

IQBAL REVIEW

Journal of the Iqbal Academy, Pakistan

April 2001

Editor

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IQBAL ACADEMY PAKISTAN

Title : Iqbal Review (April 2001)
Editor : Muhammad Suheyl Umar
Publisher : Iqbal Academy Pakistan
City : Lahore
Year : 2001
Classification (DDC) : 105
Classification (IAP) : 8U1.66V12
Pages : 180
Size : 14.5 x 24.5 cm
ISSN : 0021-0773
Subjects : Iqbal Studies
: Philosophy
: Research



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GOD: THE REALITY TO SERVE, LOVE AND KNOW

Seyyed Hossein Nasr

In the Islamic tradition it is with this sentence meaning “In the Name of God-The All Good, the Compassionate” that all legitimate daily acts commence and surely I could not begin a conference on God without beginning with this statement which is also the profoundest commentary upon the Divine Nature as it relates to not only humanity but also to the whole of creation. The two Divine Names *al-RaÁmæn* and *al-RaÁám* are both derived from the root *r. Á. m.* that is also the root of the word *raÁám* meaning womb similar to the word *rehem* for womb in Hebrew which belongs to the same linguistic family as Arabic. The world and we amidst it are born from the womb of the Divine Mercy without which we would not even exist. The very substance of cosmic reality is the “Breathe of the Compassionate” (*nafas al-RaÁmæn*) as the Sufis assert and to mention God’s Names, *RaÁmæn* and *RaÁám*, is to be reminded of that Mercy from which we have issued forth, in which we live whether aware or not of our real natures and to which we ultimately return if we remember who we are and accept that great “trust of faith” to which we must consent by our free will as human beings.

From the point of view of traditional teachings the relation between the Divine Source and creation rooted in this Mercy is a relation that transcends time and becoming time being nothing but one of the conditions of our terrestrial mode of existence. God at 2000, the title of this conference, should not for one moment imply a temporal condition set upon that meta-historical relation. What is much more important to realize than what we comprehend by “God at 2000” is the truth that the world at 2000 like every other world at whatever moment of time it might be is a reflection of a meta-temporal reality and is rooted in that reality whatever might be our passing understanding of things. Perhaps rather than speaking of God at 2000 one should speak of the world at 2000 “in” God, for multiplicity is at every moment mysteriously plunged in Him.

The organizers of this conference have asked the speakers to speak of God from an experiential and “personal” point of view which is usually not my preference. I would have rather spoken of God in a manner which transcends the personal idiosyncrasies of individual existence. Nevertheless, having accepted the invitation to speak in this important conference at the beginning of the new Christian millennium about the most important of all subjects, I am obliged to begin by saying something about my background and education in as much as they are related to my understanding of the subject at hand. But my purpose most of all is to write a few humble words about God from the point of view of the Islamic tradition to which I belong.

I was born and brought up in a Muslim family in Persia from which I hail originally. My family ambience was one in which the reality of Islam was very strong and the dimension of transcendence and the reality of God was felt and experienced everywhere. My childhood years were inseparable from the constant observation of the sacred rites of the daily prayers and the ever present chanting of the Qur’an, which for Muslims is the verbatim revelation of God and His very Word. Not only my maternal family hailed from a long line of famous religious scholars or *‘ulama’*, but my father in addition to being a great scholar and thinker was also devoted to Sufism, the inner or mystical dimension of Islam. Sufism is the heart of the Islamic revelation although today unfortunately some in the West seek to divorce it from Islam and propagate it in a diluted fashion which is far from its authentic reality.

I remember that at the very young age of five or six, in addition to memorizing certain verses and chapters of the Qur’an, I was guided by my parents to learn and memorize some of the poems of the greatest Persian Sufi poets such as Rēmâ and Âḡfiî. With in their incredible spiritual depth, these poems often sang of the unity of religious truth, of the universality of religion, of crossing religious frontiers. They constituted my first lessons in what has now come to be known as religious dialogue and they planted within my mind and soul the seed of a tree which was to grow in later years and become an important axis of my soul and a central concern of my mind. I will just quote one poem from memory by the supreme troubadour of love both human and divine in the Persian language, Âḡfiî, a poem which I had already known before the age of ten. Its imperfect translation is as follows:

In love there is no difference between the Christian monastery and the temple of the Magi,

Wherever there is anything, there is the Light of the Face of the Beloved.

I was brought up in such a tradition and I have never left it. At a very young age an intimacy was created in my soul with the Divine Reality, the Reality which was and remains for me at once all-encompassing and all-caring, universal and yet source of particular sacred forms, all loving and yet awesome. The reality of the divine *tremendum*, the Majesty of God, has always been combined in my understanding of God with His Love and Mercy and of course His Beauty, the Divine Names of Majesty (*al-Jakl*) and Beauty (*al-Jam*) complementing each other perfectly in the Islamic perspective. There are verses of the Qur'an, the sacred scripture of Islam, which speak of God as the utterly Other, the Transcendent, the Beyond, as that which has no like and Islam, like Judaism, emphasizes the Oneness of God above all else. And yet there are other verses of the Qur'an which speak of the intimacy of God with us, of His Love, one of His Names being *al-Wud* which means precisely Love and of course as already mentioned the Qur'an speaks of the Mercy of God which "embraceth all things". The Qur'an states that God is closer to man than his jugular vein, of the fact that wheresoever we turn "there is the Face of God." In a profound sense the journey of the soul to God is an oscillation between these two poles of majesty and beauty, farness and nearness, a movement both horizontal and vertical without which no spiritual journey would be complete. Awareness of these two aspects of the Divine Reality and the proper orientation of our soul and in fact the whole of our being accordingly is necessary in order for us to realize the Divine Origin of our existence, to fulfil the purpose of our journey here on earth and to smell the fragrance of the Divine Reality. God is both transcendent and imminent and we must realize both of these dimensions but it is also necessary to add that there is no possibility of the realization of the Immanent without that of the Transcendent.

Returning to my personal life, I was sent to the West to continue my studies when I was quite young, being therefore plucked from the protective ambience of Persia and my family before my mental outlook was completely formed. Coming to America did not, however, mean immediate immersion

in a secular ambience. Before going to M.I.T. I underwent the second part of my secondary education at the Peddie School in New Jersey, a Baptist school where despite being a Muslim I had to attend church every Sunday. That experience came to complement my later intellectual study of Christianity and was precious despite the strangeness of its form. The flame of the love for Christ inculcated in the hearts of Muslims in general and emphasized in my own upbringing in particular was strengthened although I continued of course to view Christ as the greatest prophet before the Prophet of Islam and not as an incarnation which Islam, basing itself in its understanding of God on the Absolute Itself rather than Its manifestation, rejects. The great love for ‘Ysa ibn Maryam, that is Jesus son of Mary as the Qur’an calls him, has abided in my heart to this day and in fact has deepened on the basis of that early existential encounter with Christianity as well as much later study and meditation.

It was also a Peddie that the gifts God had given me in the sciences and especially mathematics became manifest. I received some of the highest scores ever achieved in both local and national mathematics tests and so all my teachers advised me to become a scientist. I also felt enthusiastic about studying physics, the mother of modern sciences, and went to M.I.T. with great joy and expectation to discover the nature of physical reality. It took me many years and much more introspection to realize that what I wanted to be in reality was a *physikos* in the sense given to it by Parmenides, considered by many as the father of Western philosophy, a *physikos* being a person who sought to understand the nature of things in an ontological sense and not only in appearance. But while only a sophomore, I discovered that modern physics does not in fact deal with the nature of reality, even physical reality in itself, as I had thought. Much reading in the modern philosophy of science, most of it based on positivism, confirmed this fact for me. As I have written in my intellectual autobiography which is to appear in the *Library of Living Philosophers*¹ dedicated to my thought, it was a lecture and later a more personal meeting with Bertrand Russell, the famous British philosopher, in Cambridge that proved to be the straw that broke the camel’s back. He

¹ See “Intellectual autobiography of Seyyed Hossein Nasr”, in *The Philosophy of Seyyed Hossein Nasr*, (edited by Lewis Hahn et. al.) Library of Living Philosophers, Open Court, 2001, pp. 1-85.

asserted that in fact physics deals only with pointer readings and mathematical structures and not with the nature of physical reality itself in the ontological sense.

After that encounter I decided to leave the field of science once and for all. But I decided to complete my degree before making a change. I remained therefore in the field of the sciences for a few more years, completing my bachelor's degree in physics and mathematics at M.I.T. and my master's degree in geology and geophysics at Harvard. Meanwhile I was studying philosophy and the history of science parallel with my scientific studies and finally turned to them for my doctoral work. This whole experience of modern science and especially the positivistic philosophy of science being then propagated as well as the whole agnostic and to some extent atheistic climate in which I was studying provided a major challenge to my theocentric worldview. But being the type of person that I was, I could not leave any form of knowledge presented to me alone but had to study and seek its meaning and examine its claims.

For many years starting with my M.I.T. days I studied Descartes, Hume, Kant, Hegel and other Western philosophers up to those of the contemporary period including Whitehead. Of course the immersion in the world of doubt cultivated by the mainstream of post-medieval European philosophy shook the framework of my intellectual world but it did not affect my faith in God nor that inner and intimate relationship with the Divine that I had experienced since childhood. Nevertheless, it created a major crisis within my mind and soul. I am in fact one of the first orientals to have faced such a crisis fully without succumbing to the tenets of modernism. My response, after some period of anguish, meditation, study and introspection, was in fact the total rejection of the whole adventure of Renaissance humanism and Enlightenment rationalism, in other words the very foundations of modernism. Since then my intellectual life has been dedicated to providing answers on the basis of traditional teachings, especially but not exclusively those of Islam, to the challenges posed by modernism and queries which arise from its rejection. I have sought to discuss the consequence of severing the link between reason and intellect in the sense used by a St. Thomas and the reduction of the latter to the former. I have dealt extensively with the consequences of the anthropomorphism

prevalent in the West which absolutizes the terrestrial human state and makes earthly man “the measure of all things”. In this sense modern science is of course completely anthropomorphic since it is based solely on the human senses and human reason no matter how much it seeks to exclude man from a cosmology limited to the physical realm but extended to vast expanses of space and time.

At the moment of intellectual crisis when I was reading avidly Western philosophical works and also looking anywhere that I could for intellectual guidance which could re-establish for me the certitude upon which my whole outlook was based until my M.I.T. years, I discovered the works of the authors who are called the traditionalists or expositors of primordial wisdom and the perennial philosophy, foremost among them René Guénon, Ananda K. Coomaraswamy and Frithjof Schuon. These authors opened many doors for me and provided the crucial knowledge based on certainty which I was seeking. They also provided the in-depth criticism of the modern world which allowed me to see clearly the nature of that world and to formulate succinctly ideas concerning that world whose meaning had been still ambiguous and tentative in my mind until then. They presented pure metaphysical knowledge to which my mind was drawn like a moth to the candle. And they opened my eyes to the vast world which was both non-Islamic and non-Western, embracing both the Far East and Hindu India.

A. K. Coomaraswamy was perhaps the most outstanding and certainly the most authentic expositor of Hinduism and Buddhism in this country in the first part of the twentieth century. By what would appear as chance I came to meet his widow, he having passed away in 1947 some five years before. This meeting in turn gained for me access to the incomparable Coomaraswamy library in which I spent countless hours for several years reading about various traditions, especially Hinduism, Taoism and Buddhism. Although art was not my field, as a result of the influence of the works of Coomaraswamy I took nearly every course on Hindu and Buddhist art at Harvard and met nearly every important person dealing with Oriental religions and art who came to Cambridge such as D.T. Suzuki. These studies and experiences had a great effect in reconfirming on an intellectual plane what I had already intuited as a young man, namely that the splendour of the Face of God is to be found in different religious climes.

Wherever I journeyed intellectually, if I found in that world a philosophy rooted in the Divine Reality, I felt at home there. I soon came to realize that my spiritual home is wherever the Divine resides no matter in what form It had manifested Itself or in what language It had said “I”. This realization was of course related in its intellectual aspect to the discovery of the perennial philosophy or the *philosophia perennis* which the traditional authors expounded and which became and remains my philosophical outlook. The perennial philosophy is based on a set of universal truths which its followers believe to lie at the heart of all authentic religions and traditional philosophies. One might in fact assert that there is but a single Truth spoken in different languages which constitute the various worlds of sacred form. Moreover, this oneness does not at all overlook differences on the formal plane nor the preciousness of each sacred form despite its difference from other forms. The perennial philosophy sees unity on the level of inner or transcendent reality and not on the formal plane nor does it ever confuse unity with uniformity. This discourse is of course not on comparative religion but on God. Nevertheless, it is necessary to point to this central issue because in the contemporary world others’ views of God can and often do affect our own views.

It was also during my years of formal university education that I embarked upon the spiritual path within the Sufi tradition. This is a matter about which I prefer not to speak publicly but for the sake of honesty it needs to be at least mentioned especially since the Sufi path has determined the conditions and provided the light and guidance for my life long quest for spiritual realization. Since my twenties, at the heart of my life has stood the quest for God and that quest has remained central throughout all my other activities from teaching and writings to founding or running academic, cultural and educational institutions. What I have to say about God is the fruit of not only the studies and the experiences briefly outlined, but above all of marching upon the Path which leads to Him. The result of following the Path is of course dependent not only on the efforts of the traveller upon the Path, but above all on Divine Grace and affirmation.

There is a well-known Taoist saying according to which, “Those who know do not speak and those who speak do not know”. This saying refers not only to the ineffable nature of veritable esoterism about which the sage

must keep silent, keeping his mouth shut which is what the root of the world mysticism precisely signifies. But it also refers to the ineffability of the supreme knowledge of God to which others in this conference have also referred. All that we can say about God is little in relation to what cannot be uttered about Him because certain truths cannot be contained in human language and can be transmitted only by either symbols or through silence itself combined with what the Sufis call indication or *ish~~ar~~ah*. The most eloquent discourse on God leads ultimately to silence and the silent and yet so eloquent Divine Presence is itself the most powerful means of conveying the reality of God.

Since several participants of this conference have taken recourse in the ancient art of story telling, it is perhaps not inappropriate to recount here a personal story that concerns very much the issue at hand. In 1971 when I was living in Iran, I made a journey to southern India, my many earlier trips having been to the north. Since I was going to Madras, I asked for arrangements to be made for me to meet the Shankaracharya of Kanchipuram, at that time one of the supreme spiritual figures of India who was in the direct lineage of the great Shankara and who resided near Madras. He was a venerable sage who moved about with a large retinue like a king but who lived at the same time in extreme simplicity. On the day of the appointment I was driven to Kanchi and taken to a wonderful orchard in the middle of which they had placed a beautiful carpet for me to sit on. Wearing traditional Islamic dress, I sat cross-legged on the carpet awaiting the coming of the great Hindu master. After a few minutes he entered the orchard holding the staff of a *sanny~~as~~in*. He came to within some ten yards of me and then squatted on the ground without his staff touching the earth. He had a disciple with him who greeted me on behalf of the master who, according to him, was observing a fast of silence. Being an untouchable from the point of view of Hindu law, which I of course honoured greatly, I could not come closer to the Hindu master nor could he to me. And so we looked each other in the eye for several minutes in utter silence. Then he smiled and made some signs with his hands to his disciple who then said to me, "The master says that he wishes to tell his Persian friend (that is, myself), how happy he is that the understanding of the reality of God in *Advaita* and Sufism is the same." Here was a discourse on God at the highest level carried out in silence and also the most profound religious dialogue I have ever carried out

with the representative of another religion although not a single word was exchanged between us.

Those who claim to speak about God must always respect this principal silence, which must even penetrate into our speech. We come from silence and return to it. We are like waves of the sea, which issue from the calm waters of the sea and ultimately return to that infinite calm and quietude. This having been said, it is necessary to state also that it was by the Word that all things were created and that our speech which is a divine gift has the power to express in some ways the highest realities which the heart/intelligence is capable of knowing. The classical theological and philosophical principle of adequation also holds true for language. Human language is capable of expressing truths about the Divine; otherwise there would be no sacred scripture.

With both these principles in mind, namely, the primacy of silence and the power of language to express supernal realities, I wish now to say a few words about God from the metaphysical and spiritual points of view especially in the context of my own tradition which is Islam and as I have learned through both personal spiritual experience and the study of works pertaining to metaphysics and theology from not only Islam but many different religious climes. Furthermore, it needs to be emphasized that the experience by various humanities of the Divine Reality is not tainted by time but transcends temporarily. It is therefore a living reality today as it was yesterday and is the heritage of all humanity, of all human beings beckoned to the call of the Spirit, to whichever branch of the human family they might belong.

Let me begin with the basic distinction made in Islam between three modes as well as stages of approach to God, namely, fear, love and knowledge of Him. Man's relation to God falls under these categories and they also constitute the stages that the person on the spiritual path must traverse to reach the supreme goal of Divine Proximity. There is in fact an aspect of simultaneity as well as temporal success in the spiritual life of the individual as far as the three great stations of fear, love and knowledge are concerned to which classical Islamic texts refer as *al-makbūfah*, *al-ma'abbah* and *al-ma'rifah*. There is something in man that must fear God, but the fear of

God is not the same negative emotion as the fear of His creatures. As the famous Islamic theologian and Sufi al-Ghazzâlî has said, when man fears one of God's creatures, he runs away from it but when man fears God he runs towards Him. It is this reverential fear that is essential to the spiritual life and which is mentioned so often in the Bible and the Qur'an. The saying of St. Paul, "The fear of God is the beginning of wisdom" has its exact Islamic equivalence. Our egos must shrivel before the Divine Majesty and something in us must contract and die before we can expand spiritually speaking. It is this fear of God's Majesty that expresses itself in religion as service to God, and the performance of actions pleasing to Him. It is in fact because service is related to the plane of action that it can be associated with the station of reverential fear.

The attitude of service in this sense is closely related to that of surrender. God has given us free will and surrender means to submit our will to His freely and not by coercion, a surrender which is so difficult and yet when one succeeds so sweet. There is a moment when we will all have to surrender to God and that is the moment of death which is beyond our will. Blessed is the person who can experience that moment now through the exercise of his free will rather than by necessity. This is the secret of the saying of the Prophet of Islam, "Die before you die" to which the Sufis adds, "so that you will not die when the moment of ordinary death arrives". It is interesting to note that the same idea and in practically the same words is expressed by the German mystical poet Angelus Silesius whom some authorities such as A. M. Schimmel believe to have been influenced by Sufism. The dying before one dies refers of course to spiritual or initiatic death based on perfect surrender to the Divine Will, an idea which is to be found also in other mystical traditions such as those of Christianity, Judaism and Hinduism and *mutatis mutandis* even in a non-theistic climate such as that of Buddhism.

To be able to surrender one's will to God turns even trials and tribulations of life into sweet victory. It is, however, very difficult to achieve because God has given us freedom and wants us to surrender this will on the basis of both fear and love of Him. This existential situation in which we find ourselves demonstrates in fact the grandeur of the human state and the consequence of our being created in "His image". We share in some way in both God's

necessity and freedom and surrender means to give up this relative freedom before that Absolute Necessity which is God.

In Arabic the very word Islam means both surrender and peace which issues from it. All other creatures are in a sense *muslim* in that they are surrendered by their nature to Him and cannot rebel because they have no free will. In the context of the Qur'anic revelation, the word *islām* is used not only in the sense of the religion brought by the Prophet and not only the surrender of all creatures to God. It also means surrender to God within any religious context in general. That is why Abraham, the father of Semitic monotheism, is called specifically Muslim in the Qur'an and in that sense *islām* is the generic term for all authentic religion whatever its formal structure might be. From another point of view it can be said that there are three levels of meaning to the term *muslim*: the first refers to all creatures save man which are by nature surrendered to God; the second to those who have accepted the Qur'anic revelation and are called *muslim* in the ordinary sense of the word; and the third to the saint who is in perfect surrender to God and who is therefore the complement of the cosmic order except that his surrender is conscious and those of other creatures by nature and constraint. Surrender for man is so significant precisely because of the gift of free will which is also the element within the soul which makes possible the committing of acts of evil as well as acts of goodness.

The surrender to God is of course also related to love which follows the fear of God and is along with knowledge the grand path for spiritual realization. Many Western authors have written over the centuries that Islam is based only on the conception of God as judge and is deprived of the understanding of the love of God. That is one of the reasons why in the past so many in the West who studied Sufism and saw therein the great emphasis upon the love of God concluded that Sufism must have come from a non-Islamic source. They had perhaps forgotten that one of God's ninety-nine sacred Names is, as already mentioned, *al-Wudūd* meaning Love. The Prophet of Islam was also called *Aabāb* meaning lover and Sufi poets such as Rēmā and À«fiī often refer to God as the Beloved. Moreover, a saint in Islam is called *wali Allah*, literally the friend of God or sometimes *«shiq* meaning lover of God. All of these terms are common in everyday Islamic parlance.

In any case in Islamic spirituality there is no possibility of the love of God without the realization of His Majesty and transcendence and without the fear and surrender which that Transcendent and Majestic Reality requires of us. The love of God must be such that all other love is dissolved in it. The spiritual person cannot love anything outside of Divine Love and all love for him or her is a reflection of that ultimate Love. In fact ultimately all love is God's Love for His own theophany within us and within His creation. We are but the channels for that greatest love which is that of God for that which ultimately is nothing but Himself.

Finally, there is the knowledge of God which is existentially based on both fear and love of Him although not dependent in its essence upon them. For a person to know God in a realized sense requires his possession of the attitude of both fear and love combined with faith (*âmān*), while principal knowledge in itself depends from the human side on the heart/intellect alone, the heart which is the instrument of *noesis* or intellection, in its original sense, of the divine realities. Needless to say, the light and grace emanating from the Divine and faith from the human side are also absolutely necessary for the attainment of realized knowledge. Unfortunately in contemporary language knowledge has become equated with only the conceptual, rational and empirical and is depleted of its sacred nature so that many are ambivalent as to its usage in relation to God. My series of Gifford Lectures, *Knowledge and the Sacred*, was in fact devoted to the question of the resacralization of knowledge in the context of the contemporary West. In Islam, as in nearly all other traditions, the acquiring of knowledge is itself a sacred activity and knowledge is inseparable from the sacred. To know is ultimately to know God. The ground of the intellect is the Divine and so is its ultimate goal. We can know nothing in essence without knowing the Divine Reality manifested in it and traditionally speaking all authentic knowledge leads to the knowledge of the One, the end of all knowledge. This kind of knowledge is not conceptual knowledge but what Islamic philosophers call knowledge by presence. It is not rationalistic knowledge although reason itself is a ray of the Divine Intellect. It is ultimately knowledge by means of the divine spark within us, a spark which itself issues from the Divine Light. As in the case of love so in the case of knowledge, and even more so, knowledge of God is in the deepest sense the knowledge by God of Himself through us in whose heart He has placed the light of the Divine Intellect. That is why in Islam the

“knower of God” or the gnostic in its original sense is called *al-‘arif bi ‘Llah*, the knower by God.

Before the secularisation of knowledge in the West during the Renaissance and the 17th century and in fact before the rise of nominalism in the late Middle Ages, which marked the swan song of medieval Christian philosophy, such a view was also held by the sapiential Christian mystics. With Descartes knowledge became bound to the radical separation of subject and object or bifurcation and the desacralization of both poles involved in the act of knowing. Today in the West, whether one speaks of philosophy, science, anthropology or even much of theology, one operates, whether it be consciously or unconsciously, within the framework of Cartesian bifurcation and therefore in the context of a desacralized conception of knowledge. But it is not this kind of knowledge of which I speak when addressing the question of the knowledge of God. Principial knowledge transcends miraculously the dichotomy of subject and object. This kind of knowledge is based on the unity of knowledge and being, of the ultimately sacred subject and the ultimately sacred object. This unity is impossible to reach through mere conceptualisation which is based by definition on the imposition of the mental concept between the knower and the known.

The hierarchy of fear and service, or action, love and knowledge of a metaphysical nature leads to vision of the Divine Reality and makes possible assertions about God which are non-temporal and are as true in the year 2000 as they were in 1000 and will be so a millennium from now. The first assertion that can be made on the basis of realization of the Divine is that the Ultimate Reality or God is one. This truth emphasized so much by Judaism and Islam may appear to some to be a pleonasm, an obvious fact not in need of being emphasized over and over again. But this assertion is more profound than simply the statement of there being only one Judge sitting on His Throne in Heaven rather than two. Such a meaning is of course there and is on its own level very important. It can prevent many a simple soul from falling in error. But there are many more profound levels of inner meaning involved in such a confirmation. Let us remember that oneness implies also integration. The word *tawÁád* or oneness/unity which is the alpha and omega of Islam means at once the state of being one, with all the metaphysical meanings that it has above and beyond the numerical

significances of oneness and the act of making into one or integration. The statement about the oneness of God is not only about Him. It is also about the inter-relation of all things and the integration of all things including ourselves into the Centre where the One “resides”. Without the oneness of the Origin of creation, there would not exist that inner *sympatheia* between all things, that inner bond which binds us not only to God but also by virtue of that relationship to each other and to all of creation. That there is a universe is the result of the oneness of the Divine Principle while all harmony in the universe in all its different levels is nothing but the reflection of unity in the domain of multiplicity. The oneness of God also means ultimately that there is but one Being and that all existence issues forth from that original source.

The implication of God’s oneness is also that we also have to be one. Fallen man, removed from that primordial norm in which God created him, is like a house divided unto itself and as Christ has said such a house cannot stand. We usually do not act from a single centre nor are our minds in a state of concentration. Rather than being mindful and concentrated, we are usually mentally scattered while our emotions pull us in different directions and our actions are not based on harmony. When we attest to the oneness of God, we do not immediately gain knowledge of what that oneness means, that *tawÁâd* whose highest meaning is known to God alone. But we do realize that we must lead an integrated life rooted in a divine norm that makes possible the integration of our whole being including our thought, emotions and actions. This is the first major consequence of *tawÁâd*. The second is the realization of unity within all of creation and awareness of the interrelatedness of all that exists from the lowly dust to the highest stars in heaven. The third and highest is to realize that there is ultimately but a single Reality whose gradations and manifestations constitute the realms of multiplicity.

All traditional cosmologies are based on this principle of interrelation between all things and the dependence of all things on the One, principles that modern Western man has neglected for several centuries and now only speaks of wholeness and integration because of the environmental catastrophes brought about thanks to the segmented view of reality that has been dominant in the West since the Renaissance. Here in Oregon with its magnificent trees, the debate that goes on about cutting or preserving forests

is there precisely because for some forty thousand years before the coming of the white man, Native Americans lived in these forests on the basis of a religion and worldview which emphasized in the strongest terms the link between all beings and the sacred quality of nature. Had the cosmology based on the interrelation of all things not existed among them, the trees would have been cut long ago and there would not even be a problem to debate today. In recent years integral studies and holistic philosophies have become popular in certain circles. Interest in such philosophies is in fact due to the need to rediscover that forgotten unity encompassing all creatures, the unity that flows from what Islam calls *tawÁád*, the principle which it places at the centre of its perspective. This doctrine, far from being a pleonasm, is cardinal in that it determines who we are, where we are, where we are going and what our relation should be to other creatures while on this terrestrial journey. From *tawÁád* flow consequences of the utmost importance for all men and women whether of yesterday, today or tomorrow and teachings which are especially pertinent in the present situation in which contemporary humanity finds itself.

Let it also be added here that although some Christian theologians in their defence of the Trinity oppose the Jewish and Islamic emphasis upon Unity and there are Muslims who believe that Christian Trinitarian doctrine is the negation of *tawÁád*, if the matter be studied inwardly and in greater depth, one will realize that metaphysically speaking Trinity does not negate Unity. That is why for centuries Catholics have repeated in their formation of the *credo* the phrase *credo in unum deum*. Whatever is said of the oneness of the Divine Principle in Islam in fact applies to other traditional and orthodox religions even though some do not emphasize the doctrine of Divine Oneness as much as do Jews and Muslims.

In addition to being one or in Islam the One, *al-Áád*, the Divine Reality also possesses other attributes about which one can speak in a positive manner provided the symbolic quality of language—symbol being understood here in its traditional sense and not as sign or metaphor—is preserved and language is not reduced to purely logical and operation definitions as in so much of modern Anglo-Saxon philosophy. First of all God is absolute. This term is of course shunned in all relativistic philosophies which claim that there is no absolute and that everything is

relative except of course the statement made by such relativists which is then taken to be absolute. But such criticisms are irrelevant from the point of view of traditional metaphysics and I continue to use the term absolute according to the teachings of the perennial philosophy to which I adhere philosophically.

The God who spoke to Moses on Mt. Sinai, who addressed Christ in the desert and whom the Prophet of Islam encountered during his nocturnal ascent (*al-mi'raj*) is absolute. Metaphysically absoluteness in this highest sense means that God is completely and totally Himself, excluded all that is other than Him and bears no division within Himself. There is nothing in God that is not completely there in the metaphysical sense. In the non-theistic world of Buddhism this quality of absoluteness corresponds to “suchness”. Moreover, God is also infinite in the sense that all possibility, all that is possible is already contained in the Divine Reality. There is a metaphysical question concerning the relation between potentiality and possibility since both words come from the same Latin root and because God is pure actuality possessing no potentiality whatsoever. Unfortunately, I cannot delve into this question here. For the purpose of the present discussion it is enough to state that while God is pure actuality from the point of view of being, He contains within Himself the root of all things and is the treasury containing all the possibilities which have been or will be manifested in the cosmos, to use the language of Islamic metaphysics. God is infinite and what can be called the All-Possibility. The doctrine of Divine Infinitude is an esoteric one not usually discussed in ordinary theological texts but it certainly exists in Western sources as well especially in the Kabbala and among certain Christian mystics. And finally God is the Perfect Good, as Plato would say, *tó Agathon*, or Perfection (*kamal*) as mentioned in so many Islamic sources. To know God is to know that He is absolute, infinite and the perfect good, to use the formulation which goes back to Frithjof Schuon. From this principal knowledge flow many tributaries which water the garden of human existence and provide the most profound meaning for various aspects of human life and thought.

The first consequence of this knowledge is the realization that the distinctions between genders far from being accidental have their roots in the Divine Reality Itself. The duality which manifests itself in the masculine and

the feminine in the human, animal and vegetative life and in other ways in the non-animate world, including for example polarity in magnetism or positive and negative charges in electricity, has its roots in the Divine Nature. The masculine has its source in the Divine as absolute and the feminine in the Divine as infinite which is also the interior and inward aspect of the Divinity. It is interesting to note that in Islam while God as the creator and revealer is seen to have a masculine character, the non-manifesting aspect of the Divinity is seen as having a feminine character, the Divine Essence Itself in Arabic being *al-Dhāt* which is grammatically feminine. Also while the masculine aspect of the Divinity is associated with justice, rigor and majesty related to the Divine Name *al-Jalīl* or Majesty, the feminine aspect is associated with mercy and generosity and is related to the Divine Name *al-Jamīl* or Beauty. The name for Divine Mercy Itself *al-Raḥmān* is in feminine form and since Arabic is a language in which gender is clearly defined in both nouns and verbs, it is easy to see in the Qur'anic description of God at once the masculine and feminine dimensions of the Divinity as well as the reality that the message of the Qur'an is addressed to both sexes and concerns them equally.

The absoluteness and infinitude of God also means that on the one hand God excludes all otherness, all relativity, all becoming and that on the other hand all creation is an externalisation of realities whose metaphysical roots are in God. Creation is in the deepest sense the self-determination and self-manifestation of God. Man should therefore live in such a way that he could at the same time be constantly aware of the reality of God as the Absolute and of the evanescence and evaporation of all existence before that immutable Reality and be conscious of the truth that all things, to the degree that they exist, issue from Him and have their roots sunk in the Infinite. In fact while God is absolutely beyond, all things are mysteriously plunged in God.

As for perfection and goodness, Islam shares with Christianity and Judaism the cardinal idea that goodness in itself belongs to God alone and that all good comes from God. Only the Good, that is God, is absolute goodness for as Christ said, "only my Father in Heaven is good". This also explains why there is evil in the world. Since the world is not God, it cannot be absolutely good and this absence of goodness is what appears in the world

of relativity as evil. Evil is the consequence of the existential separation from the source of all good, that is, the Good as such. As for why there should even be a world, the answer lies in the infinitude of the Divine Nature which by virtue of its infinity had to include all possibilities including the possibility of the negation of itself which is the world. Evil is the moral aspect of that separation from the Source which the world is by its nature. As Dante expressed it so beautifully in the *Divine Comedy*, evil is separation from God and the pain of hell is precisely the awareness of this separation from the source of all beauty and goodness.

The attainment of sapience or gnosis (*ma'rifah*) also makes it possible to realize that God is at once transcendent and immanent, totally other and completely here. In the practical life of the spiritual seeker, there is a pendular motion between the consciousness of these two relations which are ultimately one. It is important to emphasize, however, in the context of the modern world in which so many seek the Divinity as immanent while rejecting the Transcendent, that there is no possibility of experiencing the Immanent before surrendering oneself totally to the Transcendent. The attempt to reach the Divine within without recourse to the Transcendent is one of the gravest errors of our times. Some think that they can reject traditional religions but through some self-realization centre become another St. Francis and see God everywhere. What a delusion to look for the sun in the bottom of a well. One must first cast one's eyes to the heavens to behold the sun or at least to accept its reality and presence before being able to contemplate its reflection upon a lake. One must realize, to use the language of the Qur'an, that "there is nothing like unto Him" and that "His is greater" than anything that can be said about Him before being able to realize that he is near to man than his jugular vein. The life of the spiritual person is governed by the rhythm and pulse alternating between farness and nearness, transcendence and immanence but the metaphysical doctrine concerning God must of necessity include both dimensions.

In Islam it is not God who is veiled from us. It is we who are veiled from Him. In a sense it is not God who is the mystery; it is we. If we could only lift the veil over our eyes and realize who we are, we would realize God. That is why the Prophet said, "He who knoweth himself knoweth His Lord." There are many Arabic and Persian poems rhapsodising about the mystery

that while God is so close to us, we are so veiled and distant from Him. In the deepest sense we are veiled from God precisely because of His proximity to us. Since He is everywhere, we cannot perceive His Presence. If it were theoretically possible for Him to be separated from the reality we experience, we would realize that separation and absence. But until we have opened our spiritual eye, it is that ubiquitous Presence that we interpret blindly as “ordinary” existence equated by us with the absence of God.

Also God is at once personal and impersonal. Some Muslims do not wish to translate Allah as God for many reasons including Trinitarian associations with the term God used in ordinary English. But I am not one of them, for there is nothing essentially privative in the term God or for that matter *Dieu* in French or *Gott* in German if we remember its most universal and all embracing meaning which includes what a Meister Eckhart would call the *Gottheit* or the Godhead. In its most universal sense the term God in English is not bound completely to a Trinitarian relationship as seen specifically in Christian theology nor limited only to His personal aspect. God is both personal and impersonal as the Name *Allāh* signifies in Arabic. God has a Face turned towards us and His creation but that does not exhaust the Divine Reality. God loves His creation and we are able to address Him in our prayers, but He can also be contemplated as an infinitely extended placid sea upon which we fall gently as snowflakes, dissolving in that calm and peaceful water. God is Thou whom we address in our I-ness, but He is also the Infinite Reality beyond all duality, impersonal while possessing the Face turned toward His creation which we experience as the Divine Personal Reality.

Herein also lies the meeting point between the monotheistic conceptions of God and the non-personal and non-theistic conception of the Divinity in such religions as Confucianism, Taoism and Buddhism, not to speak of Shintoism and the primal religions. In these religions there is certainly the sense of the Sacred, the possibility of spiritual realization, religious ethics and even prayer but all within the context of the impersonal conception of the Divine. The Buddha nature, just to speak of Buddhism, or the state of *nirvāṇa* is the realization of the subject pole of the impersonal Divinity. To understand God as the personal as well as the impersonal is to reach a knowledge of the Divinity which is all embracing and which includes all

different metaphysical and spiritual possibilities. To consider not only the Face of God, to use the Qur'anic terminology, but also the infinite reality of the Divine beyond the realm of being and existentionation is to take nothing away from the Glory of God. On the contrary it is to attest to the fullness of His majestic Reality.

In speaking of the knowledge of God, it is necessary to emphasize in the face of the scepticism and the secularisation of knowledge characteristic of the modern world, what is taken for granted in all traditional civilizations, namely that there is such a thing as the science of God which is in fact the supreme science. The meaning of the term theology which meant originally such a science has become so diluted in the West today that it is necessary to use another terminology to designate this highest of all sciences. I have tried to resuscitate the term *scientia sacra* in its Latin form in order to avoid the limitative connotations associated with the term science especially in the English language as it is used today. I have even written a book entitled *The Need for a Sacred Science* with the aim of creating a consciousness of the importance of sacred science whose highest form is precisely *scientia sacra*, the science of God or the Ultimate Reality.

Since the Renaissance, metaphysics in its authentic sense became more or less forgotten and soon relegated to a branch of rationalistic philosophy while gnosis, has continued to possess a negative connotation at least in the Western Christian milieu as a result of its association with the historic Christian heresy of Gnosticism, in contrast to Eastern Christianity where it remains a perfectly respectable and in fact central reality. A number of Catholic theologians such as de Lubac and von Baltazar have tried to resuscitate its positive meaning but the general anathema cast against it continues in many circles. That is why while using both the terms metaphysics and gnosis in their original meaning, I find it necessary also to emphasize the term *scientia sacra*. In every integral traditional civilization there is something that corresponds to philosophy, something to theology and something to what one can call metaphysics in its authentic sense or gnosis or theosophy. For example, in Islam one can observe clearly the presence of the schools of *falsafah* (philosophy), *kalām* (theology) and *ma'rifah/irfān* (gnosis). The latter category has been forgotten or at least eclipsed in the

West and it is precisely this category that concerns the science of God and what can be called *scientia sacra*.

In trying to approach God at the beginning of this new millennium it is this *scientia sacra* that must be taken seriously once again and it is knowledge that has to be re-sacralized. If this science of the Real were to be taken seriously and placed at the centre of our intellectual concerns, it would affect all realms of knowledge and how knowledge is envisaged and its formal teaching carried out in academic settings. Until that takes place, it is necessary to swim against the current and to point out to the reality of this supreme science which, when realized fully, transforms us completely and leads to our spiritual salvation and freedom from the bondage of ignorance.

Since we live in the world of change, it is also necessary to say something about the relation between God and the world of change and temporality. Now, the spiritual person in quest of God today is not usually interested in developing a philosophy of history of Hegel. Nevertheless, as a result of the historicism developed in the 18th and especially the 19th centuries in Europe and still dominating the current worldview of the West, many people with the urge to follow the path leading to God are confused between the manifestations of God in the spacio-temporal domain of reality and the Divine Reality Itself which transcends all becoming. God, while being immutable, is also the source of all that changes but the Divine Reality cannot be imprisoned in time. There is the tendency in the modern world to reduce everything to the historical and to reject as unreal everything which cannot be proven historically as this term is usually understood and on the basis of data of often limited nature. This view of things constituted the philosophical position called historicism which is a most dangerous intellectual perversion and which has done the greatest harm to religion in modern times. One can accept the significance of history without falling into the trap of historicism. That is why in fact I use when necessary the term *historial* as distinct from *historical*.

To accept historicism, either consciously or unconsciously, is to negate the permanent in favour of the transient as we see in this day and age when the transient has come to constitute practically the only reality which then seeks to replace the permanent in our mind and thought. Many today in fact

worship “the times” as a divinity even if they are not aware of it. Already the 70’s are for many like the Pharonic period. Our present moment in history is alone significant, but paradoxically our insistence on an extreme form of historicism has led to the destruction of history itself. Post-modern man has come to “absolutize the transient”. We have come to take “our times” too seriously, losing our vision of the timeless and also the significance of our sacred history in which timeless values were manifested in the world of transience and impermanence. This attitude is a truly demonic perversion of the Sufi idea of being “the son of the moment” (*ibn al-waqt*), that is, living in the now which is the sole gate of access to the Eternal. The serious quest for God means taking a step away from this position which is based on a one-dimensional vision of reality. We must be able to remove ourselves from the stream of mere change and becoming in order to be able to gain a vision of the Immutable and the Eternal in Itself and also to be able to contemplate the immutable archetypal realities in the world of becoming.

Even in traditional societies this need was present and was fulfilled in different ways in various religions such as monasticism in Christianity and Buddhism, becoming a person outside of a caste or a *sannyasin* in Hinduism, or withdrawing inwardly from the world while living in it as in Sufism and Jewish mysticism, that is in religions which do not accept the formal institution of monasticism. How much more is that true for today’s world when the world of transience has become so emptied of the sacred!

To come back to the question of the relation between God and the world of manifestation and our approach as beings living in time towards God, we must remember that we begin our journey as creatures possessing consciousness of things, objects, people, colours, forms, etc. around us, immersed as we are in multiplicity. Spiritual growth means usually the step-by-step realization that all things come from God and return to God and that all things manifest some aspect of the Divine Reality. I say “usually” because there are exceptional cases where by the Will of Heaven all of these truths are realized instantly as if one were struck by lightning. The realized sage sees God everywhere and everything for him or her is a symbol of a higher reality. Such a person realizes that not only sacred scriptures but also nature is a divine revelation, in fact God’s primordial revelation about which the Qur’an speaks so often. If one understands the Book of Genesis according to its

inspired traditional commentaries, it points to the same truth. God not only revealed the *Decalogue* to Moses and the Qur'an to the Prophet, but He also revealed nature. In the deepest sense in fact religion is not only for man but for the whole of creation and as the Qur'an asserts, everything and not only man prays and praises God. If we only had eyes we could detect the message of God upon the face of all things. According to a *Ādāth* (tradition) of the Prophet, "God has written the mark of beauty upon all things". This saying is particularly important for the understanding of Islamic art but it also pertains to the whole of cosmic reality. If we cannot see the marks of beauty on the face of creatures, it is because our eyes have lost their original power of vision which Adam, the primordial man, possessed in paradise.

