merely a prop for the western proclivity for narrow-mindedness and bigotry. With smooth cynicism the western mind slips into its solipsistic shell when it suits it and with equal alacrity joins its other equally bigoted variants to put up that smarter-than thou, more successful-than-thou and holier-than-thou attitude; this last despite the exile of the sacred from western episteme, which fools so many orientals so frequently.

Ernest Gellner's present work falls into this category. Let no one be fooled that Professor Gellner is undertaking an honest and disinterested comparison of three modes of thought. It must be granted him that he makes no bones about belonging to a particular school of thought, calling himself as he does 'a card-carrying member' of Enlightenment Rationalist fundamentalism. But that is where all this honesty ends. In fact, this piece of honesty is there only in the third part of the book where he talks about his own cherished ideology, the one referred to above. He begins, as a matter of fact, on a note of mock surprise at finding religion (read Islam) as an

ideology worth recko ‘ The typical solipsist that he is, he thinks religion had been banish from the world altogether. After all for later bigots--- or earlier with reference to Gellner--- like Auguste Comte and Hegel religion was merely passing phase in the life of humanity to he left behind, outgrown and outstripped for rationality, that shifting and truncated ideal of most egocentric western thinkers to rule the roost. Even this ideal as we have alluded to in our last sentence is a shifting one. The Platonic, the Aristotelian, the Cartesian and the Hegelian versions of rationality are radically different from one another. Gellner himself prefers the Cartesian version and so smug is he about it that he prefers to call himself a fundamentalist of that variety. For once one finds the term fundamentalism getting some respect. Yet throughout the essays he uses the pragmatic high ground to criticize both Religion and post- modernism. For one thing this reveals an inadequacy in his chosen ideology to fend for itself. For another it is also a telling testimony to the fact that the west which poses as being rationalistic most of the time, is not really founded upon any version of rationalism but has at its base a perverse power-brandishing and power--grabbing ideology, Consider the following:

1) Although he admits that there are no privileged facts (pp. 75.76) or truths, he does argue for Reason on the basis of consequences. The entire tenor of his argument is inclined to, or asserting the superior truth value of his own system predicated though not on its intrinsic worth but on consequentialism “Nothing succeeds like success”.

He sets about further on (p. 81 onwards) to demolish the motion of privileged facts and of the sacred without admitting that he wishes to do away with all other notions of privileged knowing than his own, that of Power and Lucre. Whatever his pretensions might be, Gellner will not succeed in befooling us that he acts as the unofficial mouthpiece of the very vested interests_privileged, did I hear someone say?_ that keep his university and those like it across the ocean, the Ivy League ones, going.

Taking him up on this very assertion one would like to know how it follows logically from him vehement and repeated denials of the existence of privileged notions, how his own comes to have the privileged place that he is arguing for it. In his unguarded moments he would concede, we’re sure, that it is Nietzscheanism pure and simple, Thus although perspectival, his notion

is privileged because it is the one enjoying mundane power and authority, ergo success, at present. No morality, no logic and much less no truth value there at all. Just naked power asserting itself. Nietzschean spite vituperating agents the Last Man, if you will.

2) Interestingly he berates the post--modernists for taking their perspectival — relativist cue from Nietzsche (p 48). One and the same Master inspiring two different interpretations. To be fair to the mentor of most modern Westerners, let us grant that Gellner himself is more true to Nietzsche than the post--modernists what with their having ignored the power factor completely. A case of faulty hermeneutics perhaps!

3) Gellner rightly upbraids the post--modernists for ignoring the political aspect of reality but conveniently does the same when shedding false tears for fellow pen-pusher Salman Rushdie who was no doubt politically motivated to spew forth his Satanic Verses at the same time as the west was proscribing a play being staged in London's East End Showing the Zionist connexions of the Nazis¹⁰⁴ and while classics like *The Merchant of Venice* were being proscribed from high school syllabi in Canada. He also finds it convenient to forget the legislation passed in 1989¹⁰⁵ by the U.S. Congress prescribing capital punishment for persons desecrating the U.S. flag. The 'sacred' does creep in, however much one might try, though in this case it creeps in, in a blasphemous way.¹⁰⁶

4) Belonging as he does to an elite grove of academia (Cambridge), it is regrettable that he resorts to slurs against followers of a certain religion (pp. 76-79). If certain Muslims, without scriptural or doctrinal support, did put certain others to the sword are we then to take it that Radovan Karadzic is carrying out his extermination programme against the Muslims of Bosnia with the imprimatur of the Vatican, indeed of Jesus himself? One may then just as well think that apartheid in South Africa was and still is endorsed by

¹⁰⁴ This happened sometime in 1986. See inquiry vol. 4 No. 3, March 1987, p. 76 Published by Tropvale Ltd, London.

