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**IQBAL REVIEW**  
***Journal of the Iqbal Academy Pakistan***

This peer reviewed Journal is devoted to research studies on the life, poetry and thought of Allama Iqbal and on those branches of learning in which he was interested: Islamic Studies, Philosophy, History, Sociology, Comparative Religion, Literature, Art and Archaeology.

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THE QUESTION OF IQBAL'S  
ROMANTICISM:  
REVISITING G. R. MALIK'S  
CONTRIBUTION

Dr. Muhammad Maroof Shah

## ABSTRACT

Iqbal, the literary genius has immense power to speak to an age marred by various crises that fundamentally spring from haunting nihilism. Iqbal the mystic, the poet and the sage has world wide audience. Iqbal formulated a mystical philosophy that addresses certain concerns of the nihilistic age in an idiom that is not too alien to its ears, diagnosed decadence in the Western civilization and suggested turn East much before it became a rallying cry appropriated by counterculture poets, some influential writers and philosophers. Iqbal championed passion, vitality, individuality, freedom, faith in relationships and love in a milieu that still longs for retrieving them in a dehumanizing, deindividualizing homogenizing mass culture and the world safe for Capitalism where everything has been getting commoditised. Iqbal “appropriated” tradition for facing modernity and all its alienating and nihilistic undertones. The Romantics were fellow travellers in the path and many of Iqbal’s doctrines and views crisscrossed with them. Prof. G. R. Malik’s work is an attempt to make sense of this crisscrossing and that accounts for his choice of certain common themes rather than individual poets for comparative study in his work. The problem of heterogeneity in the Romantic camp is also there and is taken due note of Prof. G. R. Malik. He has deep and first hand acquaintance with and careful and dexterous handling of primary sources of Iqbal, especially literary and religious aspects of his thought and lucid style. He has opened up new vistas in approaching both Iqbal and the English Romantics. He has done substantial study which documents the relationship to Western literature without overlooking the points of difference between Iqbal and the English Romantics.

Iqbal is arguably the greatest Muslim philosopher and poet of the modern world. He has been hailed as the Sage of the East and deserves comparison with the greatest Western thinkers and poets. Despite a few thousand books devoted to his life and thought, many important aspects of his genius and epochal work and its relevance for the postmodern world seem to have been little explored. There are, for instance, hardly any comprehensive studies exploring his poetry. Iqbal, unlike Holderlin and Rilke, is still awaiting his Heidegger who could appropriate and present him for the post-Nietzschean world audience. Unlike Heidegger, he has received little attention from great philosophers and theologians of the world. Even the Muslim world has been largely ignoring him or just packaging his complex and enormously fecund and subtle mystical and metaphysical insights into some neat and clear formulations. Due attention to his existential and metaphysical thought has been overshadowed by overemphasis on his political thought. He has so far been written off by major histories of philosophy into margins of modern Muslim thought though his vast output was addressed to modern man as such and not to the Muslims only. In this rather despairing scenario, any attempt to present Iqbal to the modern academic world, especially literary and philosophical scholarship, in contemporary idiom is not just welcome but eagerly awaited. Given rarity of deeply engaging works on both Iqbal and the problems he sought to address in otherwise huge corpus of Iqbal studies, it is simply refreshing to see an important aspect of Iqbal illumined by the foremost scholars in the field of Iqbal studies.

Iqbal is still largely unknown in the literary world of the West. The world of literary criticism has so far afforded to ignore him. We hardly find any anthologizing of his views or engagement with him by seminal thinkers in literary or poetry criticism. And the fault lies in those inheritors of Iqbal who haven't been able to translate or appropriate Iqbal in contemporary idiom. The task of contemporary relevance of Iqbal for international audience is made difficult due to a number of difficulties in Iqbalian corpus. Iqbal used such concepts as ego that have been thoroughly questioned from a lot of perspectives from Lacanian-Zizekian psychoanalysis to structuralist

and other brands of post-humanistic thought currents and Derridean deconstruction. Iqbal's use of theological jargon has also made communication difficult in an age that considers itself post-theological. In a world that is willy nilly secular and sceptical about onto-theological gloss or language and increasingly cautious about any philosophical discourse that builds explicitly upon certain seemingly dangerous political notions that Iqbal seemingly invoked or evoked, it is not easy to bat for a thinker like Iqbal without a reinterpretative or even reconstructive endeavour on the part of Iqbal scholars or critics. However, Iqbal the literary genius has immense power to speak to an age marred by various crises that fundamentally spring from haunting nihilism (even violence from fundamentalism has been understood in the backdrop of pathologies of nihilism and reactions to them). If Holderlin and Rilke and Rumi have a worldwide audience, if Gibran, Hesse, Borges and many other mystically inclined authors are still popular, why can't Iqbal the mystic, the poet, the sage have world wide audience? There is an enormous scope for Iqbal who batted for Rumi almost a century back, an Iqbal who read Nietzsche in mystical terms well before his importance in the postmodern thought came to be explored along this line, an Iqbal who formulated a mystical philosophy that addresses certain concerns of the nihilistic age in an idiom that is not too alien to its ears, an Iqbal who diagnosed decadence in the Western civilization and suggested turn East much before it became a rallying cry appropriated by counterculture poets, some influential writers and philosophers, an Iqbal who championed passion, vitality, individuality, freedom, faith in relationships and love in a milieu that still longs for retrieving them in a dehumanizing, deindividuating homogenizing mass culture and the world safe for Capitalism where everything has been getting commoditised. Prof. G. R. Malik asks this vital question and seeks to rescue him from indifference of academia, especially English literary criticism's almost total disregard of him. He seeks, by his comparative study of Iqbal and English Romantics, to argue for the important place that Iqbal deserves in modern studies on Romanticism. He has hardly any predecessors in this regard to build his thesis and has approached primary sources with a masterly command. He has given us a bagful of theses to consider and on the whole he succeeds in showing why Iqbal counts in the debate on Romanticism and this has wider implications in a world that is still half romantic in some of its commitments and encountering Islam and its leading thinkers like Iqbal for better grasp of contemporary situation, at least, from a political point of view. Any interpretation or appropriation of Iqbal needs to consider his

adaptation of tradition and his situating himself in the emerging responses to loss of tradition. His engagement with English Romantics may best be seen in light of his methodological and philosophical commitment to the Islamic religious and Indo-Persian literary tradition rather than in light of Romanticism and its immediate background of Enlightenment and French Revolution. Iqbal found some echoes of his own deeply felt perceptions in the Romantics and was never swayed by them though he could, in his catholic genius, assimilate the best of their haunting melodies of soul in exile seeking company in the ruins of modernity. Romantics themselves were at heart medieval in sensibility, nostalgic about dying relationships, peasant simplicity, freedom of spirit and imagination, beauty and splendour of nature. They couldn't accept key claims of modernity and its attendant secularization though they were converts to its promises of freedom and liberty and justice. Modernity had succeeded in weaning most of them away from traditional founts of transcendence but they sought to evade corrosive nihilism in its wake by rediscovering albeit in some demythologized and impoverished form the Platonic realm of eternity, inspiration, love and imagination. Iqbal though a devotee of tradition couldn't afford disengagement with the emerging worldview that overturned almost everything traditional. He "appropriated" tradition for facing modernity and all its alienating and nihilistic undertones. The Romantics were fellow travellers in the path. And many of Iqbal's doctrines and views crisscrossed with them. Prof. G. R. Malik's work is an attempt to make sense of this crisscrossing and that accounts for his choice of certain common themes rather than individual poets for comparative study in this work. Of course the problem of heterogeneity in the Romantic camp is there and is taken due note of Prof. G. R. Malik has the distinction of being one of Kashmir's most influential, widely known and respected Iqbal scholars or more precisely Iqbalists. Thanks to his deep and first hand acquaintance with and careful and dexterous handling of primary sources of Iqbal, especially literary and religious aspects of his thought and lucid style, Prof. G. R. Malik has carved a special niche for himself in Iqbal criticism.