To see the manifestations of God everywhere imposes upon us two duties which are of particular significance in this day and age: the first to see the reality of God in religions other than our own and the second to be fully aware of the manifestations of God's wisdom, power and presence in the world of nature.

For millennia, human beings lived in a homogeneous religious world of their own and did not have to delve into the reality of other religions although there were some exceptions such as the meeting of Islam and Hinduism in India or Judaism, Christianity and Islam in Muslim Spain, but even in these cases the truly spirited contacts and exchanges were between the few who belonged to the inner dimensions of their own tradition. In fact ordinary human beings are in fact created to live within a single religion in the same way that they are conscious of living within a single solar system although there are other suns in the firmament. To live any traditional and divinely inspired religion fully is to have lived religion as such. The destruction of the homogeneity of the religious ambience by modernism, has, however, created a new situation for those affected by the secularising forces of the modern world and yet seeking religious truth. Usually a medieval Christian or Muslim did not have to be existentially concerned with the "other" even if the "other" lived next door. And a Christian woman before modern times would not most likely have become influenced by what went on in Benares even if she travelled there as the young girl from Montana, that is Diana Eck, who is now professor of Hinduism at Harvard and has

written with empathy about that religion, was when she went to study religion in that holy city.

This new spiritual and psychological reality imposed by the advent of modernism is one with which we now have to contend especially in the more modernized regions of the world. The challenge of penetrating seriously into other religious worlds religiously—and not as a philologist, anthropologist or historian—is in fact the most exciting intellectual challenge of today if this task be taken seriously and without loss of one’s religious moorings. It is in fact “the only new thing under the sun” although on a limited and also more esoteric level, it has had its historical precedence. To accept and respond to this challenge is to become aware of the ubiquitous nature of God’s Presence. It is to be able to see the other “Faces of God” which He has turned to human collectivities other than our own, thereby enabling each religious society to provide the means for its members to realize the goal, the *telos*, for which man was created.

As for our second duty and responsibility, it is to become fully aware of the presence of God in His non-human creation, of the sacred quality of nature. Anyone fully aware of the present state of affairs knows that if we do not change our current attitudes towards the natural world radically, nothing else in this world will matter in the long run because we will not be around much longer to concern ourselves with any issue. The environmental crisis cannot be solved by means of cosmetic actions. It requires a profound transformation of modern man’s understanding of who he is what the world of nature is, and what rights we have over nature. It makes all the difference in the world whether we see the majestic redwoods of the state or for that matter the still pristine forests of the Amazon or Borneo as sacred trusts which one must protect or simply as mere commodities from which we can benefit economically as so many in America and Europe come to consider nature and now thanks to the globalisation of secularism and consumerism more and more people do so in the rest of the world. To look upon the natural world and its riches as only economic resources is nothing but the formula for gradual suicide. One can in fact say that during this new century either modern economics will have to be re-interpreted within the matrix of ethics and environmental considerations or we will perish as a species.

Why have we come to such an unprecedented impasse? There are of course many secondary reasons, but the primary reason is that modern man has cut off the Hands of God from nature, creating a science from which the Divine Presence in nature is excluded. There are of course human beings in the modernized world who still believe in God but for the majority of them, their vision includes only God's relation to humanity and excludes other creatures. But God is not only "our" God or at best the God of the whole of humanity. He is God for the whole of creation. The molluscs crawling on the sea, the birds flying in the air and the smallest fish swimming in the water are also God's creatures. By what right then do we decimate and annihilate species every day?

The knowledge of God means an awareness of His Presence in nature and brings about the awe and respect which we must exercise towards this Presence. When St. Francis, now chosen as the patron saint of ecology, lived in Tuscany, he loved the birds and trees of his homeland while the beautiful countryside of Tuscany was not in danger of destruction. Therefore when he addressed the world of nature, he did not have to apply his love and knowledge of the Sacred Presence in creation to the formulation of a living theology and philosophy of nature according to which human beings should live. Today, however, anyone who speaks of God and at the same time has concern for humanity must also address himself to God's creation and the necessity to protect nature not on the basis of mere sentimentality but on the firm ground of the knowledge of God in both Himself and His manifestations. This principial knowledge is not only the supreme goal of life but on the plane of outward application is extremely crucial to our very survival as human beings. We need to articulate a metaphysics of nature which must become the framework and guide for our attitudes and actions towards other creatures.

The goal of approaching God is to be illuminated by the light of that Sun which both illuminates and enlivens, which is the source of both that light which is liberating knowledge and that warmth which is the love that flows in the arteries of the universe and gives life to all things. It is furthermore, to see the Divine Presence everywhere and to hear the voice of the sacred not only in the B Minor Mass of Bach which I am sure many in the audience

have experienced, but also in the song of birds, the chant of the whales and the thunderous sound of storms.

At the highest level to know God means to realize that only God *is*. The testimony of faith in Islam is *L« ik«ba illa 'L«b*, meaning that there is no divinity but God. Each person understands this sacred assertion according to the level of his or her awareness and comprehension. But on the highest level it means that there is no reality but the Divine Reality. At the end of the road one realizes that we are not, the world is not, only God is and other things are nothing but the manifestations of this one eternal Reality.

There is a verse of the Qur'an (LVII; 3) which states, "He [God] is the First and the Last, the Outward and the Inward." This outwardly enigmatic statement summarizes the whole truth about God and our relation to Him if we understand its meaning according to the inspired traditional commentaries. God is the First, or the *alpha*, which means that God is the Origin of all things and it is from Him that we have issued. God is also the Last, or the *omega*, and so He is our final end and not only we human beings but all creatures return to Him. Whether we like it or not, we must return to God. Our choice based on free will is how and in what condition we make this return journey. Jal«l al-D«n R«m« says that since we have to make this journey of return, why not walk upon the path of God with a smile and in submission to Him through the exercise of our free will rather than being pulled on the path by our hair while we kick and scream. In any case, the Divine Name, the Last, means that whether we like it or not our return is to God.

God is the Inward, the inner dimension from which all that is external issues forth. The spiritual life is in fact nothing other than the life of inwardness. The person who lives in the inward dimension of his being is also able to see all things with the eye of inwardness and therefore see the inner, spiritual face of things rather than only their outward form. What is most difficult to understand in this verse is, however, the assertion that God is also the Outward. This truth is in fact the most difficult to realize because one can ask if God is the Outward why then do we not see Him with the outward eye in the same way that we see each other. The truth of the matter, however, is that God is the light *with which* we see all things. How can we

then ever expect to see with the eye the light which is itself the source of our vision? God as the Outward is everywhere but it needs the opening of the inner eye or the “eye of the heart”, as the Sufis would say, to perceive this reality.

We live in a world bound by these four essential Divine Attributes. We come from God; we return to God; God resides inwardly at the centre of our being; and the world itself is nothing but levels of Divine Presence which, however, is not perceivable as such save with the eye of inwardness. Happy is the person who before he is forced to open his eyes at the moment of death realizes this truth while in this life and with full possession of the gift of free will. Such a person will not but seek to serve, to love and to know God and through the realization thus gained be a true light to the world of service to both human beings and God’s other creatures, lover of the good and the beautiful and of all of God’s creation and locus of that unitive and illuminative knowledge of God which is the ultimate purpose of creation and the fountainhead of all wisdom.

THE EAGLE IN IQBAL'S POETRY

Mustansir Mir

INTRODUCTION

The most significant and certainly the best known, image in Iqbal's poetry is that of the eagle. "Live in the world like an eagle, and like an eagle die," says Iqbal (*Javād N«mah*, in *Kulliy«t-i Iqbal*: Persian [Iqbal Academy Pakistan, 1994], 654/182). An understanding of the eagle motif in Iqbal's poetry thus becomes essential to understand Iqbal's thought and message.

Two points should be made at the outset. First, Iqbal's eagle is a construct. It would be a mistake to analyse Iqbal's descriptions of the eagle with a view to determining how accurate they are from an ornithological standpoint. Second, we shall often be using the word "eagle" for the various names, Iqbal uses for the bird: *sh«b«ân*, 'uq«b, b««z, *shabb««z*. Metrical constraints often determine which word will be used in a given place, but otherwise, too, Iqbal seems to be using these words interchangeably (see, for example, "Advice," in *B«l-i Jibrâl*, in *Kulliy«t-i Iqbal*: Urdu [Iqbal Academy Pakistan, 1994], 448/124, and "The Eagle," *Ibid.*, 495/171; see also *ibid.*, 355). The interchangeable use makes sense because it enables Iqbal to borrow traits from the several members of the same family and produce a composite, but unified, portrait that will serve Iqbal's particular purposes.

The two points can be illustrated by means of the following examples. Iqbal says that the fiercely proud eagle disdains to eat dead prey and eats only the prey it itself has caught live (*B«l-i Jibrâl*, 372/48, *Pay«m-i Masbriq*, in *Kulliy«t-i Iqbal*: Persian, 343/167). One might object that this description fits the hawk but not the eagle. But that would be missing the point. In another place, Iqbal says that the eagle is above making nests (*B«l-i Jibrâl*, in *Kulliy«t-i Iqbal*: Urdu, 353/29). This statement, too, is not correct, but it makes good sense in the place where it is made and is in fact defensible in a certain sense (see n. 10 to "The Eagle"). Iqbal uses the eagle to make certain philosophical points, offer observations on aspects of life and exhort, motivate his audience to action. To this end he invests his eagle with certain character

traits for which it would be futile to look for exact correspondences in the animal kingdom. The eagle we are dealing with is the Iqbalian eagle, and it is in terms of the qualities, role, and function Iqbal assigns to the eagle in various contexts that we should view his descriptions of the bird.

1. Iqbal wants Muslims to stop living a life of indolence and accept the challenges of life. Using the garden and the desert as metaphors respectively, for easy and tough life, he tells Muslims to quit the garden, reminding them that they have the power to fly like “the mountain eagle” (*B«ng-i Dar»,* 300/284; see also *Pay«m-i Mashriq,* 237/61, first quatrain (no. 150), *Zarb-i Kalâm,* in *Kulliy«t-i Iqbal:* Urdu, 691/191, last two lines, and *Zab«r-i ‘Ajam,* in *Kulliy«t-i Iqbal:* Persian, 405/61). The Muslims are, by origin (*a‘Ál*), eagles, but their eyes no longer have the piercing look of an eagle (*B«l-i Jibrál,* 407). In a passage in *Pas Chi B«yed Kard?* (in *Kulliy«t-i Iqbal:* Persian, 692/16, last two lines and 694/18, first six lines) Iqbal has this to say on the subject (he is addressing those who advise Muslims to renounce the world):

This world of clay and water is game to the believer.

Are you saying to the falcon, “Let go of your game?”

I have failed to solve this difficult problem:

Why does the eagle shun the skies?

Pity the eagle that does not act like one,

And whose claws never caused hurt to a bird,

An eagle that is nest-bound, abject, crestfallen,

And does not flap its wings in the blue space!

In Iqbal’s view, in fact, the Muslims have acquired the ways of the vulture (the *kargas*, with which Iqbal often contrasts the *sh«bân*, signifies, in Iqbal’s poetry, not so much greed or rapacity, as it would in English, but baseness of

stock, lowness of ambition, and parasitic attitudes), and Iqbal tells them to go back to their roots and become eagles again (*Pas Chi B«yed Kard?* 809; cf. *B«l-i Jibrâl*, 408, where Iqbal, alluding to Muslims, remarks that they have been corrupted by their association with ravens, and *Zab«r-i ‘Ajam*, p. 479, ll. 9-10, which is similar). “You are the eagle of Muhammad,” says Iqbal, addressing the Muslim, “and angels and houris are your prey” (*B«l-i Jibrâl*, p. 376, 4th quatrain).

In a short piece, “The Philosopher,” (*B«l-i Jibrâl*, 456) Iqbal points out the limitations of philosophical thought. For all its achievements, philosophy has not yielded definitive and reliable guidance on issues of fundamental importance to man. The philosopher is like a vulture (in the sense just explained) that flies around in space like an eagle, but unlike the eagle, fails to catch live prey (cf., in a similar context, *Pay«m-i Mashriq*, p. 359: “The wings of a nightingale are of one kind, those of an eagle of another”; and in a slightly different context, *Javâd N«mah*, 795, where the truly religious are contrasted with the shallow and unscrupulous pretenders to religiosity).

2. What distinguishes the eagle from the other birds is its sharp vision, its ability to soar into the air and rule the skies, its swift movement, its daring and its love of freedom and action. Cultivation of aquiline traits is therefore a requisite for success in life:

If you are bareheaded, develop high resolve,

For here the crown is only for the eagle’s head.

(*B«l-i Jibrâl*, p. 338)

Slavery turns an eagle into a bat (*Zarb-i Kalâm*, p. 545; also *Pay«m-i Mashriq*, p. 323, ll. 3-4), and life denying art has a similar effect—certain kinds of poetry, for instance, turn a free man—an eagle into a slave—a pheasant (*Asr«r-i Khudâ*, in *Kulliy«t-i Iqbal: Persian*, p. 36; cf. *Armagh«n-i ‘Aj«z*, in *Kulliy«t-i Iqbal: Persian*, p. 915, 1st quatrain). Freedom, on the other hand, would transform a nightingale into an eagle (*Zarb-i Kalâm*, p. 516; see also *Armagh«n-i ‘Aj«z*, in *Kulliy«t-i Iqbal Urdu*, p. 679, ll. 5-4), and cf. *Pas Chi B«yed Kard?* p. 816, l. 18). In a poem on the Arab poet Abu ‘l-‘Al« al-Ma‘arrâ, Iqbal makes the

vegetarian poet say the following on the gift of roast partridge a friend had sent him (*B«l-i Jibrāl*, pp. 448-449):

Alas! A hundred times alas that you did not become an eagle!

Your eyes failed to catch the hints of nature.

The judge of fate has since eternity decreed:

“The crime of weakness merits instant death.”

The last line is also a neat summation of Iqbal’s understanding of the workings of history.

3. Iqbal criticizes the teaching institutions of the Muslim world. The teachers, for one thing, have failed to provide the vision and drive the Muslim youth need in order to perform their role with distinction in the world: the teachers “are teaching the eaglets how to play with and roll in dust (*B«l-i Jibrāl*, p. 324; cf. *Javād N«mah*, p. 790, last couplet and *Zarb-i Kalām*, p. 540, 11. 1-2). Quite naturally, Iqbal sees himself in the role of reminding the eagles—the Muslims—of their roots and their potentialities:

Those who had been prey for long now have a new vision,

For I have divulged the ways of the falcon.

(*B«l-i Jibrāl*, p. 324; see also *Ibid.*, p. 378, 1st quatrain, *B«ng-i Dar«*, p. 269, 11. 1-2, and *Zab«r-i ‘Ajam*, p. 496, 11. 21-22)

But if Iqbal has divulged to the community of eagles, or Muslims, the ways of the eagle then Iqbal might be expected to regard himself as an eagle and at least in two places he does so (*B«l-i Jibrāl*, pp. 350, 352).

4. Occasionally it seems that Iqbal has mentioned the eagle in a negative context. In one poem, for example, God addresses the angels, commanding them to rouse the poor and servile nations of

the world to revolt against their rich and powerful but oppressive overlords, saying:

Heat up the slaves' blood with ardent conviction:

Set the lowly sparrow against the eagle.

(*B«l-i Jibrâl*, p. 402; see also *Ibid.*, p. 415, and cf. *Armagh«n-i Àij«z*, in *Kulliy«t-i Iqbal*, Urdu, p. 652, II. 11-12, and *Armagh«n -i Àij«z*, in *Kulliy«t-i Iqbal: Persian*, p. 991, 2nd quatrain)

But this does not necessarily put the eagle in a bad light. Iqbal here uses the sparrow and the eagle as simple metaphors, without necessarily implying any judgement as to their relative worth, just as elsewhere (*B«l-i Jibrâl*, p. 418) he speaks of the eagle and the pigeon as different but related manifestations of the all-encompassing current of life. In the poem “Conquest of Nature” (*Pay«m-i Mashriq*) Iblis (Satan) asks Adam to choose a life of action over a life of idle peace. Agitation under the net would, he tells Adam, turn even a dove into an eagle (256), and he exhorts Adam to spread the wings of an eagle and spill the blood of pheasants (257). Again, the eagle here does not stand condemned; a life of action, symbolized by the eagle, is being referred to, only the speaker happens to be Iblis. The following are to be explained similarly: *Zab«r-i ‘Ajam*, 521. 11. 1-2, *Javâd N«mah*, p. 659, 11. 19-20.

A few remarks about the three poems here translated will be in order, but first a general observation. All three poems are, of course, about the eagle. Iqbal is perhaps the first poet in the Islamic literary tradition—might one say, in the world literary tradition?—to make an elaborate and consistent use of the eagle to symbolize character.² The very mention of the word “eagle” in connection with Iqbal’s poetry conjures up a whole set of distinctive physical, moral and behavioural traits with which Iqbal has endowed his eagle. And as far as the literary genre of the *ghazal* is concerned, Iqbal is certainly the first one to employ it to write about a subject—the eagle—in a way that broadens

² Rëmâ could, perhaps, be cited as a precursor who had used the symbol of the eagle in a similar, albeit more elevated and profound meaning, for his propheticology. See John Renard, *All the King’s Falcons*, Albany, 1994; rept. Suhail Academy, Lahore, 2001. (Editor’s Note)

the hitherto narrow channel of the genre, enabling it to accommodate serious philosophical thought and giving it a unity of structure it probably did not have before. The *ghazal* is, by definition, devoted to the theme of love between man and woman. Although it had occasionally been used before Iqbal to express quasi-philosophical notions, such use had more to do with mood than with thought. The *ghazal*, that is to say, might reflect a mood, usually sombre and melancholic (another respect in which Iqbal's *ghazal* is different), that passed for philosophical seriousness and fanciful musings that passed for weighty thought. Iqbal effectively redefined, at least for his own purposes, the *ghazal*, using it to treat a variety of serious subjects and his use of the genre to talk about the eagle should be seen in that larger context.

The first poem, "The Eagle," highlights the "ascetic" and freedom-loving nature of the eagle. The eagle shuns the pleasurable but enervating life of the garden, preferring the austere but salubrious environment of the desert. The second poem, "Beyond the Stars" is an exhortation to the eagle to discover new worlds by soaring ever higher. Iqbal's addressee here is evidently an eagle that has lost its nest and Iqbal consoles it by saying that there are realms yet to be explored and conquered. The third poem, "An Eagle's Advice to Its Young One," is the most complete portrait of the Iqbalian eagle, and deserves special attention from the readers.

THE EAGLE³

*I have turned my back on that world.*⁴

*Where sustenance is called grain and water.*⁵

THE EAGLE:

³ Source *Bal-i Jibrál*, p. 457.

⁴ *world*: The word used is *kbakadon*, which, literally, is "rubbish dump." Although this word is also used in the simple sense of "world," the sense probably intended here, pejorative connotations are not entirely absent.

⁵ *Where ... water*: The word used for "sustenance" is *rizq*. In the Qur'an the word *rizq* is used for ordinary food but also for spiritual and intellectual food. The eagle criticizes the limited definition of *rizq*—in terms of bread and water alone (cf. the well-known New Testament

I like the solitude of the wilderness-

I was always a hermit by nature-

No spring breeze, no rose-plucker, no nightingale,

*And no illness of the songs of love!*⁶

*One must avoid the garden-dwellers*⁷

*Their charms are too seductive!*⁸

It is the desert wind that gives effect

*To the stroke of the brave youth in combat.*⁹

saying, “Man does not live by bread alone”), and the criticism reflects the Qur’anic view, which Iqbal might consciously be alluding to. In the phrase “grain and water” (idiomatically, “food and water”; original: *«b-o-d«nah*), “grain” is suggestive: grain is used as bait to catch birds under a net. The eagle is thus expressing disdain for birds that fall for cheap *rizq*.

⁶ *No spring. . . love*: That is, the wilderness fortunately has no distractions of garden life. The elements enumerated have double significance. At one level they make up a simple description: the spring breeze blows and the garden is filled with flowers; the flower-plucker comes and robs the garden of its beauty; and the nightingale, pining for the rose, sings its sorrowful songs. At another level they contain allusions to some of the stock-in-trade of Urdu poetry, which Iqbal generally regarded as decadent and sterile. The phrase *bâm«ri-i naghmah-i «shiq«nah* can have three meanings: (1) the illness that characterizes songs of love, (2) the illness songs of love cause in those who listen to them, and (3) the illness that leads one to compose songs of love. While all three meanings may be intended, the last one seems to be the most relevant. “Illness” here stands for a bad, chronic habit, and “songs of love” refer to the hackneyed love poems composed by Urdu poets.

⁷ *the garden-dwellers*: Those who live comfortable lives, as in populated cities with nice parks and gardens. The line thus alludes to urban life with its amenities, and a contrast with the simple and austere life of the wilderness is intended, the latter being the style of life preferred by the eagle.

⁸ *Their ... seductive!* The implication is that these charms are artificial and not natural.

*It is not that I am hungry for pigeon and dove-
Renunciation is the mark of an eagle's life-
To swoop, to withdraw, and to swoop again
Is but a pretext to keep up blood heat.
This east, this west is the pheasants' world,¹⁰
Mine is the boundlessness of the blue sky!
I am the monk¹¹ of the kingdom of birds,
For the eagle is not given to making nests.¹²*

BEYOND THE STARS¹³

*There are other worlds beyond the stars;
More tests of love are yet to come.¹⁴*

⁹ *It is ... combat:* Note the almost imperceptible transformation of the eagle into-or rather identification of the eagle with-the brave youth.

¹⁰ *This east ... world:* Iqbal's eagle transcends the limitations of the compass points.

¹¹ *monk:* The word in the original is *derwish*, a man who has few needs, is content with what he has and rises above the temptations of the world. "Monk" seems to be closest to the spirit of the word here.

¹² *For ... nests:* This may be interpreted to mean that the eagle does not take any place as its permanent home.

BEYOND THE STARS:

¹³ *Bal-i Jibrál*, p. 353.

This vast space is not lifeless-

In it there are hundreds of other caravans.

*Do not be content with the world of colour and smell:*¹⁵

There are other gardens, and other nests, too.

What is to worry if you have lost one residence?

There are other stations one might sigh and cry for!

You are an eagle; your job is to fly:

You have other skies in front of you.

Do not get lost in this maze of day and night,

There is, for you, another space, another time.

*Gone are the days when I was an isolate in the group:*¹⁶

*Many here now are, confidants of mine.*¹⁷

¹⁴ *More ... come.*, The connection with the first line is as follows: There are yet other worlds you will be required to conquer, and your commitment and devotion-or love, in Iqbal's terminology-will be put to the test therein.

¹⁵ the world of colour and smell: The terrestrial world.

¹⁶ *group*: or "assembly" (original: *anjuman*).

¹⁷ *Gone . . . mine*: A personal postscript by Iqbal which does not seem to be integrally related to the rest of the poem. It should be remembered, however, that this is a *ghazal*, whose individual couplets do not necessarily have to treat the same theme. But there may well be a connection: the eagle (and Iqbal may be addressing a typical eagle or one representing a group) presumably understands Iqbal's message, which gives Iqbal the assurance that many now share his ideas.

THE EAGLE'S ADVICE TO ITS YOUNGSTER¹⁸

"You know that all eagles are, of essence, one:

A handful of feathers, they have the heart of a lion.

Be of good nature, and of mature strategy;¹⁹

Be daring, dignified,²⁰ and a hunter of big game.²¹

Do not mix with partridge, pheasant, and starling²²

Except if you should desire to hunt.

What lowly, fear-stricken group they are

That they wipe their beaks clean with dust!²³

THE EAGLE'S ADVICE TO ITS YOUNGSTER:

¹⁸ *Payam-i Masbriq*, pp. 272-273.

¹⁹ *strategy*: I have tried to combine the two principal (and interrelated) meanings of *tadbâr*, "counsel, opinion" and "management or handling of affairs. *Pukhtab tadbâr*, the complete phrase used in the original, commonly means "mature, wise counsel."

²⁰ *dignified*: *Ghayyër*, the word used in the original, means: one who is high-minded and jealously guards his honour.

²¹ *a hunter of big game.*, That is, aim high and do not be content with small achievements. cf. n. 6 below.

²² *Do not . . . starling*: Elsewhere Iqbal says that an eagle associating with weaker or smaller birds will lose its eaglehood, while those other birds will not become eagles. Iqbal is by no means advocating elitism, something he detested and preached against in his prose and poetry both. He simply wishes the eagle to remain an "authentic" eagle. cf. *Zarb-i Kalâm*, pp. 550:5-6, where Iqbal says that an eagle cannot serve a pheasant.

The falcon that imitates the ways of its prey

Becomes the prey of its own prey.

Many a hunting bird that descends to earth

Perishes through mixing with pickers of grain.²⁴

Take care of yourself²⁵ and live in contentment.

Live the life of one brave, strong, and rugged.

Leave for the quail the soft and delicate body;

Develop a vein tough like the horns of a deer.

Any joy that becomes the lot of the world

Is due to hardship, toil, and fullness of breath.”²⁶

Well did the eagle speak to its son:²⁷

“One drop of blood is better than pure wine.”²⁸

²³ *That they ... dust!* The above-named birds are content to derive their sustenance from the dusty ground. They have, that is to say, no higher goals in life. cf. n. 4 above.

²⁴ *pickers of grain:* Ordinary birds, like those mentioned in the beginning of the poem.

²⁵ *Take care of yourself:* The Persian phrase, *Nigab dar kbud ra*, has a moral ring to it, the meaning being: guard your virtues, avoid evil, etc. See the very next line in the text.

²⁶ *fullness of breath:* Indefatigableness. See also *Zarb-i Kalâm*, p. 534: 11. 7-8.

²⁷ *Well did . . . son:* It is possible that this sentence, too, is part of the advice the eagle is giving. It is more likely, however, that it is an interjection by the poet, dividing the poem into two halves, thus necessitating enclosing each half in quotation marks.

Do not, like deer and sheep, seek out company;

Go into seclusion like your ancestors.²⁹

I remember this of the words of the old falcons:

'Do not make your nest on the branch of a tree.'

We do not make nests in garden or field,

For we have a paradise in mountains and deserts.

To pick up grain from the ground is an error,

For God has given us the vastness of the skies.

One of noble stock, if he scrapes his feet on the ground,

Becomes more despicable than a house bird.

For falcons the rock is a carpet

Walking on rocks sharpens the claws.

You are one of the yellow-eyed of the desert,³⁰

You are noble of nature like the sâmurgh.³¹

²⁸ *One drop ... wine.*, The blood of a bird will keep you fit and strong, but wine will make you effete.

²⁹ *Do not ... ancestors:* Do not cultivate the herd instinct, but learn to withdraw into your own self, as did your ancestors, so that you can bring out your potential.

³⁰ the yellow-eyed of the desert: Desert hawks.

*You are noble-born, one who, on combat day,
Draws out the pupil of the tiger's eye.
Your flight has the majesty of angels,
In your veins is the blood of the k«fërâ falcon.³²
Under the humpbacked, revolving sky
Eat what you catch, be it soft or hard,³³
Do not take your food from another hand,
Be good and take the advice of the good.³⁴*

³¹ *sâmurgh*: A legendary bird. In Farâd al-Dân ‘AÇÇ«r’s long Sufî allegorical poem, *ManÇiq at-ñayr*, a group of birds, wishing to have, like all other species, a king of their own, set out in search of the sâmurgh, their would-be king. The name thus comes to have connotations of royalty and majesty.

³² *k«fërâ*: Iqbal has written this note to the word: “A white hunting bird of the type of the falcon which is found in the mountains and deserts of Turkistan.”

³³ *be it soft or hard*: Whether it is delicious and palatable or not.

³⁴ Another poem, entitled “Advice” (again by an eagle to its young one), is found in *B«l-i Jibrâl*, p. 412. It is short enough to be quoted here in full:

*The eagle said to its youngster:
May the heights of the lofty sky be easy your wings!
Youth means burning in one's own blood:
It is hard work that turns life's bitter into sweet.
The delight of swooping on the pigeon, my son,
Is perhaps not found in the pigeon's blood itself.”*

THE REVOLT OF ISLAM

A. J. Arberry

W HETHER OR NOT IT MAY BE AGREED THAT 'POETS ARE THE UNOFFICIAL LEGISLATORS OF MANKIND', THERE IS NO GAINSAING THE FACT THAT POETS HAVE PLAYED A PROMINENT, IN SOME INSTANCES INDEED A LEADING PART IN THAT MOST EXCITING DRAMA OF MODERN TIMES, THE REVOLT OF ISLAM AGAINST INTERNAL CORRUPTION, AND ESPECIALLY AND MOST COMPELLINGLY AGAINST EXTERNAL DOMINATION.

OF THE HIRELING'S BLOOD OUTPOURED

LUSTROUS RUBIES MAKES THE LORD;

TYRANT SQUIRE TO SWELL HIS WEALTH

DESOLATES THE PEASANT'S TILTH.

REVOLT, I CRY!

REVOLT, DEFY!

REVOLT, OR DIE!

CITY SHEIKH WITH STRING OF BEADS

MANY A FAITHFUL HEART MISLEADS,

BRAHMAN Baffles WITH HIS THREAD

MANY A SIMPLE HINDU HEAD.

REVOLT, I CRY!

REVOLT, DEFY!

REVOLT, OR DIE!

PRINCE AND SULTAN GAMBLING GO;

LOADED ARE THE DICE THEY THROW

SUBJECTS SOUL FROM BODY STRIP

WHILE THEIR SUBJECTS ARE ASLEEP.

REVOLT, I CRY!

REVOLT, DEFY!

REVOLT, OR DIE!

BROTHER MUSLIMS, WOE TO US

FOR THE HAVOC SCIENCE DOES!

AHRIMAN IS CHEAP ENOUGH,

GOD IS RARE, SCARCE-OFFERED STUFF.

REVOLT, I CRY!

REVOLT, DEFY!

REVOLT, OR DIE!

(FROM *ZABĒR I 'AJAM*)³⁵

THE PASSIONATE SHOUT OF *INQILĀB AY INQILĀB* WAS RAISED BY THE MAN WHO WAS AFTER HIS DEATH TO BE HAILED AS THE PROPHET OF PAKISTAN.

³⁵ See *Zabēr i 'Ajām*, in *Kulliyat i Iqbal*, Persian, Iqbal Academy Pakistan, 1994, pp. 401-3.)

SIR MUHAMMAD IQBAL, DISTINGUISHED LAWYER, DISTINGUISHED
PHILOSOPHER, DISTINGUISHED POET, AS LEARNED IN WESTERN SCIENCE AS
IN EASTERN TRADITION, INSPIRED MILLIONS OF HIS FELLOW-MUSLIMS IN
INDIA TO FIGHT FOR SELF-REFORM, AND SELF-REALIZATION AS A NECESSARY
PRELUDE TO FREEDOM AND INDEPENDENT NATIONHOOD.

*LITTLE FLOWER FAST ASLEEP,
RISE NARCISSUS-LIKE, AND PEEP;
LO, THE BOWER DROOPS AND DIES
WASTED BY COLD GRIEFS; ARISE!
NOW THAT BIRDSONG FILLS THE AIR
AND MUEZZINS CALL TO PRAYER,
LISTEN TO THE BURNING SIGHS
OF THE PASSIONATE HEARTS, AND RISE!*

*OUT OF LEADEN SLEEP,
OUT OF SLUMBER DEEP
ARISE!
OUT OF SLUMBER DEEP
ARISE!*

*NOW THE SUN, THAT DOTH ADORN
WITH HIS RAYS THE BROW OF MORN,*

*DOETH SUFFUSE THE CHEEKS THEREOF
WITH THE CRIMSON BLUSH OF LOVE,
OVER MOUNTAIN, OVER PLAIN
CARAVANS TAKE ROUTE AGAIN;
BRIGHT AND WORLD-BEHOLDING EYES,
GAZE UPON THE WORLD, AND RISE!
OUT OF LEADEN SLEEP,
OUT OF SLUMBER DEEP
ARISE!
OUT OF SLUMBER DEEP
ARISE!
ALL THE ORIENT DOETH LIE
LIKE STREWN DUST THE ROADWAY BY,
OR A STILL AND HUSHED LAMENT
AND A WASTED SIGH AND SPENT.
YET EACH ATOM OF THIS EARTH
IS A GAZE OF TORTURED BIRTH:
UNDER IND'S AND PERSLA'S SKIES,*

THROUGH ARABIA'S PLAINS, O RISE!

OUT OF LEADEN SLEEP,

OUT OF SLUMBER DEEP

ARISE!

OUT OF SLUMBER DEEP

ARISE!

SEE, THY OCEAN IS AT REST,

SLUMBROUS AS A DESERT WASTE;

YEA, NO WAXING OR INCREASE

E'ER DISTURBS THY OCEAN'S PEACE.

NE'ER THY OCEAN KNOWETH STORM

OR LEVLATHAN'S DREAD SWARM:

REND ITS BREAST AND, BILLOW-WISE

SWELLING INTO TUMULT, RISE!

OUT OF LEADEN SLEEP,

OUT OF SLUMBER DEEP

ARISE!

OUT OF SLUMBER DEEP

ARISE!

LISTEN TO THIS SUBTLETY

THAT REVEALS ALL MYSTERY:

EMPIRE IS THE BODY'S DUST,

SPIRIT TRUE RELIGION'S TRUST;

BODY LIVES AND SPIRIT LIVES

BY THE LIFE THEIR UNION GIVES.

LANCE IN HAND, AND SWORD AT THIGHS,

CLOAKED, AND WITH THY PRAYER MAT, RISE!

OUT OF LEADEN SLEEP,

OUT OF SLUMBER DEEP

ARISE!

OUT OF SLUMBER DEEP

ARISE!

THOU ART TRUE AND WORSHIPFUL

GUARDIAN OF ETERNAL RULE,

THOU THE LEFT HAND AND THE RIGHT

OF THE WORLD-POSSESSOR'S MIGHT,

*SHACKLED SLAVE OF EARTHY RACE,
THOU ART TIME, AND THOU ART SPACE:
WINE OF FAITH THAT FEAR DEFIES
DRINK, AND FROM DOUBT'S PRISON RISE!*

OUT OF LEADEN SLEEP,

OUT OF SLUMBER DEEP

ARISE!

OUT OF SLUMBER DEEP

ARISE!

*AGAINST EUROPE I PROTEST
AND THE ATTRACTION OF THE WEST:
WOE FOR EUROPE AND HER CHARM,
SWIFT TO CAPTURE AND DISARM!
EUROPE'S HORDES WITH FLAME AND FIRE
DESOLATE THE WORLD ENTIRE;
ARCHITECT OF SANCTUARIES,
EARTH AWAITS REBUILDING; RISE!
OUT OF LEADEN SLEEP,*

OUT OF SLUMBER DEEP

ARISE!

OUT OF SLUMBER DEEP

ARISE!

(FROM *ZABĒR I 'AJAM*)³⁶

SIR MUHAMMAD IQBAL DIED IN 1938, TEN YEARS BEFORE THE REALIZATION OF THE FIRST PART OF HIS VISIONARY PROGRAMME, THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE ISLAMIC REPUBLIC OF PAKISTAN. WE SAY THE FIRST PART, BECAUSE HIS WHOLE DREAM WAS OF A WORLD UNITED IN GLAD ACCEPTANCE OF THE CHALLENGE OF ISLAM, THE CHALLENGE TO MAN AND MEN TO MAKE THEMSELVES SHARERS WITH GOD IN THE CREATION OF A PERFECT AND PERFECTLY SELF-REALIZING UNIVERSE.

BRIGHTER SHALL SHINE MEN'S CLAY

THAN ANGELS' LIGHT, ONE DAY;

EARTH THROUGH OUR DESTINY

TURN TO A STARRY SKY.

THE FANCIES IN OUR HEAD

THAT UPON STORMS WERE FED

ONE DAY SHALL SOAR, AND CLEAR

THE WHIRLPOOL OF THE SPHERE.

³⁶ See *Zabēr i 'Ajām*, in *Kulliyat i Iqbal*, Persian, Iqbal Academy Pakistan, 1994, pp. 394-6.)

WHY ASKEST THOU OF ME?
CONSIDER MAN, AND SEE
HOW, MIND-DEVELOPED STILL,
SUBLIME THIS SUBJECT WILL
COME FASHIONED FORTH, SUBLIME,
THIS COMMON THOUGHT, IN TIME,
AND WITH ITS BEAUTY'S RAPTURE
EVEN GOD'S HEART SHALL CAPTURE.

(FROM ZABĒR I 'AJAM.)³⁷

THOU, WHO HAST MADE WITH THE INVISIBLE
THY COVENANT, AND BURST FORTH LIKE A FLOOD
FROM THE SHORE'S BONDAGE, AS A SAPLING RISE
OUT OF THIS GARDEN'S SOIL; ATTACH THY HEART
TO THE UNSEEN, YET EVER WITH THE SEEN
WAGE CONFLICT, SINCE THIS BEING VISIBLE
INTERPRETS THAT UNVIEWED, AND PRELUDE IS
TO THE O'ERMASTERY OF HIDDEN POWERS.

³⁷ See *Zabēr i 'Ajām*, in *Kulliyat i Iqbal*, Persian, Iqbal Academy Pakistan, 1994, pp. 410.)

*ALL OTHERNESS IS ONLY TO SUBDUE,
ITS BREAST A TARGET FOR THE WELL-WINGED SHAFT;
GOD'S FLAT BE! MADE OTHER MANIFEST
SO THAT THY ARROWS MIGHT BE SHARP TO PIERCE
THE STEELY ANVIL. TRULY IT REQUIRES
A TIGHTLY KNOTTED CORD, TO WHET AND PROVE
THE WIT OF THE RESOLVER. ART THOU A BUD?
INTERPRET IN THYSELF THE FLOWERY MEAD;
ART THOU A DEWDROP? DOMINATE THE SUN!
IF THOU ART EQUAL TO THE BOLD EMPRISE,
MELT THOU THIS SUN-LION WITH ONE TORRID BREATH!
WHOEVER HATH SUBDUED THE THINGS PERCEIVED
CAN OF ONE ATOM RECONSTRUCT A WORLD,
AND HE WHOSE SHAFT WOULD PIERCE THE ANGEL'S BREAST
FIRST FASTENS ADAM TO HIS SADDLE-BOW;
HE FIRST RESOLVES THE KNOT PHENOMENA
AND, MASTERING BEING, PROVES HIS LOFTY POWERS.
MOUNTAIN AND WILDERNESS, RIVER AND PLAIN,*

*ALL LAND AND SEA—THESE ARE THE SCHOLAR'S SLATE
ON WHICH THE MAN OF VISION LEARNS TO READ.
O THOU WHO SLUMBEREST, BY DULL OPATES DRUGGED,
AND NAMEST MEAN THIS WORLD MATERIAL,
RISE UP, AND OPEN THY BESOTTED EYES!
CALL THOU NOT MEAN THY WORLD BY LAW COMPELLED;
ITS PURPOSE IS TO ENLARGE THE MUSLIM'S SOUL,
TO CHALLENGE HIS POTENTIALITIES;
THE BODY IT ASSAULTS WITH FORTUNE'S SWORD
THAT THOU MAYEST SEE IF THERE BE BLOOD WITHIN;
DASH THOU THY BREAST AGAINST ITS JAGGED ROCK
UNTIL IT PIERCE THY FLESH, AND PROVE THY BONE.
GOD COUNTS THIS WORLD THE PORTION OF GOOD MEN,
COMMITS ITS SPLENDOUR TO BELIEVERS' EYES;
IT IS A ROAD THE CARAVAN MUST PASS,
A TOUCHSTONE THE BELIEVER'S GOLD TO ASSAY;
SEIZE THOU THIS WORLD, THAT IT MAY NOT SEIZE THEE,
AND IN ITS PITCHER SWALLOW THEE LIKE WINE.*

THE STALLION OF THY THOUGHT IS PARROT-SWIFT,
STRIDING THE WHOLE WIDE HEAVENS IN G. BOUND;
URGED EVER ONWARDS BY THE NEEDS OF LIFE,
RAISED UP TO ROVE THE SKIES, THOUGH EARTHBOUND STILL;
THAT, HAVING WON THE MASTERY OF THE POWERS
OF THIS WORLD-ORDER, THOU MAYEST CONSUMMATE
THE PERFECTING OF THY INGENIOUS CRAFTS
MAN IS THE DEPUTY OF GOD ON EARTH,
AND O'ER THE ELEMENTS HIS RULE IS FIXED;
ON EARTH THY NARROWNESS RECEIVETH BREADTH
THY TOIL TAKES ON FAIR SHAPE. RIDE THOU THE WIND;
PUT BRIDLE ON THAT SWIFT-PACED DROMEDARY.
DABBLE THY FINGERS IN THE MOUNTAIN'S BLOOD;
DRAW UP THE LUSTROUS WATERS OF THE PEARL
FROM OCEAN'S BOTTOM; IN THIS SINGLE FIELD
A HUNDRED WORLDS ARE HIDDEN, COUNTLESS SUNS
VEILED IN THESE DANCING MOTES. THIS GLITTERING RAY
SHALL BRING TO VISION THE INVISIBLE,

DISCLOSE UNCOMPREHENDED MYSTERIES.