¹⁰⁵ For a full report on this see, Crescent International, April 16-30, 1989, p. 10. Published by, The Open Press, London & Markham, Ontario.

¹⁰⁶ This, of course, is a totally misplaced and corrupted sense of the sacred. For the right perspective see S.H. Nasr, *Knowledge and the Sacred* (The Gifford Lectures, Edinburgh University Press, 1981).

Christ himself? And were we to credit (sic) Jesus himself with inspiring the Inquisition and the burnings at the stakes that followed we should only be following the practice of Gellner's co-idologues.

5) In a way this is yet another work by a so-called western scholar to celebrate the passions. The student of philosophy that he is---albiet the truncated and eclectic western type of philosophy- he knows that sensations literally lead nowhere. The line that he draws, therefore, having debunked nihilism, is at the level of Reason, the Enlightenment version of Reason. While on the one hand this Reason reads into Nature its own version of order¹⁰⁷ and prescribes its own egocentric teleology for the weaker and the downtrodden to follow, it takes great care riot to let higher, universal ideals and religious truth creep into the picture. The picture is ostensibly one of egalitarianism. But fie be on him who dares to delve deep into the picture, for if his search objective and sincere enough he will find that this is the veneer foisted on a world that is in truth controlled by self serving capitalists crafty politicians who employ by the hundreds of thousands, scientists, writers, politicians, intellectuals and artists to celebrate the universality of bestial passions and to keep humankind pegged at that level for long as possible, To this picture, post--modernism poses little or no threat. It is the vision of the transcendent that religion offers that is repulsive to Gellner and his masters.

This is one reason why he tries to fudge the issue of why people turn to post modernism by blaming it on the post modernists intellectual laziness. His Darwinian skull will not countenance any argument that shows up this search as a form of the perennial human quest for eternal values which in the case of post modernism is regrettably misplaced. In being misplaced the post--modernists an helped in no small measure by pseudo religious people who prevent any true understanding or exemplification of religion and thereby repulse the so called educated lot. Gellner is deceptive enough to make the pseudo-religious stand for religion and thereby discredit religion itself, which in reality is distinct from these personalities. In any case, Gellner

¹⁰⁷ That an ecological crisis of cataclysmic proportions has precisely because of this is very well brought out by S.H. Nasr in his *Man & Nature- The Spiritual Crisis of Modern Man*, London: Allen & Unwin, 1968

never mentions those personalities that religion itself sets up as beacons of light and paragons of exemplary conduct to follow. Should this be pointed out to him, we are sure he would start experiencing Cartesian doubts as to the veracity of these historical figures. A situation here of heads I win tails you lose.

6) Those listed above are not his greatest or his major errors. That belongs to the class of 'category mistake'. Gellner is not new to this

concept; he is, in fact, guilty of it. He takes Islam as the example of religion. He then makes this transcendent doctrine having immanent implications and ramifications squat with other profane and immanentist doctrines and thereby distorts the entire axis on which religion claims to operate. Not only that he historicizes it too thus making it convenient for himself to further distort and thus ridicule its message. Gellner- seems to deliberately ignore the glaring fact that although not purely historical in origin, the message of Islam is potentially history's only salvation carrying as it does the possibility of transforming history and orienting it towards Divine ideals. In fact, for Islam, history is one of the media in addition to the human self and nature that offer abundant signs of the Lord for contemplation and for action in the light of Divine injunctions.

Yet in Gellner's bigoted scheme Islam must now conform to the logic of immanentism and yield results or be exposed as mere fancy. Gellner ecstatically thinks he does just that but he is gravely mistaken there for if he has really convinced himself of that he is merely exposing himself as a Darwinian ape devoid of all the finer elements that Man can pride himself on. Homo faber Gellner might turn out to be vicariously, homo sapiens he certainly is not and will not be unless he decides to take, by his own logic, the Darwinian one, certain devolutionary steps. Perchance, he might regain some wholesome sensibility.