Prof. G. R. Malik is a man of strong convictions as Iqbal was. For him Iqbal is not just a literary figure but man with a mission, an inspired genius who was gifted with deep and subtle perception of contemporary malaise and tackled it with the resources of Islamic, Indo-Persian and Western cultures but guiding spirit was fundamentally Islamic. Iqbal seems for him an authentic expression of the artistic and spiritual doctrine he himself upholds and deploys

it for critiquing the Romantics. He seems to approvingly refer to Iqbalian position in any attempt of comparison, at least in the book under discussion.

According to Prof. G. R. Malik “Iqbal was essentially a Romantic both as a thinker and as a poet”.<sup>1</sup> “In his thinking on aesthetics and its epistemological foundations, Iqbal belongs to the Romantic tradition”.<sup>2</sup> Prof. G. R. Malik links Iqbal to romanticism on many important points. These include, among others, his idea of self, individualism, imagination, aesthetic, revolutionary politics and choice of imagery. He links Iqbal’s adherence to the idea of religion as a personal discovery to his romanticism. He connects Iqbal with Blake in his use or better assimilation of scriptural imagery. He seconds the Romantic’s rejection of mimetic theory of art. One can hardly put a finger on any of the scores of statements made while comparing and contrasting Iqbal with Blake, Byron, Shelley, Wordsworth and Keats. Remarkably Prof. G. R. Malik seems to be more adept in pointing out contrasts between Iqbal and others than in seeking to show similarities. It is admitted fact that for less careful scholars business of pointing out similarities has been quite fashionable.

Prof. G. R. Malik puts first things first (Iqbal’s faith and philosophy) and never lets formalist dogma or other text centric approaches to affect the context or clearly intended meaning (clear, revolutionary philosophical message). But Prof. G. R. Malik is able to link the question to the First Principles invoked in Iqbal and settling it in such a decisive manner in few sentences. He thus giving his verdict: “The purpose of Art is development and purification of spiritual self.”

Prof. G. R. Malik is a brilliant Iqbal commentator and brings all his skills and scholarship to analyze and situate Iqbal in larger literary tradition that he inherited. As an illustration of Prof. G. R. Malik’s Iqbal exegesis I refer to his brief notes on Iqbal’s poem *Tanha’i* that echoes some familiar themes in literature, especially later Romantically informed German poetry. The theme of loneliness, Prof. G. R. Malik notes, is associated with what he calls the “syndrome of mystery, wonder, anguish, and paradoxically, near ecstasy.” It has been, “at once a liability and an asset.” Then he proceeds to comment upon the poem and masterfully appropriates three literary traditions – Persian (little known Abu Talib Kalim), English (Shakespeare, Coleridge) and Urdu (Ghalib, and Faiz) to explain the point. He observes in connection with this point: “Generally, however, it has turned out to be an asset, primarily because one of the greatest triumphs of creative literature is to

convert a liability into an asset.” His concluding comments on concluding verse of the poem “A simile quivered upon his lips but He said nothing” deserve to be quoted in full to show his insight as comparatist.

The world of art can proudly boast of two mind baffling smiles – the smile on the lips of Leonardo da Vinci’s *Mona Lisa* and the smile of the Creator in Iqbal’s poem *Tanhai*. But the simile that plays on God’s lips is far more enigmatic, far more ironic, and far more meaningful than the smile of *Mona Lisa*. Does it mean that the Creator is baffled by the riddles of his own creation? This question, like the question arising from the poem’s concluding line, must remain unanswered:

If I fly ahead by a hair- breadth hence,  
The dazzle of illumination will consume my wings.<sup>3</sup>

Although perhaps Buddha’s legendary smile too needed to be mentioned here it is one of the scores of passages that we find in Prof. G. R. Malik’s work that illuminate certain facets of Iqbal with such power, grace and beauty that we can assert that he is an asset in Iqbal studies. literary critics, especially critics of Romanticism, can’t afford to.

In Prof. G. R. Malik’s reading, Iqbal shares least with Keats whose idea of self effacing and negative capability are largely incompatible with Iqbalian philosophy. I think love and centrality of beauty in both Keats and Iqbal would require us qualify this point. And we need to remember the artistic and moral virtue (as we can connect it with detachment) of negative capability applies to giants of literary world like Shakespeare. I think Iqbal had his share of gift of negative capability and in fact Prof. G. R. Malik also notes the point elsewhere. I think another important point in Keats regarding our world as a vale of soul making captures the essence of Iqbal’s own project of self development. Keats “dissolution” of the self in the Other, in Beauty and attempt to transform all experience into soul creation or education isn’t perhaps inexpressible in Iqbalian terminology of love and self development.

Prof. G. R. Malik asserts that Iqbal and Blake differ in the sense that the former is a subjective idealist who doesn’t consider the external world to be a reality and abandons responsibility of artist in his prophetic works. Iqbal and Wordsworth share certain tinge of realism regarding external world. Iqbal has mostly in common with Blake without having read him in much depth or detail. “Blake rejects Plato’s theory of knowledge as recollection and art as imitation. For him both are recreation. Plato according to him, worshipped the muses which are the daughters of memory rather

than of imagination. Blake's muses are the daughters of imagination which for him is divine, infinite and eternal. A work of art is, for him, an imaginative reordering or recreation of sense-experiences".<sup>4</sup> "From the mimetic point of view the mind was essentially a passive recipient of the external impressions."<sup>5</sup> "The epistemological foundations of the expressive theory of art are entirely different from those of the mimetic theory."<sup>6</sup> "The mimetic aesthetic was based on a mechanical concept of mind which was modelled on Newton's science of mechanics."<sup>7</sup> "The idea that poetry is not the result of craft but of inspiration was not a new idea" He brings in Socrates idea of possession of poets to support ancient roots of the idea.

Interestingly Iqbal has most in common with Blake whose influence through direct or indirect textual evidence is least as Prof. G. R. Malik points out. With Blake Iqbal shares a lot (however, this needs reading both Blake and Iqbal in light of Tradition and streak of individualist mysticism that most fundamentally shares them. With Byron hardly anything except revolutionary tone or political subtext of his work. Byron is easy to label as satanic and thus underscore key divergence from the "saintly" Iqbal. This doesn't however imply that Iqbal also perceived him like this and one notes a significant place in Iqbal's pantheon in *Javid Nama* for Byron. As a prophet of revolution and love Iqbal has more reasons to admire than censure him. Prof. G. R. Malik notes, it is between Keats and Iqbal that there are least resemblances and key divergences on some issues including the view of self and negative capability. Early Shelley's atheism and later Shelley's pantheism are hardly of any significance for Iqbal to take note of but his celebration of life of imagination, rebellion against industrialist values and suffocating social conventions and strange fascination for his reading of Prometheus do fascinate him. Besides Iqbal's translation of one his poems that Prof. G. R. Malik has spotted for the first time, Iqbal has little in common except some aspects of Romantic aesthetics with Coleridge. This leaves Wordsworth who helped Iqbal escape atheism in his early life and who had vast projects and assumed responsibilities of what has been called a sage in difficult times to call back the English world to the abandoned territories though in less religious and more mystical a tone. The original idea of working on Iqbal and Wordsworth that Prof. G. R. Malik undertook on the suggestion of famous Urdu and Iqbal critic Prof. A. A. Suroor seems to have been well conceived though the author has succeeded in justifying inclusion of other major figures in Romanticism as well. However I feel that this original idea could have fructified in a path breaking study and hope that Prof. G. R. Malik finds time to revisit it

and give us a definitive work that would help carve a permanent space for Iqbal in Romantic Criticism as understood and taught across the globe. Both Iqbal and Wordsworth took almost similar ambitious projects that require no less than sages to complete. Wordsworth sought to wean away the emerging world from its worship of instrumental rationality and technological culture and restore to love its territory and virgin nature its symbolic significance. Wordsworth like Holderlin was Heidegger of poetry who had, like Iqbal as *Daanayi raaz*, a life saving message to deliver to the world getting destroyed by what Heidegger called the oblivion of being. And it is only renewed faith in love, in radical innocence that is sensitive to epiphanies of Being, that could save the “God abandoned” man. Iqbal was a more profound thinker but Wordsworth was assisted by a philosopher of great calibre, Coleridge and did succeed in impacting on the literary if not political or social life of his people.