TAKE SPLENDOUR FROM THE WORLD-INFLAMING SUN,

THE ARCH-ILLUMING LEVIN FROM THE STORM;

ALL STARS AND PLANETS DWELLING IN THE SKY,

THOSE LORDS TO WHOM THE ANCIENT PEOPLES PRAYED,

ALL THOSE, MY MASTER, WAIT UPON THY WORD

AND ARE OBEDIENT SERVANTS TO THY WILL

IN PRUDENCE PLAN THE QUEST, TO MAKE IT SURE,

THEN MASTER EVERY SPIRIT, ALL THE WORLD.

(FROM THE MYSTERIES OF SELFLESSNESS.)

THE ANTHROPOCOSMIC VISION IN ISLAMIC THOUGHT

William C. Chittick

take the expression “anthropocosmic vision” from Tu Weiming, Director of the Harvard-Yenching Institute and Professor of Chinese History and Philosophy and Confucian Studies at Harvard University. Professor Tu has used this expression for many years to encapsulate the East Asian worldview and to stress its salient differences with the theocentric and anthropocentric worldviews of the West.³⁸ By saying that the Chinese traditions in general and Confucianism in particular see things “anthropocosmically,” he means that human beings and the cosmos are understood as a single, organismic whole. The goal of human life is to harmonize oneself with heaven and earth and to return to the transcendent source of both humans and the world. As long as Chinese civilization remained true to itself, it could never develop “instrumental rationality,” the Western Enlightenment view that sees the world as a conglomeration of objects and considers knowledge as a means to manipulate and control the objects. In the anthropocosmic vision, the world as object cannot be disjoined from the human as subject. The purpose of knowledge is not to manipulate the world, but to understand the world and ourselves so that we can live up to the fullness of our humanity. The aim, to

³⁸ Tu in turn takes the word “anthropocosmic” from Mircea Eliade. Tu, *Centrality and Commonality: An Essay on Confucian Religiousness* (Albany: SUNY Press, 1989), p. 126. The present paper is partly an offshoot of an on-going “Islamic-Confucian Dialogue” begun five years ago by Tu and Seyyed Hossein Nasr, in which I have been a regular participant. It is also the fruit of an in-house dialogue with my wife, Sachiko Murata, which has been going on for many more years than five. I do not mean to suggest by these remarks that I will now interpret the Islamic tradition in Chinese categories. I cite Tu Weiming to acknowledge a certain influence on my own conceptualization of things and to point out that there is nothing unusual about the Islamic worldview. One can even argue that the anthropocosmic vision I discuss here is the Islamic version of a perspective that is normative for the human race. If there is an incongruity, it is Western natural science and following in its wake, the other disciplines of the modern academy. The real question is not why Confucianism and Islam share a common vision, but why the West has broken from the perennial pattern. The oddity is modern science and thought, not the holistic visions of pre-modern civilizations and cultures.

use one of Tu Weiming's favourite phrases, is "to learn how to be human." As he writes, "The Way is nothing other than the actualisation of true human nature."³⁹

With slight revisions in terminology, Tu Weiming's depiction of the Confucian anthropocosmic vision could easily be employed to describe the overarching worldview of Islamic civilization in general and Islamic thought in particular.⁴⁰ By "Islamic thought" I do not mean the many scholarly disciplines that developed in the Islamic world, but rather those specific schools that asked and answered the deepest human questions about ultimacy and meaning. These are the questions that great thinkers, philosophers and sages have addressed in all civilizations. Specifically, I have in mind the Islamic wisdom tradition. I understand the word "wisdom" in the broad sense of Arabic *Aikmah*, which embraces Hellenized philosophy as well as other perspectives, in particular theoretical Sufism (what is often called *'irfan* or "gnosis"). I focus on the wisdom tradition for two reasons. First, among all the Islamic approaches to knowledge, this discipline alone has produced figures who have been looked back upon by Western historians and modern-day Muslims as "scientists" in something like the

³⁹ Ibid. p. 10.

⁴⁰ Western scholars have rarely looked to East Asia for help in interpreting Islamic thinking. One reason for this is that we are talking about "Western" scholarship, with all the presuppositions and interpretive biases that this implies. Moreover, Western scholars have been primarily concerned with situating Islamic thinking in its historical context, not with understanding what Muslim thinkers were trying to say and this context is largely the same as that of the Judeo-Christian and Hellenistic West. I am not denying the great value of such research, but this approach has meant that interpreters of Islamic intellectuality have been peculiarly insensitive to certain dimensions of Islamic thinking that happen to have a deep resonance with the East Asian traditions. Most modern-day Muslim scholars follow Western models or assume an apologetic and reactive stance vis-à-vis Western scholarship, so they also have not looked to East Asia. Nonetheless, there is no reason to suppose that Islamic thought is in any essential way uncongenial with the East Asian traditions, as Sachiko Murata has illustrated in her study, *The Tao of Islam* (Albany: SUNY Press, 1992). Her more recent research has shown that Muslim scholars in China were at home in the Neo-Confucian worldview, which is eminently anthropocosmic and that they employed its technical terminology to express an Islamo-Confucian vision of reality. See Murata, *Chinese Gleams of Sufi Light* (Albany: SUNY Press, 2000).

current meaning of the word. And second, only this approach has discussed the significance of being and becoming without presupposing faith in Islamic dogma, so its language can easily be understood outside the context of specifically Islamic imagery.

In the technical terminology of the Islamic sciences, the wisdom tradition is commonly classified as “intellectual” (*‘aqlâi*) rather than “transmitted” (*naqlâ*). Transmitted learning is all knowledge that has been passed down from previous generations and that cannot be gained by the human mind functioning on its own. Typical examples are language, divine revelation and law. “Intellectual” learning is all knowledge that can, in principle, be acquired by the human mind without help from past generations or divine revelation. Salient examples are mathematics and astronomy. However, intellectual learning also includes what can be called “metaphysics,” “cosmology” and “psychology.” It is these three domains that are most explicitly informed by the anthropocosmic vision about which I wish to speak.

* * *

In Western civilization, it has been common to draw a sharp distinction between reason and revelation, or between Athens and Jerusalem. In order to understand the role that the “intellectual” sciences have played in the Islamic tradition, it needs to be understood that the predominant Islamic perspective sees reason and revelation as harmonious and complementary, not antagonistic. The very content of the Qur’anic message led to a viewpoint that diverges sharply from what became normative in the Christian West. Without understanding the divergence of viewpoint, it will be difficult to grasp the role that the wisdom tradition has played in Islam.

If Christianity is considered in terms of the dichotomy between intellectual and transmitted knowledge, what immediately strikes the eye is that the first truths are indebted to transmission, not intellection. The defining notion of the Christian worldview is the incarnation, a historical event that is known to have occurred on the basis of transmitted knowledge. To be sure, the incarnation was seen as a divine intervention that transmuted history, but it was also understood as occurring in the full light of historical actuality. In order to know about it, people needed the transmission of

knowledge within history. Once the incarnation was acknowledged, it was possible to see how it is prefigured in the unity of God, through the logos and the trinity. Even though a whole tradition of thinking developed that began with the ideas in the divine Mind and that can be called “Christian Platonism,” the Christian content of this tradition depended upon the historical fact of the incarnation.

The Islamic tradition has a very different starting point. It is often assumed by both Muslims and non-Muslims that Islam began with the historical event of Muhammad and the Qur’an. Of course, there is some truth in this, but this is not the way the Qur’an presents the picture, nor is it the way more reflective Muslims have understood their religion. Rather, Islam began with the creation of the world. In its broadest Qur’anic meaning, the word *Islām* (“submission, submittedness, surrender”) designates the universal and ever-present situation of creatures in face of the Creator.⁴¹ This helps explain why the first and fundamental dogma of the religion has nothing to do with the historical facts of the Muhammad and the Qur’an. It is simply the acknowledgment of a universal truth, a truth that expresses the nature of things for all time and all eternity.⁴²

The primary truth upon which the Islamic tradition is built is stated most succinctly in the first half of the Shahadah, the testimony of faith that is the basis for all Islamic teaching and practice. This is the statement *lā ilāha*

⁴¹ Take, for example, this verse: “What do they desire other than the religion of God, while to Him has submitted [*aslama*] everything in the heavens and the earth, willingly or unwillingly?” (Qur’an 3:83). On the different meanings of the word *islam* in the Qur’an and the Islamic tradition, see Sachiko Murata and William C. Chittick, *The Vision of Islam* (New York: Paragon, 1994; rept. Suhail Academy, Lahore, 1998), pp. 3-7.

⁴² Except, of course, in the sense that there must first be a contingent reality for the truth to find expression in the universe. Muslim thinkers often say that God’s unity (*waĀda* or *aĀdiyya*) pertains to God alone, transcending all contingency and all creaturely attributes, whereas *tawĀād* is the human response to that unity. It is also pointed out that the human response is only possible because God’s own reality declares its own unity—as the Qur’an puts it, “God bears witness that there is no god but He” (3:18). This is why it is sometimes said that no one truly voices *tawĀād* but God himself and every human assertion of God’s unity can only be a pale reflection made possible by the human image of God.

illa'llah, “(There is) no god but God,” a formula known as *kalimat al-tawÁád*, “the word that declares unity.” This statement is taken as a declaration of the actual situation of all things, since everything submits to God’s Unity by the very fact of its existence. All creatures declare the oneness of their Creator by their very createdness. However, this is not a free declaration, but rather one that is imposed by the actual situation of all things. Only human beings have the peculiar situation of being able to accept or reject this truth. Its free acceptance is declared by uttering the first half of the Shahadah and thereby giving witness that God is the Unique Source of all reality. The Qur’an attributes *tawÁád*, the acknowledgment of God’s unity, and the free acceptance of its consequences to all rightly guided human beings, the first of whom was Adam. Included here are all the prophets—who are traditionally said to number 124,000—and all those who correctly and sincerely follow the prophets.⁴³

In the Islamic perspective, *tawÁád* stands outside history and outside transmission. It is a universal truth that does not depend upon revelation. So basic is the recognition of this truth to the human situation that it is typically said to be an inherent quality of the original disposition (*fiÇrah*) of Adam and all his children. Remember here that in the Islamic view, the fall from the Garden does not represent a serious shortcoming. Rather, it signifies a momentary lapse, a single act of forgetfulness and disobedience. The lapse had repercussions to be sure, but it was immediately forgiven by God and Adam was designated as the first prophet. God had created Adam in his own

⁴³ The specific verse I have in mind is 21:25: “And We never sent a messenger before thee save that we revealed to him, saying, “There is no god but I, so serve Me.”” Lest someone claim that the statement of *tawÁád* is itself historically particular, we need to remember that the linguistic formulation is not at issue, but rather the unique, unitary reality that gives rise to the universe. Note also that the Qur’an says that God sends every prophetic message in the language of the messenger’s people (14:4), thereby acknowledging that God speaks every language, for “Each community has a messenger” (10:47). In this way of looking at things, what was different about each revelation was not *tawÁád*, but rather the specific teachings and practices necessitated by the historical context of the people to whom the message was revealed. Of course, it can also be objected that this unitary reality is itself historically particular, because it was invented by human minds. People who hold this position still have to justify it, and that demands a metaphysics: On what basis do we declare history, language, politics, gender, atoms, energy, the brain, or whatever foundational?

image and this image was in no way blemished by the fall, even if the divine image does indeed become obscured in many if not most of Adam's children.⁴⁴

As for the historical tradition of Islam, that began in the seventh century with the revelation of the Qur'an. The testimony of faith does not acknowledge it until its second half, the statement "the Muhammad is the messenger of God." *Taw'Áád* precedes Muhammad and his revealed message because it does not pertain to history. Rather, it pertains to the nature of reality and the substance of human intelligence.

In this perspective, *taw'Áád* informs all true knowledge in all times and all places. Every one of the 124,000 prophets came with a message based upon *taw'Áád*, and each of them taught it explicitly. However, they did not teach it because people could not know about it without being told. They taught it because people had forgotten it and needed to be "reminded" of it. The Arabic word used here, *dhikr* (along with its derivatives *tadhkár*, *tadhkíra*, and *dhikr*) designates one of the most important concepts in the Qur'an. It informs Islamic religiosity on every level of faith and practice. The word means not only to "remind," but also to "remember." In the sense of reminder, it indicates the primary function of the prophets and in the sense of remembrance it designates the proper human response to the prophetic reminder. The whole process of "learning how to be human" depends first upon being reminded of *taw'Áád* and second upon the active and free

⁴⁴ This is why certain Muslim thinkers (e.g. Ibn al-'Arabî, as cited in Chittick, *The Sufi Path of Knowledge* [Albany: SUNY Press, 1989], p. 296) can maintain that even Adam's "forgetfulness" (*nisyân*), which caused his fall, pertains to the divine image that is the defining characteristic of the human race. The transmitted support for this idea is the Qur'anic verse, "They forgot God, so God forgot them" (9:67). If God "forgets," then "forgetfulness" is a divine attribute. Adam "forgot" because he was made in the divine image. This rather audacious way of putting things can be explained by saying that humans manifest every attribute that configures their divine image. God is both merciful and wrathful. Inasmuch as humans experience the reality of his wrath, they are distant from God, the source of knowledge and wisdom and in this respect their understanding is obscured. Inasmuch as they experience the reality of his mercy, they are near to him and participate in his awareness, luminosity and grandeur.

remembrance of *tawÁád*, the assertion of God's unity that is innate to the human soul.

In short, *tawÁád*, the foundational teaching of Islam, stands outside history because it is woven into the deepest nature of every human being from Adam onward. With rare exceptions, however, coming to understand it will depend upon being reminded of it by someone who knows it. Once it is understood, it is recognized as a self-evident truth having no essential connection with historical revelation. The Islamic doctrine that Adam was the first prophet suggests in mythic form the idea that to be human is to have present within oneself, as a direct consequence of being created in the image of God, the recognition of God's unity.

Given that the Islamic testimony of faith differentiates between a universal, a historical truth and a particular, historically conditioned truth, it already distinguishes implicitly between knowledge that is intellectual and knowledge that is transmitted. The first half of the Shahadah declares *tawÁád*, a knowledge innate to the original human disposition and free of historical particularity. The second half of the Shahadah designates the specific, historical fact of the coming of Muhammad and the revelation of the Qur'an. This second knowledge cannot be gained without historical transmission.

Although transmitted and intellectual knowledge are implicitly differentiated in the first principles of the religion and explicitly differentiated by the later tradition, this does not mean that the two sorts of knowledges should be considered independent. It is obvious that all understanding depends upon transmission, if only the transmission of language. And it is also obvious that transmission alone is no guarantee of understanding. The relationship between the two modalities of knowing can perhaps be best understood as complementary, in something like the yin-yang manner. Transmission is needed to actualize understanding and understanding is needed to grasp the full significance of transmission.⁴⁵

⁴⁵ Some of the discussions concerning the relationship between the two sorts of knowledge might remind us of the constant battles that go on among educational theorists about the

Among all the schools of Islamic thinking, the philosophers were the most careful in distinguishing between transmitted and intellectual learning. They themselves were not primarily interested in transmitted knowledge, so they paid relatively little attention to the Qur'an, the Hadith, and disciplines such as jurisprudence (*fiqh*). This is not to deny that most of them were well versed in these sciences, or that some of them even wrote Qur'anic commentaries and juridical works. Despite the suggestions of some historians, they were not hostile to the transmitted learning. Rather, they focused their primary attention elsewhere. They wanted to develop their own intellectual vision, and they saw this as the task of working out all the implications of *taw'Áád*.⁴⁶ If they were to understand the full significance of the transmitted knowledge, they needed to investigate the nature of the Ultimate Reality, the structure of the cosmos, and the reality of the human soul. These are the three domains of metaphysics, cosmology, and

relative merit of rote learning or cultural literacy (transmitted knowledge) and critical thinking or creativity (intellectual knowledge). Like other traditional civilizations, Islam stressed that transmitted learning was the foundation for all real understanding. This explains why the process of learning began at a very young age with the memorization of the Qur'an.

⁴⁶ I am focusing on *taw'Áád*, the first principle of Islamic faith. It should be noted that the philosophers also investigated the other two principles of Islamic faith—"prophecy" (*nubuwwal*) and the "return" to God, or eschatology (*ma'ád*)—as intellectual rather than transmitted issues. They were not especially interested in the historical events surrounding Muhammad and other prophets, or in the details of revealed scripture. Nor, in the earlier period, did they defend the graphic Qur'anic depictions of the afterlife as anything more than rhetorical necessity. However, they were extremely interested in "prophecy" as the highest form of human perfection and they were especially concerned with the immortality of the soul, an immortality that is achieved through intellectual perfection. Because they discussed the three principles of the faith with little explicit reference to the transmitted learning and much mention of Greek antecedents, some historians have found it easy to ignore the thoroughly Islamic character of their writings. If the philosophers were often criticized by other Muslim scholars for the positions they took on the principles of faith, it was because their interpretations did not coincide with the theological and dogmatic readings. Given the nature of theological polemic, the criticism often took the form of accusations of unbelief. But, in a broader view, philosophy and theology were in agreement, especially if we compare their positions with the beliefs that infuse most modern scholarship.

psychology mentioned earlier. However, in the quest for understanding, *tawÁád* was always the underlying axiom. The philosophers took it for granted that anyone with a healthy understanding would see the unity of God as a self-evident truth. Nonetheless, they did not neglect to provide numerous proofs to help human intelligence remember what is latent within itself.

My basic point here is that Muslim “intellectuals”—in the specific sense of the term *intellectual* that I have mentioned—always saw themselves as investigating things in the context of the most fundamental declaration of the Islamic tradition, which is the unity of God, the Ultimate Reality that rules all things. They never saw their efforts as opposed to the goals and purposes of the religious tradition. They accepted that the prophets came to remind people of *tawÁád* and to teach them how to be human. However, they also believed that the commoners had one path to follow, and the philosophical elite because of their specific gifts and aptitudes, had another path. It was perhaps the attitude of keeping aloof from religious dogma and counting the theologians and jurists as commoners that often led to their being severely criticized by other Muslims.

In the view of the wisdom tradition, seekers of intellectual knowledge were trying to learn how to be human in the fullest sense of the word *human*. The primary focus was always on the transformation of the soul. As Tu Weiming says of the Confucian anthropocosmic vision, “The transformative act is predicated on a transcendent vision that ontologically we are infinitely better and therefore more worthy than we actually are.”⁴⁷ This is a “humanistic” vision, but the humanism is elevated far beyond the mundane, because the “measure of man” is not man or even rational understanding, but rather the transcendent source of all. As Tu puts it:⁴⁸

Since the value of the human is not anthropocentric, the assertion that man is the measure of all things is not humanistic enough. To fully express our humanity, we must engage in a dialogue with Heaven because

⁴⁷ *Confucian Thought: Selfhood as Creative Transformation* (Albany: SUNY Press, 1985), p. 137.

⁴⁸ *Centrality and Commonality*, p. 102.

human nature, as conferred by Heaven, realizes its nature not by departing from its source but by returning to it. Humanity, so conceived, is the public property of the cosmos, not the private possession of the anthropological world, and is as much the defining characteristic of our being as the self-conscious manifestation of Heaven. Humanity is Heaven's form of self-disclosure, self-expression, and self-realization. If we fail to live up to our humanity, we fail cosmologically in our mission as co-creator of Heaven and Earth and morally in our duty as fellow participants in the great cosmic transformation.

For the Islamic wisdom tradition, grasping the full nature of our humanity necessitates investigating the nature of things and the reality of our own selves. This means that intellectuals could not limit themselves to the mere acceptance of transmitted learning. They could not ignore the human imperative to search for knowledge in every domain, especially not when the Qur'an explicitly commands the study of the universe and the self as the means to know God. Although some philosophers paid scant attention to the transmitted learning and looked upon the dogmatic theologians with something akin to contempt, they did not step outside of the Islamic tradition, because they could not doubt the universal and a historical axiom upon which it is built. In other words, there was no historical chink in their intellectual armour. Historical contingencies cannot touch *tawÁád* because, once it is grasped, it is seen as a self-evident truth so foundational that it becomes the unique certainty upon which the soul can always depend.⁴⁹

As for the theologians and jurists and their claims to authority in all religious matters, the representatives of the wisdom tradition saw their positions as pertaining to transmitted learning, not to intellectual learning, and they saw no reason to submit themselves to the limited understandings of pious dogmatists. To a large degree they kept themselves apart from theological and juridical bickering, and this helps explain why they preferred

⁴⁹ I am not suggesting, of course, that it is self-evident to everybody, any more than mathematical truth is self-evident to everybody. My point is rather that the position of the intellectual tradition on *tawÁád* was that once it is understood, it cannot be denied. Its truth is such that, once one understands it, one knows that it has always lurked in one's soul. This is precisely the sense of "remembrance."

to employ a language coloured more by Greek models than the imagery and symbols of the Qur'an.

Once we recognize that Islamic “intellectual” learning stands aloof from transmitted learning, we can begin to understand why the modern scientific enterprise could never have arisen in Islam. Science gains its power from the rejection of any sort of teleology, the brute separation of subject and object, the refusal to admit that consciousness and awareness are more real than material facts, the exclusive concern with the domain of the senses, and the disregard for the ultimate and the transcendent. The instrumental rationality of scientific knowledge could appear in the West only after the baby had been thrown out with the bath water. Having rejected the bath water of theology—or at least the relevance of theological dogma to scientific concerns—Western philosophers and scientists also rejected the truth of *tawÁád*, the bedrock of human intelligence. Once *tawÁád* was a dead letter, each domain of learning could be considered as independent from the others.

Instrumental rationality did not appear suddenly in the West, of course. A long and complex history gradually led to the total separation of the domains of reason and revelation. Many scientists and philosophers remained practicing Christians, but this did not prevent them from coming to consider the rational domain as free from the trammels of revelational givens. It is precisely because these givens were posed in the dogmatic and historical terms of transmitted learning that the separation between reason and revelation could occur. In contrast, the Islamic intellectual tradition was always rooted in *tawÁád*, never in theological dogma. No matter what sort of misgivings critical Muslim thinkers may have entertained about the historical contingency of the Arabic language, the events surrounding the coming of Muhammad, the transmission of the Qur'anic revelation, and the interpretation of the revelation by the theologians and dogmatists, these misgivings could never impinge on the fundamental insight of *tawÁád*, which to them was utterly transparent.

My first conclusion, then, is this: Many historians have suggested that medieval Islamic learning declined when Muslim scientists neglected to build on their early discoveries. But this is to read Islamic history in terms of the ideology of progress, which in turn is rooted in contemporary scientism—by

which I mean the belief that science has the sort of unique reliability that was once reserved for revealed truth. Scientism gives absolute importance to scientific theories and relativizes all other approaches to knowledge, if it considers them in any way legitimate.

Moreover, historians who talk of the decline of Islamic “science” ignore two historical contexts.⁵⁰ The first is the Islamic, in which the axiom of *tawÁád* infused all intellectual endeavour. *TawÁád* declares the interrelatedness of all things, because it asserts that everything comes from the First Principle, everything is constantly sustained and nourished by the First Principle, and everything returns to the First Principle. Given that Muslim intellectuals saw all things as beginning, flourishing, and ending within the compass of the One Source, they could not split up the domains of reality in any more than a tentative way. They were not able to disengage knowledge of the cosmos from knowledge of God or from knowledge of the human soul. It was impossible for them to imagine the world and the self as separate from each other and from the One Principle. Quite the contrary, the more they investigated the universe, the more they saw it as manifesting the principles of *tawÁád* and the nature of the human self. They could not have agreed more with Tu Weiming, who writes, “To see nature as an external object out there is to create an artificial barrier which obstructs our true vision and undermines our human capacity to experience nature from within.”⁵¹

The second context that people ignore when they claim that the Muslim intellectual tradition declined is the Christian. Christian civilization, qua *Christian* civilization, did in fact decline, because it experienced the breakdown of a synthetic worldview and the eclipse of Christian Platonism.

⁵⁰ I am not denying that there was a decline. I am simply saying that by making the criterion for measurement “scientific progress” or the lack of it, we are accepting the ideological presuppositions of scientism. Why should this historical oddity be considered the universal criterion by which all civilizations should be measured? If we keep in view Islamic criteria (e.g., adherence to *tawÁád*, the Qur’an, and the Sunnah), there was certainly a serious decline in Islamic civilization, especially in the intellectual tradition, but it began much later than historians typically maintain.

⁵¹ *Confucian Thought*, pp. 46-47.

The transmitted nature of the basic religious givens was not able to withstand the critical questioning of non-dogmatic thinkers. In the Islamic case, the Muslim intellectuals did not depend on revelation and transmission for their understanding of *tawâhid*, so theological squabbles and historical uncertainties could not be taken as serious issues.⁵²

* * *

In order to suggest some of the implications of the anthropocosmic vision, I need to expand on the distinction between intellectual and transmitted. The *‘ulama*, by whom I mean the experts in transmitted learning, claimed authority for their knowledge by upholding the authenticity of the transmission and the truthfulness of those who provided the knowledge—that is, God, Muhammad, and the pious forebears. They asked all Muslims to accept this knowledge as it was received. The basic duty of the Muslim believer was *taqlâd*, that is, “imitation,” or submission to the authority of the transmitted knowledge. In contrast, the intellectual tradition appealed to the relatively small number of people who had intellectual aptitudes. The quest for knowledge was defined not in terms of *taqlâd* or “imitation” but in terms of *ta’âqqûq*, “verification” and “realization.”⁵³

⁵² I do not mean to imply that Muslim intellectuals did not accept Muhammad as their prophet or the Qur’an as their book of guidance. The philosophers saw no reason to question the dogmatic basis of the transmitted knowledge, because they considered religious teachings to be beneficial for everyone and certainly so for the masses. Wisdom—true intellectual learning—was by its nature reserved for the qualified, who are few and far between. This “undemocratic” and “elitist” position goes back to the fact that political ideology does not colour their view of social reality. They took human beings as they are, not as they wished them to be.

⁵³ It is important not to confuse the issue of *ta’âqqûq* with that of *ijtibâd*. Both these words are used as opposites of *taqlâd*. However, *ta’âqqûq* pertains to the intellectual sciences and it means to find the truth and reality of all things by oneself and in oneself. *Ijtibâd* is employed in reference to the transmitted sciences, specifically *fiqh* or jurisprudence. *Ijtibâd* is to gain such a mastery of the Sharâ’iah that one does not need to follow the opinions (*taqlâd*) of earlier jurists. For centuries, many legal experts considered “the gate of *ijtibâd*” to be closed. But the “gate of *ta’âqqûq*” can never be closed, because it is mandatory for all Muslims to understand God and the other articles of faith for themselves. “Faith in God” by imitation is no faith at all.

An important key to understanding the different standpoints of modern science and the Islamic intellectual tradition lies in these two concepts. Unless we understand that knowledge attained by verification and realization is not of the same sort as that received by imitation, we will not be able to understand what the Muslim intellectuals were trying to do and what modern scientists and scholars are trying to do. We will then continue to falsify the position of the Muslim philosophers by making them precursors of modern science, as if they were trying to discover what modern scientists try to discover, and as if they accepted the findings of their predecessors on the basis of imitation, as modern scientists do.⁵⁴

The Arabic word *taʿqâq* or verification/realization derives from the word *ʿAqq*. *ʿAqq* is both a verbal noun and an adjective. It means true, truth, to be true; and, with similar permutations, it means real, right, proper, just, and appropriate. The word plays an important role in the Qurʾan and in all branches of Islamic learning. Its first Qurʾanic meaning is as a name of God. God as *ʿAqq* is absolute truth, rightness, reality, properness, justness and appropriateness.

⁵⁴ Given that scientism—the firm belief in the unique reliability of scientific, empirical knowledge—infuses modern culture, it is difficult for moderns to remember that the whole scientific edifice is built on transmitted learning. Despite all the talk of the “empirical verification” of scientific findings, this verification is not possible except for a handful of specialists, since the rest of the human race does not have the necessary training. In effect, everyone has to accept empirical verification on the basis of faith (*taqlîd*). Moreover, the tiny amount of verification that any individual scientist is able to accomplish follows the “scientific method,” which is to say that it is based on “instrumental rationality.” The experiments show that, given certain conditions and certain goals, y will follow from x. There is no question of discovering the ultimate truth of things, because the means are inadequate and no scientist, qua scientist, can claim that the means are adequate. If he does claim that they are adequate, he does so as a believer in scientism or as a philosopher, not as scientist. It is in terms of scientism, not science, that people declare that there is no such thing “the soul” or “absolute reality.” Neither science nor scientism would dream of acknowledging what appeared as a simple fact to the wisdom traditions in all pre-modern civilizations: Human possibility transcends time, space, history, physicality, energy, ideation, the angels and even the gods (though certainly not “God” in the proper meaning of the word).

TaÁqâq is a transitive and intensive verbal form derived from *Áaqq*. It means to ascertain the truth, the right, the real, the proper. Ascertainment is to know something for certain. The only place where certainty can be found is within the human self, not outside of it. *TaÁqâq* is to understand and actualise truth, reality and rightness within oneself, to “realize” it and to make it actual for oneself and in oneself.

The word *Áaqq* is applied to God, because God is the absolutely true, right, real and proper. But it is also applied to everything other than God. The secondary application of the word *Áaqq* acknowledges that everything in the universe has a truth, a rightness, a realness and a properness. If God is *Áaqq* in the absolute sense, everything other than God is *Áaqq* in a relative sense. The task of *taÁqâq* is to build on the knowledge of the absolute *Áaqq*, beginning with the axiom of *tawÁâd*, and to grasp the exact nature of the relative *Áaqq* that pertains to each thing, or at least to each thing with which we come into contact, whether spiritually, intellectually, psychologically, physically or socially.

The formula of *tawÁâd* can help us to understand the goal of *taÁqâq*. If “There is no god but God,” this means, “There is no *Áaqq* but the absolute *Áaqq*.” The only true and real *Áaqq* is God himself. This absolute *Áaqq* is transcendent, infinite and eternal. In face of the absolute *Áaqq*, there is no other *Áaqq*. At the same, all things are God’s creatures and they receive what they have from God. God creates them with wisdom and purpose and each has a role to play in the universe. Nothing that exists is inherently *batil*—the opposite of *Áaqq*, that is, false, vain, unreal, inappropriate.⁵⁵ The *Áaqqs* of the individual things are determined by God’s wisdom in creation. It is in respect to these individual *Áaqqs* that the Prophet commanded people “to give to each that has a *Áaqq* its *Áaqq*” (*ita’ kulli dbâ Áaqqin Áaqqah*). “Giving each thing its *Áaqq*” is often taken as a nutshell definition of *taÁqâq*.

⁵⁵ This is not to say that there is no such thing as “evil.” The issue of discerning the *Áaqq* of “evil” things is one of the more subtle dimensions of *taÁqâq*. Recognizing a thing’s *Áaqq* may entail acknowledging that part of its proper role is to be the occasion for evil and that the appropriate human response is to avoid it. This very need to avoid it alerts us to something of its cosmic role. Without evil, human freedom of choice is meaningless.

To give things their *Áaqqs* is obviously more than a simple cognitive activity. We cannot give things their rightful due simply by knowing their truth and reality. Over and above knowing, *taÁqâq* demands acting. It is not simply to verify and realize the truth and reality of a thing; it is also to act toward that thing in the appropriate and rightful manner. The intellectual tradition always considered morality and ethics as an integral part of the quest for wisdom, and many of its representatives made a conscious effort to synthesize Greek ethical teachings and the moral and practical teachings of the Qur'an.

The task of the seeker of wisdom, then, was to verify and realize things. This could not be done by quoting the opinions of Aristotle or Plato, or even by citing the words of the Qur'an and Muhammad. One verified and realized things by knowing them as they truly are and by acting appropriately. More than anything else, the intellectual quest was a rigorous path of self-discipline, and the goal was to achieve true knowledge of self and appropriate activity on the basis of this knowledge. Nothing encapsulates the spirit of the quest as well as the famous maxim attributed to the Prophet, "He who knows himself knows his Lord." Historians have considered this statement to be an Islamic version of the Socratic maxim, "Know thyself." Certainly, the fact that this version of the maxim links knowledge of self with knowledge of God is indicative of the primary importance that is always given to *tamÁâd*.

It should be obvious to everyone that one cannot know oneself and one's Lord by memorizing the opinions of Avicenna. One can surely take the prophets and the great philosophers as guides on the path to self-knowledge, but one cannot claim to know what they knew unless one discovers it for oneself and in oneself. The quest for wisdom was an intensely personal activity, a spiritual discipline that demanded the training of one's mind and the honing of one's soul. To verify and realize things was to achieve an authentic vision of reality, a correct perception of the world, a sound understanding of the self, and a true knowledge of the First Principle. At the same time, it was to act in keeping with what one had come to know. It demanded an ethical vision and virtuous activity.

In order to grasp the purpose of *ta-Áqâq*, it is useful to reflect on how the philosophers understood the word *'aql*, the noun that gives us the adjective form *'aqlâ*—which I have been translating as “intellectual.” *'Aql* means intellect, intelligence, reason, mind, *nous*. To understand what is meant by the word, we need to review a few of the basic teachings of the intellectual tradition. These teachings provide pointers toward the knowledge that Muslim intellectuals were trying to verify and realize. The teachings should not be taken as dogma, because no one can realize anything by memorizing catechisms. One has to find out for oneself.

The underlying substance of a human being is called *nafs*, a word that functions as the most important reflexive pronoun in the Arabic language. *Nafs* is typically translated as both “self” and “soul.” In its philosophical sense, it designates the invisible something that makes its appearance in the cosmos wherever there is life and hence it can be ascribed to any living thing.

Verifying the nature of soul was one of the foundational activities of the Muslim intellectual. A standard way to do so was to begin by investigating the apparitions of soul in the visible world. The visible realm is a conglomeration of bodily appearances, yet we instinctively differentiate among things in terms of their modality of appearance. We know the difference between living things and dead things precisely by their appearance. “Soul” is a generic name for the invisible power that shows itself when we recognize life and awareness. Moreover, in the act of recognizing soul in other things, we are simultaneously recognizing it in ourselves. To see the apparitions of soul in the outside world is to experience the presence of soul in the inside world. Life and awareness are precisely the properties that we find in ourselves in the very act of seeing them in others.

There are degrees of soul, which is to say that this invisible power is more intense and influential in some things than in others.⁵⁶ The classification of

⁵⁶ Compare Tu Weiming’s description of the degrees of spirituality as viewed by the Confucian vision: “Rocks, trees, animals, humans, and gods represent different levels of spirituality based on the varying compositions of *ch’i*” (*Confucian Thought*, p. 44). In the typical Islamic version, the *ch’i* or invisible power that animates rocks is called “nature” (*Çabâ’ah*). Only at the plant level is a second modality of *ch’i*, called “soul,” added to the first. Rocks are by no means “only matter.” In the hylomorphism adopted by the intellectual tradition, the

creatures into inanimate, plant, animal, human and angel is one way of acknowledging the different degrees. The most intense and at the same time the most complex and layered soul is found in human beings. Outwardly, this appears in the indefinite diversity of their activities which clearly has something to do with vast differences in aptitude and ability. Because of the diverse and comprehensive powers of their souls, human beings can grasp and replicate all the activities that appear in the world by means of other modalities of soul.

In discussing the human soul, the texts frequently elaborate upon the intimate relationship between it and the cosmos. So similar are soul and world that they can even be considered mirror images. As two mutually reflecting images, they are often called “microcosm” and “macrocosm.”

The correspondence between microcosm and macrocosm was understood as something like a subject-object relationship. The human soul is an aware subject that can take as its object the whole universe. So closely intertwined are soul and universe that, in Tu Weiming’s term, their relationship can properly be called “organismic.” The human soul and the world can be seen as one organism with two faces. It follows that there can be no microcosm without macrocosm, and no macrocosm without microcosm. The vital cosmic role of human beings was always affirmed. It was recognized that the macrocosm appears in the visible realm before human beings, but it was also understood that the macrocosm is brought into existence precisely to make it possible for human beings to appear and then to learn how to be human. Without human beings (or, one can guess, analogous beings), there is no reason for a universe to exist in the first place. The teleology was always acknowledged.

role of matter (*madda*) is largely conceptual, because there is no such thing per se. “Matter” is simply the name that is given to an observed receptivity for the apparition of “form” (*Āḥrāb*). Form itself is an intelligible and spiritual reality that descends into the domain of appearances from the spirit or intellect and ultimately from God, who is, in Qur’anic language, “the Form-giver” (*al-muĀannīr*). Since all things are “forms,” there is nothing in the universe that does not manifest the living presence of the intelligent and the intelligible.

In the more religious language, this is to say that God created the world with the specific aim of crowning his achievement with human beings, who alone are made fully in his image and are able to function as his vicegerents (*khalāʾifah*). They alone can love God, because true love demands loving the Beloved for himself. If one loves God with the aim of receiving some gift or benefit, one has not in fact loved God, but the gift or benefit.⁵⁷ Nothing can love God for God's sake alone and without any ulterior motive except that which is made in his image. God created human beings precisely so that they could verify and realize their own divine images and love their Creator, thereby participating in his infinite and never-ending bounty.

For the intellectual tradition, the purpose of studying the macrocosm is to come to understand the powers and capabilities of the microcosm. By understanding the object, we simultaneously come to understand the capacities and potentialities of the subject. We cannot study the natural world without learning about ourselves and we cannot learn about ourselves without coming to understand the wisdom inherent in the natural world.

Social reality was often studied for the same purpose—as an aid in understanding the human soul. It was not uncommon for Muslim philosophers to provide descriptions of the ideal society. But they were not interested in the utopian dreams that have so often preoccupied modern political theorists. Rather, they wanted to understand and describe the various potentialities of the human soul that become manifest through social and political activity. They did not want to set down a program, but rather to illustrate to aspiring philosophers that every attribute and power of the soul, every beautiful and ugly character trait, can be recognized in the diversity of human types. When seekers of wisdom recognize their own selves as

⁵⁷ To those who know the Islamic tradition, this will sound like a “Sufi” idea rather than a philosophical position. Notice, however, what Avicenna says: “The knower [*ʿarif*] desires the Real, the First, only for His sake, not for the sake of anything else. He prefers nothing to true knowledge of Him. His worship is directed only to Him, since He is worthy of worship and because worship is a noble relationship with Him. At the same time, the knower has neither desire nor fear. Were he to have them, the object of his desire or fear would be his motive and it would be his goal. Then the Real would not be his goal but rather the means to something else, less than the Real, which would be the goal and the object.” *Al-Ishārat wa 'l-tanbāḥat*, edited by S. Dunya (Cairo, 1947), vol. 3, p. 227.

microcosms of society, they can strive to know and realize the sovereign of the soul, the true philosopher-king, the intellect whose duty is to govern both soul and body with wisdom and compassion.

If the philosophers analysed the souls of plants, animals, humans and even angels, and if they described all the possibilities of human becoming in ethical and social terms, their purpose was to integrate everything in the universe into the grand, hierarchical vision of *tawÁád*. It was self-evident to them that the intellect within us—the intelligent and intelligible light of the soul—is the highest and most comprehensive dimension of the human substance. The intellect alone can see, understand, verify, and realize. The intellect alone gives life, awareness and understanding not only to our own souls, but to all souls. The intellect alone is able to grasp and realize the purpose of human life and all life.

What then is this intellect that is the fountainhead and goal of intellectual learning? To define it is impossible, because it is intellect that provides all the awareness and understanding that allows for definitions. It cannot be limited and confined by its own radiance. However, we can describe it in terms of its role in cosmogenesis, whereby all things are created through it. And we can also depict it in terms of the human return to God, which can be experienced in its fullness only by the actualized intellect, which is the self-aware image of God. Let me deal with cosmogenesis first.

The wisdom tradition typically began discussing the birth of the cosmos in terms of God’s creation or emanation of the first creature, which is given many names in the texts, such as intellect, spirit, word, pen, light and Muhammadan reality. Things appear from the One Principle in a definite, intelligible order and in keeping with a fixed and known hierarchy (known, that is, to God and the intellect, but not necessarily to us). It was obvious to Muslim thinkers that the One God creates intelligently and that the first manifestation of his reality, the contingent being closest to his unity, the stage of created actuality nearest to his utter and absolute simplicity, is pure intelligence and awareness. Within this awareness is prefigured the universe and the human soul.

This living intelligence is the instrument with which God planned, ordered, arranged and established all creatures and it lies at the root of every subject and every object. It is a single reality that is the self-aware and self-conscious principle of the universe and the human soul. Among all creatures, humans alone manifest its full and pure light, a light that in Qur'anic language is called "the spirit blown into Adam by God." The "fall" of Adam is nothing but the obscuration of this light.

When we look at the intellect from the point of view of the human return to God, we see that the goal of human existence is to remember God and to recollect our own divine images by awakening the intellect within. The task of seekers of wisdom is to recover within themselves the luminous consciousness that fills the universe. This recovery is the fruition and fulfillment of human possibility. Although the intellect is already dimly present in every soul, human or otherwise, in human beings alone is it a seed that can sprout and then be cultivated, nourished, strengthened and fully actualized.

Although the human soul is a knowing and aware subject that has the capacity to take as its object the whole universe and everything within it, it is typically blind to its own possibilities, and it takes on the color of souls that are not fully human. The soul needs to learn how to be human and being human does not come easy to it. Most of us have to be reminded by the prophets about what being human implies and even budding "intellectuals," with all their gifts, have a steep and rocky road ahead to them if they are to achieve the goal.

The intellectual tradition held that one of the best ways to begin learning how to be human is to differentiate the qualities of the human soul from the qualities of other souls. Here we come back to a discussion of plants and animals, which represent limited and confining possibilities of soulish existence. All the moral injunctions to overcome animal instincts rise up from the understanding that animals cannot manifest the fullness of intellectual and ontological possibility. This is not to denigrate animal qualities, since they also play important roles in the human soul. The issue is rather one of priorities. People need to put things in their proper places. They must order the world and their own goals in an intelligent manner and

this means that they must understand everything in terms of the ruling truths of the cosmos, the first of which is *tawÁád*.