In fact, throughout his impugned essay Gellner is speaking as a pompous Homo faber totally enslaved to the technological imperative. Since

Jacques Ellul has admirably gone over this ground we shall not redo it here.¹⁰⁸

True, Gellner's ideal technologised man has devised for himself an entire new world from which he has banished what he considers to be the old superstitions of religion and morality. The pockets of resistance that have sprung up on the part of, or in the name of, religion are a cause of great concern to Mephistopheles in his hour of triumph over the soul of Dr. Faustus. Why else would he want us to remember the misdeeds of a certain godless people in the name of religion but have us forget the cataclysms wrought by his darlings science and technology in Hiroshima, Nagasaki, Three Mile Island, Bhopal, Chernobyl and of course recently in the Persian Gulf? Try as he might, Dr. Faustus now of the band of Mephistopheles will not have us live down the specter of Big Brother.

Whatever the demerits of his work it does call attention to some of the glaring deficiencies and faults of the believers which are not the result of the belief system itself. For one thing the predominant predilection for a deracinated mode of thought is totally unbecoming of followers of a faith that is a harmonious blend of rationality and intellectual intuition. Only by reviving a thought system based on these two cardinal elements will we be able to rebuild it according to contemporary needs.

The other important rather essential feature is power with the difference that this power has to be based in and used exclusively in accordance with, Islam's value system. In too many places, but especially in Palestine, Kashmir and Bosnia an solution to the Muslim community's problem is lacking precisely because of the absence of a backup of power. It bears repetition here that simultaneously with generating and building Ummah-wide institutions of power must go a camping for self reform and self purification.

¹⁰⁸ In his masterly work, *The Technological Society* New York, 1964 (tr. By John Wilkinson), Ellul brings out very well the pitfalls and disasters inherent in 'la technique. This led S. Pervez Manzoor to call him, 'the metaphysician of technology'.

Without this latter campaign the institutions will turn us into those very despicable creatures that our faith looks down upon.¹⁰⁹

NOTES

¹⁰⁹ On this see S.H. Nasr (Chapter-III, "Revelation, Intellect and Reason in the Quran") Sufi Essays, Albany, N.Y, SUNY,1973.

THE VANGUARD OF THE ISLAMIC REVOLUTION: THE JAMA'AT-I-ISLAMI OF PAKISTAN

*Seyyed Vali Reza Nasr, University of California Press,
California, 1994, ISBN 0 520 08369-5.*

This book offers an explanation. In the wake of the events that unfolded during the previous couple of years on the Pakistani political scene, this explanation was much needed. Especially at a time when Islamic revival movements in many countries make head lines and the changes in the strategies of Jama' at-i-Islami --- one of the oldest and most influential Islamic revival movements--- and responses to contemporary issues are being constantly debated in various circles.

Opinions keep oscillating between pious platitudes about the “return of the golden age of Islam/pristine glory of early Islam” and the cut and dry processes of the social scientist that analyze revivalism in terms of socio-economic factors and pressures of geopolitical influences. Seyyed Vali Reza Nasr strikes a balance. Faithful to his training as a social scientist at the MIT he has examined the origins, historical development and political strategies of Jama' at-i-Islami from its inception uptill 1993. As he himself explains in the preface: “Central to any effort to understand the Jama' at is an examination of its ideological foundations, social basis, organizational structure, and politics. We need to discover what led the Jama' at to embrace revivalism and what promoted and sustained the party's political activism, charted its development, and determined the nature and scope of its impact on Pakistan's politics. The nature of the state's reaction to Islamic revivalism, from confrontation to accommodation to incorporation, is also of direct relevance. This hook probes how Mawdudi's vision was articulated and how it shaped the Jama' at's political agenda and plan of action, influenced the development of the Pakistani state, and changed in the face of political imperatives”.

Accordingly, the book is divided into three parts. Part one **History** and Development traces the history of the jama'at, with reference to the ideology

of Mawlana Mawadudi, in two chapters entitled “The quest for a Holy Community” and “From Holy Community to Political Party”. Part two **Structure and Social Base** largely provides information about the “Organization” and “Social Base” of the Jama’at. Part three **Politics** forms the most important, and to a certain extent, controversial body of the text.