Prof. G. R. Malik's arguments for bringing in Iqbal is premised on more or less Iqbalian reading of the picture of the modern episteme broadly painted. He appropriates English Romantics and Iqbal in some sweeping but insightful strokes. The insightful comparative studies by Prof. G. R. Malik on Iqbal with English Romantics would deserve special attention from the literary world. The book that discusses Iqbal vis-à-vis internationally known group of poets and for an international audience and published more than two decades back should already have generated some ripples – I think it has – though one can guess reasons for rather lukewarm reception in the literary world, especially scholarship on English Romanticism. Although I feel Iqbal would be better appreciated vis-a-vis German Romantics because these have been better received and appropriated by seminal philosophers like Heidegger, the case for a definitive study on English Romantics vis-a-vis Iqbal by formidable Iqbal scholars has been long overdue. Despite certain arguments to the contrary that write off English Romantics as literary and religious heresy or point out heterogeneity in the Romantic camp itself, there is a case for situating Iqbal and English Romantics with respect to one another for the obvious reasons like similar problems they address, poetic mode they use, philosophical, mystical and religious resources they appropriate and shared sense of mission to intervene in “destitute times.”

Romanticism has been an influential reaction against dominant Cartesian mechanistic rationalistic episteme. It has been able to secure, at least for art if not for religion or mysticism, a space that had been highly compromised with the emergence of modern

scientific-technological culture premised on instrumental rationality or reign of quantity that wrote off the Sacred and its trails everywhere from the cosmos and life. Romanticism has been a blanket term that has accommodated Platonic philosophical, NeoPlatonic mystical, Christian mystical theological, new appropriations of the mystical or sacred and such things that naturally attracted many thinkers repelled by desacralizing secularizing episteme that was recording its triumphs to convert the world into an industrial resource and wasteland of spirit. Key religious figures that reacted against the disappearance of the spiritual ambience that characterized the Middle Ages had often something “romantic” about them or so they could be characterized. Many important great Romantic writers consciously or unconsciously took the roles of poet seers or poet prophets, were serious students of theology and the Bible and took inspiration from it as Iqbal took from the Quran. They responded to the Biblical narrative and tried to improve upon Milton. Romanticism sought somewhat this worldly face of Tradition as Iqbal did and restore the supernatural element that had previously been taken for granted and for this it didn't appeal to any abstract beyond but to the living blooming mystery around that\ nature exhibited and presented it as a theophany that anyone could appreciate. It fought the implicit nihilism concealed in Modernity. Some elements of Romanticism have been echoed or appropriated in many major thinkers and poets of the twentieth century. Given all these points Iqbal's appropriation of if not debt to the Romantics can't be ignored. But does this debt to the Romantics significantly colour or influence Iqbal's own evolution as a poet and a thinker? Prof. G. R. Malik says yes but doesn't argue the case in great detail. He is content with noting some resemblance between the them, is able to bring in numerous suggestive if not conclusive pieces of evidence of influence, notes some divergences as well and concludes on a note that as visionary or mystic poets one could trace to the same wells of the Spirit many points of convergence in orientation, in sensibility and in some other modes. One can easily grant the conclusion and appreciate the labour put in drawing many parallels and few dissenting notes but one would strongly feel the need for further substantiation (probably the third edition would seek to fill the gaps) of key theses stated in the introduction regarding taking Iqbal as an extension of the Romantics.

Prof. G. R. Malik has attempted to substantiate some new theses including the foundational claim that Iqbal can be understood as an extension of (anti) tradition of Romanticism and categorically states

his most important thesis regarding the idea of self in Iqbal as having antecedents in the English Romantics. This thesis is quite provocative and would require a much bigger volume and far more comprehensive work and review of both the Romantics and Iqbal than has been presented in a rather smaller and more or less introductory work. I wonder if the author intends to take the provocative work forward to call for almost a new reading of Iqbal. It would also call for revisiting the debt Iqbal owed to other sources, Islamic, Persian and Indian while formulating his idea of self. Iqbal's debt to the Romantics, especially in his earlier life, is well known. So is his interest in teaching Romantic literature at one point in his life. A wealth of correspondences between Iqbal and English Romantics are provided but the case for proving the formative influence on key ideas is far from conclusively argued. Perhaps the author intends others to carry forward the work he has begun. This task of ideological or literary marriage of Iqbal and English Romantics will have to note rather significant ideological distances from most if not all the Romantics is well known to Iqbal scholars. Individualist in metaphysics who interpreted even God as an individual and never wavered regarding cognitive claims of transcendentalist mysticism despite his "naturalist" and "rationalist" seeming methodology, theist in theology, dualist (like Ramanuja and Sirhindhi) in mystical theology, follower of Law and respectful of Form of religion, Iqbal distances himself in some important respects from all Romantics who have been of all hues from atheistic to pantheistic immanentist or diest to Unitarian. In aesthetics he is no admirer of aestheticism or who would deify art or substitute religion by art but one who subordinates art to life, even power and judges it or limits its scope from his philosophical and theological standpoint while as in Romantics we find in art almost a substitute for religion and often the only valid portal to transcendence. Iqbal's primary sources and the thrust of Indo-Islamic tradition that he consciously inherited and sought to carry forward are in fundamental disagreement with the Romantics on the twin issues of subjectivism and privileging of will over intelligence. There is convergence in arguments against Romanticism from great Catholic philosophers like Maritain and perennialist traditionalist thinkers. In fact the greatest of modern philosophers from Heidegger to Levinas would fault Romanticism on philosophical and ethical grounds. The traditional position of which Islamic thought is a version with its recognition of objectivity of intelligence and salvation by right use of intellect and an epistemology that is clearly distinguishable from epistemology of most of the Romantics and upholding more or less classical "bias"

can't be made compatible with Romanticism and if Iqbal is self avowedly in the former camp, he can't a priori be an extension of the Romantic tradition.

Romanticism is too heterogeneous a group of writers to allow us to use the expression the Romantic with very precise meaning. And even if we agree on some characterization of romanticism, a couple of points will be there that tradition centric culture has reservations against. Romanticism is a new movement that arose in a particular context and primarily as a reaction and shared certain assumptions of the new movement of which Enlightenment was an expression. What is of perennial value in Romanticism is an appropriation of classical religious, mystical and philosophical heritage and this appropriation comes at the cost of certain distortion of that heritage and has contributed to certain pathological developments in later political and literary domains in the history of the West.

Iqbal has a full fledged consistent metaphysics of love (as distinguished from if not opposed to every romantic and dualistic understanding of love, he envisions love as lying at the centre of reality as is the case in Plato, world mystical traditions and in fact in all religions) that can't be squared with romantic lovelatry. In Romantics we find love that is more romantic than mystical and more mystical than metaphysical that doesn't countenance the tragic squarely. In the judgment of great modern critic like Eliot Romantics were, in general, not traditional enough and guilty of heresies that make them dangerous customers for any religion or tradition centric poet or philosopher. Iqbal belongs to the camp of philosophers who though no Cartesian rationalist or empiricist and not only a poet who could talk lightly of reason though censure a superficial rationalism ignorant of deeper movement of thought or intellect – he embraced Islam's central emphasis on objectivity of intelligence and emphasized essential continuity between reason and intuition. Belonging to the Muslim philosophical tradition centred on theomorphic reason or intellect he emphasized value of study of nature as God's behaviour (not merely an aesthetic appreciation of it) that we hardly find in the Romantics.