The soul, then, is the subjective pole of manifest reality and its counterpart is the universe, the objective pole. The soul in its human form has the unique capacity to know all things. However, the soul is only the *potential* to know all things. It is not the actuality of knowing. Actuality is a quality of intellect. Every act of knowing actualises the soul’s potential to know and brings it closer to the intelligent and intelligible light at its core. But what exactly is the limit of the soul’s potential? What can it know? What should it strive to know? The intellectual tradition answers that there is no limit to the soul’s potential, because nothing exists that the soul cannot know. The goal of learning is to know everything that can possibly be known. However, knowable things need to be prioritised. If we do not search for understanding in the right manner and the correct order, the goal will remain forever unattainable.

As long as the soul remains occupied with the search for wisdom and has not yet actualised its full potential, it remains a soul—that is, an aware self with the possibility of achieving greater awareness. Only when it reaches the actuality of all-knowingness in the inmost centre of its being can it be called an “intellect” in the proper sense of the word. At that point it comes to know itself as it was meant to be. It recovers its true nature and it returns to its proper place in the cosmic hierarchy.⁵⁸

The Muslim philosophers and sages often refer to the actualisation of the intellect by the Qur’anic terms “salvation” (*naját*) or “felicity” (*sa‘áda*). They would agree with Tu Weiming, who writes, “Salvation means the full realization of the anthropocosmic reality inherent in our human nature.”⁵⁹

⁵⁸ The philosophical tradition often calls the human soul a “potential intellect” (*‘aql bi ‘l-qanwa*) or a “hylic intellect” (*‘aql hayékna*), which is to say that it has the capacity to come to know all things. The soul that has ascended through the stages of actualising its own awareness and achieving its own innate perfection is then called an “actualised intellect” (*‘aql bi ‘l-fi’*).

⁵⁹ Tu, *Confucian Thought*, p. 64.

For them, this anthropocosmic reality is the intellect that gave birth to macrocosm and microcosm and that is innate to human nature, a nature that is made in the image of God and identical with his intelligent and intelligible light.

* * *

If the Muslim philosophers saw the quest for wisdom as the search to know all things, can we conclude that they are simply following Aristotle, who says as much at the beginning of the *Metaphysics*? I think not. They would say that they are trying to live up to the human potential and if Aristotle also understood the human potential, that is precisely why they respect him and call him “The First Teacher” (*al-mu‘allim al-awwal*). They would remind us that the Qur’an discusses the human potential in rather explicit terms. It tells us, after all, that God taught Adam *all* the names (2:31), not just some of them. They might also point out that this quest for omniscience is implicitly if not explicitly acknowledged not only by all the world’s wisdom traditions, but also by the whole enterprise of modern science. But, from their perspective, omniscience can only be found in the omniscient and the only created thing that is omniscient in any real sense is the fully actualised intellect, the radiance of God’s own Ipseity. Omniscience, in other words, can never be found in the compilation of data, the collections of facts and the spinning of theories. It is not an “objective” reality, but a “subjective” experience —though no distinction can be drawn between subject and object in the very being of the omniscient.

Nothing differentiates the Islamic intellectual quest from modern scientific and scholarly goals more clearly than the differing interpretations of the quest for omniscience. Both the Muslim intellectuals and modern scientists are striving to know everything, but the Muslim intellectual does so by looking at roots, principles and noumena and by striving for synthesis and the unity of the knowing subject. In contrast the modern scientist looks at branches, applications and phenomena and strives to analyse objects and multiply data.

The traditional intellectual undertakes the quest for omniscience as an individual who knows that he must accomplish the task within himself and that he can only do so by achieving the fullness of humanity, with everything that this demands ethically and morally. The modern scientist undertakes a quest for facts and information as a collective undertaking, knowing that he is one insignificant cog in an enormously complex apparatus. He sees omniscience as something that can be achieved only by Science with a capital S, for Science alone has uniquely privileged methodologies and brilliantly sophisticated instruments. He rarely gives a thought to the possibility that every knowledge makes ethical demands upon the knower. If he does give a thought to it, he does so not as a scientist, but as an ethicist or a philosopher or a religious believer. There is no room in Science for ethics.

Traditional seekers of wisdom aim to actualise the full potential of intelligence in order to understand everything that is significant for human ends and these ends are defined in terms of a metaphysics, a cosmology, a psychology and an ethics that takes Ultimate Reality as the measure of man. Modern seekers of facts aim to accumulate information and to devise ever more sophisticated theories in order to achieve what they call “progress.” In other words, they want to achieve a transformation of the human race on the basis of scientific pseudo-absolutes if not political ideology.

The quest for wisdom is qualitative, because it aims at the actualisation of all the qualities present fully in the divine image and named by the names of God. The modern quest for knowledge and theoretical prowess is quantitative, because it aims to understand and control an ever-proliferating multiplicity of things.

The more the traditional intellectual searches for omniscience, the more he finds the unity of his own soul and his own organismic interrelationship with the world. The more the modern scientist searches for data, the more he is pulled into dispersion and incoherence, despite his claims that overarching theories will one day explain everything.

The traditional quest for wisdom leads to integration, synthesis, and a global, anthropocosmic vision. The modern quest for information and control leads to mushrooming piles of facts and the proliferation of ever more specialized and narrower fields of learning. The net result of the modern quest is particularization, division, partition, separation, incoherence, mutual incomprehension and chaos. No one knows the truth of this statement better than university professors, who are often so narrowly specialized that they cannot explain their research to their own colleagues in their own departments—much less to colleagues in other departments.

* * *

Let me recapitulate my conclusions as follows:

For the Islamic intellectual tradition, the study of the universe was a two-pronged, holistic enterprise. In one respect its aim was to depict and describe the world of appearances. In another respect its goal was to grasp the innermost reality of both the appearances and the knower of the appearances. The great masters of the discipline always recognized that it is impossible to understand external objects without understanding the subject that understands. This meant that metaphysics, cosmology and psychology were essential parts of the intellectual quest. The goal was to see earthly appearances, intelligible principles and the intelligent self in one integrated and simultaneous vision. It was understood that intelligence is not only that which grasps and comprehends the real nature of things, but also that which gives birth to things in the first place. Everything knowable is already latent within intelligence, because all things appear from intelligence in the cosmogenic process.

The anthropocosmic vision allowed for no real dichotomy between the subject that knows and the object that is known. The structure and goals of

the intellectual enterprise precluded losing sight of the ontological link that binds the two. To do so would be to forget *tam Áád* and to fall into the chaos of dispersion and egocentricity. Ignorance of the reality of the knower leads to using knowledge as a means to achieve illusory ends and ignorance of the reality of the known turns the world into things and objects that can be manipulated for goals cut off from any vision of true human nature.

The possibilities of human understanding define the possibilities of human becoming. To know is to be. To ignore the reality of either the object or the subject is to fall into foolishness, error and superstition. An impoverished and flattened universe is the mirror image of an impoverished and flattened soul. The death of God is nothing but the stultification of the human intellect. Ecological catastrophe is the inevitable consequence of psychic and spiritual dissolution. The world and the self are not two separate realities, but two sides of the same coin, a coin that was minted in the image of God.

RESPONSE TO “THE ANTHROPOCOSMIC VISION IN ISLAMIC THOUGHT”

M. S. UMAR

It is now more than a decade that I was introduced to the writings I/translations of Dr. William C. Chittick. A decade of admiration and “distance learning” is a formidable barrier that may take away the edge from one’s objectivity and sense of proportion. I do not, therefore, consider my selection for responding to Dr. Chittick’s article as the best choice.⁶⁰ The observations are, however, detailed in the following.

In the early decades of this century René Guénon, the brilliant French traditionalist and metaphysician, had pointed out that “The civilization of the modern West appears in history as a veritable anomaly...”.⁶¹

Other voices joined him. Huston Smith formulated it with reference to Western thought and suggested that somewhere, during the course of its historical development, western thought took a sharp turn in another direction. It branched off as a tangent from the collective heritage of all humanity and claimed the autonomy of reason. It chose to follow that reason alone, unguided by revelation and cut off from the Intellect that was regarded as its transcendent root.⁶² Political and social realms quickly followed suit.

⁶⁰ The paper of Dr. Chittick and the response were presented at the *International Conference on God, Life and Cosmos: Theistic Perspectives*, Islamabad, November, 2000. It was an exciting event in the history of science and religion discourse bringing together a selected group of scholars to Islamabad for three days. There were Christian-Muslim positions on similar subjects, there were papers on cosmology, evolution, methodology, genetics, neuroscience and other major fields. All papers are now available at www.kealam.org.

⁶¹ Rene Guenon, *East and West*, Luzac, 1925.

⁶² See Martin Lings, “Intellect and Reason” in *Ancient Beliefs and Modern Superstitions*, rpt. (Lahore: Suhail Academy, 1988, 57-68; F. Schuon, *Gnosis Divine Wisdom* London: J. Murray, 1978, 93-99; S. H. Nasr, “Knowledge and its Desacralization” in *Knowledge and the Sacred* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1981, 1-64; Huston Smith, *Forgotten Truth* (San

Focusing on the ravages of this tendency in the realm of Western philosophy he observed, “the deepest reason for the current crisis in philosophy is its realization that autonomous reason – reason without infusions that both power and vector it – is helpless. By itself, reason can deliver nothing apodictic. Working (as it necessarily must) with variables, variables are all it can come up with. The Enlightenment’s “natural light of reason” turns out to have been a myth. Reason is not itself a light. It is more like a transformer that does useful things but on condition that it is hitched to a generator.

Clearly aware of reasons’ contingency, medieval philosophy attached itself to theology as its handmaiden. Earlier, Plato too had accepted reason’s contingency and grounded his philosophy in intuitions that are discernible by the “eye of the soul” but not by reason without it. In the seventeenth century, thought, responding to the advent of modern science with the controlled experiment as its new and powerful way of getting at truth, philosophy unplugged from theology. Bacon and Comte were ready to re-plug it at once, this time into science, but there were frequencies science still couldn’t register, so philosophy took off on its own.”⁶³

Dr. Chittick’s often elucidated the same point with reference to various aspects of the Islamic Tradition in his earlier works. But lately he has brought this issue to the centre stage in a series of articles written in his remarkably perspicacious and penetrating manner. His present exposition focuses on the salient differences of the Islamic thought, especially in its wisdom-tradition-form, with the theo-centric and anthropocentric worldviews of the modern Western thought. The overarching worldview that informs the Islamic tradition and more particularly its wisdom tradition is encapsulated in the expression “anthropocosmic vision”. Throughout his exposition he has treated the Islamic intellectual tradition as a monolithic whole without taking into consideration the differences that exist between the various perspectives of the Islamic intellectual tradition, the differences about which he himself has presented penetrating studies in his earlier writings. Perhaps he regards it

Francisco: Harper San Francisco, 1992), 60-95. Also see his *Beyond the Post-Modern Mind*, Wheaton: Theosophical Publishing House, 1989).

⁶³ Huston Smith, *Beyond the Post-Modern Mind*, Wheaton: Theosophical Publishing House, 1989, p.89.

more opportune for the purpose of the present discussion. One could also think of another reason for it. All Islamic thinking, especially the intellectual tradition, shares the “anthropocosmic vision” to such an extent that it was unnecessary to differentiate between, say, the philosophers and the Sufi epistemology in this respect. But during the course of his exposition it becomes clear that the perspective that he has foremost in his mind is that of the philosophers. For example when he says, “*They never saw their efforts as opposed to the goals and purposes of the religious tradition. They accepted that the prophets came to remind people of *tanÁád* and to teach them how to be human. However, they also believed that the commoners had one path to follow, and the philosophical elite, because of their specific gifts and aptitudes, had another path. It was perhaps the attitude of keeping aloof from religious dogma and counting the theologians and jurists as commoners that often led to their being severely criticised by other Muslims.*”⁶⁴ This is a typical example of the philosophic perspective. Did the Sufis share it and did it bring them under attack from the theologians? I think not.

The same thing is evident from other places as well e.g. “*Although some philosophers paid scant attention to the transmitted learning and looked upon the dogmatic theologians with something akin to contempt, they did not step outside of the Islamic tradition, because they could not doubt the universal and ahistorical axiom upon which it is built. In other words, there was no historical chink in their intellectual armour. Historical contingencies cannot touch *tanÁád*, because, once it is grasped, it is seen as a self-evident truth so foundational that it becomes the unique certainty upon which the soul can always depend.*”⁶⁵

In his earlier expositions he made it clear that the basic questions, the issues and the objects of investigation were the same for the theologians, the Sufis and the philosophers; the differences arising from their respective methodology, manners of approach and their perspectives that were brought to bear upon the issues. Secondly, he always advocated the subordinate role of discursive reasoning in the Islamic perspective, emphasising the fact that autonomous reason is an anomaly and the human mind can not spin the basic data from its own substance. It has to rely on objective criteria. Against this back ground when we read that “*this approach has discussed the significance of*

⁶⁴ Chitick, p. 4.

⁶⁵ Ckittick, p. 5.

being and becoming without presupposing faith in Islamic dogma, so its language can easily be understood outside the context of specifically Islamic imagery”⁶⁶ it does not become clear that whether one is being told about the Muslim thinkers or their prospective readers? Similar is the case when we read, *“the Muslim intellectuals did not depend on revelation and transmission for their understanding of taḥẓād, so theological squabbles and historical uncertainties could not be taken as serious issues”*⁶⁷. The notes at the end clarify a little but the uninitiated reader would find it difficult to reach the conclusion.

On the other hand the readers that are uninitiated in the Christian tradition would feel that his view of Christianity (p. 2) needs further elucidation. Is there anything like that in existence in reality and is it possible for us to speak of Christianity as such, especially in the contemporary world where there are so many strands, and they are all strong in their points of view. Moreover, Incarnation, that is cited as an example of “transmitted learning” (3rd para, page. 2), is not accepted by all sects of Christians.

But there is another point here: the glorified position of the Islamic intellectual tradition that Dr. Chittick presents here. Is it a reality; can find anything like that in literature? My questions may have their origin in my ignorance but the problem is that, at the face of it, I feel that it verges on a romantic approach towards the intellectual tradition.

There is a reference to the decline “ p. 7: Would you not say that there was a decline in the intellectual tradition, not to speak of sciences... no matter how one construes it... yes, one can debate on the timings of this etc. but to deny the decline is historically not correct, I think... one only needs to look around to grasp that terrible reality. His explanations that come in the notes endorse it but the text remains in the “romantic domain”. The notes read, *“I am not denying that there was a decline. I am simply saying that by making the criterion for measurement “scientific progress” or the lack of it, we are accepting the ideological presuppositions of scientism. Why should this historical oddity be considered the universal criterion by which all civilisations should be measured? If we keep in view Islamic criteria (e.g., adherence to taḥẓād, the Qur’an, and the Sunnah), there was certainly a serious*

⁶⁶ Chittick, p. 1.

⁶⁷ Chittick, p. 6.

decline in Islamic civilisation, especially in the intellectual tradition, but it began much later than historians typically maintain.”

As for the main idea of the article it is excellently elucidated and focuses our attention on the core issue of the conceptual underpinnings of the modern Western science as contrasted with the vision that informed the Islamic tradition. It was a vision not peculiar to it but a shared heritage of all humanity.

RETURN OF THE “NATIVE”

Muhammad Suheyl Umar

SOMEWHERE, DURING THE COURSE OF ITS HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT, WESTERN THOUGHT TOOK A SHARP TURN IN ANOTHER DIRECTION. IT BRANCHED OFF AS A TANGENT FROM THE COLLECTIVE HERITAGE OF ALL HUMANITY AND CLAIMED THE AUTONOMY OF REASON. IT CHOSE TO FOLLOW THAT REASON ALONE, UNGUIDED BY REVELATION AND CUT OFF FROM THE INTELLECT THAT WAS REGARDED AS ITS TRANSCENDENT ROOT.⁶⁸ POLITICAL AND SOCIAL REALMS QUICKLY FOLLOWED SUIT. AUTONOMOUS STATECRAFT AND EXCESSIVE INDIVIDUALISM IN THE SOCIAL ORDER WERE THE ELEMENTS THAT SHAPED A DOMINANT PARADIGM THAT DID NOT PROVE SUCCESSFUL.⁶⁹ A FEW CENTURIES OF UNBRIDLED ACTIVITY LED WESTERN PHILOSOPHY TO AN IMPASSE.⁷⁰

COMMENTING UPON THE SITUATION, HUSTON SMITH REMARKED, “THE DEEPEST REASON FOR THE CRISIS IN PHILOSOPHY IS ITS REALIZATION THAT AUTONOMOUS REASON--REASON WITHOUT INFUSIONS THAT BOTH POWER AND VECTOR IT--IS HELPLESS. BY ITSELF, REASON CAN DELIVER NOTHING APODICTIC. WORKING, AS IT NECESSARILY MUST, WITH VARIABLES, VARIABLES ARE ALL IT CAN COME UP WITH. THE ENLIGHTENMENT'S “NATURAL LIGHT OF REASON” TURNS OUT TO HAVE BEEN A MYTH. REASON

⁶⁸ See Martin Lings, “Intellect and Reason” in *Ancient Beliefs and Modern Superstitions*, rpt. (Lahore: Suhail Academy, 1988, 57-68; F. Schuon, *Gnosis Divine Wisdom* London: J. Murray, 1978, 93-99; S. H. Nasr, “Knowledge and its Desacralization” in *Knowledge and the Sacred* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1981, 1-64; Huston Smith, *Forgotten Truth* (San Francisco: Harper San Francisco, 1992), 60-95. Also see his *Beyond the Post-Modern Mind*, Wheaton: Theosophical Publishing House, 1989).

⁶⁹ See René Guenon, “Individualism” in *Crisis of the Modern World*, (Lahore: Suhail Academy, 1981, 51-65. Also see Social Chaos” in the same document.

⁷⁰ For a few representative writings that indicate this situation, see “Scientism, Pragmatism and the Fate of Philosophy, *Inquiry*, No. 29, p. 278, cf. Huston Smith, *Beyond the Post-Modern Mind*, loc. cit. p. 142; Hilary Putnam, “After Empiricism” in *Behaviorism*, 16:1 (Spring 1988); Alasdair MacIntyre, “Philosophy; Past Conflict and Future Direction,” *Proceedings and Addresses of the American Philosophical Association*, Supplement to 16/1, (September 1987); also see *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Association*, Vol. 59 (1986), and Kenneth Baynes et al., *Philosophy: End or Transformation?* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1987).

IS NOT ITSELF A LIGHT. IT IS MORE THAN A CONDUCTOR, FOR IT DOES MORE THAN TRANSMIT. IT SEEMS TO RESEMBLE AN ADAPTER WHICH MAKES USEFUL TRANSLATIONS BUT ON CONDITION THAT IT IS POWERED BY A GENERATOR.”⁷¹ THE NATURE AND DIRECTION OF THESE “INFUSIONS” IS STILL BEING DEBATED.⁷²

A SIMILAR AWARENESS COULD BE DISCERNED IN THE ARENA OF POLITICS, HUMANITIES, AND SOCIAL SCIENCES. THE IMPASSE, THOUGH WITH DIFFERENT IMPLICATIONS, WAS REACHED BY THE PARALLEL PARADIGM OF AUTONOMOUS POLITICS AND SOCIAL SCIENCES WHICH HAD REFUSED TO ACCEPT ANY “INFUSION” FROM A HIGHER DOMAIN. THIS TIME THE NEED FOR A REVISION OF THE PARADIGM WAS FELT IN THE UNITED NATIONS ITSELF. THE AWARENESS MATERIALIZED IN THE CONVENING OF THE WORLD SUMMIT FOR SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT, IN COPENHAGEN IN MARCH 1995. THE AGENDA, IN BROAD TERMS, WAS SUMMARIZED IN THE ISSUES OF POVERTY, UNEMPLOYMENT, ALIENATION AND SOCIAL DISINTEGRATION. IN ORDER TO ENRICH THE DOMINANT DISCOURSE AND TO MAKE IT LESS TECHNOCRATIC AND MATERIALISTIC, THE SECRETARIAT OF THE SUMMIT DECIDED TO CONVENE A SEMINAR TO CLARIFY AND HIGHLIGHT THE ETHICAL AND SPIRITUAL DIMENSION OF THE ISSUES BEFORE THE SOCIAL SUMMIT.⁷³

THE VIEWS EXPRESSED BY MOST OF THE PARTICIPANTS ABOUT THE PRESENT HUMAN PREDICAMENT CONVERGED. THE OPINIONS ABOUT THE NATURE AND ORIGIN OF THE “INFUSIONS” THAT COULD RECTIFY OR CHANGE IT FOR THE BETTER WERE, HOWEVER, DIVERGENT. IT WAS SIMILAR TO THE CASE OF PHILOSOPHY MENTIONED AT THE BEGINNING. SOME OF

⁷¹ Huston Smith, “Crisis in Modern Philosophy”, in *Beyond the Post-Modern Mind*, Wheaton: Theosophical Publishing House, 1990, 137.

⁷² Huston Smith has pointed towards the possibility of accepting these “infusions” from *Philosophia Perennis* or *Religio-Perennis*, the sapiential doctrines of mankind. See his “Two Traditions and Philosophy” in *Religion of the Heart --Essays Presented to Frithjof Schuon on his 80th Birthday*, (Washington, D.C.: Foundation for Traditional Studies, 1991, 278-296. In this regard also see F. Schuon, “Tracing the Notion of Philosophy,” *Sufism Veil and Quintessence* Lahore: Suhail Academy, 1985, 115-128; *Logic and Transcendence*, trans. Peter N. Townsend (New York: Harper and Row 1975.

⁷³ The Seminar was held in Bled, Slovenia, 28-30 October 1994.

THE PARTICIPANTS TRIED TO FIND AN ALTERNATIVE FROM WITHIN THE DOMINANT PARADIGM. OTHERS SUGGESTED THE POSSIBILITY OF A SEARCH FOR THESE “INFUSIONS” IN A DIFFERENT DIRECTION: DIFFERENT CULTURES, OTHER CIVILIZATIONS, RELIGIOUS DOCTRINES, SAPIENTIAL TRADITIONS.

THE ISSUES DISCUSSED WERE JUST AS IMPORTANT FOR THE CONTEMPORARY WORLD AS THEY WERE FOR THE PAST. THIS POINT NEEDS A LITTLE ELUCIDATION, SINCE WE ARE OFTEN UNAWARE THAT CONTEMPORARY ARGUMENTS CONTINUE IN THE SAME LINES AS EARLIER THEOLOGICAL DEBATES. TAKE, FOR EXAMPLE, THE ISSUE OF FREE WILL AND PREDESTINATION, A CENTRAL BONE OF CONTENTION AMONG THE SCHOOLS OF KALĀM. THIS DEBATE, WHICH HAS ALSO BEEN IMPORTANT IN CHRISTIAN CIVILIZATION, LIVES ON IN MODERN SECULAR SOCIETY, THOUGH IT IS NO LONGER POSED IN TERMS OF GOD. FOR EXAMPLE, MANY CONTEMPORARY SCHOLARS—BIOLOGISTS, PSYCHOLOGISTS, SOCIOLOGISTS, PHILOSOPHERS, POLITICAL SCIENTISTS—ARE ACTIVELY INVOLVED IN THE DISCUSSION OF NATURE VERSUS NURTURE. THE BASIC QUESTION IS SIMPLE: DOES NATURE DETERMINE HUMAN DEVELOPMENT, OR CAN PEOPLE CHANGE THEMSELVES SUBSTANTIALLY BY MEANS OF TRAINING AND EDUCATION? FREE WILL AND PREDESTINATION, LIKE NATURE AND NURTURE, IS MERELY A CONVENIENT WAY TO REFER TO ONE OF THE MOST BASIC PUZZLES OF HUMAN EXISTENCE.

PROFESSOR F. J. AGUILAR, ONE OF THE PARTICIPANTS AND A LEADING AUTHORITY ON ORGANIZATIONAL ANALYSIS PRESENTED HIS ANALYSIS OF SUCCESSFUL BUSINESS ORGANIZATIONS, SAYING THAT ONE OF THE FUNDAMENTAL ELEMENTS OF CORPORATE SUCCESS AND BUSINESS EXCELLENCE WAS ADOPTION OF ETHICAL LIMITS AND RULES OF BEHAVIOR. PARTICIPANTS QUESTIONED WHETHER THESE RULES AND LIMITS WERE ADOPTED DUE TO MERE OPPORTUNENESS OR IF THE MOTIVE FOR THE CHOICE WAS SUPPLIED BY SOME OTHER SET OF PRINCIPLES. HERE WAS THE AGE-OLD DEBATE OF SINCERITY AND ITS OPPOSITE: IS HONESTY, OR FOR THAT MATTER ANY OTHER POSITIVE ATTITUDE, GOOD BECAUSE IT PRODUCES PALPABLE RESULTS OR IS A VIRTUE IN ITSELF WITH TRANSCENDENT ROOTS AND REPERCUSSIONS BEYOND THE IMMEDIATE REALM OF HUMAN EXPERIENCE.

“CUT OFF FROM SELF-INTEREST”, WROTE THIBON, “VIRTUE LOSES THE WEIGHT BY WHICH IT IS INCARNATED; NOTHING BINDS IT ANY LONGER TO THE EARTH. BUT SELF-INTEREST, IN ITS TURN, SEPARATED FROM VIRTUE, LOSES THE POWER OF FLIGHT WHICH IS ITS DELIVERANCE; THERE IS NO LONGER ANYTHING TO RAISE IT TO HEAVEN. THIS IS THE DIVORCE BETWEEN THE IDEAL AND THE REAL: ON THE ONE HAND A VERBAL AND INOPERATIVE MORALITY, ON THE OTHER AN ANARCHIC SWARMING OF UNBALANCED EGOISMS WHICH DEVOUR ONE ANOTHER, WITH, AS AN INEVITABLE RESULT, THE DEGRADATION OF INDIVIDUALS AND THE DISSOLUTION OF SOCIETIES.”⁷⁴

OR, WHEN THE ROLE AND DUTIES OF GOVERNMENTS VIS-À-VIS THE PEOPLE ARE DEBATED, THE CORE PROBLEM IS THAT WHICH, IN OLDER PARLANCE, WAS DISCUSSED UNDER THE TITLE OF “SPIRITUAL AUTHORITY AND TEMPORAL POWER,” THOUGH WE NO LONGER REFER TO IT IN THE OLDER CONTEXT. SIMILARLY, THE ISSUES BROACHED AND DISCUSSED IN THE CONTEXT OF “RELIGIOUS PLURALISM” ARE, IN FACT, THE QUESTIONS THAT USED TO BE REFERRED TO AS THE TRANSCENDENT UNITY OF RELIGIONS, IN THE ISLAMIC CIVILIZATION, AND “SALVATION OUTSIDE THE CHURCH,” IN THE CHRISTIAN CONTEXT.

CLOSELY ALLIED IS THE ISSUE OF TOLERANCE AND INTOLERANCE THAT WAS REFERRED TO BY THE TERMS “DISCRIMINATION,” “OPPRESSION,” “VIOLENCE,” ETC. THIS, ONCE AGAIN, IS ANOTHER WAY TO PUT THE TIMEWORN QUESTION THAT RELATED THESE ATTITUDES TO THEIR METAPHYSICAL ROOTS. FROM THE METAPHYSICAL POINT OF VIEW IT CAN BE ASSERTED CATEGORICALLY THAT ONLY THE SUPREME PRINCIPLE, THE ULTIMATE REAL OR WHAT, IN THE CLIMATE OF MONOTHEISM, IS USUALLY REFERRED TO AS THE GODHEAD, THE DIVINE ESSENCE OR THE DIVINE GROUND HAS NO OPPOSITE, FOR IT TRANSCENDS ALL DUALITY. THE VERY ACT OF CREATION OR THE COSMOGONIC PROCESS IMPLIES, OF NECESSITY, DUALITY AND OPPOSITION. EVEN IN THE DIVINE ORDER WHICH EMBRACES NOT ONLY THE SUPREME ESSENCE OR THE ONE BUT ALSO ITS ENERGIES, HYPOSTASES—OR WHAT IN ISLAM IS CALLED THE DIVINE NAMES AND QUALITIES, WHERE ALREADY THE DOMAIN OF RELATIVITY COMMENCES—

⁷⁴ “Gustave Thibon, *Retour au Réel; Nouveau Diagnostics* (Lyon: II Lardanchet, 1943), 161.

ONE CAN OBSERVE DUALITY, MULTIPLICITY AND ALSO THE ROOTS OF OPPOSITION.

TO LIVE IN THE WORLD OF MANIFESTATION IS, THEREFORE, TO LIVE IN A WORLD OF OPPOSITES WHICH CAN BE TRANSCENDED ONLY IN THAT REALITY WHICH IS THE *COINCIDENTIA OPPOSITORUM* AND WHICH ON THEIR OWN LEVEL ARE OFTEN IN OPPOSITION AND USUALLY INTOLERANT OF EACH OTHER. THAT IS WHY TOLERANCE AND INTOLERANCE ARE NOT ONLY MORAL ISSUES BUT HAVE A COSMIC DIMENSION. THIS IS A POINT WHICH IS EMPHASIZED BY TRADITIONAL DOCTRINES IN THE ORIENT, WHERE HUMAN AND MORAL LAWS HAVE NOT BECOME DIVORCED FROM EACH OTHER, AND WAS ALSO TRUE IN THE TRADITIONAL WEST UNTIL MODERN TIMES, WHEN THE LINK BETWEEN HUMAN MORALITY AND COSMIC LAWS BECAME SEVERED.

ANOTHER EXAMPLE OF “OLD WINE IN NEW BOTTLES” DISCUSSED AT THE SEMINAR, WAS THE AGENDA DOCUMENT CONCERNING “SELF INTEREST AND COMMON GOOD” WHICH REMARKED ABOUT “TRANSCENDING THE GOD OF FEAR.” THE ISSUE THAT WAS AT THE CORE OF THE DISCUSSION WAS THE PERENNIAL QUESTION OF THE TERNARY ASPECTS OF THE HUMAN PSYCHE WHICH PERTAINED TO KNOWLEDGE, LOVE AND FEAR. THE QUESTION WAS NOT TO MAKE A CHOICE BETWEEN ALTERNATIVES OF FEAR AND KNOWLEDGE OR LOVE. IT WAS IN FACT, A MATTER OF EMPHASIS. ALL THE THREE ASPECTS EXIST SIDE BY SIDE AND, FROM HINDUISM TO ISLAM, EVERY GREAT RELIGION AND TRADITION CONTAINS THE THREE PERSPECTIVES. THESE PERSPECTIVES DETERMINE INWARD HUMAN ATTITUDES. “FEAR OF THE LORD IS THE BEGINNING OF WISDOM,” SAY THE PSALMS.⁷⁵ MOREOVER, ONE CAN ONLY TRANSCEND SOMETHING THAT ONE POSSESSES. IN THIS REGARD WE RECALL AN ANECDOTE ABOUT A ZEN MASTER VISITING THE WEST. THE MASTER WAS GIVING A LECTURE AT ONE OF THE WESTERN UNIVERSITIES WHEN SOMEBODY FROM THE AUDIENCE STOOD UP AND SAID, “IS IT NOT THE TEACHING OF ZEN TO BURN UP THE SCROLLS AND THROW AWAY THE BUDDHA IMAGES?” THE MASTER, REPLYING CALMLY, SAID, “YES, BUT YOU CAN BURN ONLY SOMETHING THAT YOU HAVE AND THROW AWAY SOMETHING YOU POSSESS.”

⁷⁵ Ps. 111:10 KJV (King James Version).

ONE OF THE MOST REMARKABLE AND STRIKING FEATURES OF THE DEBATES IN THE SEMINAR WAS THAT THE BASIC ASSUMPTIONS OF THE DOMINANT DISCOURSE AND THE PREVALENT WORLD-VIEW WERE BROUGHT INTO QUESTION.⁷⁶ THE PARTICIPANTS WERE MAKING A PROBE, IN THEIR DIVERSE MANNERS AND FROM THE POINT OF VIEW OF DIFFERENT DISCIPLINES, INTO THE VIABILITY OF EVEN AUTHENTICITY AND SOUNDNESS OF THE UNDERPINNINGS OF THE CONTEMPORARY MIND-SET. DISCUSSIONS ABOUT “HUMAN DIGNITY,” “HUMAN RIGHTS,” “HUMAN PREDICAMENT,” EVENTUALLY LEAD THE PARTICIPANTS TO ASK THE INEVITABLE QUESTION, “WHAT IS MAN”? THE OTHER INEVITABLE QUESTION, WHICH DOVETAILS THE EARLIER ONE, LURKED IN THE WINGS, “WHAT IS THE COSMOS”? THE ANSWERS WERE NEITHER EASY NOR UNANIMOUS. “TO BE HUMAN MEANS TO BE MORE THAN HUMAN,” ST. AUGUSTINE RECALLED. WHAT DOES THIS “MORE” INDICATE? THE SUPRA INDIVIDUAL DIMENSIONS OF HUMAN PERSONALITY AS WELL AS THE COSMIC ORDER IS LINKED UP WITH THE CONCEPT OF REALITY ITSELF: REALITY AS A MULTISTORY BUILDING OR AS A MANSION THAT HAS NO UPPER STORY. THIS IN TURN IS CONNECTED TO THE MICROCOSMIC REALITY OF THE HUMAN SELF, OF WHICH WE HAVE TWO MODELS. ONE REGARDS THE HUMAN SELF AS THE POINT OF INTERSECTION WHERE THE DIVINE TOUCHES THE HUMAN REALM, AND THIS VIEW SITUATES THE HUMAN MICROCOSM IN A HIERARCHICAL RELATIONSHIP WITH OTHER LEVELS OF BEING. THIS MODEL AND ITS GOVERNING CONCEPT OF REALITY ARE THE SHARED HERITAGE OF ALL THE KNOWN SPIRITUAL, METAPHYSICAL AND RELIGIOUS TRADITIONS OF MANKIND. LORD NORTHBOURNE SUMMARIZES THE TWO APPROACHES TO THE QUESTION, “WHAT IS MAN?” IN A SIMPLE AND STRAIGHTFORWARD MANNER:

“ARE YOU IN FACT A BEING CREATED BY GOD IN HIS OWN IMAGE, APPOINTED BY HIM AS HIS REPRESENTATIVE ON EARTH AND ACCORDINGLY GIVEN DOMINION OVER IT, AND EQUIPPED FOR THE FULFILLMENT OF THAT FUNCTION WITH A RELATIVE FREEDOM OF CHOICE IN THOUGHT AND ACTION WHICH REFLECTS THE TOTAL ABSENCE

⁷⁶ “Basic assumptions” are used here in a broader sense than regulating concepts. For a description and telling critique of the assumptions of the contemporary world, see Tage Lindbom, *Tares and the Good Grain* (Lahore: Suhail Academy, 1988). On another level these assumptions are challenged by S. H. Nasr’s *Knowledge and the Sacred*.

OF CONSTRAINT ATTRIBUTABLE TO GOD ALONE, BUT AT THE SAME TIME MAKES YOU LIABLE TO ERR? ARE YOU ESSENTIALLY THAT, AND ONLY ACCIDENTALLY ANYTHING ELSE?

OR, ALTERNATIVELY, ARE YOU ESSENTIALLY A SPECIMEN OF THE MOST ADVANCED PRODUCT SO FAR KNOWN OF A CONTINUOUS AND PROGRESSIVE EVOLUTION, STARTING FROM THE MORE OR LESS FORTUITOUS STRINGING TOGETHER OF A PROTEIN MOLECULE IN SOME WARM PRIMEVAL MUD, THAT MUD ITSELF BEING A RARE AND MORE OR LESS FORTUITOUS PRODUCT OF THE EVOLUTION OF THE GALAXIES FROM A STARTING POINT ABOUT WHICH THE PHYSICISTS HAVE NOT YET QUITE MADE UP THEIR MINDS?⁷⁷

IN OTHER WORDS, THE TWO MODELS SUGGEST THAT MAN COULD EITHER BE A VICEROY, VICEGERENT OR PONTIFF OR ELSE A CUNNING ANIMAL WITH NO DESTINY BEYOND THE GRAVE.⁷⁸ REGARDING THE FORMER MODEL, S. H. NASR SAYS:

“The concept of man as the pontiff, bridge between Heaven and earth, which is the traditional view of the anthropos, lies at the antipode of the modern conception of man which envisages him as the Promethean earthly creature who has rebelled against Heaven and tried to misappropriate the role of the Divinity for himself. Pontifical man, who, in the sense used here, is none other than the traditional man, lives in full awareness of the Origin which contains his own perfection and whose primordial purity and wholeness he seeks to emulate, recapture, and transmit He is aware that precisely because he is human there is both grandeur and danger connected with all that he does and thinks. His

⁷⁷ Lord Northbourne, *Looking Back on Progress* Lahore, Suhail Academy, 1983, 47.

⁷⁸ On the traditional conception of man, see G. Eaton, *King of the Castle*, Islamic Texts Society, 1993; “Man” in *Islamic Spirituality*, ed. S. H. Nasr, vol. I (New York: Crossroad, 1987, 358-377; Kathleen Raine, *What is Man?* (England: Golgonzoza Press, 1980, S. H. Nasr, “Who is Man...”, *The Sword of Ghosts*, ed. Needleman (England: Penguin, n.d.), 203-217; S. H. Nasr (ed.) *The Essential Writings of Frithjof Schuon* (New York: Amity House, 1986, 385-403. Of special importance in this regard is René Guenon’s *Man and his Becoming According to the Vedanta* (Delhi: 1990), which presents the concept of man in Hindu terminology, which, nevertheless, is shared by the other traditions as well.

actions have an effect upon his own being beyond the limited spatio-temporal conditions in which such actions take place. He knows that somehow the bark which is to take him to the shore beyond after that fleeting journey which comprised his earthly life is constructed by what he does and how he lives while he is in the human state.”⁷⁹

TREMENDOUS IS THE DIFFERENCE THAT SEPARATES THE PERSPECTIVE REPRESENTED BY THE FOREGOING TEXTS AND THE CONTEMPORARY PARADIGM OF PROGRESS AND SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT THAT TAGE LINDBOM HAS APTLY DESCRIBED AS “THE KINGDOM OF MAN.” GIVEN THAT THE PREVALENT PARADIGM IS LOSING ITS VIABILITY AND THERE IS A GROWING MISTRUST ABOUT ITS FUTURE, WE ARE HARDLY IN A POSITION AT THIS JUNCTURE TO REJECT ANY ALTERNATIVE OUT OF HAND. “INFUSIONS” FROM OTHER DOMAINS HITHERTO CONSIDERED ALIEN TO SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT MAY BE CAREFULLY EXAMINED AND WE CAN ASK OURSELVES INDIVIDUALLY AS WELL AS COLLECTIVELY, AS IN THE CASE OF THE BLED SEMINAR, WHICH OF THE ALTERNATIVES HAS A GREATER RING OF TRUTH. IN THIS RESPECT THE SEMINAR, AND HOPEFULLY THE SUMMIT ITSELF, MAY PROVE TO BE THE SPEARHEAD OF A BROADER PROCESS OF REVISING THE FUTURE WITH THE HELP OF THE PAST. THE MESSAGE WHICH THIS OVERALL INTELLECTUAL EXERCISE GIVES TO THE ACTORS OF CHANGE AND TO THE WORLD AT LARGE IS NOT TO UNDERESTIMATE THE MAGNITUDE OF THE CHALLENGE PRESENTED BY THESE UNFAMILIAR “INFUSIONS” AND SYSTEMATIC CLAIMS OF PAST PHILOSOPHIES AND SAPIENTIAL DOCTRINES. FOR WHAT THEY SAY TO THE CURRENT THOUGHT AND THE CONTEMPORARY MIND-SET IS IN EFFECT “EITHER ACCEPT THIS OVERALL STANDPOINT OR DO BETTER BY FINDING OR INVENTING A SUPERIOR SYSTEM OF THOUGHT.” THE BLED SEMINAR SUGGESTED THAT WE, IN ALL PROBABILITY, DO NOT HAVE A SUPERIOR SYSTEM OF THOUGHT THAT PROVIDES SUFFICIENT GROUNDS FOR DISREGARDING THE TRADITIONAL SYSTEM. IF THE MESSAGE IS REGISTERED AND FRESH “INFUSIONS” ARE INCORPORATED IN THE EMERGING DISCOURSE, WE MAY TAKE IT AS A SIGN THAT THE WHEEL HAS COME FULL CIRCLE AND THE “NATIVE” HAS DECIDED TO COME BACK HOME.

⁷⁹ S. H. Nasr, *Knowledge and the Sacred*, op. cit., 161-162.

THE ISLAMIC ECONOMIC SYSTEM

A NEW APPROACH TO WORLD PROBLEMS

Dr. Mohammed Maruf

o far as my study goes, the following was the original economic system,⁸⁰ in Sits pure form, as derived from the teachings of the Holy Qur'an and explained in his *ab«d«th* by the Holy Prophet ﷺ. This system continued in this original form till the death of the Second Caliph Sayyidina 'Umar رَضِيَ اللهُ عَنْهُ. Later on that the capitalist rends began to creep into it and this has unfortunately continued to this day, corrupting it almost beyond recognition. Again, what is still more important is that this is the only system wherein there is no place for usury (*Rib«*) which Islam has condemned out rightly and so severely.