Founded in 1941, the Jama’ at-i Islami, or Islamic Party, soon became the most prominent political party in Pakistan. As the first political movement to develop systematically an Islamic ideology and agenda for societal transformation, the party became active during the partition of India and it continues to be a potent force in Pakistan and throughout the Islamic world. The Vanguard of the Islamic Revolution offers an insightful analysis of the Jama’ at-i Islami, focusing on the inherent tension between its central idealized vision of the nation as a holy community based on Islamic law, and its political agenda of socioeconomic change for Pakistani society. Nasr identifies the significant issues in the politics of India’s Muslim community that inspired the Jama’ at-i Islami on the eve of Partition, and he goes beyond the exploration of a single party to examine the diverse sociopolitical roots of contemporary Islamic revivalism. He informs us:

“The unity of this book is not purely chronological, though it relies on chronology. It is conceived rather in consideration of those themes that explain the phenomenon of the jama’at, namely, its historical development, organization and social base, and politics. After a brief history of the party and a discussion of the pattern of its historical development, the analytical narrative takes up specific themes of importance in explaining both the power and political limitations of the Jama’ at: its organization and social base, and the nature of its political activism as reflected in its relations with successive governments. The story of the Jama’ at is told here as the implications of each of these for the sociopolitical role of that party are identified.”

The book is based on personal interviews and archival research in Pakistan, India, Britain, and the United States and its detailed account provides a wealth of new material and original analysis. Nasr’s work challenges many of the standard interpretations about political expressions of Islam: For example, “ever since the advent of the Iranian revolution Western scholarship has been convinced that revivalism is inherently antistate. This is

not necessarily the case. The Jama'at is the first instance of Islamic revivalism that participates in the political process, rather than trying to topple it. Its development tells much about how Islamic revivalism will interact with democratic forces across the Muslim world in the coming years. Western scholarship has also assumed that Islamic revivalism, once unleashed, will control Muslim political choices. This again is not supported by the facts at hand. The Jama'at's ideology and activism have been important in Pakistani politics and to revivalism across the Muslim world, but the party has failed to seize power in Pakistan. It can be credited with forming a national alliance that has been advocating the cause of Islam in Pakistan for four decades; it has helped create a distinctly Islamic voting bloc; it has institutionalized religiopolitical action, and sacralized national political discourse. It has contributed to the Islamization of Pakistan and has helped shape Pakistan's history since 1947; it has had a role in the outcome of social movements and political events and is likely to continue to do so. Still, it has been unable to capture power. This is significant, because Islamic revivalism is not supposed to suffer from political constrictions of any sort. That the party has not been the principal beneficiary of the Islamization it has encouraged does not detract from its role in determining what change occurred in Pakistan, nor does it relegate the Jama'at to the status of an anachronism. This suggests that Islamic ideology, in and of itself, does not explain what place Islamic revivalism has in the politics of contemporary Muslim societies. Whatever accounts for the rise of revivalism, it is not the same as what sustains, or expands, its influence. One set of factors bears on the preconditions for the rise of revivalism as an ideology; a different set of factors controls its transformation into a social movement and the direction that movement subsequently takes".

The author distinguishes those factors that account for the Jama'at's strength from those that account for its limited success as a political power. The corollary, of course, is to determine why the first set favored, while the second hindered, its rise. The set of factors are the events and historical processes that produced the Jama'at and later led to its enfranchisement and participation in the political process: the nature of the state's reaction to the Jama'at's drive for power; competition with other Islamic parties in the political arena; and the incongruities in the Jama'at's ideology and organizational structure. In examining these variables, four inter-related

concerns have governed the heuristic aim of this study. They are the nature of the linkage between ideology and politics in the theory and practices of revivalist movements; the extent and nature of the influence of socioeconomic imperatives on social action and political change; the implications of revivalism for political change; and the dialectic of the historical and teleological development of ideological movements, especially within the political process. These four also relate the findings of this study on Islamic revivalism to larger theoretical concerns in the social sciences.

The book grew out of the Ph. D. thesis of the author which also contained a detailed description, and of course analysis, of the life and works of Mawlana Mawdudi. This part made up the companion volume which, we have been informed, is also forthcoming under a separate title. Mawlana Mawdudi has three distinct, though interdependent roles; a scholar of Islamic studies, a revivalist leader and a thinker who offered a new vision or interpretation of Islam. This interpretation differed a great deal from the two earlier visions that had dominated the Muslim intellectuality ever since the advent of Islam, namely, the legal-jurist and the philosophical--mystical visions of Islam. The Vanguard of the Islamic Revolution has offered us glimpses of that new interpretation through its operations and applications in the arena of political activity. Let us hope that the forthcoming volume would provide us with a much needed direct and detailed analysis of this extremely important aspect of Mawlana Mawdudi's thought which has proved to be pervasive all over the Muslim world and which has served as the world view which informed the revivalist movements and lent them their drive and motivating force.