Despite his championing of love/feeling Iqbal is a great advocate of reason and even rationalism – he approvingly quotes Whitehead's point "The ages of faith are the ages of rationalism," equates the birth of Islam with the birth of inductive intellect as if the institution of prophecy was wrapped to pave way for the reign of reason and traced to the Prophet the genesis of the attempt to find rational justifications for faith. In fact Iqbal's mentor Rumi is also an advocate of *aql* understood as intellect. None of the Romantics

shares this eulogy of reason. Iqbal's advocacy of love aligns him with the Romantics but differences are also to be noted. His interests were more wide ranging than poets and secular philosophers. He could never approve of romantic solitariness that leads to isolation from larger community. As a philosopher of both the self and suprapersonal selflessness (Baykhudi) he remained rooted in the earthly and social realities and had very strong sense of history, time and finitude that most Romantics would seek to escape or occasionally transcend.

One also needs to guard against the possibility that Romantic rejection of reason (that Prof. G. R. Malik approvingly refers to) that would question traditional Islam's linking of salvation with right use of intelligence and objectivity of intelligence. In fact Prof. G. R. Malik doesn't derive any conclusions from Blake's use of the term intellect for imagination. If he had developed it, it would have landed him close to perennialist camp spearheaded by Kathleen Raine in Blake studies or with James Custing in Coleridge studies

The question is: Isn't Romanticism as represented by majority of English Romantics a counter-tradition or pseudotradition or rejection of important elements of Tradition? If yes, then linking Iqbal too strongly to the Romantics is problematic, to say the least. Keats, Shelley, Byron so categorically distanced themselves from any supernatural reference, especially in their social philosophy, that nothing could make them predecessors of Iqbal. Coleridge is too Christian and too Platonic a critic to appeal Iqbal and Wordsworth remains an exception in terms of his sense of mission as a poet-sage, his great achievement as a path breaker in evolving Romantic art theory and many affinities in affirmation of both self and transcendence with Iqbal and his relatively greater reverence for the scriptural material. Jacques Maritain, T. S. Eliot, Frithjof Schuon, Ananda Commarsawmy – to name only a few important figures in criticism of Romanticism from a metaphysical or theological viewpoint – have forcefully argued how Romanticism is more a scandal or counter traditional or pseudomystical formulation of heterogenous ideas that is incompatible with any integral tradition. The individuality or personality rooted in Spirit and the grandeur and comprehensiveness of the Perfect Man grounded in access to Absolute thanks to theomorphic intelligence are not satisfactorily safeguarded by the Romantics. Iqbal's judgment regarding Nietzsche that he failed because he could not follow a discipline or Master would apply largely to almost all the Romantics.

Prof. G. R. Malik seems to plead for Romantic (and implicitly) Iqbalian aesthetic that rejects the idea of mimesis attributed to Plato

and Aristotle. However if we note the point that the notion of mimesis constitutes the very definition and *raison d'être* of traditional understanding of art/craft and is thus crucial to what Coomaraswamy call true or Oriental philosophy of art – and this would subsume or include Islamic doctrine as well – one can't plead for either Romantics or Iqbal especially when we consider self avowed commitment to Islamic/Oriental/traditional doctrine concerning art. One can also show that Romantic view itself is not a radical departure from the classical idea of mimesis (to quote just one maxim from Blake "The Man who never in his Mind & Thoughts travelled to Heaven Is No Artist" that shows that the artist copies divine model above) if we note that human self is capable of participating in the Divine Creativity or Life of Imagination thanks to contemplative activity that penetrates Forms or essences. To create is to participate in divine creativity and not an autonomous activity of a separate independent creature. All actions are consecrated to God, for the glory of God. Cognizing the point that in traditional view God is the only Agent of action, as the ground of all beauty and perfection and requires from man surrender of all claims to autonomy or self reference, one can appreciate mimesis as condition for displaying creative activity of spirit. I think departments of literature today have vetoed Plato and Aristotle on mimesis and according to such critics as Martin Lings, Livingstone and Patrick Laude it is based on forgetting or improper reading of these giants. The metaphor of man as co-creator of which Iqbal is greatly fond of to the distaste of traditional authorities should not be allowed to imply license for any kind of Promethean viewpoint. Iqbal has given us theologically problematic dialogues between man and God as they give an impression of crass dualism of man and God that gets ultimately skewed in favour of man. Iqbal's Promethean-Protagorean humanist streak leads him to slightly diverge though occasionally quite sharply from traditional Islamic position that is characteristically Theocentric and nowhere anthropocentric. Iqbal's remark quoted in *Zinda Rood* by Javid Iqbal and endorsed by Prof. G. R. Malik on difference between himself and his ancestors on the question of Theocentrism and anthropocentrism illustrates this divergence. If "The ultimate subject of all pure or revealing art is God" (Coomaraswamy and Stella Block), "All traditional art can be 'reduced' to theology, or is, in other words, dispositive to a reception of truth." (Coomaraswamy) and "Art, void of its supernatural typology, fails in its inherent artistic essence." (Sir George Birdwood) one can well imagine distance between Iqbalian and Romantic aesthetic as the latter expresses more of self or subjectivity and

personal feelings than of God or Objective Other. One can say in defense of Iqbal, however, that when he talks about man, it is theomorphic man, pontifical man, vicegerent of God that he is mind. And given Iqbal's focus on the idea of Self and theology's deeper meaning as autology (science of Self), one may say that it is ultimately God conscious even God intoxicated man that is Iqbal's and the Lord servant polarity is well transcended in khudi centric vision. (*Khudi ke zed me sari khudayi*)

I think Iqbal belongs, generally speaking, more to transcendentalist camp of Emerson and others, especially in his spiritual dimension than to the camp of Romantics although with individual Romantics like Blake he does share (without deriving from him) many key metaphysical and religious premises. I think it would be more correct to situate both Romantics and Iqbal in the larger Idea of Tradition for best appreciating their debt to the latter and their unique *ijtihad* on it. Such an attempt has been made for situating Blake by Kathleen Raine in *Blake and Tradition* but Prof. G. R. Malik seems to have only tangentially engaged with this seminal work or found it unconvincing. Prof. G. R. Malik makes some remarks like "Blake makes the scripture a mere point of departure and uses its language to build a religion of his own which, to a large extent, runs counter to the scripture whereas Iqbal tries, as far as possible, to bring his philosophy in line with the principles of Islam."<sup>8</sup> And "In his insistence on self-fulfilment and action as the means of true salvation, Iqbal strikes a note similar to Blake, although it is to be remarked that Blake removes all restraints on self and considers God too as one of the restraints"<sup>9</sup> that need qualification in light of Raine's and some other critics' readings. Occasionally Prof. G. R. Malik takes theological language at its face value, doesn't keep eye on esoteric and thus faults Blake for apparently atheistic statement.

Prof. G. R. Malik notes Promethean element in Romantics and its echoes in Iqbal and doesn't engage with devastating criticisms of it from spiritual perspective he is otherwise consistently upholding and using as a standard to measure both Iqbal and the Romantics.

Prof. G. R. Malik dismisses Ibn Arabi accusing him of pantheism, of distorting Islamic *kalimah* and seeing human ego illusory entity.<sup>10</sup> He largely follows Iqbal in these criticisms of Ibn Arabi. However, even a cursory look at a representative selection of over hundred commentaries that Ibn Arabi's central text *The Bezels of Wisdom* have received till now shows, as do a number of brilliant studies on Ibn Arabi from diverse scholars including Corbin, Nasr, Burckhardt, Hernestein and others, these charges appear unfounded.