Islam has offered an economic system which, if followed sincerely, will provide a remedy for all the economic ills which the world is facing since long. The fundamental principle of this system has been laid down in the chapter *The Cow (baqarah)* in the verse: "... *They ask thee how much they are to spend; Say: 'What is beyond your needs'. Thus doth Allah make clear to you His signs....*"⁸¹ This verse is rich with meaning and if it is properly understood and honestly followed, most of economic ills will be remedied and the result will be a truly equitable and just society: a welfare society. According to this verse, there is no justification for possessing any additional property to be let or leased out for any pecuniary gain; each to possess only that much which is necessary for his personal needs and for the needs of his family, and whatever is beyond that is illegitimate. The Qur'an uses the word "*afw*" in

⁸⁰ Though this system is over fourteen centuries old, it has been totally overlooked and forgotten even by the Muslim World itself.

⁸¹ *The Holy Qur'an*, Eng. tr. with Com. by A. Yusuf Ali, Two-Volume Ed.,(Lahore: Sh. Ashraf,1980),II:219

the said verse which literally means “what is in balance”⁸² which makes clear that nothing in excess to personal and family needs can legitimately be possessed. The Prophet of Islam himself practiced this principle in his life. ‘Īshah said that during the illness of God’s messenger she had six or seven dinars belonging to him which he ordered her to distribute, but she was kept busy administering to his suffering. He asked her what had happened to the six or seven dinars, and when she replied she had done nothing about them because she had been kept busy administering to his suffering, he called for them, and placing them in his hand he said, “What would God’s prophet think if he were to meet God Who is great and glorious while possessing these?”⁸³ (ÁÁmad transmitted it). This principle was not meant for the Prophet himself only. ‘Abĕ Huraira said that when the Prophet once visited Bilĕ and saw he had a heap of dates, he asked him what it was. On his replying, “It is something I have stored up for tomorrow,” he said, “Are you not afraid of tomorrow you may see on account of it steam in the fire of *jahannum* (Hell) on the day of resurrection? Spend it, Bilĕ, and do not fear poverty from the Lord of the Throne”.⁸⁴ Such episodes which are many in Islam show that the said verse is the corner-stone of the economic system which Islam has enunciated. A deeper analysis of the lesson contained in it will suffice for evolving an economic system which has a universal import and can salvage all the ills and problems the humanity is facing today. It may be added here that the word “needs” includes his financial commitments in business and industry also. What Islam discourages is the uncalled for accumulation of wealth which is not put to any proper use and is just stagnating in the coffers of a person.

This analysis shows how comprehensive and extensive significance this fundamental principle has. Just think of a society in which nobody keeps what is beyond his needs in the sense stated above. It discourages amassing of wealth, piling up of valuables, and adding to ones property either for self-aggrandizement or for the sake of some pecuniary advantage. In this system no extra house or building will be allowed to build for renting or leasing out.

⁸² Steingass F., *Pioneer Arabic- English Dictionary*, (Delhi: Kutub Khana Ishayat-ul-Islam, 1980), p.710.

⁸³ *Mishĕat al-Maĕĕbĕĕ*, Eng. Tr. Dr. James Robson, (Lahore: Ashraf, 1981),p. 400.

⁸⁴ Ibid.

Islam encourages only that much which fulfils ones genuine needs; e.g., a person who runs his business is entitled to keep as much resources with him as his present business commitments and its further development necessitates. What this system demands is that wealth and other resources should remain in circulation, and what is left to stagnate is illegitimate; Islam condemns stagnation of any means of production which must remain in utilization. Just imagine a society in which each person is ready to give away whatever is beyond his needs, in the sense stated above, and what will be the skein of such a society: will there be anybody deprived of his bread and butter? Will there remain anybody starving on the roadside and finally meeting his painful end simply because of the apathy and callousness of his fellowmen who are far better-off and prospering? Most of the economic disparity which we are witnessing around us today shall vanish and a more equitable economic parity and justice will prevail. Hence, simply following this principle will suffice to remove most of the economic disparity from the society.

Rib« and Trade:

Islam enjoins investment of money and other resources; it issues clear injunctions on the legitimate ways of investing them. The Jews confused “*Rib«*” with trade; they would call “*Rib«*” a kind of trade. The Qur’an emphatically rejected this claim saying: “... That is because they say: ‘Trade is like usury’, But Allah has permitted trade and forbidden usury...”⁸⁵ It adds, “Allah will deprive usury of all blessing, but will give increase for deeds of charity;...”⁸⁶ It lays stress on the investment of wealth and property lest ‘*Zak«t*’ and ‘*Āadaqah*’ should consume it all. In connection with the property of an orphan the Holy Prophet is reported by Amr b. Shu‘aib on the authority of his grandfather to have said, “If anyone is guardian of an orphan who owns property, he must trade with it and not leave it till the ‘*Āadaqah*’ consumes it”⁸⁷ (Tirmidhâ transmitted it). Thus, investing ones resources in legitimate directions is obligatory for his own benefit and for that of the whole society, for otherwise property will cease to be in circulation and hence stagnate

⁸⁵ *The Holy Qur’an*, 2: 275.

⁸⁶ *Ibid*, 2: 276.

⁸⁷ *Mishk«t*, p.376.

which has been condemned by Islam. It ensures that all the resources bestowed on man by Allah remain in circulation which is the only way to guarantee well-being of the society. Islam lays down clear-cut rules for investing money in trade, as man is not left free to invest his resources as he pleases; it makes a clear distinction between the legitimate and illegitimate ways of doing trade. The Qur'an lays the following general principles for any legitimate transaction:

1. '... ! When ye deal with each other, in transactions involving future obligations in a fixed period of time. Reduce them to writing ...'⁸⁸
2. '...Let him who incurs the liability dictate, but let him fear his Lord Allah, and not diminish aught of what he owes...'⁸⁹
3. '... But if be a transaction which ye carry out on the spot among yourselves, there is no blame on you if ye reduce it not to writing. But take witnesses whenever ye make a commercial contract; and let neither scribe nor witness suffer harm...'⁹⁰
4. 'If ye are on a journey, and cannot find a scribe, a pledge with possession (may serve the purpose)...'⁹¹
5. '... Conceal not evidence; for whoever conceals it,-- his heart is tainted with sin. And Allah knoweth all that ye do.'⁹²

The above are the general principles which a believer is called upon to follow if he fears Allah, his Lord. Beside these principles, other rules for fair transaction have been delineated in the *aA«dâth* (the Sayings of the Holy Prophet which are interpretations of The Qur'an).

⁸⁸ *The Holy Qur'an*, 2: 282.

⁸⁹ Ibid.

⁹⁰ Ibid.

⁹¹ Ibid, 2: 283.

⁹² Ibid.

6. Āakām b. Nūkam reported the Holy Prophet as saying: “The buyer and the seller have the option to cancel or to confirm the deal, as long as they have not parted or till they part, and if they spoke the truth and told each other the defects of the things, then blessings would be in their deal, and if they hid something and told lies, the blessings of the deal would be lost.”⁹³
7. The seller should not swear to prevail upon the buyer. Abë Huraira reported the Allah’s Messenger as saying: “The swearing (by the seller) may persuade the buyer to purchase the goods but that will be deprived of Allah’s blessing”⁹⁴.

If the above conditions are followed in all transactions, the result will be fair dealing in the society and there will be very little chance for deceiving. These conditions will ensure honest and fair dealing; any community that follows these instructions will be prosperous and peaceful. Thus, Islam has laid down solid principles for business transactions that ensure peace and security to all concerned.

The Holy Qur’an has condemned ‘*Ribā*’ (usury) very severely. It says very emphatically in the chapter The Cow (*Baqarah*): “Those who devour usury will not stand except as stands one whom the Evil One by his touch has driven to madness...”⁹⁵ Again it says: “Allah will deprive Usury of all blessing, but will give increase for deeds of charity...”⁹⁶ Again, in the chapter *jl i Imran* it says: “O you who believe! Eat not *Ribā* (usury) doubled and multiplied but fear Allah; that you may be successful”⁹⁷. According to the Holy Prophet, ‘*Ribā*’ is of two kinds: (A) *Ribā Nasi’a*, i.e., interest on lent money; (B) *Ribā al-Faīl*, i.e. taking a superior thing of the same kind of goods by giving more of the same kind of goods of inferior quality, e.g. dates of superior quality for dates of inferior quality in greater amounts’.⁹⁸ A deeper study and analysis of

⁹³ *SaĀĀ Bukharā*, Vol. 3, *Hadith* 296.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, Vol. 3, *Hadith* 300.

⁹⁵ *The Holy Qur’an*, 2: 275.

⁹⁶ *Ibid*, 276.

⁹⁷ *Ibid*, 3: 130.

⁹⁸ *Bukharā*, Vol. 3, *Hadith* 506 & Vol. 9, *Hadith* 449; see also *The Noble Qur’an*, Eng. Tr. By Dr. Muhammad Taqi-ud - Din Al-Hilali & Dr. Muhammad Muhsin Khan, under the

the concept of *Ribā* (Usury) reveals that *Ribā* (Usury) in Islam means that any amount of wealth or property acquired without personal effort; Islam insists on acquiring a legitimate amount through effort in a legitimate direction (it includes not a massing wealth beyond one's personal and family needs as described above). All this proves how big an enemy of capitalism, which is the basis of the Western economy following the lead of the Jewish tradition, Islam has been and is. Again, of those who were practicing '*Ribā*' in the pre-Islamic days of Ignorance. The Qur'an allows them to take back their capital only and to forego interest. It says: '...Fear Allah, and give up what remains of your demand for usury, ...'⁹⁹ It adds: "...But if ye turn back, ye shall have your capital sums;..."¹⁰⁰ And again it says: "If the debtor is in a difficulty, grant him time till it is easy for him to repay. But if ye remit it by way of charity, that is best for you..."¹⁰¹ Thus, in these verses a situation has been created in which the '*Ribā*' is dissolved, while the capital is retained for ones personal needs and for running business. It is also clear how much emphasis Islam lays on charity which is a key to salvation.

The above verse in the chapter The Cow (*Baqarah*), according to Ibn 'Abbās, was the last verse revealed to the Prophet and it did pertaining to '*Ribā*'; and this reveals how Islam was serious in condemning and eliminating the menace of '*Ribā*'.¹⁰² Thus, as compared to the prevalent modern economic system, Islam recommends a counter system which is free from '*Ribā*' (Usury) and is based on human relations of mutual fraternity, justice and kindness. Abë Huraira has quoted the Prophet as saying: "whoever is pleased that he be granted more wealth and that his lease of life be prolonged they should keep good relations with his kith and kin".¹⁰³ This amply evinces how much emphasis Islam lays on mutual relationships between men. Again, the modern system (which is interest-orientated), not only enslaves the individuals, it also enslaves nations and states, which proves its cruelty and inhumanity. The proposed system, on the contrary, tries to off-burden the

supervision of Islamic University, Al-Madina al-Munawwara, (Lahore; Kazi Publications, 1992), Vol. 1, p. CIV of Glossary.

⁹⁹ *The Holy Qur'an*, 2: 279.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*

¹⁰¹ *Ibid*, 280.

¹⁰² *Ibid*, 2: 278-81; cf. *The Noble Qur'an*, p. 112

¹⁰³ *Bukhārā*, Vol. 2, *Hadith* 479 & Vol. 8, *Hadith* 14.

individual involved of his financial problems and difficulties. Herein lies the fundamental difference between the two systems, and establishes the superiority of the Islamic system over the modern system.

‘Zakāt and Ādaqah:

In Islam ‘Zakāt’ is a compulsory charity incumbent on every Muslim and it is levied according to fixed rates on all valuables, i.e. ornaments, money, livestock, immovable property, etc. It is an official institution and there is a state department to realize it and even the wages of the officials engaged in realizing it are to be paid out of the collection; in modern terminology, it may be called a ‘tax’ levied by the state. Islam has a full institution of ‘Zakāt’ and a Muslim is duty-bound to pay it else he will be treated as a rebel of the state and religion and war will be waged against the defaulter. The Qur’an over and over stresses: “And be steadfast in prayer and regular in charity: and whatever good ye send forth for your souls before you, ye shall find it with Allah:...”¹⁰⁴ It is reported that after the death of the Prophet, some Arabs became renegades and refused to pay ‘Zakāt’ on which S. Abë Bakr, the new Caliph, decided to wage war against them. S. ‘Umar forbade him as those Arabs believed in one Allah. S. Abë Bakr replied, “By Allah! I will fight those who differentiate between the prayer and the ‘Zakāt’ ... By Allah! If they refuse to pay me even a she-kid which they used to pay at the time of Allah’s Messenger, I would fight with them for withholding it.”¹⁰⁵ On that S. ‘Umar agreed with him and said: “By Allah! It was nothing but Allah opened Abë Bakr’s chest towards the decision (to fight) and came to know that his decision was right.”¹⁰⁶

To pay ‘Zakāt’ on ones wealth and property is extremely obligatory for a Muslim. Abë Huraira has reported God’s Messenger as saying: “If God gives anyone property and he does not pay the ‘Zakāt’ on it, his property will be made to appear to him on the day of resurrection as a large bald snake with black spots over its eyes. It will be put round his neck on the day of resurrection, then seize his jaws, then say, ‘I am your property; I am your

¹⁰⁴ *The Holy Qur’an*, 2: 43 & 277; also *The Noble Qur’an*, Vol. 6, p. 110.

¹⁰⁵ *Bukhārā*, Vol. 2, *Hadith* 483.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*

treasure.”¹⁰⁷ Again, Abë Dharr reported the Prophet saying: “If any man has camels, cattle, or sheep on which he does not pay what is due, they will be produced as large and fat as can be on the day of resurrection and will trample him with their hoofs and gore him with their horns. As often as the last of them pass him the first of them will be brought back to him until judgment is pronounced among mankind”¹⁰⁸ (*Bukḥarâ* and *Muslim*). The wealth or property which is stored up and on which no ‘*Zakaṭ*’ is paid is called, in Islamic terminology, ‘*Kanz*’ i.e., a buried treasure.¹⁰⁹ According to The Qur’an, ‘*Zakaṭ*’ purifies one’s earnings and property.¹¹⁰

Āadaqab in Islam is a term used for voluntary charity, as opposed to ‘*Zakaṭ*’ which is compulsory. It is used in a very wide sense, including what one spends on one’s family, on guests after three days, on orphans, the needy, the wayfarers, and the poor (including those who ask and those who ask not);¹¹¹ even that portion which is spent on one’s parents is called ‘*Āadaqab*’.¹¹² ‘*Āadaqab*’ is ‘Liberality’ and the Prophet is reported to have said: “Liberality is a tree in paradise of which he who is liberal will seize a branch, and the branch will not leave him till it brings him into paradise...”¹¹³ (Baiḥaqâ transmitted it). ‘*Āadaqab*’ saves the giver from the hell-fire. The Prophet is reported to have said over and again: “So, whoever among you can save himself from the Fire, should do so even with one half of a date (to give in charity);¹¹⁴ in Islam even a kind word said to a suffering person is ‘*Āadaqab*’.¹¹⁵ Again, S. ‘Ali reported God’s messenger as saying, “Give the *Āadaqab* before delay; for it stands in the way of calamity”¹¹⁶. Thus, Islam lays special emphasis on ‘*Āadaqab*’ which is a saviour from the Hell-fire and enjoins that it should be practiced before it is too late; it is also a means to averting all kinds of calamities. So, it is a saviour in this world as well as in

¹⁰⁷ *Mishkāt*, p. 372; also *The Noble Qur’an*, Vol. 6, pp.182-83.

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid*, 373.

¹⁰⁹ *The Noble Qur’an*, IX: 34; cf. Part 2, p. 375.

¹¹⁰ The Holy Qur’an, XCII: 18-21; see also *Mishkāt*, p. 374: “God has made the ‘*Zakaṭ*’ obligatory simply to purify your remaining property...”

¹¹¹ *Ibid*, II: 215; IX: 60; also *Mishkāt*, p. 410.

¹¹² The Holy Qur’an, 2: 215.

¹¹³ *Mishkāt*, p. 400-01.

¹¹⁴ *Bukḥarâ*, VI. 8, 547.

¹¹⁵ *Ibid*, 548.

¹¹⁶ *Mishkāt*, p. 401.

the hereafter. The Qur'an, as we have seen, emphasizes both the establishment of prayer and giving out of charity; the two having been treated as the most fundamental principles. Thus, we have seen that where '*Zakaat*' purifies our earnings and property, '*Āadaqah*' saves us from all kinds of torments in both the worlds.¹¹⁷ The Qur'an uses the term "*Alms*" (Charity) to cover both "*Zakaat*" and "*Āadaqah*". It says, "*Alms* are for the poor and the needy; and those employed to administer the (funds); for those whose hearts have been (recently) reconciled (to Truth); for those in bondage and in debt; (and) in the cause of Allah; and for the wayfarer; (thus is it) ordained by Allah,..."¹¹⁸ Of charity The Qur'an says, "They ask thee what they should spend (in charity). Say: Whatever ye spend that is good, is for parents and kindred and orphans and those in want and for wayfarers..."¹¹⁹ This enunciates how vast is the range of charity (*Āadaqah*) in the terminology of Islam.

Islam has condemned begging out rightly; but as in other matters, it always keeps in view the actual human situation. According to the Holy Prophet, begging "will appear as lacerations on his face on the day of resurrection and as heated stones which he will eat from *jahannum*..."¹²⁰ (Tirmidhâ transmitted it). But Islam permits begging in extremely straitened circumstances: it is "allowable only to one of three classes: a man who has become a guarantor for a payment, to whom begging is allowed till he gets it,...; a man whose property has been destroyed by a calamity which has smitten him,... and a man who has been smitten by poverty, the genuineness of which is confirmed by three intelligent members of his people..."¹²¹ (Muslim transmitted it). This special permission is withdrawn as soon as the straitened circumstances are over.

Islam against Stagnation of Wealth:

¹¹⁷ '*Āadaqah*,' according to Islamic system, serves as a saviour from calamities in this world and also from Hell-Fire in the next world.

¹¹⁸ *The Holy Qur'an*, 9: 60.

¹¹⁹ *Ibid.* 2: 215.

¹²⁰ *Mishkāt*, p. 391.

¹²¹ *Ibid.* p. 389.

The basic object of the Islamic economic system is to ensure circulation of wealth; to make sure that wealth does not concentrate in a few hands. The Qur'an lays down clear rules for the distribution of the "*Anfal*" (the Spoils of War), the "*Fai*" (which technically means the "property abandoned by the enemy or taken from him without a formal war), and "*Varathat*" (Inheritance). Of the "*Fai*" the Qur'an says: "*Fai*" belongs to Allah, to His Apostle, and to kindred and orphans, the needy and the wayfarers in order that it may not (merely) make a circuit between the wealthy among you..."¹²² Similarly, "*Anfal*" have to be distributed according to the rules laid down in The Qur'an.¹²³ Thus, there are set rules for the distribution of the state money and property among the needy and indigents. The Qur'an has severely condemned the hoarding of wealth. It says: "Who piles up wealth and layeth it by, thinking that his wealth would make him last for ever! By no means! He will be sure to be thrown into that which Breaks to Pieces".¹²⁴ Hoarding is condemned also because "the miser's hoards block up the channels of economic service and charity, and the circulation of goodwill among men."¹²⁵ Thus, according to Islam, stagnation of wealth not only leads to uneven and unjust distribution of wealth among the members of a community; it also causes "hardening of the heart" which renders man callous and his "milk of human kindness" is gradually dried up till it becomes harder than a rock even;¹²⁶ it dries up feelings of love, sympathy, fraternity and justice which are among the basic values taught by Islam. As we have seen before, any valuables on which '*Zakat*' is not paid will become his torment on the day of Resurrection. Imagine a society which is devoid of all the emotions mentioned above, which lacks all tender feelings, the result will be self-destruction and man will be living his life at a level far below even the animal level. Islam wants to ensure equitable circulation of wealth among all the members of the society; wealth has to flow from the more privileged to the

¹²² The Holy Qur'an, LIX:7; also see 1522 f.n.

¹²³ Ibid. ch. '*Anfal*', vs. 1 & 41.

¹²⁴ Ibid. CIV: 2-4.

¹²⁵ Ibid. 6268 f.n.

¹²⁶ Ibid. 2: 264-65 where *The Qur'an* makes a beautiful comparison of those who spend for just show-off and those who spend for the good pleasure of none but Allah. It likens the hypocrite to "a hard, barren rock, on which is a little soil" and a true believer to "a garden, high and fertile".

less privileged and only such a scheme can guarantee a truly welfare state in which each has according to his deserts and performance.

Inheritance:

Islam promulgates an extensive system of '*Varathat*' (Inheritance) again for the equitable and just distribution of wealth and property. It lays down in detail shares of each close relative, but there is a share for the poor and indigent also. On his death-bed, a man is enjoined to make a Will (*WaĀyat*) in the presence of reliable witnesses, and preferably his Will is written down by a scribe very honestly and faithfully, and any alteration in the Will is liable to God's punishment.¹²⁷ The Qur'an apportions "to the male, a portion equal to that of two females:..."¹²⁸ But this does not entail any injustice to the female, nor is she treated as inferior; it is because a woman gets her share from her husband also, and if she gets an equal share with a male then it would entail injustice to the latter which Islam has carefully avoided. As compared with other systems of inheritance, it is certainly more realistic, natural and workable. A close scrutiny of the Qur'anic system of inheritance reveals that it has a very wide range and ensures justice to all the parties concerned, which includes ascendants as well as descendants. There are systems in the world in which the whole bequest goes to the eldest son which encourages concentration of wealth in a few hands; in most of the systems the female segment of the community is deprived of any share. Islam, on the other hand, encourages circulation of wealth and property among a vast range of claimants, irrespective of their sex and status. The Qur'an clearly says, "From what is left by parents and those nearest related there is a share for men and a share for women, whether the property be small or large—a determinate share".¹²⁹ "But if at the time of division other relatives, or orphans, or poor, are present, feed them out of the (property), and speak to them words of kindness and justice".¹³⁰ Moreover, division of the property has to be effected "after the payment of legacies and debts".¹³¹ It is obvious from these verses that from the bequest of a person the legacies and debts

¹²⁷ Ibid. 2: 180-81.

¹²⁸ Ibid. IV: 11.

¹²⁹ Ibid. 7.

¹³⁰ Ibid. 8.

¹³¹ Ibid. 11.

have to be disbursed, and some portion has to be spent on the poor, the orphans, the indigents, and even other relatives present at the moment, before the legacy is divided among the true heirs which, as said above, includes a wide range. Thus Islam ensures that the bequest goes to the maximum number of beneficiaries and even some other members of the society benefit from it. Islam has, hence, promulgated a broad-based system of inheritance and its fruits are tasted by a large majority.

In the above pages we have discussed Islamic economic system which is very elaborate and has various aspects. The system is the most natural, realistic and comprehensively workable, and if followed sincerely and faithfully will remedy most of the ills, modern world is facing. However, the fundamental principle of Islam, as we have seen above, is contained in the verse quoted from chapter *The Cow*, which purports that nothing in excess of genuine needs is to be retained, as it would be illegitimate. Islam condemns ‘*Riba*’ (Usury) which was a Jewish practice since the Pre-Islamic days and is prevalent to this day; it, on the other hand, lays special emphasis on ‘*Zakaat*’ and ‘*Aadaqab*’ (i.e. Charity); and lays down such rules for the utilization and distribution of wealth and property, including the rules for business and Inheritance, which ensure that wealth is not concentrated in a few hands — rather a vast majority of the community benefits from it. Islamic system, as compared with any other system, is highly human and is the only system which can cure the ills of modern capitalism, which is killing all higher values and aspirations, and is estranging man from man.¹³² As said before, the modern system is not only enslaving the individuals, but also the nations and states, which proves its cruelty and inhumanity. A deeper study of the Islamic system, on the other hand, will prove that the world cannot propose a better system, which is both human and humane, despite all its philosophical and scientific advancements.

¹³² Iqbal, Dr. M., *The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam*, (Lahore: Ashraf, rep. 1968), p. 187.

THE CASE OF MUSLIM SCHOLARSHIP

(THE CASE OF NON-MUSLIM SCHOLARSHIP)

(Part II)

Muhammad Ismail Marcinkowski

1. GENERAL INTRODUCTION

The present contribution constitutes the second and final part¹³³ of an essay of which the first part had already been published in a previous issue of this journal. In the course of the first part, some of the general shortcomings and deficiencies with regard to Muslim historiography as well as the problem of the proper perception of the history of the Muslims from the part of Muslim scholars had been focused on. In that context the present contributor had also emphasized the difference between the two expressions 'Islamic history' and 'history of the Muslims', insomuch as he gave his preference to the latter. The present second part shall outline selected features of non-Muslim scholarship on the civilization and history of the Muslims, which is usually in a rather generalizing manner referred to as 'orientalism'. In the course of the first part the present contributor has pleaded in support of a more scholarly and above all, critical and rational attitude of Muslim historians and scholars on various aspects of the civilization of the Muslims with regard to the respective subject of their research. It is interesting to notice that an apparently quite similar and supporting statement had already been made by Iqbal, who in the following tries to find a balance between the requirements of reason(ing) and accurate historiographical scholarship and steadfastness in religion:

¹³³ Dr. Marcinkowski, an Iranologist, lectures in Islamic history and historiography at *The International Institute of Islamic Thought and Civilization (ISTAC)*, Kuala Lumpur (Malaysia). He is also a Visiting Scholar at *Fatih University*, Istanbul (Turkey). The present contribution constitutes the second part of a bipartite lecture which was presented by the author at the *Religious Teachers' Association of Singapore (PERGAS)* in Singapore on 5th and 6th August 2000, respectively.

The growth of historical sense in Islam is a fascinating subject. The Quranic appeal to experience, the necessity to ascertain the exact sayings of the Prophet and the desire to furnish permanent sources of inspiration to posterity—all these forces contributed to produce such men as Ibn i IsĀ«q, ñabarâ and Mas‘ëdâ. But history, as an art of firing the reader’s imagination, is only a stage in the development of history as a genuine science. The possibility of a scientific treatment of history means a wider experience, a greater maturity of practical reason, and finally a fuller realization of certain basic ideas regarding the nature of life and time.¹³⁴

Non-Muslim scholarship (a term which, in the view of the present writer, appears to be somewhat more preferable to other expressions, such as ‘western’, which degrades the originally universal message of the Religion of Islam¹³⁵ to a quasi-ethnic ‘eastern’ or ‘oriental’ phenomenon, or ‘Orientalist’, which is too inclusive since it encompasses also Sinology and other fields not related to the study of Islam) tends to emphasize the supposed ‘irrational’ procedure of Muslim historiography, and in fact of any non-secular approach.¹³⁶ In the following we shall have a glance on some selected aspects of the manner how non-Muslim scholarship is perceiving the civilization of the Muslims.

2. ON ‘ORIENTALISM’ AND OTHER LABELS

Edward W. Said,¹³⁷ a multifaceted and prominent non-Muslim Palestinian Arab author and politician, whose highly controversial book *Orientalism* catapulted him into the limelight of public attention, presented with regard to the rather academic connotation of ‘Orientalism’ (thus to something which

¹³⁴ Sir Muhammad Iqbal, *The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam* (Lahore: Sh. Muhammad Ashraf, 1999 [reprint]), p. 140.

¹³⁵ For a succinct outline see Syed Muhammad Naquib al-Attas, *Islam. The Concept of Religion and the Foundation of Ethics and Morality* (Kuala Lumpur: Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka, 2nd impression, 1992).

¹³⁶ On ‘secularism’ from the point of view of a leading contemporary scholar refer to idem, *Islam and Secularism* (Kuala Lumpur: ISTAC, 1993, 2nd impression). See now also Alparslan Açıkgenç, *Scientific Thought and its Burdens. An Essay in the History and Philosophy of Science* (Istanbul: Fatih University Publications, 2000).

¹³⁷ On Edward Said, his significance, biography and career see Michael Sprinkler (ed.), *Edward Said: A Critical Reader* (Oxford [UK] and Cambridge [U.S.A.]: Blackwell, 1992),

has been defined by the present writer above as ‘non-Muslim scholarship on the civilization of the Muslims’) the following definition:

Anyone who teaches, writes about, or researches the Orient and this applies whether the person is an anthropologist, sociologist, historian, or philologist either in its specific or its general aspects, is an Orientalist, and what he or she does is Orientalism.”¹³⁸

On the more general, somehow more comprehensive range and supposed actual significance of ‘Orientalism’, however, Said has found the following words:

Orientalism is a style of thought based upon an ontological and epistemological distinction made between “the Orient” and (most of the time) “the Occident”. Thus a very large mass of writers, among whom are poets, novelists, philosophers, political theorists, economists, and imperial administrators, have accepted the basic distinction between East and West as the starting point for elaborate theories, epics, novels, social descriptions, and political accounts concerning the Orient, its people, customs, “mind”, destiny, and so on. *This* Orientalism can accommodate Aeschylus, say, and Victor Hugo, Dante and Karl Marx.”¹³⁹

In spite of the therein (as in the rest of the book) prevailing cynicism, these two statements appear, to the mind of the present writer, to be handy ‘working-definitions’ for what is usually understood as ‘Orientalism’ and for what had been termed above ‘non-Muslim scholarship on the civilization of the Muslims’. However, Said’s restricting and therefore dangerous since misleading point of view with regard to the very nature of ‘Orientalism’ becomes apparent if we consider carefully the following two passages of his book:

¹³⁸ Edward W. Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Vintage Books, 1979), p. 2.

¹³⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 2-3.

The worldwide hegemony of Orientalism and all it stands for can now be challenged, if we can benefit properly from the general twentieth-century rise to political and *historical awareness of so many of the earth's peoples*.¹⁴⁰

On the same page Said states:

I consider Orientalism's failure to have been a human as much as an intellectual one; for in having to take up a position of *irreducible opposition to a region of the world it considered alien to its own*, Orientalism failed to identify with human experience, failed also to see it as a human experience.¹⁴¹

In the view of the present contributor, however, it are not the 'peoples', 'orientals' in particular, which constitute the fallacious focal point of 'Orientalism', but rather its *secularizing* aspect. This is important to know in order to avoid being misled by Said who is himself a non-Muslim secular writer. To the mind of the present writer, the so far best since most precise and unequivocal outline of the principal thought which is underlying the concept of 'secularism' from the part of a contemporary high-calibre Muslim scholar has only been provided by Prof. Dr. Syed Muhammad Naquib al-Attas (b. 1931), the Founder-Director of the *International Institute of Islamic Thought and Civilization* (ISTAC) in Kuala Lumpur.¹⁴² ISTAC, a renowned

¹⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 328 (italics mine).

¹⁴¹ *Ibid.* (italics mine).

¹⁴² For full information and further references on Al-Attas, his scholarly contribution, the originally his concept of 'Islamization of Knowledge' and the history and characteristics of ISTAC refer to Wan Mohd Nor Wan Daud, *The Educational Philosophy and Practice of Syed Muhammad Naquib Al-Attas. An Exposition of the Original Concept of Islamization* (Kuala Lumpur: ISTAC, 1998), and idem, "Islamization of Contemporary Knowledge: A Brief Comparison between al-Attas and Fazlur Rahman", *Al-Shajarah. Journal of the International Institute of Islamic Thought and Civilization* 2 no. 1 (1997), pp. 1-19. Prof. Dr. Wan is ISTAC's Deputy-Director. For a splendid pictured description of ISTAC's architectural features again a creation by Al-Attas himself as well of the treasures which are housed by its fine library perhaps the best of its kind in Southeast Asia refer to Sharifah Shifa al-Attas, *ISTAC Illuminated. A Pictorial Tour of the International Institute of Islamic Thought and Civilization* (ISTAC), Kuala Lumpur (Kuala Lumpur: ISTAC, 1998).

[Dr. Muhammad Ismail Marcinkowski would like to mention that he has translated two monographs of Al-Attas into German: see Syed Muhammad Naquib al-Attas, *The Meaning and Experience of Happiness in Islam* (Kuala Lumpur: ISTAC, 1993), German transl: *Die Bedeutung und das Erleben von Glückseligkeit im Islam* (Kuala Lumpur: ISTAC, 1998); idem, *Islam*

institution of higher learning, which is involved in post-graduate studies is an autonomous part of the *International Islamic University Malaysia* (IIUM). In the course of the past decades of his life as a scholar, the all-encompassing effects of ‘secularism’ upon the civilization of the Muslim civilization had been countered by Al-Attas with the concept of ‘Islamization of Knowledge’, a term which was coined by him, being originally his concept. The present writer (who does not necessarily agree to *all* the particular aspects of Al-Attas’ thought) considers nevertheless the very essence of Al-Attas’ contribution a milestone on the way towards a proper apprehension of the realities of today’s world from the part of Muslims. It is regrettable that Al-Attas’ concept of ‘Islamization of Knowledge’ has not only been misunderstood by the *non*-Muslim parts of the learned world, but also by certain of his co-religionists, who appear to restrict it—without proper reference to Al-Attas—to the mere observation of legal aspects. In particular the last mentioned group uses to refer to ‘Islamization of Knowledge’ without proper reference to its actual originator and more significantly without a proper understanding of its *all-inclusive character*. Al-Attas, on the other hand, has provided us with a detailed, comprehensive and at times even etymological definition of terms such as ‘religion’, ‘secular’, ‘secularism’ and ‘secularisation’. Unfortunately, the given framework does not permit to go deeper into this essential topic. However, the interested reader is referred to the books and monographs authored by Al-Attas, for the present purpose most relevant ones being his *Islam and Secularism*¹⁴³ and *Prolegomena to the Metaphysics of Islam*,¹⁴⁴ the latter being the most comprehensive elaboration of his thought.

Through a close study of Al-Attas’ various scholarly contributions as well as his analysis and refutation of the underlying intellectual, cultural and historical foundations of ‘secularism’ we should also be able to consider to very nature of the phenomenon which is known as ‘Orientalism’ in its true light: One of the basic mistakes of those from among the contemporary

and the Philosophy of Science (Kuala Lumpur: ISTAC, 1989), German transl: *Islam und die geistigen Grundlagen von Wissenschaft. Übersetzung aus dem Englischen* (Kuala Lumpur: ISTAC, 2000)].

¹⁴³ Syed Muhammad Naquib al-Attas, *Islam and Secularism* (Kuala Lumpur: ISTAC, 1993, 2nd impression).

¹⁴⁴ Idem, *Prolegomena to the Metaphysics of Islam. An Exposition of the Fundamental Worldview of Islam* (Kuala Lumpur: ISTAC, 1995.)

Muslim scholars who are desperately trying to understand the nature of 'Orientalism' is their constantly linking it with a supposed prevailing 'Judaeo-Christian', i.e. religious character of 'the West', which constitutes another chimera from their part and which is, to my understanding, the crucial if not fatal mistake committed by them. Contrary to this view and more appropriate to the existing facts and realities of our present world, is a characterization of 'the West' as 'secular' and 'constantly secularising' and 'changing'. In fact, *this* constant emphasis on a supposed 'need for change' constitutes also the background for contemporary non-Muslim scholarship on the history and civilization of the Muslims. A scholar (and a historiographer in particular) has to be aware of these circumstances, since the current 'clash'¹⁴⁵ between 'secularism' (presently appearing as 'globalisation') on the one hand and other 'value-systems' is actually not the result of narrow theological differences (which are anyway irrelevant with regard to the 'secularised West'), but rather the consequence of diametrically opposing *Weltanschauungen* or *worldviews*. It is again Al-Attas who in his two afore-mentioned works has provided us with the most succinct outline of the problem of 'change' in our present context. ISTAC, the above referred to institution of post-graduate studies founded by Al-Attas, tries therefore to *analyse* those challenges of 'modernity' that affect the Muslim world and endanger the minds of its peoples as well as their *worldview* by training international as well as Malaysian students in their particular field of research *and* by providing them also with sufficient, accurate and well-balanced information about other domains of Muslim as well as non-Muslim value-systems. ISTAC's perspective can therefore with full right be considered as focussing at 'personality-building'. It is interesting to observe also in other parts of the Muslim world in this regard inspiring activities, such as at Istanbul's Fatih University,¹⁴⁶ and for the near future it is intended to enter

¹⁴⁵ I am using this term with full intention. Confer this with two recent contributions which contain somewhat differing views: Kaveh L. Afrasiabi, "Dialogue of Religions and Clash of Civilizations", *Hamdard Islamicus* 23 no. 2 (April-June 2000), pp. 13-24, and Khalid Mahmood Shaykh, "Islam and the West - The Past and Present", *Hamdard Islamicus* 23 no. 2 (April-June 2000), pp. 7-11.

¹⁴⁶ Fatih University publishes, for instance, since 1999, in cooperation with Cornell University, Ithaca, N.Y., the high standing *Journal of Economic and Social Research*, which uses to publish articles in the above outlines field. The reader is also referred to Alparslan Açıkgöç, *Scientific Thought and its Burdens* (Istanbul: Fatih University, 2000), which investigates the particular Islamic understanding of science, comparing it with that of other value-systems.

into an exchange of scholars between Fatih University and ISTAC. In the view of the present writer, those activities are highly encouraging since they appear to be aimed at a *sincere and constructive exchange of ideas* between Muslim and non-Muslim, in particular ‘western’, civilizations rather than at a mere repetition of accusations against each other.

It appears, however, that other contemporary Muslim scholars and scholarly institutions, if not the majority of them, are not yet aware of the just referred to challenges and dangers. As one example of them Dr. Ahmad Ghorab and his booklet *Subverting Islam. The Role of Orientalist Centres*¹⁴⁷ had already been referred to in the course of the first part of the present contribution. That Said has rather been driven by a kind of - perhaps personally motivated - ‘crusade’ against anything ‘western’ or rather ‘non-oriental’ becomes clear to his readers if they come across certain generalizing passages in his book as the following:

Positively, I do believe [...] that enough is being done today in the human sciences to provide the contemporary scholar with insights, methods, and ideas that could dispense with *racial, ideological, and imperialist stereotypes* of the sort provided during its historical ascendancy by Orientalism.”¹⁴⁸

Unfortunately, at least for Said’s readers, it are mainly those racial, ideological and other *stereotypes of his own* again, perhaps motivated rather by Said’s personal up-bringing, psychological mind-setting and political affiliations and obligations which are dominating almost every single page of his book and which will become apparent if we consider also the following statement of his:

[...] the answer to Orientalism is not Occidentalism. No former “Oriental” will be comforted by the thought that having been an Oriental himself he is likely - too likely - to study new “Orientals” - or “Occidentals” - of his own making. If the knowledge of Orientalism has any meaning, it is in

¹⁴⁷ Ahmad Ghorab, *Subverting Islam. The Role of Orientalist Centres* (Kuala Lumpur: The Open Press, 1995, reprint).

¹⁴⁸ Said, *Orientalism*, p. 328 (italics mine).

being a reminder of the seductive degradation of knowledge, of any knowledge, anywhere, at any time. Now perhaps more than before.”¹⁴⁹

Edward Said’s approach as well as that of Ghorab (the first being a rather secular-minded non-Muslim, the latter perhaps fitting into the wobbly categories such as of ‘Islamic revivalism’ and alike)—as ‘tempting’ as they might sound at first—are rather dangerous and counter-productive, since they are presenting Islam, whether with full intention or unconsciously shall not be our concern, as something ‘oriental’, which amounts in fact to another attempt to ‘secularise’ it. Similar approaches of quasi ‘nationalizing’ the history of the Muslims vis-à-vis the ‘European’ or ‘Western Threat’. The real challenge of today, however, is exactly this ‘secularising’ *worldview*, as reflected in Said’s book as well as - paradoxically - in that of Ghorab, a *worldview* which had been pinpointed and opposed so vehemently by Al-Attas in the course of his above-mentioned various scholarly contributions.

Dr. Ghorab’s already referred to controversial and highly polemical little book *Subverting Islam: The Role of Orientalist Centres*, however, has also its benefits if we consider it as an attempt of directing the attention of the Muslim public (the scholars in particular) to certain general problems, in particular in the field of education and above all, the perception of the civilization of the Muslims. In Ghorab’s usually simplifying words this perspective has been expressed in the following fashion:

The further duty [of the Muslims] is to put right what is wrong. In this case, that means sitting down with like-minded Muslims to discuss, and then establish, ways of getting the appropriate education to Muslims, of giving them Islamic aspects perspectives on Islamic history and civilization.”¹⁵⁰

Ghorab made in the course of his brief writing in fact some other interesting observations more with regard to his focal point ‘Orientalism’. However, his fully legitimate plead for a more balanced consideration of Islam as a whole falls all too often back into the mere attribution of his own

¹⁴⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁵⁰ Ghorab, *Subverting Islam. The Role of Orientalist Centres*, p. 80.

attitudes, desires, feelings, or suppositions to ‘others’, ‘the orientalist’, as a naive or unconscious defense against his own anxiety or guilt, thus into a phenomenon which is among psychologists known as ‘projection’. However, what is needed today is rather a *scientific* investigation of the *epistemological* differences between Muslim and non-Muslim civilizations, as already initiated by the afore-mentioned Al-Attas or, prior to him, by Iqbal. In the next following part then we shall refer to some of the essentials of contemporary *non-Muslim* historiographical scholarship on the civilization of the Muslims.

Unfortunately (and besides the usual avoidable editorial shortcomings), also Professor Mehmet Maksudoglu’s book *Osmanlı History 1289-1922*,¹⁵¹ one of the most recent historiographical studies on the Ottomans carried out by a Muslim scholar has to be mentioned in this connection, although its author might have intended rather the opposite. In his preface, Maksudoglu states in this regard:

[...] from my previous experience, I knew that works in English on this subject [i.e. on Ottoman history] were far from being satisfactory. Therefore, I decided to write a book in this language based on original sources while making use of research written in Turkish, English, and Arabic. The outcome of this effort is this book in which I have tried to study Osmanlı history from an Osmanlı perspective, and to present its people as they perceived themselves.”¹⁵²

Unfortunately however, Professor Maksudoglu has not kept his promise, to present Ottoman history from the angle of the *people*, who in his book seem to consist merely of the ‘Ruling Class’, i.e. the imperial household and those associated with it. Even the extremely exciting domain of Ottoman arts and literature is almost not present at all. However, what apparently *did* matter to the mind of the author was a characterization of the Ottoman phenomenon as a mere ‘*devlet*’ or ‘state’ rather than a *civilization* or ‘way of life’ which dominated for centuries—up to the present day—the political, social, cultural, and at times ethnic realities of the Middle East and Northern Africa

¹⁵¹ Mehmet Maksudoğlu, *Osmanlı History 1289-1922, Based on Osmanlı Sources* (Kuala Lumpur: International Islamic University Malaysia, 1999).