Muhammad Suheyl Umar

A SUFI SAINT OF THE TWENTIETH CENTURY: SHAIKH AHMAD AL-'ALAWI: HIS SPIRITUAL HERITAGE AND LEGACY

Martin Lings (Abu Bakr Siraj ud-Din) Islamic Texts Society, Cambridge, England, 1993. (Reprint). pp. 242.

In the midst of the spiritual and aesthetic sterility of Muslim-majority lands since colonial and post-colonial days, the spiritual attainments of Shaikh Ahmad al Alawi (1869-1934) must be valued as all the more unique and precious in our time.

Of pious and God fearing parents, he was born in 1869 in Mostaganem, Algeria, during the high-noon of European imperialism. Very early in his youth, he was attracted to the Darqawi spiritual order and served its master, Buzidi with utter devotion until his death in 1909 when he became his successor.

Shaikh Ahrnad al Alawi devotedly served the cause of Islam all his life till his last breath. Towards this end, he repudiated all "organizations" and "propaganda" in the western sense. He was the opposite of today's Islamic "activist." Simply his saintly presence was sufficient, shedding the light of faith all round him. Once while in Algiers, he was followed on his way to the Great Mosque by more than a hundred men, all Muslims in little more than name. When they reached the door of the mosque, he told them to go in with him which they did. Then sitting down in their midst, he preached to them. When he finished, they repented to Almighty Allah and vowed to the Shaikh that they would never again return to their former ways. (p.102)

When the Shaikh traveled through the countryside, sometimes the entire population would spontaneously come to take Bait at his hands. A disciple records that hundreds, sometimes thousands would sit before him on the ground in silence with heads bowed, full of awe and eyes wet with tears because of what they heard him say. (p. 102)

Shaikh Ahmad also wrote extensively on the inner life of Islam from the point of view of Tasawwuf (Sufism). Soon he was the target of severe attack

form the Salafi (reformists) and defended his order with vigour and eloquence. Finally his strict adherence to adab or the standards of Islamic behaviour and courtesy won over his most vociferous opponents.

Among the remarkable features of this book are beautifully translated selections from the Shaikh's poetry which, contrasting with his secular, West-sorshipping literary contemporaries, attain the summit of modern Arabic poetry. In one of these poems, the Qur'an is described:

It hath taken up its dwelling in our hearts and on our tongues
and is mingled with our blood and our flesh and our bones
and all that is in us. (p. 35)

The narrative of this book begins with a vivid description of the Shaikh, then already fifty years old, by his doctor, Marcel Caret who despite his own agnosticism, retains complete objectivity. He writes: "The first thing that struck me was his likeness to the usual representations of Christ...." (p. 14)

Why did al-'Alawi's successor, Shaikh Muhammad al-Hashimi (d, 1961) fail to have the same impact? According to Abdal Jabbar Danner's book, *The Islamic Tradition* (1988), the fault was not his. He writes:

The reformative efforts of such a saintly figure could affect so many because the Algerian and the Islamic world of his day were still largely in the traditional mold. The influence of the modernist governing elite had not yet seeped down into the mass of believers ... The case of his successors is not the same. Their followers have been much more restricted in numbers (because) since World War II, the world around them has been in great part de-Islamized by the modernists. The teaching of 'Alawi's successor, Shaikh al-Hashimi, Was carried out in a Syria under the socialists whose culture was rapidly succumbing to the inroads of the modern world." (p. 211).

The inheritors of Shaikh al-'Alawi's legacy in the West, particularly in the U.K. and the U.S.A. including the author of this book, are again under

severe attacks. Unlike their predecessors, this time, the attackers have no conception nor appreciation of adab. The contrast between the mental stature of the attackers and the attacked and their respective contributions to the cause of Islam are most striking. The attackers can offer no viable alternative except the most crass materialism and nihilism.

Even for those Westerners lacking basic knowledge of Islam, this book can be of much benefit.

Maryam Jameelah