There is some possibility of fruitfully exploring a trajectory from Romantics to Iqbal that is argued in Prof. G. R. Malik's study but could be developed to great length and that is doctrine of imagination developed by the Romantics and partly echoed here and there in Iqbal but can be reconstructed. Prof. G. R. Malik has insightfully commented on the cognitive and prophetic dimension of poetry in Iqbal and that can be grounded only in a doctrine of creative imagination developed by such thinkers and poets as Ibn Arabi. Iqbal, despite his many disagreements with Ibn Arabi, comes close to echoing his formulations regarding central place of imagination and beauty in his poetry. A serious cognizance of metaphysical roots of poetry as discussed by traditionalist scholars like Patrick Laude in *Singing the Way* and M. A. Lakhani questions modern critical constructions of poetry that divests it of cognitive claims, separates it from logic too sharply, takes no heed of its rootedness in the Intellect and lastly its key claim to be a portal to transcendence and complement though not supplant religion in the quest of enlightenment. Iqbal's anxiety to distance himself from being treated as a poet need not be taken on its face value but approached with the consideration of integral connection between poetry and prophecy, appropriation of poetical form or poetic resonances of the sacred scripture and key role of creative imagination in prophecy and mysticism and inseparable connection to the Intellect of both prophecy, mysticism and poetry and metaphysical roots or basis of language – language as the house of Being. A serious engagement with Heidegger and such seminal poets as Holderlin and Rilke would help dissolve certain hermeneutical problems in connecting Iqbal with the Romantics. Heideggarian openness to being and seeing seminal role for poets in hearkening us back to the call of Being is key theme in Iqbal as his notion of love implies radical innocence or openness to experience and his refusal of union as acknowledgment of finitude/servitude as the destiny of man translates into cool acceptance of our human condition and embracing our fall and finitude. To quote Rilke:

*Let everything happen to you  
Beauty and terror  
Just keep going  
No feeling is final  
You who never arrived  
in my arms, Beloved, who were lost  
from the start,  
I don't even know what songs  
would please you. I have given up trying*

*to recognize you in the surging wave of  
the next moment. All the immense  
images in me -- the far-off, deeply-felt landscape,  
cities, towers, and bridges, and un-  
suspected turns in the path,  
and those powerful lands that were once  
pulsing with the life of the gods—  
all rise within me to mean  
you, who forever elude me.  
You, Beloved, who are all  
the gardens I have ever gazed at,  
longing. An open window  
in a country house-- , and you almost  
stepped out, pensive, to meet me. Streets that I chanced  
upon,--  
you had just walked down them and vanished.  
And sometimes, in a shop, the mirrors  
were still dizzy with your presence and, startled, gave back  
my too-sudden image. Who knows? Perhaps the same  
bird echoed through both of us  
yesterday, separate, in the evening..*

“It is always what I have already said: always the wish that you may find patience enough in yourself to endure, and simplicity enough to believe; that you may acquire more and more confidence in that which is difficult, and in your solitude among others. And for the rest, let life happen to you. Believe me: life is right, in any case.”

This view of receiving the Word, of perfection of attention, of silencing the agitations of a mind, of submitting soul to Spirit and renouncing the individualist claim to possess better appropriates traditional view of life and art and one could read Iqbal also in this way. So far a more personalist interpretation of Iqbal has dominated Iqbal criticism that hasn't paid adequate attention to centrality of love, of *amor fati*, of ceaseless travel, of innocence of becoming, of community all of which require a sort of self transcendence. Granting that all life is individual and contribution to strengthening of personality is the test of every doctrine for Iqbal, I think Iqbal's great poetry has enough resources for a more suprapersonal interpretation that would build on the metaphysics of love instead of self that has so far been the case. If Iqbal's Perfect Man is more an adaptation than a radical departure from Ibn Arabi's or Jili's doctrine of *Insan-i-Kamil* and the latter is simply a corollary of metaphysics of love and comprehensiveness of the Divine Names, and note suprapersonal nature of intellect and of joys, ecstasies, beauties that

life of spirit exemplifies and indispensability of need to transcend what is ordinarily called personality for the sake of producing and appreciating great art one can't ignore supra-individual founts of inspiration of Iqbal's basic ideas including the idea of the self.

Another path from the Romantics to Iqbal could be through developing Abram's suggested approach to Romanticism in *Natural Supernaturalism*. Prof. G. R. Malik has not adequately dealt with the central problem of Romantics – secularization and demythologization even though Iqbal's choice of Self would have made for a remarkable comparison. Is God or grace or supernatural agency important? How does Iqbal approach the question of the supernatural give antipathy of modern audience to it? And how does he see the treatment of this problem in his beloved Romantics and modern theology? An engagement with these questions would illuminate further areas of mutual engagement or distance between Iqbal and the Romantics.

The idea that nature can be a theophany, a vivifying symbol, and one can get access to the transcendent principle by being sensitive to the mystery in the depth of things or keeping alive the sense of wonder and beauty revealed to the seeing eye in every manifestation of it (recall Wordsworth's "to me the meanest flower that blows can give/Thoughts that do often lie too deep for tears.") is echoed in many traditions and mystically informed poets including the Romantics and Iqbal. One can thus bring together otherwise heterogeneous band of Romantics. And perhaps various appropriations of theological language in the Romantics could be misleading and one needs to keep close watch on esoteric, metaphysical and symbolic aspects of language used.

The book's appeal would have further increased if it had an updated bibliography as Romantic Criticism has expanded a lot in last few decades and we have seen certain influential revaluations in Blake criticism.

The Romantic critique of traditional idea of mimesis approvingly referred by Prof. G. R. Malik needs to be historicized or put in perspective. We find a lot of discussion on mimesis in literary criticism but none that matches Coomaraswamy's profound elaboration and defence making most of the routine criticisms of the theory irrelevant. In his last essay "Athena and Hephaistos" we find his exegesis of the idea that connects it to "two modes of being":

Imitation, the distinctive character of all the arts, is accordingly two-fold, on the one hand the work of intellect (nous) and on the other of the hands (cheir). These two aspects of the creative activity correspond to the "two in us", viz. our spiritual or intellectual Self

and sensitive psycho-physical Ego, working together (synergoi). The integration of the work of art will depend upon the extent to which the Ego is able and willing to serve the Self, or if the patron and the workman are two different persons, upon the measure of their mutual understanding.

As Iredell Jenkins has pointed out, the modern view that “art is expression” has added nothing to the older and once universal (e.g., Greek and Indian) doctrine that “art is imitation,” but only translates the notion of “imitation, born of philosophical realism, into the language and thought of metaphysical nominalism”; and “since nominalism destroys the revelation doctrine, the first tendency of modern theory is to deprive beauty of any cognitive significance.” The older view had been that the work of art is the demonstration of the invisible form that remains in the artist, whether human or divine; that beauty has to do with cognition; and that art is an intellectual virtue.<sup>11</sup>

Coomaraswamy advocates a divine model for artist. Far from defying the World of Forms true artists are required to contemplate the same and draw models of what they have seen. Man’s perfection lies in imitating and what distinguishes Faustian and Promethean modernism is imitating lower things or what doesn’t transcend man with all his limitations. One’s self becomes the source of values. One’s emotions are expressed. Personality is not escaped. Needless to comment that penchant for the ugly in modern art and cities and disappearance of great beauty that characterized traditional crafts follows when the model to be imitated is not what transcends man and grounds all earthly beauty. Poetry is originally a craft or making in different traditions including Islamic and Western and this is best understood in relation to theory of imitation with God as Master Craftsman. As Coomaraswamy puts it:

All tradition has seen in the Master Craftsman of the Universe the exemplar of the human artist or “maker by art,” and we are told to be “perfect, even as your Father in heaven is perfect.” Compare our artists depicting the ugly or art tailored to interests of entertainment industry. That the Shakers were doctrinally Perfectionists is the final explanation of the perfection of Shaker workmanship; or, as we might have said, of its “beauty.”<sup>12</sup>

If the theory of Imagination can be explained in Platonic terms and the theory of inspiration has Platonic echoes and Shelley’s Platonism was central to his aesthetics as appears in his *A Defense of Poetry*, we can’t keep on unproblematically endorsing antiPlatonic rhetoric of Romantics and epistemology of antimimetic argument endorsed by Romantics. Platonic view of mind is not what