¹⁵² *Ibid.*, p. xi.

as well as those of the larger part of Southeast Europe. As a positive antipode I should like to mention Professor Halil Inalcik's excellent *The Ottoman Empire. The Classical Age 1300-1600*¹⁵³ and the various scholarly contributions by Professor Suraiya Faroqhi. To the last-mentioned scholar we shall return in the course of the following part.

3. Selected Aspects of Contemporary non-Muslim Historiography on The Civilization of Islam

It is always more appropriate to refer to Islam as a *civilization*, rather than as a religion, a system of thought, a culture or similar restrictive terms alike. It is this very connotation of *civilization* which appears to be the most comprehensive. With regard to the difference between *culture* and *civilization* the controversial Turkish journalist, patriot and sociologist Ziya Gökalp (1876-1924) provides a useful since convenient aid. Although he too is associated with a rather 'secular' worldview, in particular with the very early period of Republican Turkey, his view shall nevertheless be referred here in full since it provides us with a useful 'working-platform'. He stated:

There is both similarity and difference between culture and civilization. The similarity is that both encompass all aspects of social life—religious, moral, legal, intellectual, aesthetic, economic, linguistic and technologic. The sum of these eight kinds of social life is called both culture and civilization and thus provides the point of similarity and identity between the two.¹⁵⁴

In the following he qualifies this view further:

First of all, culture is national, whereas civilization is international. Culture is a harmonious whole of the eight above-mentioned aspects of the life of

¹⁵³ Halil Inalcik, *The Ottoman Empire. The Classical Age 1300-1600*, trans. Norman Itzkowitz and Colin Imber (La Rochelle, N.Y.: Aristide D, Caratzas, 1973).

¹⁵⁴ Ziya Gökalp *The Principles of Turkism*, trans. and annot. Robert Devereux (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1968), p. 22.

a single nation. Civilization, on the other hand, is a mutually shared whole of the social lives of many nations situated on the same continent.”¹⁵⁵

In conclusion he stated:

[...] civilization is the sum total of social phenomena that have occurred by conscious action and individual wills. For example, religious knowledge and the sciences have been created by conscious action and will, just as all our knowledge and theories relating to ethics, law, fine arts, economics, philosophy, language and technology have been created by individuals. Thus, the sum total of all concepts, knowledge and sciences to be found within the same continent constitute what we call civilization. The elements included in culture, however, have not been created by conscious action and individual wills. They are not artificial”¹⁵⁶

In the light of those views it would be fully expectable to speak of Islam, too, as a *civilization* rather than a mere *culture* and its characterization as a *civilization* which places it therefore far beyond ethnic and national boundaries.

Similarly, Professor Suraiya Faruqi, one of the leading contemporary Ottomanists and currently holding the Chair for Ottoman Studies at Munich’s Ludwig Maximilians University, focuses in her writings on a somewhat broader setting of *civilization*. When referring to the attitudes of non-Muslim, ‘Orientalist’ scholarship on the civilization of Islam, her views appear to be far more balanced than those of Ghorab and they are therefore of considerable interest to our present purpose. In her latest book *Approaching Ottoman History: An Introduction to the Sources* we find her also in support of Edward Said’s already referred to controversial book *Orientalism*. Her views are, however, somewhat more qualified than those of Ghorab and Said. She declares:¹⁵⁷

¹⁵⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁵⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁵⁷ Edward W. Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Vintage Books, 1978).

Apart from the dubious claims resulting from nationalism, orientalism constitutes the major trap into which, given prevailing assumptions, many Ottomanist historians are likely to fall. The pervasiveness of Orientalist assumptions in secondary studies down to the present day has been shown to us by the critical work of Edward Said and his students. Orientalism involves a persistent tendency to define the Islamic world as the eternal ‘other’ and an unwillingness to concede that Middle Eastern societies have a history and dynamic of their own. In some instances, such a dynamic may be conceded, but then it is assumed that Middle Eastern history is something *sui generis* and not amendable to historical comparison. It has often been claimed that ‘original observation’ as opposed to reliance on authority characterised European high culture since the Renaissance. Yet orientalism also involves an excessive reliance on literary sources from long bygone times, so that ancient prejudices get carried over from one generation to the next without much regard for historical realities [...]. When discussing the European sources on Ottoman history, this problem must never be left out of sight.¹⁵⁸

Professor Suraiya Faruqi is, in spite of her siding with Said, an excellent example for a scholar who is dealing critically with history and culture—*Kulturgeschichte* so to say—in their *totality* by considering them as *civilization*, which encompasses also aspects that are usually known as ‘popular culture’ and ‘folk religion’, perhaps in the sense of Chittick’s further below referred to statement,¹⁵⁹ or even as an unconscious reminiscence to the Swiss historian Jacob Burckhardt (1818-97) and the approach followed by him in his renowned *History of the Renaissance in Italy*.¹⁶⁰ Professor Faruqi’s way of presenting history - Ottoman history in her case - is therefore highly recommendable and productive in the context of our present setting.

Professor Suraiya Faruqi stands, however, alone if we were to compare her wide-ranging and inclusive approach with some of the still prevailing characteristics of non-Muslim, in particular ‘Western’, scholarship on the civilization of Islam. Within the given framework I would like to refer only in

¹⁵⁸ Suraiya Faruqi, *Approaching Ottoman History. An Introduction to the Sources* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1999), p. 15.

¹⁵⁹ Refer to the fourth chapter of the present paper.

¹⁶⁰ Jacob Burckhardt, *The History of the Renaissance in Italy*, trans. by S.G.C. Middlemore, with a new introduction by Peter Burke and notes by Peter Murray (London: Penguin, 1990).

brief to some selected features of contemporary ‘Orientalist’ scholarship which deserve the full attention and concern of Muslim scholars. It might be true that the ostensible interest of ‘Orientalist’ scholarship has during the second half of the 20th century shifted from a ‘consideration’ of the ‘purely religious aspects’ of the civilization of Islam to reputedly rather ‘neutral’ areas, such as the study of dynasties and their respective cultural significance and achievements. However, this approach, too, is not devoid of shoals and obscure (misinterpretations shall here only be illustrated by a brief example from the experience of the present writer’s background as an Iranologist: In his field of particular interest, i.e. the genesis and early history of Iran’s Safavid dynasty (1501-1722), under which Iran was conquered and unified and Twelver Shâ‘ism introduced throughout the country as the ‘official creed’, an increasing interest from the part of in particular ‘Western’ scholars in the supposed significance of the ‘ethnic background’ of Muslim dynasties (such as the Safavids in this case) can be noticed.¹⁶¹ Such emphasis on ‘ethnic factors’, however, which might be relevant in the context of certain developments within the context of 19th century Europe is rather an indicator for the degree of ‘secularisation’ in ‘the West’ and can in no manner be ‘projected’ to the societies of the Muslim lands, in particular those of much earlier historical periods. Muslim scholars should be aware of such kind of approaches, which are not scholarly at all and in fact, more suspicious than earlier ‘Orientalist’ activities of a indeed rather missionary character, such as those of the notorious Samuel Zwemer, outlined in his book *Islam: A Challenge to Faith*.¹⁶² Whereas other early high-calibre, although biased, ‘orientalists’ such as Ignaz Goldziher, Theodor Nöldeke and others alike (most of them too with a background in Christian missionary activities),

¹⁶¹ I would like to direct the attention of the reader to three forthcoming studies of mine, Muhammad Ismail Marcinkowski, “The Reputed Issue of the ‘Ethnic Origin’ of Iran’s Safavid Dynasty (907-1145/1501-1722): Reflections on Selected Prevailing Views”, *Journal of the Pakistan Historical Society* (forthcoming); idem, *MârꞤ Rafâ’«s Dastër al-Mulëk: A Manual of Later Safavid Administration. Annotated English Translation, Commentary on the Offices and Services and Facsimile of the Unique Persian Manuscript*. (Kuala Lumpur: ISTAC, forthcoming end of 2000/beginning of 2001), ca. 550 pages; idem, “Selected Features of a Unique Persian Manual on Islamic Administration from Late Safavid Iran: MârꞤ Rafâ’«s Dastër al-Mulëk;” *Al-Shajarah* 5, no. 1 (forthcoming June 2000), ca. 40 pages.

¹⁶² Samuel M. Zwemer, *Islam: A Challenge to Faith. Studies on the Mohammedan Religion and the Needs and Opportunities of the Mohammedan World* (London: Darf Publishers Limited, 1985, new impression, first published 1907), passim.

belong to the category of 'scholars', Samuel Zwemer, the initiator of the journal *The Moslem World* during the first decades of the past century,¹⁶³ might have had considered himself as a kind of 'vanguard', if not a belated 'Apostle of the Muslims'.

Another conspicuous feature of contemporary 'Orientalist' scholarship is the *over*-emphasis of formal matters in 'reviewed' works, in particular when dealing with those authored by Muslims, even if the work under 'review' is formally (i.e. from the point of view of editorial matters, if not even in its contents and scholarly contribution) comparable to a study in the respective field which had been carried out in 'the West'. With regard to the rather dubious and obscure genre of 'review' then it has to be noted that most scholarly journals do in fact reserve a considerable section to 'reviews' of published books and articles and some of the oldest 'Orientalist' journals such as Britain's *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* or the French *Revue Asiatique* who date back to the first half of the 19th century contained since the days of their foundation always a 'review-section'. However, to the mind of the present writer, the underlying sense of such 'review-sections' does not easily emerge. In fact, with regard to non-Muslim journals, there seem to exist two kinds of 'reviews'. Both of them are usually referred to as 'blind review', but we shall see that reality is at times somewhat different from this noble but all too often ostensible claim: The first kind could be considered as '*supportive* review', the all over prevailing tenor of it being that of appraisal. However, if we were to look deeper into the subject we would soon discover that in this case of 'supportive blind review' 'reviewer' and 'reviewed author' *do* in fact often know each other. In some cases they might even stand in a (former) student-teacher relation to each other. In opposition to this we come across the second kind of 'review' which could be referred to as 'discouraging or negative review'. The tone of 'reviews' of this kind is mostly kept in a somehow haughty and at times even arrogant and patronizing language, often containing stereotype locations such as 'not suitable for a scholarly journal' and similar alike, even if the 'reviewed' piece of scholarship would be technically comparable to a work compiled by a 'western' scholar. 'Discouraging reviews' of this kind appear to prevail in case the author of the

¹⁶³ I should like to note that *The Muslim World* follows today fortunately a somewhat more balanced course.

respective ‘reviewed’ contributor is in the course of his work ‘deviating’ from the given ‘secular’ framework (here in the sense of Al-Attas definitions). It does not need much imagination to realize that it is mostly the Muslim authors who are afflicted by this kind of ‘review’.

For the reason of avoiding such kind of biased practices some renowned scholarly periodicals, among them ISTAC’s biannual journal *Al-Shajarah*, do not contain ‘review-sections’ at all. Exemplary with regard of the manner in which even first-ranking contemporary Muslim scholars are ‘dealt with’ is the controversy that occurred during the mid-1970s between ISTAC’s Founder-Director Professor Syed Muhammad Naquib Al-Attas and the Dutch ‘Orientalist’ Professor G. W. J. Drewes, formerly Professor of Arabic at the University of Leiden, after the latter had published his ‘review’¹⁶⁴ on Al-Attas’s book *Ranârâ and the Wujëdiyyah*.¹⁶⁵ In his refutation of Drewes’ ‘review-article’¹⁶⁶ Al-Attas endeavours to reject substantially false allegations made against him under the pretext of ‘re-examination’ of one of his early works in Drewes’ ‘review’, one of the noted Dutch orientalists. Al-Attas’ refutation exposes “undue bitterness, ignorance, arrogance disguised on false modesty, malicious motives in a work claiming to be a product of sincere scholarship”¹⁶⁷ on the part of the ‘reviewer’. Therein, Al-Attas introduces also the true interpretation of facts and ideas that are false presented, implied and interpreted by the ‘reviewer’ of his work. He demonstrates the validity of his objections and rejection with detailed analysis, thereby exposing the weak and unfounded display of deceptive pedantry on the part of the ‘reviewer’. More interesting for our present purpose, however, is what Al-Attas has to say in connection with the genre of ‘review’ from the angle of traditional Islamic learning vis-à-vis presently prevailing standards in ‘Orientalist’ scholarship:

¹⁶⁴ G. W. J. Drewes, “Nër al-Dân Al-R^ṣnârâ’s *Àujjat al-Àiddâq li-daf’ al-Zindâq*, re-examined”, *Journal of the Malayan Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* 47, pt. (December 1974), pp. 83-104.

¹⁶⁵ Syed Muhammad Naquib al-Attas, *R^ṣnârâ and the Wujëdiyyah of 17th Century Aceh* (Singapore: Malayan Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, 1966) (Monographs of the Malayan Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, no. 3).

¹⁶⁶ Idem, *Comments on the Re-examination of al- R^ṣnârâ’s Àujjatu ’l-Àiddâq: A Refutation* (Kuala Lumpur: National Museum, 1975).

¹⁶⁷ Al-Attas, *Comments on the Re-Examination of al- R^ṣnârâ’s Àujjatu ’l-Àiddâq: A Refutation*, p. 1.

Islamic tradition does not recognize such presumptuous and conceited preoccupation as “reviewing”, which is now widely practised among scholars who regard highly this legacy of the Western tradition in modern scholarship. A Muslim scholar, with the work of another before him, would either - according to Islamic tradition - refute it (*radd*), or elaborate it further in commentary (*shari‘ah*) as the occasion demands. There is no such thing as “reviewing” it, whether “review” is termed as such or as any other term, which describes it. If there are petty mistakes they turn a blind eye on them; if there are obscurities they explain them in commentary, they polish a positive work and make it shine. In this case we find that it is neither a refutation nor a commentary. Both refutation and commentary require positive knowledge and confidence; there is no question of doubt and wavering on important issues. But here we find neither refutation nor commentary; we find instead what can only be called meddling, bungling and fumbling! As to errors in transliteration, we know that even the works of genuine orientalists are not free of such “imperfections”, for in that sense no one is “perfect”. To allow free rein to practise meddling and bungling and fumbling by one scholar on the work of another, dealing with a subject not quite understood by the former, is not only not fair; it is to say the least ridiculous!”¹⁶⁸

4. CONCLUDING REMARKS

The main purpose of the present bipartite contribution consisted in the intention to create a certain degree of awareness a *consciousness* with regard to the respective *worldviews* which are underlying historiography, in particular to the epistemological approach towards the history and civilization of the Muslims and in fact to those of any other value-systems as well. In the view of the present author, those varying epistemological approaches ‘secular’, ‘non-secular’ should remain always recognizable in published historiographical works, since it is not the reputed ‘scientificity’ or ‘un-scientificity’ which marks the major difference between works written by Muslims and non-Muslims, respectively, but rather the fundamentally different *Weltanschauungen*. The respect for the worldview and the foundations of one’s opponent in a discussion does not necessarily mean to ascribe to

¹⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 121

them. To the mind of the present writer, this and only this signifies the real meaning of *dialogue*, anything else being insincere.

With regard to that appropriate and balanced attitude or ‘mood’ with which a scholar should approach the civilization of Islam (and in fact any civilization on which he or she is going to write) the final word should be given to William C. Chittick, who in his excellent introduction to *Al-ĀĀĀfat al-Sajjādīyah*, the well-known collection of the invocations of the Prophet’s great grandson Imām ‘Alā b. al-Āusayn b. ‘Alā b. ‘Abd al-MuĀĀlib, known as Zayn al-‘ybidān (d. 95/713), has found the following beautiful words. They may serve as a kind of constant reminder of *how* to proceed with regard to the study of Islamic history and civilization:

Islamic civilization as a whole is much like a traditional Muslim city: The outer walls make it appear dull and sombre and it is not easy to gain access to the world behind the walls. But if one becomes an intimate with the city’s inhabitants, one is shown into delightful courtyards and gardens, full of fragrant flowers, fruit trees and sparkling fountains. Those who write about Islamic history, political events and institutions deal with the walls, since they have no way into the gardens. Some of the gardens are opened up through the study of Sufism, art and architecture, poetry and music, but since all of these have appeared in specific historical forms influenced by the surrounding environment, their deeply Islamic roots can easily be lost to sight. The most traditional and authentic gardens of the city and the most difficult to access are the hearts of the greatest representatives of the civilization. It is here that the supplications handed down from the pillars of early Islam can open up a whole new vision of Islam’s animating spirit, since they provide direct access to the types of human attitudes that are the prerequisite for a full flowering of the Islamic ideal.”¹⁶⁹

¹⁶⁹ ‘Alā b. al-Āusayn [Imām Zayn al-‘ybidān], *The Psalms of Islam. Al-ĀĀĀfat al-Kāmilat al-Sajjādīyah*, translated with an introduction and annotation by William C. Chittick, with a foreword by S. H. M. Jafri (London: The Muhammadi Trust of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, 1988), xlii-xliii (translator’s introduction).

ALLAMA IQBAL— NEWS, VIEWS AND EVENTS: A SURVEY OF THE ENGLISH NEWSPAPERS OF PAKISTAN DURING 1952

Dr. Nadeem Shafiq Malik

In addition to Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah (1876-1948), Allama Muhammad Iqbal (1877-1938) is rightly regarded as the founding father of Pakistan. Throughout his life span and even after his demise, his indebted community has shown unparalleled respect and admiration for him. The tendency reached its apex after the establishment of Pakistan, when Iqbal Day celebrations used to be observed with great dedication. The English dailies of Pakistan have also contributed a lot in that endeavour. This is the third in the series of surveys that the present author has made. We have made an attempt to trace all such functions as reported in the English newspapers of Pakistan during 1952. It is hoped that this endeavour would reveal, at least to a considerable extent, the perceptions of the great seer and statesman found in the Pakistani journalism and the perspectives that underlie these perceptions.

The press coverage of activities concerned with Allama Iqbal during 1952 began on January 2, 1952, when *The Civil & Military Gazette*, Karachi published English translation of two poems of Allama Iqbal in prose attempted by G. Ahmed. One poem entitled 'A prayer' was taken from *Zubur-i-Ajam* while the other 'Gabriel and Satan' was chosen from *Bal-i-Jibril*.¹

- On January 9, 1952, *The Civil & Military Gazette*, Karachi published an article contributed by Javid Iqbal under the caption "Iqbal and Nietzsche." In this attempt, Javid has drawn a comparison between ideas of Allama Iqbal and Nietzsche. He argued that Iqbal's name had more than once been closed in brackets with that of Nietzsche for the superficial resemblance in their moral philosophies. Iqbal's conception of 'perfect man' had often been

¹ G. Ahmad, "Two poems of Iqbal," *The Civil & Military Gazette*, Karachi, January 2, 1952.

confounded with Nietzsche's superman, and his stress on 'conflict' as a necessity in life, has been wrongly identified with the German thinker's 'acquisition of power'.² Javid further argued that there was no denying the fact that Iqbal was influenced by Nietzsche but in no way, he was a counterpart of the German philosopher. 'Conflict' as a necessity of life for Iqbal had an ethical significance. It had nothing to do with Nietzsche's doctrine of 'acquisition of power.' Extensively quoting from both the philosophers, Javid has effectively proved that Iqbal's ideas were completely different from those of Nietzsche's thought.³ Other Iqbal scholars support Javid's ideas also. Muhammad Maruf observes that notwithstanding his admiration of Nietzsche for his eager visualisation and blazing heart, Iqbal subjects his philosophical system, particularly his thought of the superman, to condemnation mostly due to his materialistic explanation of historical forces and his misconceived idea of time; his deviation of self as a fact and his denial of immortality and the hereafter; his mechanistic outlook of evolution which he envisaged as an Eternal Recurrence and his failure to realise the true implication of his own vision. According to Maruf, Iqbal epitomises Nietzsche's total failings in the lack of proper spiritual supervision and attributes this to his academic progenitors like Kant and western way of life.⁴

- A news item appeared in *The Civil & Military Gazette*, Karachi on January 16, 1952 which revealed that the first instalment of fifteen books on Iqbal and his poetical works for distribution to American universities had been dispatched by the Iqbal Society to the USA. The paper pointed out that requests had recently been received by the Iqbal Society from American societies and universities for literature on Iqbal and his influence in the shaping of Pakistan.⁵

All English newspapers of Pakistan were full of material related with Iqbal during the month of April due to Iqbal Day falling on April 21.

² Javid Iqbal, "Iqbal and Nietzsche," *The Civil & Military Gazette*, Karachi, January 9, 1952.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ Muhammad Maruf, "Iqbal's criticism of Nietzsche," *Iqbal Review*, Vol. XXIII, No.3, October, 1982, pp.43-44.

⁵ "15 [fifteen] books on Iqbal sent to US," *The Civil & Military Gazette*, Karachi, January 16, 1952.

- *The Pakistan Times* in its issue of April 3, 1952 stated that Iqbal Day was observed in Sargodha on April 2 under the auspices of Bazm-i-Adab, Government College, Sargodha. Abul Lais Siddiqi (1916-1994)⁶, Ebadat Bareilvi, Syed Hasan Abadi and Syed Viqar Azeem (1910-1976)⁷ read papers on the life and works of the celebrated poet. In the evening a big ‘*mushaira*’ was held in which prominent poets of the province, including Sufi Tabassum (1899-1978)⁸ participated.⁹

- On April 4, 1952, *The Pakistan Times* published the Iqbal Day programme issued by the Secretaries of the Central Iqbal Committee. The programme included recitation of the Quran at the poet’s mausoleum in the dawn, followed by a *maqalat* session at the YMCA Hall in the morning to be presided over by M. Raziuddin Siddiqi, Director of Research, Peshawar University and a public meeting outside Mochi Gate in the evening. The paper further informed that the Committee was also arranging through its affiliated branches the celebration of Iqbal Day at centres other than Lahore on different dates. It was being done to make it an ‘Iqbal week’, the paper concluded.¹⁰

- *The Pakistan Times* in its issue of April 6, 1952 informed that under the auspices of the Bazm-i-Fikr-o-Adab Montgomery, Iqbal Day would be celebrated on April 19, 1952, at the stadium ground. According to report, M.

⁶ Abul Lais Siddiqi (1916-1994); critic, researcher, educationist; lecturer, Urdu Department, Oriental College, Lahore; Chairman, Department of Urdu, Karachi University; chief editor, Board for Advancement of Urdu. Pubs. *Lakbnaw ka Dabistan-i-Shi’ri*; *Kuliat-i-Mushafi*; *Aaj ka Urdu Adab*; *Ghazal aur Mutghazalain*; *Tarikh Zabān-o-Adabiat-i-Urdu*; *Tarikh-o-Asul-i-Tanqid*.

⁷ Syed Viqar Azeem (1910-1976); writer, critic, translator, researcher, educationist, Iqbalist; supervisor, Publication and Translation Department Punjab University, Lahore, 1960-70; Chairman Urdu Department, Oriental College, 1965-67; Pubs. *Fan Afsanab Nigari*; *Dastan say Afsaney Tak*; *Naya Afsanab*; *Hamrai Dastanain*; *Hamary Afsanay*; *Iqbal Batur Sha’r-o-Falsafi*; *Fun aur Funkar*; *Agha Hashr aur Unkay Daramay*; *Iqbaliyat ka Tanqidi Ja’izab*, *Iqbal—Muasireen ki Nazar Main*.

⁸ Sufi Ghulam Mustafa Tabassum (1899-1978); poet, writer, critic, educationist, translator, Iqbalist; lecturer Government College, Lahore; editor, weekly *Lail-o-Nabar*, Lahore; Chairman Pakistan Arts Council; Vice President Iqbal Academy, Pakistan. Pubs. *Anjuman*; *Naqsh-i-Iqbal*; *Sara-i-Pardab-i-Aflak* (translation of Javid Namah), *Sad Shi’r-i-Iqbal*.

⁹ “‘Iqbal Day’ in Sargodha,” *The Pakistan Times*, April 3, 1952.

¹⁰ “‘Iqbal Day’ in Lahore on April 21,” *The Pakistan Times*, April 4, 1952.

Raziuddin, Syed Abid Ali Abid, Hameed Ahmed Khan and Agha Haider, would deliver speeches on the philosophy and poetry of Allama Iqbal. After that, a ‘*mushaira*’ would be held in which prominent poets would recite their verses.¹¹

- *The Pakistan Times* in its issue of April 7, 1952, informed that a public meeting under the president ship of the Punjab Governor I. I. Chundrigar would be held in Huzuri Bagh, Lahore, near Allama Iqbal’s tomb, on the morning of April 21 in connection with the observance of Iqbal Day. Mian Mushtaq Ahmed Gurmani (1905-1918)¹², Minister for Interior, would be the principal speaker at the meeting. During the few minutes silence, a RPAF plane would fly overhead and shower flowers on the Iqbal’s grave. The paper further informed that a meeting would be held in the University Hall where papers would be read on the life and works of Iqbal. Ch. Muhammad Ali (1905-1980)¹³, Minister for Finance and ‘Abdul Wahab ‘Azzam would participate in the meeting.¹⁴

- *The Pakistan Times* in its issue of April 8, 1952 informed that the Majlis-i-Adab, Lahore would observe Iqbal Day on April 20, 1952 by holding two sessions in the Town Hall, Lahore. The morning session would be

¹¹ “‘Iqbal Day’ in Montgomery,” *The Pakistan Times*, April 6, 1952.

¹² Mushtaq Ahmad Gurmani (1905-1918); politician and worker of Pakistan movement; President, Zamindars’ Association, Muzaffargarh District, 1925; nominated member, Muzaffargarh District Board, 1926; member Punjab Legislative Assembly 1930, 1937; Parliamentary Secretary, Education and Health, Punjab 1937-42; Director, Publicity and Recruitment, Government of India, 1942-45; Director General, Resettlement and Employment, Government of India, 1945-47; delegate to International Labour Conference Montreal, 1946; Prime Minister Bahawalpur State 1947; Central Minister for Kashmir Affairs, 1950-51; Central Interior Minister 1951-54; Governor Punjab, 1954-55; member, Pakistan Constituent Assembly, 1955-56; Governor West Pakistan, 1955-57.

¹³ Chaudhry Muhammad Ali (1905-1980); economist, civil servant, politician, lecturer, Islamia College, Lahore, 1927-28; joined the Indian Audit and Accounts Service, 1928; Accountant General, Bahawalpur State, 1932-36; Secretary to the Finance Member, Government of India, 1936; Deputy Financial Advisor, Government of India, 1939; member, Steering Committee Partition Council, 1947; Chief Adviser to Interim Finance Minister of India, 1946, Secretary General Government of Pakistan, 1947-51; member, Constituent Assembly, 1951-56; Finance Minister, 1951-55; Prime Minister of Pakistan, 1955-56; founder-President Nizam-i-Islam Party, Pubs. *Emergence of Pakistan; Task before Us*.

¹⁴ “‘Iqbal Day’ in Lahore,” *The Pakistan Times*, April 7, 1952.

presided over by Khawaja Dil Muhammad in which prominent writers and poets would read papers and recite poems on the ideology of Iqbal. Muhammad Baqir, Ahmed Nadeem Qasimi (b.1916), Ebadat Barelvi, Salahuddin Ahmad, Sufi Tabassum and Qateel Shifai were prominent among those who would speak on the occasion. In the evening session, which would be presided over by Justice S. A. Rahman, a *mushaira* would be held in which well known poets of the province were expected to participate. The daily also gave additional information about the Iqbal Day public meeting being held under the auspices of the Central Iqbal Committee, outside Mochi Gate, Lahore in the evening of April 21, 1952. Quoting a statement issued by Agha Shorish Kashmiri (1917-1975)¹⁵ and Khawaja Abdur Rahim, Secretaries of the Committee, the paper informed that the meeting would be presided over by Chaudhry Ghulam Abbass and A. R. Sagar and Raja Hasan Akhtar would speak on the occasion.¹⁶

- On April 12, 1952, *The Pakistan Times* published a press release issued by United States Information Service (U.S.I.S.) stating that the VOA's Urdu language section would celebrate 'Iqbal week' beginning on April 20. Throughout the week, readings from the poetry of Iqbal were planned including quotations from *Asrar-i-Khudi* and *Bang-i-Dara*. In addition, the VOA's commentator Farid Ahmad would present commentaries based upon the writings of Iqbal. These commentaries would feature messages from American scholars familiar with Iqbal's work, which Farid Ahmed would present with Urdu translations. Among the subjects planned for the commentary, services were 'Iqbal and the spiritual crisis' and 'Iqbal as a bridge between East and West'. In concluding Iqbal week, the VOA planned to hold a *mushaira* on April 27.¹⁷

- *The Pakistan Times* in its issue of April 13, 1952 informed that the Iqbal Day would be celebrated at Lodhran under the auspices of Bazm-i-Iqbal, Lodhran. According to the programme, a public meeting would be held in

¹⁵ Agha Abdul Karim (Shorish Kashmiri) (1917-1975); journalist, orator, poet, writer, editor weekly *Chittan*, Lahore. Pubs. *Pas-i-Dimar-i-Zindan*; *Maut say Wapasi*; *Iqbal Paimabr-i-Inqilab*; *Syed Attaullah Shah Bukhari*; *Shah Jaay Keb Man Budum*; *Maulana Zafar Ali Khan*.

¹⁶ " 'Iqbal Day' plans for Lahore," *The Pakistan Times*, April 8, 1952.

¹⁷ " 'Voice of America' to celebrate Iqbal week," *The Pakistan Times*, April 12, 1952.

which Moulvi Islam-ud-Din, MLA, and Syed Alamdar Hussain, MLA, President District Muslim League, Multan would deliver speeches on the life of Allama Iqbal.¹⁸

- On April 15, 1952, *The Pakistan Times* again repeated the Iqbal Day programme planned by Majlis-i-Adab at Lahore.¹⁹

- On April 16, 1952, *The Pakistan Times* informed that the Iqbal Association, Dera Ismail Khan, was preparing to observe Iqbal Day in a befitting manner. As per arrangements, a procession would be taken out in the morning and speeches would be made. In the evening, there would be a debate on 'Iqbal and his philosophy of *Jihad*' and at night, a local '*mushaira*' would be held in the Government High School premises.²⁰

- *The Pakistan Times* informed in its issue of April 18, 1952 that Kailash Nath Katju, the Indian Home Minister would address the Iqbal Day meeting organised by the Pakistan High Commission in India in which prominent Indian poets viz., Talok Chand Mahroom, Jagananth Azad and Pandit Hari Chand Akhtar were expected to participate.²¹

- In another news item published on the same day, *The Pakistan Times*, while reporting about finalisation of arrangement of Iqbal Day meeting being held under official patronage at Lahore, revealed that ten public processions would be taken out on 'Iqbal Day'. These processions, after marching through various parts of Lahore, would converge at Hazuri Bagh and join the public meeting, which was being held under the presidentship of the Punjab Governor. It was further stated that an aeroplane of the RPAF laden with several mounds of rose petals, would fly from the aerodrome and circling over a public meeting, would shower its load on Allama Iqbal's grave.²²

¹⁸ " 'Iqbal Day' plans for Lodhran," *The Pakistan Times*, April 13, 1952.

¹⁹ " 'Iqbal Day' plans for Lahore," *The Pakistan Times*, April 15, 1952.

²⁰ " 'Iqbal Day' plans for D.I. Khan," *The Pakistan Times*, April 16, 1952.

²¹ " 'Iqbal Day' in Delhi," *The Pakistan Times*, April 18, 1952.

²² "Processions on 'Iqbal Day'," *The Pakistan Times*, April 18, 1952.

- The 14th death anniversary of Allama Iqbal was celebrated with great fervour through out the country and abroad in 1952 which was efficiently covered by the English newspapers of Pakistan and a number of articles, editorials and news items appeared on the occasion which are described here. On April 20, 1952 a meeting was organised by the Majlis-i-Adab, Lahore to celebrate Iqbal Day under the presidentship of Khawaja Dil Muhammad. ► Salahuddin Ahmed, while speaking on “Iqbal’s concept of *millat*,” said that he never confined his connotation of *millat* to the four corner of Islamic society, but extended its significance to humanity at large.²³ ► Muhammad Baqir, read out an article entitled ‘*Bal-i-Jibril par aik nazar*’. ► Ebadat Bareilvi spoke on ‘*Iqbal ki Insan Dosti*’ while Ahmed Nadeem Qasimi read an article on ‘*Iqbal aur Khudi*’ and Sufi Tabassum and Qateel Shafai recited their poems.²⁴

- LAHORE, WHICH HAD THE HONOUR OF PROVIDING THE LAST RESTING-PLACE OF THE GREAT POET, ORGANISED SEVERAL PROGRAMMES TO CELEBRATE THE OCCASION. HIS MANY THOUSANDS ADMIRERS, INCLUDING MINISTERS, HIGH RANKING CIVIL AND MILITARY OFFICERS AND LEADING PUBLIC MEN, GATHERED AT HIS MAUSOLEUM IN THE EARLY MORNING AND OFFERED *FATIHA*. *QURAN KHAWANI* WAS DONE FOR ABOUT THREE HOURS AT HIS GRAVE AND IN SOME LEADING MOSQUES OF THE CITY. AS USUAL, LAHORE DAILIES INCLUDING ENGLISH NEWSPAPERS BROUGHT OUT SPECIAL IQBAL DAY SUPPLEMENTS AND OFFICES OF *THE PAKISTAN TIMES* AND *THE CIVIL AND MILITARY GAZETTE*, LAHORE, REMAINED CLOSED ON APRIL 21 ON ACCOUNT OF IQBAL DAY. THE PUNJAB GOVERNMENT ALSO DECLARED APRIL 21, A PUBLIC HOLIDAY.²⁵

- ABOUT TEN PROCESSIONS WERE TAKEN OUT IN THE CITY IN THE EARLY MORNING AS A MARK OF DEEP REVERENCE FOR ALLAMA IQBAL. *THE PAKISTAN TIMES*, *THE KHYBER MAIL* AND *THE CIVIL & MILITARY*

²³ “Glowing tributes paid to Allama Iqbal,” *The Civil and Military Gazette*, Lahore, April 21, 1952.

²⁴ *Ibid.*

²⁵ “Lahore homage to Iqbal: Glowing tributes paid to poet of the East”, *The Civil and Military Gazette*, Lahore, April 23, 1952; “Iqbal Day”, *The Pakistan Times*, April 20, 1952; “Iqbal Day holiday,” *The Civil and Military Gazette*, Lahore, April 21, 1952.

GAZETTE, LAHORE REPORTED THAT THESE PROCESSIONS MARCHED THROUGH THE MAIN THOROUGH FARES OF LAHORE AND LATER CONVERGED ON TO THE HAZURI BAGH WHERE A PUBLIC MEETING WAS HELD UNDER THE AUSPICES OF THE PUNJAB GOVERNMENT.²⁶ SPEAKING ON THE OCCASION, WHICH WAS PROMINENTLY REPORTED IN *DAWN*, *THE CIVIL AND MILITARY GAZETTE*, KARACHI AND *THE PAKISTAN TIMES*, I. I. CHUNDRIGARH SAID THAT IQBAL'S POETRY AWAKENED THE INDIANS MUSLIMS FROM THE DEEP SLUMBER OF CENTURIES AND INFUSED IN THEM THE INTENSE PASSION FOR FREEDOM. HE MADE THEM CONSCIOUS OF THEIR PAST GREATNESS AND INHERENT STRENGTH. THE POLITICAL AND INTELLECTUAL AWAKENING AMONG THE MUSLIMS ULTIMATELY SOUGHT ITS CONSUMMATION IN THE ESTABLISHMENT OF PAKISTAN. PAKISTANIS, HE SAID, WOULD ALWAYS FEEL THEMSELVES UNDER HEAVY DEBT OF GRATITUDE TO IQBAL.²⁷ CHUNDRIGAR IMPRESSED ON HIS AUDIENCE THE NEED FOR BUILDING SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC LIFE OF PAKISTAN ON IDEALS SET BY IQBAL. HE STRESSED THAT IQBAL'S ONE OVERPOWERING DESIRE WAS TO SEE THE MUSLIMS ATTAIN THAT VIGOUR AND STRENGTH, WHICH CHARACTERISED THE LIFE OF THE EARLY MUSLIMS. CONCLUDING THE GOVERNOR CALLED UPON THE PEOPLE TO STRIVE HARD FOR HIGHER IDEALS THAT THE GREAT POET-PHILOSOPHER HAD SET FOR THEM.²⁸ AS HE CONCLUDED HIS SPEECH, THREE R.P.A.F PLANES SOARED LOW OVERHEAD AND DROPPED ROSE PETALS ON THE TOMB OF THE PRECEPTOR OF PAKISTAN TO THE ACCOMPANIMENT OF LUSTY CHEERS OF THE HUGE CROWD.²⁹

²⁶ *Ibid.*, "Iqbal Day", *The Khyber Mail*, April 19, 1952; "Iqbal Day meeting: Arrangements", *The Pakistan Times*, April 20, 1952; "Arrangements for Iqbal Day meeting at Hazuri Bagh," *The Civil and Military Gazette*, Lahore, April 20, 1952; "The processions was led by the following persons representing the areas mentioned against their names: Hakim Muhammad Bashir(Kotwali), Major A.H. Hashmi(Mozang), Muhammad Amin (Lohari Division), Kh. Amir-ud-Din (Gowalmandi), Malik Muhammad Ashiq (Ichhra), Mian Muhammad Karam Ellahi (Misri Shah), Dr. Rafiuddin (Old Anarkali), Abdul Aziz (Bhati, Naulakha) and Jamil Siddiqi (New Anarkali).

²⁷ *Ibid.*, "Big public meeting in Lahore", *Dawn*, April 22, 1952; "Redouble efforts to make Pakistan strong: Chundrigar's address on Iqbal Day", *The Civil and Military Gazette*, Karachi, April 23, 1952; "Pakistan observes Iqbal Day: Country-wide tributes to poet- philosopher: Chundrigar & Muhammad Ali address Lahore meetings," *The Pakistan Times*, April 23, 1952.

²⁸ *Ibid.*

²⁹ *Ibid.*

- The Central Iqbal Committee whose programme ran more or less parallel to the official programme started the day with *Quran Khawani* at the grave of Allama Iqbal. It was followed by a special session held at the Y. M. C. A. Hall under the presidentship of Raziuddin Siddiqi of the Peshawar University where Muhammad Baqir, Taj Muhammad Khayal (1904-1961)³⁰ and Raja Hasan Akhtar read papers on various aspects of Iqbal's thought and poetry. ► Baqir in his paper on 'Destiny of nations as Iqbal conceived it' agreed that unlike the other thinkers, who put all the emphasis on material sources, Iqbal believed that 'Godliness' and 'Righteousness' were the only sound basis for the success of a nation. He did attach paramount importance to knowledge and industry but according to him, knowledge about 'Godliness' and 'Righteousness' could not keep a nation in power for very long.³¹ According to early announcement made by the Central Iqbal Committee, message of the Iranian Ambassador and poet's son Javid Iqbal were also to be read on the occasion and poems were to be recited by Hafeez Hoshiarpuri (1912-1973)^{31-A}, Abdul Karim Samar (1905-1989)³², Tufail Hoshiarpuri (1914-1993)³³, and Abdul Hamid Adam (1910-1981)³⁴.

- Another report that appeared in *The Civil and Military Gazette*, Lahore informed that the public meeting held under the auspices of the Central Iqbal Committee outside Mochi Gate in the evening, was presided over by A. R.

³⁰ Taj Muhammad Khayal (1904-1961); educationist, poet and writer; Principal Zamindara College, 1942-51; Government College Faisalabad, 1951-54; Chairman Intermediate Education Board, Lahore 1958-61; Vice Chancellor, Punjab University, 1961.

³¹ "Iqbal's views on the destiny of nations," *The Civil and Military Gazette*, Lahore, April 23, 1952; "Under the auspices of the Central Iqbal Committee, Iqbal Day", *The Civil and Military Gazette*, Lahore, April 21, 1952.

^{31-A} Abdul Hafeez Saleem (Hafeez Hoshiarpuri) (1912-1973); famous poet; journalist and broadcaster; remained Director Radio Pakistan, Hyderabad, Sindh; retired as Deputy Director General Radio Pakistan. Pub. *Shan-i-Ghazal*.

³² Abdul Karim Samar (1905-1989); famous poet of Urdu and Punjabi, journalist, writer, active worker of Pakistan movement. Pubs. *Sachi Sarkar* (SAW), *Laub-o-Qalam*; *Sh'r-i-Ilham*; *Safar-i-Hijaz*; *Kakh-i-Buland*; *Lagaran, Zindagi*.

³³ Tufail Hashairpuri (1914-1993); poet, journalist, editor, monthly *Mahfil*, Lahore. Pubs. *Mairay Mabbub Watan*; *Jam-i-Mahtab*; *Saghar-i-Khubshid*.

³⁴ Syed Abdul Hamid Adam (1910-1981); famous poet of Urdu having fifty books to his credit. Pubs. *Naqshi-i-Duam*; *Zulf-i-Parishian*; *Kharabat*; *Qasr-i-Shirin*; *Ram-i-Abu*; *Nigar Khana*; *Sanam Kadah*; *Qaul-o-Qarar*; *Zair-i-Lab*; *Sha'hr-i-Khuban*; *Jins-i-Garan*; *Gardish-i-Jam*.