Romantics could eschew or afford to totally reject. Modern psychology and psychoanalysis on the whole have only reaffirmed the stand of mysticism in regard to the ultimate unreality of the autonomous humanist separating ego. Western Idealistic philosophies as well as modern psychology have led on the whole to disbelief in the reality of independent metaphysical reality of ego though not of the Self of which traditions speak. Although one can't identify Iqbal's ego with the traditional doctrine of Self as formulated, for instance, in Sankara, Ibn Arabi, Eckhart and Schuon, it is an appropriation albeit individualistic of the same and not to be equated with humanist view of human personality. The Spirit or Self is not, in itself, something individual and specific, with all the variations in range, balance, and effectiveness of its unity. It is supra-individual and universal. All life may well be individual, as Iqbal avers elsewhere but the Spirit of which Iqbal is talking about can't be individualized or objectivity and true unity or objectless/witnessing awareness and the latter's reaching out to the heart of being by virtue of participation in the object of its knowledge would be difficult to sustain (in view of the traditional epistemological principle that knower is adequate to object being known). Epistemology of most of the significant Muslim philosophers/Sufis has been, generally speaking fundamentally Platonic that involves knowledge as anamnesis even if it appears so incomprehensible to empirically oriented modern thought. Emphasis on reason and intellect in Iqbal would imply somewhat similar conception in his work. The fact that love or feeling has cognitive value for Iqbal and the sources of them are ultimately more within than without, we can appropriate Iqbal in the great tradition that includes Plato and his key epistemological and artistic doctrines. All this has implications on approaching Iqbal vis-à-vis Romantics who embarked on selective and often half-hearted appropriation of Plato's epistemology, metaphysics and theory of art. A key question if often of clarifying our approach to Plato whom "the Greatest Master" Ibn Arabi called Divine Plato. Iqbal's dismissive remarks on Plato's "asceticism" of "life denial" shouldn't be exclusively highlighted (in fact it can be shown that these constituted exaggerated rhetorical statements that more careful Plato scholarship can't concede at face value) and his debt to the philosophical and mystical heritage informed by Plato ignored. Muslim philosophy, mysticism and art have been largely development of key themes formulated in Plato and his intellectual disciples or inheritors including Aristotle and Plotinus. This is because Plato was largely a transmitter rather than an originator of traditional thought received from ancients who in turn have been

drinking from the fountains of gnosis and prophecy. If nothing great has been conceived outside tradition as no less a thinker than Heidegger had to concede and one can never dismiss tradition but only creatively reinterpret it or express in new idiom its perennial structure, achievements both Iqbal and Romantics have to be necessarily put in perspective with respect to this Criterion or *Furqan*. The unchanging metaphysical foundation of Tradition, as traditionalist scholars inform us, can be rendered as *Ad-Deen* that never changes.

Iqbal would best deserve comparison with Blake and Coleridge, two Romantics who find only a marginal place in Prof G. R. Malik for other good reasons, however. I think future researchers need to examine the central problem in theology of Romanticism dealt by Abrams in *Natural Supernaturalism*, Kathleen Raine in his study of Blake and Custer in his study on Coleridge. Here I develop a few points regarding the first one to show how fruitful would be this study and how Prof. G. R. Malik's work would serve as a point of departure.

I first reproduce a few excerpts from Abrams and try to situate Iqbal in their light or comment from an Iqbalian viewpoint on them.

Much of what distinguishes writers I call "Romantic" derives from the fact that they undertook, whatever their religious creed or lack of creed, to save traditional concepts, schemes, and values which had been based on the relation of the Creator to his creature and creation, but to reformulate them within the prevailing two-term system of subject and object, ego and non-ego, the human mind or consciousness and its transactions with nature.<sup>13</sup>

Iqbal's key project is also to reformulate and reconstruct traditional religious thought in these terms and his engagement with both Sufism and Muslim scholasticism may be better comprehended if we keep the Romantic, specially its German expressions in view in which Iqbal was specially interested. It is remarkable that Iqbal's debt to Hegel has already been subject to an extensive study by Rashid though it is marred by certain problems that have obstructed its positive reception by Iqbal scholarship. It is time to take Iqbal's deep debt to major Romantic thinkers more seriously for which Prof. G. R. Malik's work invites us to take this as a point of departure for further studies. However, he has primarily focused on more literary than other kinds of debts to which other Iqbalians have drawn our attention. B A Dar in his work on voluntaristic thought has also illumined one dimension of this issue. Series of studies on Nietzsche and Iqbal, Kierkegaard and Iqbal have major modern figures who

shared something of the Romantic sensibility have further illumined these questions. Studies on Iqbal's panentheism and naturalism have also been subjects of some papers that illuminate his complex relationship to both theological and Sufi understanding of the supernatural. It seems clear that he comes close to but then parts his significantly from the general Romantic thesis of considering this world as the locus of manifestation of the divine/supernatural and thus worthy of exclusive attention. For Iqbal, as for the great mystics of all climes and such Romantics as Blake and Coleridge, this world is an exterior face of the Beloved that calls for attention and the otherworld is welling up through it if we could see it properly; it is a symbol and not the symbolized. It is what remains normally veiled that we can access though that doesn't mean turning away our attention from this world. The other world is not a negation but an enlargement of this world and as it is God – or unity of a higher sort – and not this or that world that ultimately whose beauty remains to be explored for ever by travellers on the path.

Hegel and other philosophers and philosopher poets who hailed from Germany and who formed important part of the tradition Iqbal inherited and engaged with not only during his stay in Germany but later as well more seriously in understanding Iqbal's unique response and unprecedented reformulation of religious thought he inherited. What the great Romantic philosophers sought to do with Christian and Western philosophical heritage, Iqbal appropriated for framing Islamic theological and philosophical heritage. It is also not without significance to note that Iqbal was much interested in important mystical philosophers such as Fichte, Schiller, Bradley and Whitehead. Iqbal's own philosophy of ego and especially its implications for religious thought and its appropriation of mysticism could be expressed in terms of all these philosophers or their general romantico-mystical tenor.

In the Prelude, Wordsworth's project was to envisage an earthly paradise transferred from the supernatural to natural setting consisting of "A simple produce of the common day," and speaking of "nothing more than what we are." Blake's estimate of Wordsworth who was content to celebrate "this goodly universe" as a pagan with his engaging mixture of candor and generosity, finally set Wordsworth down as "a Pagan," needs to be kept in mind while assessing Iqbal's estimate and appropriation of Wordsworth. Iqbal doesn't seem to be reading him as a pagan and even declares that he helped him outgrow his doubts about God. Keatsian salvific project that avoids reference to posthumous life doesn't attract Iqbal's negative response. Similarly Shelley's early atheism and later

agnosticism and anti-Jehovah stance doesn't seem to interest him; he seems to find in him a fellow traveller, a sort of mystic. Similarly Keats' critique of Christianity as a "pious fraud" is hardly relevant to him. Goethe's critique and other German poets and philosophers who distance themselves from traditional Christianity or Byron's rebellion against Christianity don't trouble him as he doesn't reject them on this ground and finds enough reasons to laud them. It is clear that the Romantics attract Iqbal despite their differences from Christianity or theistic religion. We need to ask questions regarding Iqbal's reading of Romantics and then Prof. G. R. Malik's reading of Iqbal's reading if it is not the Romantic's paganism or critique of religion. We can't ignore the fact that Iqbal is vulnerable to a naturalist reading and his metaphysical system despite theistic idiom is comparable to Coleridgean one that has been (mis)described as secular. Or we better read Iqbal in the tradition of major Protestant theologians such as Tillich who propose a theological reading of modernity and radical transcendence of transcendentalist thrust of theology and a celebration of the unity of the sacred and the secular in a way that few Muslim thinkers excluding some Sufis have suggested. It can't be ignored that Iqbal was the first great Muslim philosopher who engaged with Nietzsche and major critics of religion or transcendence centric thought. And he wasn't just dismissive but found much worth his attention and taking home.