Saghar and was addressed besides him by Raja Hasan Akhtar and Abdus Sattar Niazi.³⁶ ► In his presidential speech, Saghar referred to Iqbal's attachment to the people of Kashmir and his interest in their struggle for freedom. He said that he met Iqbal in 1928 when he advised the Kashmiris to launch a non co-operation movement on the pattern of the Indian National Congress. Iqbal in his works, he said, has repeatedly reverted to the oppressive Dogra rule in Kashmir, and called upon the Muslims of Kashmir to shake off the shackles of subjection.³⁷ ► Speaking on the occasion, Abdus Sattar Niazi said that Iqbal was painfully conscious of the economic backwardness and ruin of the Muslims and many of his poems clearly speak of his feeling on that issue.³⁸ Niazi regretted that after the establishment of Pakistan the Muslims lost sight of the lofty ideals, which inspired Iqbal. Among the educated class had crept a sense of despair and scepticism while the masses were doubtful of the chances of building a true Islamic state.³⁹ In the afternoon, the Punjab Provincial Muslim League (PPML) also celebrated Iqbal Day at a meeting held in the Barkat Ali Mohammedan Hall.⁴⁰

- The Iqbal Day celebrations were rounded off with a meeting held at the Punjab University Senate Hall where Muhammad Ali delivered a discourse on Iqbal's message. In the course of his speech reported in *The Morning News*, *The Civil and Military Gazette*, Karachi, and *Dawn*, Muhammad Ali observed that there was nothing against which Iqbal battled so vigorously and persistently as against the lack of faith, which saps the will to action. ► He concluded, "Not until we recapture faith in Islam as a living force capable of leading humanity to its highest development, not until we place all the resources of our mind in the service of this great cause, not until then would we have the vision to see what Islam can do for humanity."⁴¹ Beside

³⁶ *Ibid.*, "Iqbal inspired Kashmiris to launch liberation struggle," *The Civil and Military Gazette*, Lahore, April 23, 1952.

³⁷ *Ibid.*

³⁸ *Ibid.*

³⁹ *Ibid.*

⁴⁰ "Big Public meeting in Lahore", *Dawn*, April 22, 1952.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, "Recapture faith in Islam to lead humanity, Muhammad Ali's exhortations at Iqbal Day meeting," *The Morning News*, April 24, 1952; For complete text of Muhammad Ali's Iqbal Day speech, see "Full text of Muhammad Ali's Iqbal Day address in Lahore," *The Civil and Military Gazette*, Karachi, April 22, 1952; "The problems of Power-I: Muhammad Ali X-rays world systems: Speech on Iqbal Day, *Dawn*, April 22, 1952; "The problem of Power-II:

Muhammad Ali's speech, Syed Akhlaq Husain and Salahuddin Ahmed read articles on Iqbal's conception of '*kehud*' and poetry relating to Muslim countries. ► Salahuddin said that Iqbal's poetry, which in the beginning was deeply submerged in '*wataniai*' and love for his country, was later transferred to '*millat*' as a deep fountain of his '*shkr*'.⁴²

- On April 22, the women section of the PPML organised an Iqbal Day meeting under the presidentship of Begum Shafi in which prominent women of Lahore participated. As per reports which appeared in *The Pakistan Times* and *The Civil and Military Gazette*, Lahore, over a dozen speakers addressing the gathering dwelt on the life and works of the poet while Shamim Jallunduri⁴³, a poetess of Lahore, recited a poem in praise of Iqbal. ► Begum Tasadduq Hussain said that Allama Iqbal's poetry carried the message of Islamic goodwill and love to the whole world. His message, she added, now enriched every part of the world by preaching the philosophy and ideology of a true Muslim.⁴⁴ ► Begum G. A. Khan, in her speech observed that Iqbal did not like the idea of Muslim women imitating the West. He believed that women could rebuild a society and help in the growth of a nation. ► Begum Bashir Ahmed observed that Iqbal believed that it was with in the power of every human being to become 'perfect'. He used eagle as a symbol in his poetry to signify the hardships and struggles of life. According to him, man could not become perfect without constant struggle and continued

Re-capturing faith in Islam as a living force: Muhammad Ali sums up poet Iqbal's message," *Dawn*, April 23, 1952.

⁴² "Lahore homage to Iqbal: Glowing tributes paid to poet of East," *The Civil and Military Gazette*, Lahore, April 23, 1952.

⁴³ Begum Shamim Jalundri (Shamim Afza); poetess, writer, worker of Pakistan movement, social activist, founder-editor, monthly *Az-Zabira*, Jalandhar, 1932; founded Industrial School for Women, Jalandhar, 1932; Organizer-General Secretary, Women Muslim League, Jalandhar, 1937; editor bi-monthly, *Firdous*, Jalandhar, 1940-47; founder Qasr-i-Istiqal Industrial Home for Refugee Women, 1947-50; Women Urdu College, 1950. Pubs. *Tebrik-i-Pakistan Main Khawateen Ka Kirdar*; *Ta'mir Pakistan main Khawateen ka Hisab*; *Dr. Farid Bakhsb Marhum*; *Saqut-i-Azadi say Husul-i-Azadi Tak*; *Girdab*; *Nama-i-Sarusb*; *Pabla Insan*; *Suz-i-Paibam*; *Asbk-i-Sham*.

⁴⁴ "Iqbal Day programme," *The Pakistan Times*, April 21, 1952; "Iqbal Day celebrations: Women's meeting at Lahore," *The Pakistan Times*, April 24, 1952; "Women of Lahore pay tribute to Iqbal," *The Civil and Military Gazette*, Lahore, April 25, 1952.

sufferings.⁴⁵ ► Begum Shafi in her presidential remarks said that it was possible for every mother in Pakistan to make her son an Iqbal inculcating in him the teachings of Islam. It was her duty to acquaint her children with the teachings of the great poet who laid stress on love of God and humanity. Among others, who spoke were Surayya Salim, Amina Sultana, Begum Ishaque and Begum Imdad.⁴⁶

- Commenting on Iqbal Day celebrations held at Lahore, the correspondent of *The Morning News* observed that students of Iqbal felt that popular leaders were fast losing contact with the actual works of the great poet. More than half a dozen renowned public figures misquoted Iqbal's verses during the course of their lectures. The common man in Lahore was interested in knowing rather 'discovering' Iqbal. He demonstrated his interest by sitting in scorching heat of Lahore without any shade for several hours. Nevertheless, what he heard were some oft-repeated couplets from Iqbal, which he is listening since he was a child, and in some cases, those too were recited wrongly.⁴⁷

- In Karachi various organisations held special Iqbal Day meetings. *The Civil and Military Gazette*, Lahore, *The Morning News*, *The Pakistan Times*, *Dawn* and *The Civil and Military Gazette*, Karachi reported that some of the city's main markets remained closed. The day was rounded off with a mass meeting at Jahangir Park under the auspices of Majlis-i-Iqbal for which special traffic arrangements were made.⁴⁸ ► Speaking on the occasion, Sardar Abdul Rab Nishtar, denounced in strongest terms the mounting parochial tendencies in Pakistan, and made an impassioned appeal to the people to imbibe the teachings of Iqbal and to carry forth his message to the outside world. He made a stirring appeal to Pakistanis to study Iqbal again and develop the same spirit, which had won for them their homeland. He said that Allama Iqbal's greatest contribution was that he aroused the Indian

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*

⁴⁷ "Lahore Newsletter: Scholars forgetting works of Iqbal," *The Morning News*, April 30, 1952.

⁴⁸ For details, see " 'Iqbal Day' in Karachi," *The Morning News*, April 19, 1952; "Iqbal Day in Karachi," *The Pakistan Times*, April 20, 1952; "Iqbal Day traffic on roads today," *Dawn*, April 21, 1952; "Traffic rules for Iqbal Day meeting", *The Civil and Military Gazette*, Karachi, April 21, 1952; "Iqbal Day in Karachi," *Dawn*, April 21, 1952.

Muslims to their rights and responsibilities.⁴⁹ ► Mahmood Hussain, spoke on Iqbal's part in the re-awakening of Muslim masses. He said that the poet through his works inspired the Muslims to shake off the feeling of despondence and the spirit of defeatism which enabled them to face not only the British rulers but also the prosperous Hindu majority community. Referring to the Iqbal's message, he said that he taught the Muslims that action is the essence of life and without self-confidence and faith nothing could be achieved.⁵⁰ ► 'Abdul Wahab 'Azzam discussed various aspects of Iqbal's philosophy of '*khudi*' and observed that he held the view that western civilisation was based on materialism and that the salvation of the world lied in following the tenets of Islam. ► Abdul Majeed Salik and Burny also spoke on the occasion.⁵¹

- The Karachi branch of APWA arranged a women's meeting in connection with the Iqbal Day at the Gul-i-Rana Club under the presidentship of Begum Abdullah Haroon. ► Addressing the gathering, Begum Muhammad Ali, wife of the Finance Minister, appealed to the women of Pakistan to help make Pakistan strong and stable. She said that since the dream of the immortal poet had now materialised in shape of Pakistan, it was now for the women of Pakistan to march forward under the guidance of that great message. She also read out a message from Begum Liaquat Ali Khan, President, APWA. The gathering, which was well attended, was also addressed by Begum Siddiq Ali Khan, Begum Niaz Ahmed and Begum Sufi. Girl-students recited popular poems of Iqbal.⁵²

⁴⁹ "Nation celebrates Iqbal Day: Poet's thought-revolution must move Pak mind, Nishtar: West's idolatrous nationalism is bane of Muslim unity, Muhammad Ali," *The Civil and Military Gazette*, Karachi, April 22, 1952; "Iqbal Day observed all over Pakistan: Glowing tributes paid to poet, philosopher," *Dawn*, April 22, 1952; "Pakistan-wide homage to Iqbal," *The Civil and Military Gazette*, Lahore, April 23, 1952.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, Also see "Dr. Mahmud Hussain address on the age of Iqbal", *The Civil and Military Gazette*, Karachi, April 23, 1952.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*

⁵² "In the capital APWA pay glowing tributes to Iqbal," *The Civil and Military Gazette*, Karachi, April 22, 1952; "Message from Begum Liaquat Ali Khan," *The Civil and Military Gazette*, Karachi, April 21, 1952.

- Iqbal Day was also celebrated in rest of the West Pakistan with due solemnity which was reported by all English newspapers. *Dawn* and *The Morning News*, reported that in Bahawalpur State, all the government offices remained close to mark the day. National Guards and Scouts marched through the main states of Bahawalpur in observance of Iqbal Day. A number of meetings were held in the Baghdad-ul-Jadid when speeches eulogising the services of Iqbal and the beauty of his poetry were made. The Bahawalpur Youth Federation held a meeting in the evening presided over by the Punjab Development Minister Syed Ali Hussain Shah Gardezi. Among those, who attended, were Frontier Minister Khan Jalaluddin Khan (1903-1981)⁵³ and Bahawalpur Revenue Minister Syed Hassan Mahmood (1922-1986)^{54, 55}.

- At Hyderabad, Iqbal Day was observed in the Sind University, Senate Hall under the chairmanship of I. I. Kazi (1886-1969)⁵⁶, Vice Chancellor of Sind University. *The Pakistan Times* and *Dawn* reported that during the meeting speakers dealt at length with various aspects of Allama Iqbal's philosophy and poetry.⁵⁷ At Sukkur, Iqbal Day was celebrated at a well-attended public meeting held at the Islamia High School. Various speakers

⁵³ Jalaluddin Khan (Jalal Baba) (1903-1981); politician; worker of Pakistan movement; member, Abbotabad Municipal Committee, 1932; President, Anjuman-i-Islamia, Abbotabad, 1935-32; founder Hazara Muslim League, 1937; President Hazara Muslim, 1939; member, NWFP Legislative Assembly, 1946; Vice President NWFP Muslim League, 1939; Anjuman-i-Muhajreen, Hazara, 1947; Assistant Custodian non-Muslim Property, 1948-49; Administrator, Abbotabad Municipal Committee, 1950-51; Minister for Labour & Local Bodies, NWFP, 1951; Central Home Minister, 1958.

⁵⁴ Syed Hassan Mahmood (1922-1986); politician, writer; Chief Minister Bahawalpur State, 1951-56; member, Punjab Assembly and opposition leader, 1985; Pub.: *Maira Siasi Safar*.

⁵⁵ "Iqbal Day observed in Bahawalpur", *The Morning News*, April 24, 1952; "Iqbal Day observed in Bahawalpur," *Dawn*, April 24, 1952. Allama Iqbal had a special attachment with the people, ruler and state of Bahawalpur. For details, see Nazar Khaliq, "*Iqbal kay Riasat Bhamalpur kay Sath Ta'alluqat ka Tehqiqi Mutalab*," Unpublished M. Phil Iqbaliat thesis, Allama Iqbal Open University, 2001. Also see, Ghulam Nazak, "*Saraiki Zuban Main Iqbal Shanas ki Rimayat*," Unpublished M. Phil Iqbaliat thesis, Allama Iqbal Open University, 2001.

⁵⁶ Imdad Ali Imam Ali Qazi (I. I. Qazi) (1886-1969); intellectual, philosopher; educationist; writer; lawyer, Vice-Chancellor, Sind University, Jamshoro; translated Shah Abdul Latif Bhatti's poetry into English; Pub. *A Brown Girl in Search of God*.

⁵⁷ "Iqbal Day celebrated at Hyderabad," *The Pakistan Times*, April 21, 1952; "In Hyderabad," *Dawn*, April 24, 1952.

addressed the meeting and paid glowing tributes to the poet-philosopher. After the speeches, the leading poets of the Upper Sind participated in the *mushaira* arranged for the occasion. Cement Workers' Gymkhana of Rohri also planned to celebrate Iqbal Day on May 2 and 3. A *mushaira* was planned to be held on May 3, 1952 in which prominent poets from Karachi were expected to participate.⁵⁸

- Iqbal Day was observed in Rawalpindi under the auspices of the 'Pindi Iqbal Day Committee'. *The Pakistan Times* reported that the largely attended function, was presided over by Lt. Gen. S.M.A. Faruki, Director General of Medical Services, Pakistan Armed Forces. The various speakers who dwelt at length on the different aspects of Allama Iqbal's philosophy included Lt. Gen. Faruki, Brig. Gulzar Ahmed (1909-1998)⁵⁹, S. A. Haque, Lt. Col. K. A. Rashid (1912-1983)⁶⁰, Qazi Nasir Ahmed and Lt. Col. Muhammad Gulzar Ahmed. The function was concluded by a *mushaira*, which lasted until late in the night.⁶¹

- At Muzaffarabad, papers were read and speeches were made at a select gathering in which high officials and local gentry participated. Later, a *mushaira* was held in which poets from Peshawar and Rawalpindi participated.⁶²

- At Mianwali, local Government College Union arranged an Iqbal Day meeting presided over by Ch. Nasrullah Khan, Deputy Commissioner Mianwali. *The Pakistan Times* reported that it was attended by a large number

⁵⁸ "In Sukkur," *Dawn*, April 24, 1952; "Iqbal Day at Sukkur," *The Pakistan Times*, April 24, 1952.

⁵⁹ Gulzar Ahmed (1909-1998); writer, historian, travelogue and short story writer, educationist, athlete, army officer. Pubs. *Difa-i-Pakistan ki Lazawal Dastan*; *Ghazwat-i-Islam*, *Askari Qiadat*; *Jihad Quran-o-Sunnat ki Rausbni Main*; *Tadbkirah-i-Chin*; *Tadbkirah-i-Inglistan*; *Yad-i-Ayyam* (autobiography); *Jalvah-i-Tur*; *Amir Timu*.

⁶⁰ Khawaja Abdur Rashid (1912-1983); physician, writer, researcher, historian, head, Mayo Hospital, Lahore; Jinnah Post Graduate Medical Centre, Karachi; Director Pakistan Medical Research Council. Pubs. *Tadbkirah-i-Shu'rab-i-Punjab*; *Ma'ariful Athar*; *Tadbkirah Athar-o-Ahwal Talib Amili*; *Ma'arif ul Nafs*; *Historical Dissertations*, (2 Vols).

⁶¹ "Iqbal Day celebrated: Rawalpindi," *The Pakistan Times*, April 24, 1952.

⁶² "Iqbal Day celebration: Muzaffarabad," *The Pakistan Times*, April 24, 1952.

of students, officials and others and addressed by a number of speakers. A *mushaira* was also held on the occasion by the Bazm-i-Iqbal.⁶³ 'Iqbal Day' was also celebrated in Sargodha by the local Bazm-i-Urui-i-Adab and papers on the life and works of Pakistan's national poet were read. A '*mushaira*' was later held in the evening in which prominent local poets participated.⁶⁴

- At Sheikhpura, according to a report which appeared in *The Pakistan Times*, the death anniversary of Allama Iqbal was observed in the local Town Hall. Ch. Abdul Ghani (1912-1991)⁶⁵, MLA spoke on the achievements of Iqbal in the fields of poetry and politics, with special references to his contribution to the awakening of the Indian Muslims and to the movement for the establishment of Pakistan. Later Malik Abdul Qaiyum, Secretary, Muslim League, Sheikhpura, threw light on the life of Allama Iqbal. A *mushaira* was also held under the auspices of Muslim League in the Town Hall.⁶⁶

- *Dawn*, *The Khyber Mail* and *The Pakistan Times* reported that Iqbal Day was observed through out the Frontier province by holding special meetings in all the big towns of the province. At Peshawar, Bazm-i-Urdu and Bazm-i-Sukhan arranged a public meeting attended by a large number of poets, along with others. At the gathering, poems were recited and speeches made paying tribute to Allama Iqbal. Peshawar papers also brought out special editions dealing with various aspects of Iqbal's poetry and his mission in life.⁶⁷

- 'Raz', the radio commentator of *The Civil and Military Gazette*, Lahore while reviewing Radio Pakistan's Iqbal Day programmes stated that he had earlier suggested to Radio Pakistan to make their contents accessible to the

⁶³ "Iqbal Day celebrations: Mianwali," *The Pakistan Times*, April 24, 1952.

⁶⁴ "Iqbal Day celebrations: Sargodha," *The Pakistan Times*, April 24, 1952.

⁶⁵ Abdul Ghani Chaudhry (1912-1991); lawyer, politician, social activist; worker of Pakistan movement; initiated many educational institutions; member, Punjab Assembly, 1951; West Pakistan Assembly, 1956.

⁶⁶ "Iqbal Day celebrations: Sheikhpura," *The Pakistan Times*, April 24, 1952.

⁶⁷ "Iqbal Day observed: Peshawar," *Dawn*, April 22, 1952; "Pakistan observes 'Iqbal Day': Glowing tributes to the great poet of Islam: He suggested the idea of separate homeland for Indian Muslims," *The Khyber Mail*, April 23, 1952; "Iqbal Day celebrations: Peshawar", *The Pakistan Times*, April 24, 1952.

common listener in simple Urdu but so far it had not received the attention it deserved. He stressed that what was wanted was a simple exposition of Iqbal's lectures in Urdu in a series of talks.⁶⁸

TRIBUTES FROM EAST PAKISTAN

Glowing tributes were paid to the genius of Allama Iqbal all over East Pakistan on his 14th death anniversary, which was prominently published by English newspapers of both the wings. *The Civil and Military Gazette*, Karachi, *The Morning News* and *Dawn* reported that institutions and individuals, during various functions held in the memory of the poet, expressed their deep gratitude to the services rendered by him to the nation. The Iqbal Day in the districts were highlighted by *mushairas*, speeches on the life and work of poet-philosopher, recitation of his poems and their translations in Urdu, Bengali, and English.⁶⁹

- At Dhaka, a varied programme of meetings and functions was gone through, attended by thousands of admirers and followers of Allama Iqbal, under the auspices of Anjuman-i-Taraqqi-i-Urdu, East Pakistan and other organizations.⁷⁰ *The Pakistan Times* and *The Civil and Military Gazette*, Karachi reported that the two day celebrations started on April 20 with a debate presided over by Raza Ali Wahshat. The House rejected by an overwhelming majority the proposition that 'Allama Iqbal was a great opponent of the rights of women.' Eight speakers drawn from various walks of life participated in the discussion, and spoke before a hall packed to capacity. Later in the evening, a number of Iqbal's poems were sung by *qanwals*, at a meeting attended by a large audience.⁷¹

⁶⁸ "Radio review by 'Raz'," *The Civil & Military Gazette*, Lahore, April 26, 1952.

⁶⁹ For details, see "Stage set for Iqbal Day celebrations in Dacca," *The Civil and Military Gazette*, Karachi, April 20, 1952; "Iqbal Day programme for Dhaka," *Dawn*, April 20, 1952; "Highlights of Iqbal Day celebrations in Dacca," *The Morning News*, April 20, 1952.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*

⁷¹ "Iqbal Day in Dhaka," *The Pakistan Times*, April 21, 1952; "Iqbal as opponent of women's rights: Dacca celebrates [anniversary of] poet of the East," *The Civil and Military Gazette*, Karachi, April 21, 1952.

- On April 21, 1952, the Iqbal Day celebration at Dhaka began with a literary meeting held at Mukul Cinema Hall under the auspices of Anjuman-i-Taraqqi-i-Urdu. *The Morning News* and *Dawn* reported that during the meeting, speeches were made and papers read on various aspects of Iqbal's life, teachings, and contributions to the Muslim renaissance in the sub-continent and the establishment of Pakistan.⁷² ► Delivering his presidential speech, Abdur Rahman, the Principal of the Jaganath College, made forceful plea for the establishment of an Iqbal society to undertake the task of translating the poet's works into Bengali and propagation of his message in every nook and corner of the province. He said that Iqbal was the national poet of Pakistan and his message was the message of Quran and Islam. He expressed his gratification as the people had taken so much interest in the function.⁷³ ►

Earlier Qari Ahmed Husain read an article in Bengali relating to Iqbal's contribution in the awakening of the nation. ► Ali Ahsan, lecture of the Dhaka University read out translations of certain portions of the *Asrar-i-Khudi* in Bengali. Tahir Farooqi, Reader in the Dhaka University speaking in Urdu exhorted the people to follow in letter and spirit the message of Iqbal, which was the best way of paying tribute to his memory. Iqbal's poems were recited by Andaleeb Shadani (1904-1969)⁷⁴, Iqbal Azeem and Saroor Barabankavi. The function was closed after a short speech by Nur-ur-Rehman, Secretary of the Anjuman-i-Taraqqi-i-Urdu.⁷⁵

- The Iqbal Day was also celebrated in the Rahmatullah Model High School, Dhaka under the presidentship of Tamanna "Imadi, and a varied programme was gone through. *The Morning News* and *Dawn* informed that the hall in which the meeting was held was packed to capacity and a large number of the elite of the city attended. The students residing at the Fazlul

⁷² "Iqbal death anniversary observed in Dhaka: Functions all over city: People pay tribute," *The Morning News*, April 22, 1952; "Iqbal's Society formation urged: Observance in Dhaka," *Dawn*, April 22, 1952.

⁷³ *Ibid.*

⁷⁴ Wajahat Hussain (Andaleeb Shadani) (1904-1969); poet, writer, Persian scholar, journalist, critic, researcher, translator; remained Chairman Urdu and Persian Department Dhaka University, Dhaka. Pubs. *Nisbat-i-Raftab*; *Naqsb-i-Badi*; *Nusb-o-Binish*; *Sachi Kabanian*; *Tebqiq ki Raushni main*; *Sharb Ruba'iyat Baba Tabir*.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*

Huq Hall of the Dhaka University observed Iqbal Day with great enthusiasm.⁷⁶

- The students of the Eden Girls College also arranged an Iqbal Day meeting under the presidentship of Principal of the College. *Dawn* and *The Morning News* reported that besides paying glowing tributes to Allama Iqbal through speeches, girls recited some of his poems and translations of his poetic works in Bengali and English were also presented. One of most remarkable feature of the function was dramatisation of remarkable poem depicting dialogue between Gabriel and Satan.⁷⁷

- Iqbal's death anniversary was also observed under the auspices of the East Pakistan branch of the Krishak Mazdoor League, in a meeting held at its office. ► *Dawn* and *The Morning News* reported that Azizul Hakim in his presidential speech while calling Iqbal the 'national poet of Pakistan' observed that the poet was a great champion of the *mazdoors* and the sufferers. The poor people, he said, had a firm conviction that their future would improve according to the teachings of Iqbal. Other speakers including Shamsuddin, Abdur Rahman and Tassadduq Ahmed also spoke on the occasion.⁷⁸

- The two days observance at Dhaka, culminated in a brilliant *mushaira*, held in the Maya Cinema Hall. *The Morning News* and *Dawn* communicated that prominent poets of Urdu from various parts of East Pakistan recited their compositions before a crowded audience of the elite of the city. Among those who participated were the celebrated Raza Ali Wahshat, Syed Mahmud Hussain Tarzi, Andaleeb Shadani, Ahsanullah Ashk, Iqbal Azeem, Suroor and many other Urdu luminaries from all over the province.⁷⁹ *The Civil and Military Gazette*, Lahore stated that the Radio Pakistan, Dhaka also had special broadcasts on the occasion.⁸⁰

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, "Dacca Girls College observe Iqbal Day," *Dawn*, April 23, 1952.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*

⁸⁰ "Iqbal Day broadcasts from Dhaka," *The Civil and Military Gazette*, Lahore, April 21, 1952.

- Besides Dhaka, Iqbal Day was also celebrated at other major places of East Pakistan. *The Morning News* reported that Iqbal Day was observed at Pabnat and a mammoth public meeting was held under the auspices of the Jamiat-i-Ahle Hadith. The meeting was presided over by Syed Rashidul Hasan, the District and Sessions Judge, Parna-Kushtia. Prominent writers and poets read out articles and poems in Urdu and Bengali. Two silver medals were awarded to the best writers on Iqbal- one for Urdu, the other for Bengali. Muhammad Abdullah el Kafee al-Quraishi spoke at length on the teachings of Iqbal. A society called ‘Halqua-i-Adab-i-Iqbal’ was formed under the presidentship of the District Judge to study the literature of Iqbal.⁸¹

- *The Pakistan Observer* informed that a representative ‘Iqbal Day Celebration Committee’ was formed at Sylhet with Majiddin Ahmed Choudhary, as President and Moinuddin Ahmed MLA as the Secretary for the observance of Iqbal Day on April 24. Its members included representatives from the Jamait-i-Ulama-i-Islam, the Muslim League, the Motamer Alam-i-Islami, Anjuman-i-Taraqqi-i-Urdu and Muslim Students League.⁸²

- At Chittagong, a big public meeting was held at the Railway Sports Institute under the presidentship of Andaleeb Shadani. *The Morning News* reported that the meeting was organised by the Majlis-i-Iqbal, East Pakistan of which the provincial Governor was the patron. Several essays on the philosophy and poetry of Allama Iqbal were read out in the meeting. Shadani in his presidential address said that the philosophy of Iqbal was primarily the philosophy of action. He was a poet of the highest order and could rank with the greatest poets of the world. Besides, he was a guide, a sage and a philosopher who moulded the destiny of a nation. The meeting was followed by a grand *mushaira* attended by Shadani, Iqbal Azeem, Ahsan Ahmed Ashk, Hasan Azhar, and a number of other poets.⁸³

⁸¹ “Iqbal Day at Pabna,” *The Morning News*, April 24, 1952.

⁸² “Iqbal Day in Sylhet,” *The Pakistan Observer*, Dhaka, April 22, 1952.

⁸³ “Iqbal Day all over East Pakistan: Glowing tributes to poet’s genius,” *The Morning News*, April 26, 1952.

- Iqbal Day was observed at Bogra by different organisations on April 21. *The Morning News* narrated that APWA Bogra branch, held a special meeting with Begum Zahera Rahman in the chair. Hasna Begum a teacher of local V. M. Girls H. E. School delivered an illuminating speech on the life and works of Iqbal. Prizes were awarded to Sahira Banu, Shamsun Nahar and Zulekha Begum for recitation from the works of Iqbal, writing essays on poet and singing songs compared by him respectively.⁸⁴

- In the evening a public meeting was held in the Woodburn Public Library Hall where several speakers discussed the life and the activities of the poet. The meeting was presided over by Muhammad Masud, District Magistrate who also addressed the meeting and proposed to form a branch of the Iqbal Academy there. Another Iqbal Day meeting was also held at the Local Marina Hall under the presidentship of Maziruddin Ahmed.⁸⁵

- Iqbal Day was observed at Comilla with great fervour. *The Morning News* reported that local schools and colleges, which were closed on the occasion, observed the Day recalling the services of national poet for their future guidance. Public meetings were also held under the auspices of various organisations in observance of the Day. At the meeting held in the Basanta Memorial Library speakers dwelt on the life and works of the poet.⁸⁶

- At Rangpur, the Sadar Ansars Club of Rangpur observed the Iqbal Day at a meeting presided over by Mazhar Ali, Sub-Divisional Adjutant of Ansars. *The Morning News* communicated that besides speeches of Iqbal, a number of his poems were also recited.

- At Mymensingh, the local branch of the All East Pakistan Muslim Students League observed a two days programme of the Iqbal Day.

- At Noakhali the day was observed with due solemnity at a meeting presided over by Ahiddin Chaudhry.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*

- Iqbal's death anniversary was also observed at a meeting in Dinajpur.⁸⁷

Even a cursory glance on the above paras would reveal that Allama Iqbal being the originator of the idea of newly established state enjoyed a special status among the Pakistani intelligentsia. A survey of English dailies of Pakistan which existed during 1952 reveals that he was highly respected for his multi-dimensional services and his views were persistently quoted by renowned personalities of every walk of life, like writers, politicians, intellectuals, civil servants and theologians as guidelines to be pursued in reshaping the proposed structure of the motherland. His ideas were presented as a panacea for all the ills and rallying point for the development of a sense of unity and oneness.

SUMMARY

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*

MODERN WORLD AND ITS CHALLENGES

Muhammad Suheyl Umar

IN ORDER TO TALK ABOUT THE MODERN WORLD, ITS NATURE AND RELATION TO THE WORLD OF ISLAM TODAY ONE HAS TO TAKE INTO CONSIDERATION THE FACT THAT THERE ARE SPECIFIC AS WELL AS GENERAL CHALLENGES OF AN INTELLECTUAL AND SPIRITUAL ORDER WHICH THE MODERN WORLD HAS PLACED BEFORE THE CONTEMPORARY MUSLIM AND TO REALIZE THE ROLE THAT THE ISLAMIC TRADITION CAN PLAY IN PROVIDING THE MEANS TO ANSWER THESE CHALLENGES.

There is a traditional Islamic saying according to which Satan hates sharp points and edges. It should never be forgotten that in the present situation any form of criticism of the modern world based upon metaphysical and religious principles is an act of charity in its profoundest sense and in accordance with the most central virtues of Islam. Also one should never forget—considering a certain attitude prevailing among some Muslims who are afraid of being critical for fear of seeming discourteous, or lacking in *adab* (which in the traditional Islamic languages means at once courtesy, correctness of manners, culture and literature)—that the Prophet of Islam ﷺ not only possessed *adab* in its most perfect form but also asserted the Truth in the most straightforward and naked manner. It is this type of attitude that is needed by Muslims in their discussion of the West and its challenges to Islam. What is lacking in the Islamic world today is a thorough examination and careful criticism of all that is happening in the modern world. There are too few people in the Islamic world who can confront the West, and criticize and answer with the sword of the Intellect and the Spirit the very basis of the challenge with which the West confronts Islam. There is no logical reason why a new intellectual elite could not develop in the Islamic world, an elite which would be able to provide an objective criticism of the modern world from the point of view of the eternal verities contained within the message of the Islamic revelation, applying the God-given treasures of Islam to the wretched situation of modern man and the ever more serious plight he faces.

There are today essentially three main classes of people in the Islamic world concerned with religious, intellectual and philosophical questions: the *ulama'* and other religious and traditional authorities in general (including the Sufis), and the modernists, interested in religion. Only now is a third group gradually coming into which is traditional like the *ulama'* but also knows the modern world. As far as the *ulama'* and other traditional spiritual authorities are concerned it usually observed that they usually do not possess a profound knowledge of the modern world and its problems and complexities. As for the second class, whose attitudes have been often analyzed by the contemporary scholars, they are the product of either Western universities or universities in the Islamic world which more or less ape the West. Now, universities in the Islamic world are themselves in a state of crisis which stems from the question of identity, for an educational system is organically related to the culture within whose matrix it functions. The crisis could not but exist because the indigenous Islamic culture is still alive. This sense of inferiority *vis-a-vis* the West among so many modernized Muslims, which is, moreover, shared by modernized Hindus, Buddhists and other Orientals in general who are affected by the psychosis of modern forms of idolatry, is the greatest malady facing the Islamic world, and afflicts most deeply the very group which one would expect to face the challenge of the West. The encounter of Islam with the West cannot therefore be discussed without taking into consideration that mentality which is in most cases the product of a modern university education¹⁷⁰ a mentality which, during the past century, has been responsible for most of the apologetic Islamic works concerned with the encounter of Islam and the West.¹⁷¹

¹⁷⁰ It must be said, however, that because of the very rapid decadence of Western society during the past two decades, some of the younger Muslims who have experienced the Western world on an 'intellectual' level are far less infatuated with it than before and have in fact begun to criticize it. But of these the number that think within the Islamic framework are very limited. The various works of Maryam Jameelah contain many thoughtful pages on this theme and the whole problem of the confrontation of Islam and Western civilization. See especially her *Islam versus the West*, Lahore, 1968.

¹⁷¹ A few of the modernized '*ulama'* must also be placed in this category. See W. C. Smith, *Islam in Modern History*, where the style and approach of such an apologetic attitude, especially as it concerns Egypt, is analysed.

Endless arguments have been presented for the hygienic nature of the Islamic rites or the ‘egalitarian’ character of the message of Islam, not because such things are true if seen in the larger context of the total Islamic message, but because hygiene and egalitarianism are currently accepted ideas and norms in the West—or at least they were before the Hippie movement. For the modernized Muslims, especially more extreme among them, the ‘true meaning’ of Islam has been for some time now what the West has dictated. If evolution is in vogue, ‘true Islam’ is evolutionary. Probably, if the obvious decomposition of modern civilization, which became gradually evident after the Second World War, had become manifest after the First World War, when the traditions of Asia were much more intact, a great deal more from these traditional civilizations could have been saved. Even today, if in the Islamic world there comes to be formed a true intelligentsia at once traditional and fully conversant with the modern world, the challenge of the West can be answered and the core of the Islamic tradition preserved from the paralysis which now threatens its limbs and body.

To realize exactly how much can still be saved in the Islamic world, it is sufficient to remember that for the vast majority of Muslims even now, Islamic culture is still a living reality in which they live, breathe and die. The present-day generation of modernized Muslims is much less confident about the absolute value of Western civilization than their fathers and uncles who went to the West before them. The main problem, which is the lack of a profound knowledge of the real nature of the modern world based upon the criteria of Islamic culture, remains. There are still too few ‘occidentalists’ in the Islamic world who could perform for Islam the positive aspect of the function which ‘orientalists’ have been performing for the West since the eighteenth century.¹⁷²

¹⁷² We do not mean that Muslim ‘Occidentalists’ should emulate the prejudices and limitations of the Orientalists, but that they should know the West as well as possible from the Islamic point of view in the same way that the best among Orientalists have sought to know the East well, albeit within the frame of reference of the West. Of course, because of the anti-traditional nature of the modern West, such a frame of reference has not been adequate when dealing with the religious and metaphysical teachings of Oriental traditions, but that is another question, which does not concern the present comparison.

Despite the weakening of the confidence in the West on the part of modernized Muslims, the Muslims are still on the receiving end in the realm of both ideas and material objects. Lacking confidence in their own intellectual tradition, most modernized Muslims are like a *tabula rasa* waiting to receive some kind of impression from the West. Moreover, each part of the Islamic world receives a different kind of baggage of ideas, depending on the part of the Western world to which it has become closely attached. The intellectual situation is as bad as the domain of women's fashion where in many Islamic lands women remain completely passive as obedient consumers and emulate blindly whatever a few Western fashion-makers decide for them. To study in a more concrete fashion the challenges of the West to Islam, it is necessary to take as example some of the 'isms' which have been fashionable in the modern world today and which have affected the cultural and even religious life of the Islamic world. Today in many parts of the Islamic world there is a great deal of talk about Marxism, which, although it does not usually attack Islam directly, has an important indirect effect upon religious life—not to speak of economic and social activity. Many who speak of Marxism or socialism in general in the Islamic world do so with certain existing problems of society in mind for which they are seeking solutions. The Marxist fad has become an excuse for many young Muslims to refuse to think seriously about the problems of Islamic society from the Islamic point of view and within the matrix of their own social situation. The danger of Marxism for Islam became aggravated by the appearance in certain Islamic countries, especially within the Arab world, of a Marxism with an Islamic veneer, creating a most tempting trap for certain simple souls. The general tendency among Muslims affected by the evolutionist mentality is to forget the whole Islamic conception of the march of time.¹⁷³ The challenge of evolutionary thought has been answered in contemporary Islam in nearly the same way as has the challenge of Marxism. Meanwhile, works of evolutionary writers, even of the nineteenth century such as Spencer, who are no longer taught as living philosophical influences in their own homeland, continue to be taught in universities far and wide in the Islamic world, especially in the Indian subcontinent, as if they represented the latest proven scientific

¹⁷³ See Abu Bakr Siraj ed-Din, 'The Islamic and Christian Conceptions of the March of Time', *Islamic Quarterly*, 1954, Vol- I, Pp. 229-235.

knowledge or the latest philosophical school of the West. This way of thinking in its scientific form, did not affect the Islamic world as directly as evolutionism, and we do not know of any important and influential Muslim writers who are Freudian or Jungian, but its effect is certain to increase. It must therefore be remembered that Freudianism, as well as other modern Western schools of psychology and psychotherapy, are the by-products of a particular society very different from the Islamic. Islam is a religion that rejects individualistic subjectivism. The spiritual ideal of Islam itself is to transform the soul of the Muslim, like a mosque, into a crystal reflecting the Divine Light.

Among older Western literary figures who are close to the Islamic perspective, one might mention first of all Dante and Goethe who, although profoundly Christian, are in many ways like Muslim writers. In modern times, one could mention, on of course another level, T. S. Eliot, who, unlike most modern writers, was a devout Christian and possessed, for this very reason, a vision of the world not completely removed from that of Islam.

Today, in fact, his ideas are opposed by Islamic elements within Persian society.

THE INFLUENCE OF PSYCHOLOGY AND PSYCHOANALYSIS, COMBINED WITH AN ATHEISTIC AND NIHILISTIC POINT OF VIEW AND DISSEMINATED WITHIN THE ISLAMIC WORLD THROUGH LITERATURE AND ART, PRESENTS A MAJOR CHALLENGE TO ISLAM WHICH CAN BE ANSWERED ONLY THROUGH RECOURSE TO TRADITIONAL ISLAMIC PSYCHOLOGY AND PSYCHOTHERAPY CONTAINED MOSTLY WITHIN SUFISM, AND ALSO THROUGH THE CREATION OF A GENUINELY ISLAMIC LITERARY CRITICISM WHICH WOULD BE ABLE TO PROVIDE AN OBJECTIVE EVALUATION OF SO MUCH THAT PASSES FOR LITERATURE TODAY.

THE DEGREE OF PENETRATION OF ANTI-ISLAMIC PSYCHOLOGICAL AS WELL AS PHILOSOPHICAL WESTERN IDEAS THROUGH LITERATURE INTO THE ISLAMIC WORLD CAN BE BEE GAUGED BY JUST WALKING THROUGH THE STREETS NEAR UNIVERSITIES IN VARIOUS MID EASTERN CITIES. THE SPACE IN ISLAMIC ARCHITECTURE IS ESSENTIALLY A 'NEGATIVE SPACE'. SPACE IN

ISLAMIC ARCHITECTURE AND CITY-PLANNING IS NOT THE SPACE AROUND AN
OBJECT OR DETERMINED BY THAT OBJECT.

Traditional Islamic [literary tastes are thereby being influenced by the completely anti-traditional ideas emanating from Jungian and Freudian circles and threatening one of the most central and accessible channels of Islamic norms and values. Because of the anti-metaphysical attitude of much of what is taught in this school and the fact that it has forgotten the meaning of Being in its traditional sense, which lies at the heart of all Islamic philosophy, spread of existentialism, especially in its agnostic vein, is a most insidious danger for the future of Islamic intellectual life.

FURTHERMORE, THERE IS THE TENDENCY IN CERTAIN QUARTERS TO INTERPRET ISLAMIC PHILOSOPHY ITSELF IN THE LIGHT OF WESTERN MODES OF THOUGHT, THE LATEST BEING THE EXISTENTIAL SCHOOL.

The same applies on another level to man's traditional intellectual heritage. Wherever the Islamic world is to 'go', it must begin from the reality of the Islamic tradition and from its own real, and not imagined, situation. This rejection is, in fact, a sign of life, an indication that Islamic culture still possesses vitality.

As far as philosophy is concerned, the countries where Muslim languages are used for university instruction are in a somewhat better position, especially Persia, where Islamic philosophy still continues as a living tradition and where it is not easy to say anything at all in the name of philosophy without being seriously challenged by the traditional intellectual elite. But of course even this part of the Muslim world has not been completely spared from condescending and apologetic studies of Islamic thought from the point of view of Western philosophy, though relatively speaking there is less philosophic influence there because of the two reasons alluded to above: language barrier and a still-living tradition of Islamic philosophy. For Muslims who have cultivated Islamic philosophy, philosophy has always been *al-falsafah* or *al-hikmah*, "*the philosophy*", a vision of the truth transcending the individualistic order and derived from the Truth (*al-Haqq*) itself. The very appearance of such concepts and terms as 'our philosophy' or 'my thought' in Islamic languages itself reveals the degree of departure from the Islamic

norm. It is against such errors that the weapon of the traditional doctrines contained in the vast treasury of Islamic thought must be used, and answers drawn from these sources be provided, before any further erosion of Islamic intellectual life takes place.

Actually anyone who has studied traditional Islamic philosophy from Ibn Sina and Suhrawardi to the expositor of the metaphysics of being, Sadr al-Din Shirazi (Mulla Sadra) will readily understand the profound chasm which separates the traditional Islamic 'philosophy of being' from modern existentialism, which, even in its apparently most profound aspects, can only reach, in a fragmentary fashion, some of the rudimentary teachings contained in their fullness in traditional metaphysics. Henry Corbin, the only Western scholar who has expounded to any extent this later phase of Islamic philosophy in the West, has shown the divergence of views between Islamic philosophy and existentialism and the correctives which the former provides for the latter, in the long French introduction to his edition and translation of Sadr al-din Shirazi's *Kitab al Masha'ir* (rendered into French as *Le Livre des penetrations metaphysiques*).¹⁷⁴ One last but urgent and basic problem must be mentioned, and that is the ecological crisis, which was brought into being by Modern civilization but which is now a challenge to the very life of men everywhere, including, of course, Muslims in the Islamic world. There lies in the background of Islamic science a true philosophy of nature which, if brought to light and presented in contemporary language, can be substituted for the present false natural philosophy. Muslim scholars and thinkers must be trained to revitalize the philosophy of nature contained in the Islamic sciences and to study these sciences themselves.

It is true that Islamic science and culture were a factor in the rise of the Renaissance in the West, but Islamic elements were employed only after they were divorced from their Islamic character and torn away from the total order in which alone they possess their full meaning and significance.

¹⁷⁴ See Mulla Sadra, *Kitab al-Masha'ir* (*Le livre des penetrations metaphysiques*), Introduction. See also T. Izutsu, *The Concept and Reality of Existence* Tokyo, 1971, where a profound analysis of Islamic ontology is to be found even if in Ch. II certain comparisons are made with Western existentialism which appear difficult to accept.

Muslims should revivify the study of the Islamic sciences, first in order to demonstrate to young Muslims, so many of whom have the tendency to stop praying upon learning the first formulae of algebra, the fact that for many centuries Muslims cultivated the sciences, including most of the mathematics taught in secondary schools today, and yet remained devout Muslims; and second, to bring out, the underlying harmony of the Islamic sciences with Islamic philosophy, theology and metaphysics, a harmony that is closely related, to the -philosophy of nature alluded to above. To conclude, it must be asserted categorically once again that to preserve Islam and Islamic civilization, a conscious and intellectual defence must be made of the Islamic tradition. Moreover, a thorough intellectual criticism must be made of the modern world and its shortcomings. The truth must therefore be asserted and the intellectual defence of Islam made on every front on which it is challenged.

ALLAMA IQBAL CONFERENCE: TEHRAN —FEBRUARY 24, 2001

M. S. Umar

Conference

A ONE-DAY INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON THE THEME “POET-PHILOSOPHER ALLAMA IQBAL AND THE CHALLENGES OF MODERN TIMES” WAS JOINTLY ORGANIZED BY THE CULTURAL COORDINATION DEPARTMENT OF THE MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS OF IRAN AND THE EMBASSY OF PAKISTAN IN COLLABORATION WITH THE IQBAL ACADEMY PAKISTAN. THE CONFERENCE WAS HELD AT THE INSTITUTE FOR POLITICAL AND INTERNATIONAL STUDIES (IPIS) HALL, TEHRAN ON FEBRUARY 24, 2001. THE CONFERENCE WAS WIDELY ATTENDED BY IRANIAN OFFICIALS, SCHOLARS, INTELLECTUALS AND STUDENTS AS WELL AS MEMBERS OF THE DIPLOMATIC CORPS.

2. WELCOMING THE PARTICIPANTS, THE AMBASSADOR OF PAKISTAN TO IRAN, MR. JAVID HUSSAIN SAID IQBAL WAS NOT ONLY A POET OF GREAT REPUTE BUT ALSO A PHILOSOPHER WITH A POWERFUL AND UNIVERSAL MESSAGE, WHO USED HIS POETRY AS AN INSTRUMENT FOR THE PROPAGATION OF HIS PHILOSOPHY OF SELF WHICH WAS THE CENTRE-PIECE OF IQBAL’S THOUGHT. HE SAID THAT THE INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON ALLAMA IQBAL SYMBOLISED THE DEEP CULTURAL LINKS BETWEEN PAKISTAN AND IRAN, WHICH HAD CREATED INDISSOLUBLE BONDS OF FRIENDSHIP BETWEEN THE PEOPLES OF THE TWO COUNTRIES. “IT SHOULD BE OUR ENDEAVOUR TO SUSTAIN AND NURTURE THESE BROTHERLY TIES THROUGH SUCH CULTURAL EXCHANGES AND ACTIVITIES”.

3. INAUGURATING THE CONFERENCE, THE IRANIAN DEPUTY MINISTER FOR EDUCATION AND RESEARCH AFFAIRS MR. SADEGH KHARRAZI SAID THAT IQBAL WAS A GREAT POET-PHILOSOPHER OF THE ISLAMIC WORLD WHOSE MESSAGE OF ISLAMIC UNITY AND AWAKENING ENABLED THE MUSLIMS TO FREE THEMSELVES FROM THE CLUTCHES OF IMPERIALISM.

4. PROF. FATEH MUHAMMAD MALIK, CHAIRMAN NATIONAL LANGUAGE AUTHORITY, WHO LED A 5-MEMBER PAKISTAN DELEGATION AT THE CONFERENCE, DELIVERED HIS KEYNOTE ADDRESS. PAYING TRIBUTES TO ALLAMA IQBAL, PROF. MALIK SAID SOME OF THE GREATEST CHALLENGES THAT ENGAGED THE FINEST THINKERS AT THE BEGINNING OF THE LAST CENTURY, REMAIN UNRESOLVED. THESE CHALLENGES INCLUDED THE NATURE OF ISLAMIC RENEWAL AND THE DIRECTION OF ISLAMIC REFORM, THE RELATIONSHIP OF THE MUSLIM WORLD TO THE WEST AND TO THE REST OF HUMANITY, THE CHARACTER AND CONTENT OF AN ISLAMIC POLITY.

5. A NUMBER OF SCHOLARS FROM VARIOUS RENOWNED UNIVERSITIES OF IRAN AND PAKISTAN PAID TRIBUTES TO ALLAMA IQBAL AND PRESENTED PAPERS ON THE MAJOR THEMES OF HIS POLITICAL PHILOSOPHY AND THOUGHT. THESE INCLUDED DR. MAÁMĒD BURĒJERDÁ, PRESIDENT OF THE ECO CULTURAL INSTITUTE, DR. SEYED MUÁÇAF« MUÁAQQIQ D«M«D, HEAD OF ISLAMIC STUDIES IN SCIENCE ACADEMY, DR. REZA SHA‘B«NÁ, SEYED MUÁAMMAD TAQÁ ĆAYYEB FROM ISFAHAN UNIVERSITY, MR. M. BAQ«‘Á M«K«N, DR. ABUL FAİL NABIE, DR. MUÁAMMAD ‘ALVI MUQADDAM, DR. MĒÁAMMAD TAVALL«‘Á, DR. MS F«ÇIMAH MUDARRISÁ, DR. MS RĒÁANGÁZ KARA-CHI, DR. SYED ABUL Q«SIM R«DFAR. FROM PAKISTAN, MR. SUHEYL UMAR, DIRECTOR IQBAL ACADEMY, AND DR. M. SALEEM AKHTAR, PRINCIPAL RESEARCH FELLOW, NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF HISTORICAL AND CULTURAL RESEARCH, QUAID-E-AZAM UNIVERSITY, ISLAMABAD, READ THEIR PAPERS AT THE CONFERENCE. (THE PAPER PRESENTED BY THE DIRECTOR IQBAL ACADEMY IS INCLUDED IN THIS ISSUE).

Exhibitions

6. THREE EXHIBITIONS WERE ALSO ON THE SIDELINES OF THE CONFERENCE. THESE INCLUDED THE FOLLOWING:

- I. EXHIBITION OF BOOKS ON ALLAMA IQBAL AND PAKISTAN COLLECTED AND SENT BY THE IQBAL ACADEMY PAKISTAN.
- II. EXHIBITION OF MEMORABILIA (MANUSCRIPTS, LETTERS, PHOTOGRAPHS ETC, OF IQBAL) ARRANGED BY THE IQBAL ACADEMY PAKISTAN.

III. EXHIBITION OF THE ILLUSTRATIONS/PAINTINGS ON IQBAL AND HIS CALLIGRAPHY BY MR. ASLAM KAMAL.

Media

7. THE PRESS AND THE RADIO / TELEVISION COVERED THE PROCEEDINGS OF THE CONFERENCE. DIFFERENT TV CHANNELS RECORDED INTERVIEWS OF THE AMBASSADOR OF PAKISTAN AND SCHOLARS FROM IRAN AND PAKISTAN WHO PRESENTED PAPERS IN THE CONFERENCE

Meetings

8. PAKISTAN DELEGATION ALSO CALLED ON DR. 'ATULLAH MUHJERANI, CHAIRMAN OF THE CENTRE FOR DIALOGUE AMONG CIVILIZATIONS, AND VISITED SHAHEED BAHESHTI UNIVERSITY, TEACHERS TRAINING UNIVERSITY, ECO CULTURAL INSTITUTE AND FARANGHISTAN-E-ADAB (ACADEMY OF LETTERS). THE CHAIRMAN OF THE DIALOGUE AMONG CIVILIZATION SUGGESTED JOINTLY UNDERTAKING THE TRANSLATION OF *KULLIYAT-I-IQBAL* URDU INTO PERSIAN. HE OFFERED TO SHARE 50% OF ITS COST. THE DIRECTOR IQBAL ACADEMY SAID THAT THE PROJECT OF THE TRANSLATION OF *KULLIYAT-I-IQBAL* HAS ALREADY ON ITS WAY TO WHICH DR. MUHAJERANI SAID EVEN THEN WE COULD BEAR THE TOTAL COST AND DO REST OF THE EDITING BY THE IRANIAN SCHOLARS. REGARDING THE WORK OF FAIZ AHMAD FAIZ, PROF. MALIK ASSURED THAT ON RETURN TO PAKISTAN HE WOULD TAKE UP THE MATTER WITH THE PAKISTAN ACADEMY OF LETTERS.

Visit to Mashad.

9. FOUR MEMBERS OF THE DELEGATION EXCLUDING THE LEADER VISITED MESHED FOR A DAYLONG VISIT. THEY WERE PROVIDED TRANSPORT AND ACCOMMODATION BY THE IRANIAN GOVERNMENT AND FACILITATED IN PERFORMING *ZILAT*.

10. THE OFFICIALS CONCERNED OF THE GOVERNMENT OF IRAN EXTENDED ALL POSSIBLE COOPERATION IN MAKING THE CONFERENCE A SUCCESS.

11. THE AMBASSADOR HOSTED A DINNER FOR THE DELEGATION WHICH WAS ATTENDED BY THE OFFICIALS OF THE MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS INCLUDING THE DIRECTOR GENERAL (WEST ASIA) BESIDES THOSE REPRESENTING THE MINISTRY OF CULTURE AND ISLAMIC GUIDANCE.

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INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE

IQBAL AND CHALLENGES OF THE MODERN TIMES

SATURDAY, 24 FEBRUARY, 2001 AT IPIS TEHRAN.

PROGRAMME

INAUGURAL SESSION

- 1 MR. SADEGH KHARRAZI
 - 2 MR. JAVID HUSSAIN, AMBASSADOR OF PAKISTAN
 3. DR. MUHAMMAD BOROUJERDI
 4. PROF. FATEH MOHAMMAD MALIK
- 0900 HRS RECITATION FROM THE HOLY QUR'AN
- 0905 HRS INTRODUCTORY REMARKS
- 0915 HRS WELCOME REMARKS BY H.E. MR. JAVID HUSSAIN
 AMBASSADOR OF PAKISTAN TO IRAN.
- 092-5 HRS INAUGURAL SPEECH BY H. E. MR. SADEGH KHARRAZI,
 DEPUTY MINISTER.

0940 HRS KEYNOTE ADDRESS BY PROF. FATEH MOHAMMAD MALIK—
CHAIRMAN NATIONAL LANGUAGE AUTHORITY.

1000 HRS SPEECH BY DR. MAÁMĒD BURĒJERDÁ—PRESIDENT, ECO
CULTURAL INSTITUTE.

1015 HRS CHIEF GUEST AND DELEGATES VISIT THE EXHIBITIONS ON
THE SIDELINES OF THE CONFERENCE.

1030 HRS TEA BREAK

SESSION-1

1045 HRS MR. MUHAMMAD SUHEYL UMAR—DIRECTOR IQBAL
ACADEMY, LAHORE.

“MODERN TIMES AND ITS CHALLENGES.”

1100 HRS SEYED MUÁAMMAD TAQÁ ĆAYYEB—ISFAHAN UNIVERSITY

“IQBAL’S POLITICAL DISPOSITION.”

1115 HRS MR. M. BAQĀĀ MĀKĀN

“THE IDEAL (POLITICAL) SYSTEM IN IQBAL’S VIEW”.

1130 HRS DR. REZA SHAĀĀNÁ

“HISTORICAL SIGNIFICANCE OF IQBAL’S POETRY.”

1145 HRS DISCUSSION

1200 TO

1400 HRS PRAYER AND LUNCH BY THE AMBASSADOR OF PAKISTAN.

SESSION-2

1. PROF. FATEH MOHAMMAD MALIK

2. DR. REZA SHAH

3. MR. M. SUHEYL UMAR

1400 HRS DR. ABUL FAÏL NABIE

“UNDERSTANDING ISLAM FROM IQBAL’S POETRY.”

1415 HRS DR. MUHAMMAD SALEEM AKHTAR

“IQBAL AND THE QUEST FOR THE REFORM OF THE MUSLIM WORLD.”

1430 HRS DR. MUHAMMAD ALVI MUQADDAM

“IQBAL, A POET OF COMMITMENT”.

1445 HRS DR. MUHAMMAD TAVALLAH

“IQBAL’S POETRY AND ISLAMIC NATIONHOOD”.

1500 HRS DISCUSSION

1515 HRS TEA BREAK

ISLAMIC UNITY IN VIEW OF ALLAMA IQBAL

Seminar held on the Occasion of 123rd birth anniversary of Allama Iqbal

Dacca—Bangladesh

Prof. Sirajul Haque

A SEMINAR ENTITLED “ISLAMIC UNITY IN VIEW OF ALLAMA IQBAL” WAS HELD AT THE AUDITORIUM OF THE OFFICE OF THE CULTURAL COUNSELLOR OF IRAN, DHANMONDI YESTERDAY THE 1ST NOVEMBER 2000 AT 4 P.M. THE SEMINAR WAS ORGANIZED JOINTLY BY THE ALLAMA IQBAL RESEARCH ACADEMY AND OFFICE OF THE CULTURAL COUNSELLOR OF IRAN, DHAKA.

THE SEMINAR WAS HELD UNDER THE PRESIDENT SHIP OF DR. WAKIL AHMED, FORMER PRO-VICE CHANCELLOR AND PRESENTLY PROF. DEPT. OF BENGALI, DHAKA UNIVERSITY AND ATTENDED BY AMONG OTHERS MR. MOHAMMAD ABDUR RAUF, FORMER CHIEF ELECTION COMMISSIONER & JUDGE OF THE BANGLADESH SUPREME COURT AS CHIEF GUEST, DR. A. N. M. RAIS UDDIN, PROF. DEPT. OF ISLAMIC STUDIES, DHAKA UNIVERSITY, MR. SHAHABODDIN DARAEI, CULTURAL COUNSELLOR OF IRAN AND PROF. SIRAJUL HAQUE, PRESIDENT, ALLAMA IQBAL RESEARCH ACADEMY AS SPECIAL GUESTS. POET ABDUL MUKIT CHAWDHARY A RENOWNED NAZRUL AND IQBAL RESEARCHER PRESENTED THE KEY NOTE PAPER IN THE SEMINAR AND MAULANA QARI ANISUR RAHMAN RECITED FROM THE HOLY QUR’AN.

DR. KULSOOM ABUL BASHAR, PROF DEPT. OF PERSIAN & URDU, DHAKA UNIVERSITY, MR. ZAHIR BISWAS A RENOWNED DRAMATIST AND MR. ABEDIN SAMADI RECITED FROM THE POEM OF ALLAMA IQBAL.

A LARGE NUMBER OF INTELLECTUALS, TEACHERS, POET & LITTERATEUR HAVE ATTENDED THE SEMINAR.

JUSTICE ABDUR RAUF SAID IN HIS SPEECH, THAT IQBAL WAS AN INSTITUTION HIMSELF. HE WAS NOT ONLY A PHILOSOPHER AND A GREAT POET RATHER HE WAS A GREAT MAN AND *MARD-I-MOMIN*. IN THE EYES OF IQBAL, ISLAM HAS CREATED RELATION BETWEEN ALLAH AND MEN, RELATION BETWEEN MUSLIM AND OTHER HUMAN BEINGS. ALLAH SAID THAT MY *RĒ'Ā'* (SPIRIT) IS A MYSTERY AND MY CREATURE MAN ALSO IS MYSTERY. HE SAID THAT THE THEME OF ISLAM IS UNITY AND IQBAL WORKED FOR THAT. HE SAID THAT IQBAL WAS THE PIONEER TO UNITE THE HUMANITY. MOREOVER, HE WAS A HUMANIST. HE WROTE AND WORKED FOR THE ELEVATION OF CIVILIZATION AND UNITY. WE SHOULD ALSO GO AHEAD TO UPLIFT THE HUMANISM AS IQBAL TAUGHT US THROUGH HIS POEMS.

DR. PROF. WAKIL AHMED SAID THAT A GREAT POET IS NOT LIMITED WITHIN THE BOUNDARY OF A PARTICULAR LAND OR NATION, RATHER HIS MESSAGE IS FOR THE ALL HUMANKIND. WE COULD REALIZE THAT IQBAL EXERCISED HIS MISSION AND THOUGHT FOR THE HUMANKIND. THERE WERE TWO KINDS OF MAN IN THE LIGHT OF ALLAMA IQBAL. ONE KIND IS RULING CLASS WHO ARE OPPRESSING OTHER PEOPLE, ANOTHER IS THE OPPRESSED CLASS. IQBAL TAUGHT AND WORKED THROUGH HIS POEM FOR THE OPPRESSED CLASS OF THE WORLD. HE WAS A *MARD-I-MOMIN* AND WITH THE LIGHT OF *IMĀN* (FAITH) HE TRIED TO UPRaise THE HUMANITY. HE ALSO ADVISED TO ABANDON THE WESTERN CIVILIZATION AND CULTURE BECAUSE IT WAS FULLY BASED ON ATHEISM AND DISBELIEF IN GOD. HE SAID THAT THERE IS GREAT SIMILARITY BETWEEN QAZI NAZRUL ISLAM AND IQBAL, I.E. IN THOUGHT AND IN IDEAS WHICH IS ISLAMIC IDEALISM. IN MY EYES HE WAS A GREAT POET, HE ADDED.

DR. A. N. M. RAIS UDDIN SAID, THAT IQBAL TAUGHT US TO UNDERSTAND AND KNOW HUMANITY. IQBAL TOLD US TO BE REALLY HUMAN AND *INSĀN-I-KĀMIL*. IQBAL ALSO TOLD US TO BE A GOOD MUSLIM BECAUSE A REAL MUSLIM WILL NOT BOW DOWN TO ANY ONE EXCEPT ALLAH. AS WE HAVE DEVIATED FROM THE REAL ISLAM, SO WE HAVE LOST MANY THINGS INCLUDING OUR MANY LANDS, HE ADDED BY QUOTING IQBAL'S VERSES. ALLAMA IQBAL DID NOT POSSESS PAROCHIALISM AND NARROWNESS, HE WAS VERY BROAD-MINDED POET AND HE WROTE AND STRUGGLED FOR THE OPPRESSED PEOPLE OF THE WORLD. IQBAL PREACHED FOR UNITY AND LOVE OF HUMAN KIND.

MR. SHAHABUDDIN DARAEI SAID, THAT MESSAGE OF IQBAL'S WAS FOR ALL HUMANITY OF THE WORLD. HE SAID THAT IQBAL MESSAGE WAS FOR LOVE TOWARDS HUMANITY. HE SAID IT WAS NOT POSSIBLE ON HIS PART OR BY ANY ONE TO FOCUS ALLAMA IQBAL IN DETAIL IN THIS SEMINAR, WHO TRIED THROUGH OUT HIS LIFE TO LIBERATE THE OPPRESSED PEOPLE OF THE WORLD IN GENERAL AND PARTICULARLY PEOPLE OF THE SUBCONTINENT THROUGH HIS POEMS AND WORKS. HE (IQBAL) CONDEMNED THE IMPERIALISM OF THE WEST AND HE SAID THAT THE IMPERIALISM AND HEGEMONY OF THE WEST MUST BE RUINED WHICH CAME IN FACT THOUGH AFTER HIS DEATH.

PROF SIRAJUL HAQUE HIGHLIGHTED IQBAL AS A GREAT POET OF ALL THE TIMES. HE SAID THAT HIS POEMS INSPIRED NOT ONLY MUSLIM BUT ALSO ALL THE DOWNTRODDEN AND OPPRESSED PEOPLE OF THE WORLD. AS A POET-PHILOSOPHER AND VASTLY EDUCATED MAN HE WAS PEERLESS. IN COURSE OF HIS SPEECH HE QUOTED THE FOLLOWING VERSE OF IRANIAN POET, MALIK AL-SHU'AR« BAH«R

THIS ERA IS EXCLUSIVELY FOR IQBAL

HE WAS ALONE (IN HIS FIELD)

BUT SURPASSED TENS OF THOUSANDS.

PROF HAQUE ALSO QUOTED THE FOLLOWING VERSE OF EGYPTIAN POET AÁMED SHAWQI AND SAID THAT IQBAL IS STILL ALIVE.

HUMAN BEINGS ARE OF TWO KINDS,

THOSE WHO ARE DEAD IN LIFE AND OTHERS

WHO ARE ALIVE IN THEIR GRAVES

MR. ABDUL MUKIT CHAWDHRY IN HIS ARTICLE BY QUOTING FROM THE ARTICLE OF KAZI ABDUL WADUD, PUBLISHED IN *CALCUTTA REVIEW*, AS SAYING 'OF THE MODERN MUSLIM THINKERS, HE IS INDEBTED MOST TO JAM«L-UD-DÂN AL-AFGH«NÁ, WHO FLOURISHED IN THE SECOND HALF OF

THE NINETEENTH CENTURY AND TRIED TO DRIVE HOME INTO THE FALLEN MUSLIM WORLD THE MESSAGE OF SCIENTIFIC OUTLOOK AND POLITICAL RESURGENCE.²

IQBAL DAY— EMBASSY OF PAKISTAN, DUSHANBE, TAJIKISTAN

ABDUL MAJID KHAN

Iqbal day was celebrated at Embassy of Pakistan, Dushanbe, Tajikistan on 9th November, 2000. A literary function was organised in which Mr. Qurban vosiev, Advisor of the President was the Chief Guest. Representatives from Tajik National University, Iqbal Society, Tajikistan-Pakistan Friendship Society, known Scholars, Intellectuals and lovers of Allama Iqbal attended the function

2. A TOTAL OF 20 SPEAKERS READ OUT THEIR PAPERS AND RECITED *KALAM-I-IQBAL*. SOME OF THE SPEAKERS GAVE OUT NEW IDEAS ON IQBAL POETRY AND ROLE IN AWAKENING THE MUSLIMS. IT WAS EVIDENT FROM SPEAKERS THAT IQBAL WAS CONSIDERED AS COMMON HERO WHOSE WORK HAS BEEN FULLY APPRECIATED. THE FUNCTION WAS A SUCCESS AND BROUGHT THE SIDES MUCH CLOSER.

3. IT IS INTENDED TO HAVE A PRESENTATION OF THESE PAPERS IN IQBAL SOCIETY AND CONSOLIDATE THESE IN FORM OF BOOKLET/MAGAZINE.

A COPY OF MINUTES OF THE FUNCTION IS GIVEN IN THE FOLLOWING.

* * *

MINUTES OF THE IQBAL DAY FUNCTION

NOVEMBER 9, 2000

Beginning at 14-00 hrs.

Participants: Host – *H.E. Mr. Abdul Majid Khan, Ambassador of Pakistan,*

*Chief guest – H.E. Mr. Qurbon Vosiev, State Adviser to the President
RT,*

*Secretary – Ms. Muhammadkhojaeva Parvina, Members of
Anjuman-i-Iqbal,*

Employees of the Academy of Sciences,

Members of Friendship Society,

*Teachers & Student, state Tajik National University, Oriental
Faculty,*

Pakistanis,

Officer/Officials of Embassies & international organizations.

1. Recitation from the Qur'an and its translation into Tajik (Persian) by Mr. Fozilov Junaidullo, Translator of the Embassy.
2. Opening address by the secretary of function.
3. Scientific Report about glory of Iqbal in the whole world and his influence on Muslims, particularly on Persian (Tajik) speaking people by Mr. Babibullo Rajabov, Chief of Urdu Department of the State Tajik National University.
4. Poem of Iqbal (Persian) by Ms. Okhunova Parvina, Student of Oriental Faculty, Urdu Department.
5. Muhammad Iqbal's consideration for Persian by Mr. Alimardonov Amriyazdon Institute of Manuscripts, Academy of Sciences. Scientific report about reasons of Allama Iqbal on choosing Persian as a poetic language and privileges of this language on expressing his thought, that was impossible to do in Urdu. Another reason of writing his poems in Persian was to apply to Muslim people because Persian was a linking language between them.
6. Poem of Iqbal (Persian) by Mr. Ashurov Barakatullo, Student of Oriental Faculty, Urdu Department.

7. Javid Iqbal's contribution on studying of life and works of Muhammad Iqbal by Mr. Ali Muhammadi Khurosoni, employees of the Institute of Manuscripts, Academy of Sciences. Special point of report is contribution of Muhammad Iqbal's son on studying and researching life and works of Muhammad Iqbal in the last years and meetings of Javid Iqbal during his visit to Tajikistan while celebrating 1100-Anniversary of Samani state in the Republic of Tajikistan.
8. Poems of Iqbal (Urdu) by Mr. Mahmaddulloev, Student of Oriental Faculty, Urdu Department.
9. Relations with Iqbal's centres and their importance for today Tajikistan by Ms. Munira Shahidi, Director of Culture Music Museum named after Z. Shahidi. She suggested three points for consideration of Pakistan Embassy and Anjuman-i-Iqbal:
 - I. To study Iqbal's life & works in Pakistan during the last thirty years with vocabulary comments to keep 70-80's tends.
 - II. To publish bulletins or newsletters on cultural news of Pakistan in Tajik, Urdu & English.
 - III. To hold permanent meetings and discussions on cultural news on 21st century.
10. Poems of Iqbal (Urdu) by Ms. Gosieva Zebunisso & Ms. Ozodieva Farida, Students of Oriental Faculty, Urdu Department.
11. Hali and Iqbal by Ms. Sharafnisso Pulodova, Chairwoman of Pakistan-Tajikistan Friendship Society. Researching report on these two famous persons of Pakistan and their contribution into Islam.
12. Poem of Iqbal (Urdu) by Ms. Fozilova Umeda, Student, Oriental Faculty, Urdu Department.
13. Iqbal's poems devoted to children by Ms. Rahimova Gulrukhsor, Employee of Friendship Society. Iqbal has written a lot of lovely poems for children and presently have educational importance to be learnt by children.

14. Poems of Iqbal (Persian) by Mr. Soliev Khusrav, Student, Oriental Faculty, Urdu Department.
15. Poems of Iqbal (Persian) by Mr. Safarov Umar, Head of Persian Department, Ms. Gadoeva Mavjuda & Ms. Qurbonova Sabohat, Students Oriental Faculty, Persian Department.
16. Speech of welcome by H.E. Mr. Abdul Majid Khan, Ambassador of Pakistan.
17. Poems of Iqbal (Urdu & Persian) by Ms. Khairiddinova Sayora & Ms. Zuhurova Gulshan, Students, Oriental Faculty, Urdu Department.
18. Speech of Chief Guest H.E. Mr. Qurbon Vosiev, Chairman of Anjuman-i-Iqbal, State Adviser to the President RT on links with Social institutes and international relations. Chief Guest emphasized cooperation of Pakistan Embassy and Anjuman-i-Iqbal during the last two years: publishing of Kulliyat-e-Iqbal & Iqbalnama, holding meetings with members of Anjuman-i-Iqbal, arranging functions devoted to Muhammad Iqbal etc.
19. Song (Urdu & Persian) by Mr. Saifuddin Akramov, Teacher of the Tajik Pedagogical University.
20. Announcement for reporters by secretary – all scientific reports please should be given to the Embassy with the purpose to publish a booklet.
21. Gifts and prizes arranged by the Pakistan Embassy were awarded to all the speakers including students of Tajik National University by the Chief Guest. After the award ceremony, all participants were offered refreshments and the function finished at 17-00 hrs.

INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON “AL-GHAZALI’S LEGACY: ITS CONTEMPORARY RELEVANCE”

24-27, October 2001

**ORGANIZED BY THE INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTE OF ISLAMIC
THOUGHT AND CIVILIZATION (ISTAC) KUALA LUMPUR,
MALAYSIA.**

Muzaffar Iqbal

AL-GHAZALI’s Thought & Its Relevance to Our Contemporary World
ABU HAMID AL-GHAZALI (450 - 505/1058-9 -1111) has made major contributions to the refinement of speculative and metaphysical thought. He was also instrumental in transforming the relevance of the traditional religious sciences for rational, scientific and spiritual disciplines. His legacy is especially fruitful in providing creative insights into the dynamics between faith and reason. Many of AL-GHAZALI’s teachings and ideas have served to inspire the spiritual and intellectual lives of successive generations of Muslims. His works continue to provide guidance for humanity today in creatively meeting the challenges of modernity and development.

We intend this international conference to make a meaningful contribution to a fresh evaluation of AL-GHAZALI studies. By bringing scholars from around the world together to share research and ideas, we wish to promote the relevance of AL-GHAZALI’s work to contemporary Islamic life and thought. Two previous conferences devoted to AL-GHAZALI had concentrated on different issues: the Academy of the Kingdom of Morocco meeting in Agadir on 27-29 November 1985 (see *Un Trait d’Union entre l’Orient et l’Occident: al-Ghazzali et Ibn Maimoun /Halqat Wasl bayna l-Sharq wa l-Gharb: Abu Hamid al-Ghazzali wa Musa b. Maymun*, Academie du Royaume du Maroc vol. 12; Rabat, 1986); and the UNESCO ‘Round Table’ Paris meeting of 9-10 December 1985 (see *Ghazali: La Raison et le Miracle*, Paris, 1987).

It is befitting that the conference is being hosted by our Institute, wherein was established in 1993 the Al-Ghazali Distinguished Chair of Islamic Thought occupied by Professor Dr. SYED MUHAMMAD NAQUIB AL-ATTAS, the Founder-Director of ISTAC. Objectives of the Conference:

The Conference concentrates on multiple facets of AL-GHAZALI's intellectual contributions in the context of contemporary thought. Paper presentations will be dealing with topical themes, including the spiritual, metaphysical, logical, legal, ethical, exegetical, educational, environmental, interreligious, psycho-logical, scientific, and socio-political aspects of AL-GHAZALI's life and thought. In harmony with the Institute's overall aims, this four-day Conference seeks to accomplish the following goals:

- * To formulate viable frameworks for present and future studies of Islamic Thought and Society within the perspective of comparative civilizations, with special regard to AL-GHAZALI's achievements in integrating philosophy and science with theology and mysticism, and reviving faith and spirituality.
- * To clarify and elaborate the key concepts employed by AL-GHAZALI, particularly in the fields of theology, philosophy, exegesis and mysticism.
- * To provide a 'state of the art' critique of research in AL-GHAZALI studies, and throw light on aspects needing more intensive study (e.g., Qur'anic ta'wil).
- * To promote sound perspectives and realistic responses to the cultural, educational, epistemological, ethical, economic, techno-logical, and socio-political challenges and problems encountered by contemporary human societies, particularly in relation to Muslim societies today.

SPEAKERS:

Keynote Address

His Royal Highness Prince El Hassan bin Talal of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan.

Welcoming Address

Prof. Dr. Syed Muhammad Naquib al-Attas (ISTAC, Malaysia)

Paper Presenters

H.R.H. Princess Wijdan Ali (Jordan): Aesthetics

H.E. Prof. Dr. Mustafa Cerić (Reisul-ulema, Bosnia-Herzegovina):
Theology and Philosophy

Prof. Dr. Hans Daiber (Frankfurt, Germany): Theology and Philosophy

Prof. Dr. Alparslan Acikgenc (Faith University, Turkey): Theology and
Philosophy

Prof. Dr. Bennacer El Bouazzati (Rabat, Morocco): Scientific Thought

Prof. Dr. Bilal Kuspinar (McGill, Canada): Mysticism, Psychology and
Epistemology

Prof. Dr. Cemil Akdogan (ISTAC, Malaysia): History and Philosophy of
Science

Prof. Dr. David B. Burrell (Notre Dame, USA): Theology and Philosophy

Prof. Dr. Enes Karic (Sarajevo, Bosnia-Herzegovina): Qur'an
Interpretation

Prof. Dr. Ernest Wolf-Gazo (American University [AUC], Egypt):
Theology and Philosophy

Prof. Dr. Homayoun Hemmati (Iran): Mysticism, Psychology and
Epistemology

Prof. Dr. Karim D. Crow (ISTAC, Malaysia): Mysticism, Psychology and Epistemology

REGISTRATION /FEES

Package A

Student: RM 300/USD 80

Individual: RM 600/USD 160

Organization: RM 1000/USD 270

Package B

Student: RM 900/USD 240

Individual: RM 1200/USD 320

Organization: RM 1600/USD 420

Includes accommodation & breakfast at PJ Hilton (RM 200/USD 60 per night for 4 days 3 nights)

N.B.:

Registration fees include conference materials and meals (except dinner). Due to the limited number of seats, please register as soon as possible. Confirmation of seats will be made later. Closing Date: 30th June 2001
For inquiries, please contact:

The Secretariat of al-Ghazali Conference,

International Institute of Islamic Thought and Civilization (ISTAC),

205A Jalan Damansara, 50480 Kuala Lumpur,

MALAYSIA

Tel: (603) 254 4444, ext. 243 Fax: (603) 254 8343

E-mail: fsistac@po.jaring.my

Conference Website: www.ghazaliconf.com

Kalam, an edited and moderated listserver and news service, seeks to build a fraternity of scholars who are interested in a constructive discourse on Islam and science. Contributions are welcome from Muslim as well as non-Muslim scholars in the general area of Islam and science. Kalam also publishes selected articles on comparative studies in Religion and Science. The list is moderated by Muzaffar Iqbal. Subscriptions are free. You can subscribe (and unsubscribe) to Kalam by going to <<http://www.kalam.org>> and following the links to subscribe or unsubscribe, or by ending an email to the editor at <Muzaffar@kalam.org>. Copyright 2000. Muzaffar Iqbal email: Muzaffar@kalam.org

PATHS TO THE HEART

SUFISM AND THE CHRISTIAN EAST

M. S. Umar

Despite the long and well-known history of conflict between Christians and Muslims, their mystical traditions, especially in the Christian East and in Sufism, have shared for centuries many of the same spiritual methods and goals. One thinks, for example, of the profound similarities between the practice of the Jesus Prayer among the Hesychast masters of the *Philokalia* and the Sufi practice of *dhikr* or invocation.

These commonalities suggest the possibility for a deeper kind of religious dialogue than is customary in our day, a dialogue which seeks to foster what Frithjof Schuon has called an inward or “esoteric” ecumenism, and which, while respecting the integrity of traditional dogmas and rites, “calls into play the wisdom which can discern the one sole Truth under the veil of different forms”.

The purpose of this conference, the first major event of its kind, is to promote precisely this more faithful and more inward kind of ecumenical discussion. Participants in the dialogue, who include some of the world’s leading authorities on Christian and Muslim spirituality, have been especially selected with this aim in mind. All of them are keenly interested in the mystical and contemplative dimensions of the world’s religions, and all are open to the insights of traditions not their own.

October 18-20, 2001 Internationally recognized spiritual leaders and scholars will gather on the campus of the Univeristy of South Carolina in Columbia, South Carolina for three days of presentation and dialogue concerning the mystical and contemplative dimensions of Eastern Christianity and Islam. Bishop Kallistos Ware, Lecturer in Eastern Orthodox Studies at Oxford University, and Dr. Seyyed Hossein Hasr, University

Professor of Islamic Studies at George Washington University, will present the key-note addresses,

The conference is free and open to the public, but persons wishing to attend are asked to please register in advance, and they are strongly encouraged to make arrangements for their accommodations early. Other speakers include:

WILLIAM C. CHITTICK

State University of New York at Stony Brook

“On the Cosmology of Dhikr”

JOHN CHRYSAVGIS

Holy Cross Greek Orthodox School of Theology

“Paths of Continuity:

Contemporary Witnesses of the Hesychast Experience”

JAMES S. CUTSINGER

University of South Carolina

“Hesychia: An Orthodox Opening to Esoteric Ecumenism”

GRAY HENRY

Fons Vitae Press

“Beads of Faith: St. Seraphim of Sarov in Sufic Perspective”

Reza Shah Kazemi

Institute of Isma‘âlâ Studies

“The Metaphysics of Religious Dialogue: A Qur’anic Perspective”

ANDREW LOUTH

University of Durham

“Evagrius on Prayer”

HUSTON SMITH

Syracuse University (Emeritus)

“The Long Way Home”

For further information and to register on-line:

www.pathstotheheart.com

Or contact: James S. Cutsinger

Department of Religious Studies

University of South Carolina, Columbia, SC 29208

Telephone: 803/777-2284 Fax: 803/777-0213

E-mail: cutsinger@sc.edu

This conference is sponsored by The Aurora Institute and the University of South Carolina Bicentennial Commission

FIRST GRADUATE STUDENT CONFERENCE ON IBN SINA.

YALE UNIVERSITY, MARCH 17-18, 2001

MUZAFFAR IQBAL

PROCEEDINGS WILL BE CONDUCTED IN ROOM 211 OF THE HALL OF GRADUATE STUDIES; BREAKFAST, COFFEE, AND LUNCH WILL BE SERVED IN ROOM 119 OF THE HALL OF GRADUATE STUDIES SATURDAY, MARCH 17, 2000.

9:00-9:30 Breakfast Buffet.

9:30-10:00 Introduction and "State of the Art" Comments by Dimitri Gutas (Yale University), Jules Janssens (Independent Scholar), Yahya Michot (Oxford University), and Robert Wisnovsky (Harvard University).

First Panel: Logic and Language.

10:00-10:50 Asad Ahmed (Princeton University).

Avicenna's Treatment of Aristotelian Models.

10:50-11:40 Behrooz Mahmoodi Bakhtiari (Allameh Tabataba'i University).

The Linguistic Achievements of Ibn Sâna.

11:40-12:30 Special Presentation: Shuhrat Irgashev (Avicenna International Foundation).

Ibn Sâna Studies in Uzbekistan: An Overview.

12:30-2:00 Lunch Buffet.

Second Panel: Psychology.

2:00-2:50 Rahim Acar (Harvard University).

Intellect vs. Active Intellect: Plotinus and Avicenna.

2:50-3:40 Kiki Kennedy-Day (Fatih University).

Ibn Sâna on the Afterlife of the Soul.

3:40-4:10 Coffee Break.

4:10-5:00 Tariq Jaffer (Yale University).

Avicenna's Argument against Metempsychosis (*tanasukh*) as found in *Ar-Risâlah al-Âlâviya fi amr al-ma'ad*.

5:30-7:00 Reception at the Beinecke Library.

SUNDAY, MARCH 18, 2000.

8:30-9:00 Breakfast Buffet.

Third Panel: Metaphysics.

9:00-9:50 Amos Bertolacci (Yale University).

Some Remarks on the Doctrine of Being in Avicenna's *Ilâhiyat* of the *Shifâ*.

9:50-10:40 Sajjad Rizvi (Cambridge University).

Process Metaphysics in Islam? Avicenna and Mulla Âadra on Intensification in Being.

10:40-11:10 Coffee Break.

11:10-12:00 Toby Mayer (Oxford University).

Fakhr ad-Dân ar-R«zâ's Critique of Ibn Sâna's Argument for the Unity of God in the *Isbârât*, and Nasâr ad-Dân al-nâsâ's Defence.

12:00-1:30 Lunch.

Fourth Panel: Reaction and Reception

1:30-2:20 David C. Reisman (Yale University).

Ibn Sâna and His Students: Preliminary Remarks on The Discussions

2:20-3:10 Alnoor Dhanani (Harvard University).

Rocks in the Heavens? The Encounter between 'Abd al-Jabbâr and Ibn Sâna.

3:10-3:40 Coffee Break

3:40-4:30 Ahmed H. al-Rahim (Yale University)

The Reception of Ibn Sâna among Shâ'â Scholars

4:30-5:20 Hidemi Takahashi (J. W. Goethe-Universität)

The Reception of Ibn Sâna in Syriac: The Case of Gregory Barhebraeus