Iqbal, a professing Muslim throughout life, is comparable to Coleridge, who from the time of his maturity was a professing Christian, carried on "a lifetime's struggle to save what seemed to him the irreducible minimum of the Christian creed within an essentially secular metaphysical system." However, it seems that such Romantics as Shelley took liberty to frame such key texts as the *Divina Commedia* and *Paradise Lost* in the wake of secularizing ideas they were seeking to engage with and he remarked that they have conferred upon modern mythology a systematic form,"<sup>14</sup> and assimilated, rather eclectically and inconsistently, what seemed "intellectually and morally valid in this mythology to his own agnostic and essentially skeptical world-view."<sup>15</sup> It is humanistic naturalism that exerted such a pervasive influence on most of the Romantics that we find its strong presence in major modern thinkers and theologians who inherited Enlightenment, Reformation and modern scientific paradigm. Iqbal lived in the thick of this ferment of ideas that were in tension with received traditional religious outlook.

What attracted Iqbal to the Romantics may be summed up in the words of Burzun who has given us one of the most scholarly account of Romanticism in his *From Dawn to Decadence: 500 Yea of Western Cultural Life*. In Romanticism, Burzun noted that "thought and

feeling are fused; [Romanticism's] bent is toward exploration and discovery at whatever risk of error or failure; the religious emotion is innate and demands expression... the divine may be reached through nature or art." And regarding general tenor of the Romantics:

They found the Middle-Ages a civilization worthy of respect; they relished folk art, music, and literature; they studied Oriental philosophy; they welcomed the diversity of national customs and character, even those outside the [Eighteenth Century] cosmopolitan circuit; they surveyed dialects and languages with enthusiasm. This was a genuine multiculturalism, the wholehearted acceptance of the remote, the exotic, the folkish, [and] the forgotten.

What Iqbal cherished includes all the above mentioned elements and what is called symbolic vision of things as all phenomena point to a spiritual or sacred reality and what has been described by Jansen as "the labor of the soul to break free from the trammels of degraded matter and to rejoin a vital spirit that suffuses the universe and renders it intelligible." The Romantics revived essentially religious or traditional view of Nature against Enlightenment and upheld spirit centrism of Platonism and perceived nature as living, *meaningful*, and pointing beyond itself to the *supernatural*. "In Christian, rather than Pagan, terms, the Romantic rediscovers Nature as "The Book of Nature," a kind of supplement to the two Testaments, whose author is God, as normally or eccentrically conceived by the individual writer-thinker." For Berdyaev in *The Meaning of the Creative Act*, religious and the Romantic were synonymous and asserted that while "pagan art is classic and immanent" "Christian art is romantic... and transcendent."

Abram's reading of Neoplatonism is largely accepted by Iqbal and his own critique echoes Romantic critique of it. Both Iqbal and the Romantics critique what Abrams (not quite correctly) calls "the circular monism of the Neoplatonists." For Abrams the Romantics echoing the early systems of post-Kantian philosophy, "transferred the unity which is the beginning and goal of all process, and the locus and criterion of ultimate value, from the Plotinian other-realm to this world of man and nature and human experience."<sup>16</sup> And for the Romantics version of emanation and return, "when the process reverts to its beginning the recovered unity is not, as in the school of Plotinus, the simple, undifferentiated unity of its origin, but a unity which is higher, because it incorporates the intervening differentiations."<sup>17</sup> For the Romantics we don't return to point of origin or undifferentiated unity without having in the process made a real progress by taking time real and the world with all its weal and woe as significant to our odyssey. It is not circular but the ascending

circle, or spiral that describes for them contours of our journey. They give seminal importance to our career on earth, to sin and fall and redemption through the colourful and tragic sojourn on earth. Abrams quotes Hugo von Hoffmannsthal's later description of this design: "Every development moves in a spiral line, leaves nothing behind, reverts to the same point on a higher turning."

It is particularly significant to note Iqbal's reading of the Fall of Adam as dawn of consciousness of individuality and opening a vast field of creative development is echo of the Romantic reading. Iqbal's reading of the Fall in *The Reconstruction* and some poems like *Ruhi Arzi Adam ko salam karti hae* and his general implication of evolutionist paradigm is well known and it is implicitly accepted without criticism in Prof. G. R. Malik's account but he doesn't discuss in any detail Romantic predecessors in this regard.

For Schiller, whom Iqbal seems to reproduce verbatim in his *Reconstruction* Man's rebellion against "the voice of God in Eden, which forbade him the tree of knowledge" is "a fall [*Abfall*] from his instinct, and so as the first manifestation of his autonomous activity, the first venture of his reason, the beginning of his moral existence."<sup>18</sup> Iqbal echoed Kant in his reading of the fall. For Kant, taking the standpoint of the human race as a whole, the "emergence from the state of nature and instinct to that of culture and reason is seen to be gain, not loss." Our destiny "consists of nothing other than a progress toward perfection," in which man's transgression to rationality was the indispensable first step.<sup>19</sup>

The impact of Romanticism on/correspondences with Iqbal may be seen in remarkable echoes of Holderlin, Schiller and others in Iqbal. Note Hölderlin in an early draft of *Hyperion*: "No action, no thought can reach the extent of your desire. That is the glory of man, that nothing ever suffices." Wordsworth's *The Prelude* notes that "our home/ Is with infinity," and therefore with "something evermore about to be"; Blake's *There is No Natural Religion*, notes "The bounded is loathed by its possessor.... Less than All cannot satisfy Man." Both in Holderlin and Schiller, as in Iqbal, "the goal of absolute unity can be ever more closely approached but never entirely achieved."<sup>20</sup>

Prof. G. R. Malik's conclusions as presented in the concluding chapter are unassailable. He has precisely formulated areas of convergence though he hasn't eschewed foregrounding differences and, in general, reasons for taking Iqbal's side if required. For instance, unlike Blake, Iqbal doesn't free himself from the duty of practising artist and doesn't deny the reality of the outside world – he doesn't forego the best of realism in his Romanticism. Regarding treatment of symbolism of moon, Prof. G. R. Malik notes that while

as for Shelley moon mirrors loneliness, for Iqbal “it is a spring-board, as it were, to extol man who has the source of power within him and chooses his own destiny, unlike the moon which borrows its light from the sun and is bound in chains of servility.”<sup>21</sup> While comparing certain poems of Iqbal and Shelley, Prof. G. R. Malik notes that “Iqbal’s emotions, unlike those of Shelley, are subjected to a rigorous intellectual discipline.”<sup>22</sup> Greater objectivity or dramatic power of Iqbal, for instance, is pointed out and special uses it is put into. Prof. G. R. Malik’s Iqbal presents the distillation of what is the best in the Romantics – their essentially individual, spiritual, intuitive, revolutionary, passionate imaginative celebratory attitudes. The Form of Transformed Vision: Coleridge and the Knowledge of God Prof. G. R. Malik succeeds in pointing out varied evidences of Romantic temperament of Iqbal but stops short of demonstrating how Iqbal would contend with the Romantic image as far as it can be shown to be in problematic relationship to the Tradition which he more consciously sought to uphold. He also stops short of drawing full implications of Platonist heritage as appropriated in Coleridge given Iqbal’s reservations regarding the same and how this would impact Iqbal’s critique of doctrine of mimesis. He mentions only in passing (without pausing to see that it might imply a problem for construing Iqbal’s own Romanticism) the stark divergence between Iqbal and Keats on the key question of self as the latter is committed to effacing it against the former. If a key Romantic poet is thus on the opposite camp regarding a key doctrine, it might force us to concede more radical qualifying clause to the thesis of Iqbal being essentially a Romantic both as a thinker and a poet. Especially the case of a Romantic thinker gets problematized as thought can’t countenance a basic contradiction between the two in foundational premises and then allow convergence. I think we can grant the self-avowed image of a Romantic for Iqbal (given the debt acknowledged to Wordsworth, deep fascination for Shelley, great praise for Byron in Iqbal, commitment to many other key premises of Romantics) distinguish it from more academic and technical use of the term Romantic in the history of ideas and criticism. Iqbal has sharp divergence from every important Romantic thinker and poet. Wordsworth’s and later Shelley’s pantheism, early Shelley’s and Byron’s and Keats’ distance from theism and transcendence centric/*akbira* affirming religion, Coleridge’s full fledged Platonism and Incarnationist Trinitarian Christianity, Byron’s pagan irrelevant attitude and Blake’s view of institutionalized religion and many elements of his mythology. From choice of imagery to diction to profundity, sublimity and scope of content it is Iqbal who emerges as

the hero. The great claim – successfully demonstrated through analysis of almost every important aspect of respective works of Iqbal and the Romantics – that makes this book both provocative and important for Western audience is that Iqbal needs to be read along with (and even privileged) great Romantics and that he has much to teach the contemporary world. He is an illustrious sage who has resonances everywhere and belongs to mankind and needs attention from contemporary readers. Prof. G. R. Malik's advocacy of Iqbal is one of the most successful and eloquent that Iqbal scholarship should take special note of. He has put his multifarious gifts of erudition in several classical languages at the altar of Iqbal's sagely vision in which he finds panacea for the modern world and he shows how the Romantics pave way for his more thorough critique of the modern West. It is a long way from Wordsworth's softer dismissal of certain aspects of his age to Iqbal's war against the modern world (*Zarb e Kaleem*).

If it can be demonstrated that Romantic tradition diverges in significant manner from traditional or what Coomaraswamy calls true doctrine of art which is also Islamic doctrine as the giants of traditionalist approach like Coomaraswamy and Burckhardt have shown, and if Iqbal is primarily to be approached from the Quranic or Islamic framework as almost all Iqbal critics agree and Iqbal himself categorically asserted and Prof. G. R. Malik agrees, we need to contend with widely influential readings of Romanticism that underscore its heterodoxy from integral orthodox traditional viewpoint. Iqbal is both consciously and unconsciously drawing on Tradition his deepest convictions and aspirations. And the same could be said about the Romantics, especially Wordsworth, Blake and Coleridge, that they too echo/invoke Tradition in more significant ways than hitherto noted. Prof. James Custing's incisive and wide ranging work on Coleridge is a standing testimony of this. God is so central to his view of self. He doesn't despair except occasionally in his earlier life (he once wrote to Atiya Faizi about his utter disgust with certain received notions and how he feels more inclined to believing in the central role of *Abriman*). He celebrates and affirms everything. He has no problem with transience as he is able to see from the eye of eternity. Iqbal is not aspiring for a heaven on earth. He is not desperate to seek temporary trip into eternity through the world. He is rooted in theonomous reason or intellect. On all these and some other points already implied in the above discussion, it is clear that we need to qualify Iqbal's Romanticism or add, with Prof. G. R. Malik, caveats limiting the usual understanding of this term or its application to Iqbal. In Prof. G. R. Malik's reading

the Romantics would leave much to be better developed/corrected by Iqbal who was more conscious of his roots in Tradition and self avowedly rejected everything that contradicts the Islamic canon as he understood it. The book has done an important service to the Romantic criticism by eloquent advocacy for considering Iqbal in approaching the English Romantics. It has added a new chapter to the comparative literature on Iqbal as in it he has addressed “a major problem in Iqbal studies, a problem from which most Iqbal scholars tend to shy away for understandable reasons” (need to master diverse literary and cognitive universes of the East and the West). It has helped to open up new vistas in approaching both Iqbal and the English Romantics. And one may fittingly conclude with Prof. Vinod, a distinguished literary critic, that it is a substantial study which documents very fully a major Indian poet’s relationship to Western literature without overlooking the points of difference between Iqbal and the English Romantics.

#### NOTES AND REFERENCES

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  - <sup>3</sup> Ibid, p. 190-191
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  - <sup>5</sup> Ibid, p. 136
  - <sup>6</sup> Ibid, p. 135
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  - <sup>11</sup> Coomaraswamy, A. K., *Figures of Speech or Figures of Thought: The Traditional View of Art*, ed. William Wroth, World Wisdom, Inc. 2007, p. 117
  - <sup>12</sup> Coomaraswamy, A. K., *The Essential Coomaraswamy*, World Wisdom, Bloomington, 2004, p. 93
  - <sup>13</sup> Abrams, M. H., *Natural Supernaturalism: Tradition and Revolution in Romantic Literature*, W.W. Norton & Company, New York, 1971, p. 13
  - <sup>14</sup> Ibid, p. 99
  - <sup>15</sup> Ibid, p. 99
  - <sup>16</sup> Ibid, p. 183
  - <sup>17</sup> Ibid.
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  - <sup>19</sup> Ibid, p. 205
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AL-GHAZALI:  
A CORRIDOR OF HOPE FOR  
A LIVING THEOLOGICAL PARADIGM

Muhammad Usman

## ABSTRACT

Imam Ghazali is commonly known to be as speculative theologian of the Ash'arite school of theology. However, he was not a strict follower of this theological school. A more accurate description of Ghazali would be of an originator of philosophical theology. He approached several doctrines of Ash'arite theology with suspicion and devised a new philosophical position which is compatible with reason, rationality and diversity. For him reason is not merely instrumental; he redefined reason and rationality with reference to their Divine noetic roots. Imam Ghazali has an enlightened fresh outlook that can provide moulds of thought for new receptivity and sensibility. His narrative is unprecedented and multi-faceted. The intellect of Imam Ghazali has served us in both the classical and modern age. In our present predicament, he is a corridor of hope for a living theological paradigm. Imam Ghazali was not against philosophy and natural science. His engagement with philosophy and science is extensive and longstanding which can be recognized and measured in many ways. This article argues against the prevailing misconception about Ghazali relating with philosophy and science and try to bring out the alternative view that he was not against philosophy and science. His approach to consult dissimilar scholars, theologians, jurists, mystics and philosophers and gain knowledge from every field of expertise is dynamic and inspirational. The diversity of sources of knowledge and variety of experience enabled him to be multidimensional. This approach and behavior is beneficial for academia and intellectuals who intend to construct a new theological bridge between religion and modern sciences.

Abu Hamid Muammad al-Ghazali (1058-1111) is an enigmatic as well as a charismatic figure in the Muslim intellectual history. He had an outstanding rank in the Islamic intellectual heritage. Imam Ghazali is commonly known to be as speculative theologian (*mutakallim*) of the Ash'arite school of *Kalam* theology, however it is worth noting that he was not a strict follower of this theological school. A more accurate description of Ghazali would be of an originator of philosophical theology. He approached several doctrines of Ash'arite theology with suspicion and devised a new philosophical position which is compatible with reason, rationality and diversity. For him reason is not merely instrumental; he redefined reason and rationality with reference to their Divine noetic roots. Imam Ghazali has an enlightened fresh outlook that can provide moulds of thought according for new receptivity and sensibility. His narrative is unprecedented and multi-faceted. The intellect of Imam Ghazali has served us in both the classical and modern age. In our present predicament, he is a corridor of hope for a living theological paradigm.

Blame is often put at the doorsteps of Ghazali for ushering in decline for the Muslim civilization. Arguments are advanced on the basis of his disparaging analyses of reason and rationality in his renowned book "*Incoherence of the Philosophers*"<sup>1</sup>. His *Tahafah* is considered to be the reason for the decay of the Muslim intellectual tradition. Deterioration of Islamic intellectual legacy launched after misapprehension of immense use of reason and formal logic.

This thesis is enlarged by Oriental scholars and modern scholars, philosophers and historians in many intellectual circles, both east and west. They argue that Ghazali's attack on philosophy had demolished the credibility of reason and logic in Islamic intellectual tradition. After that, critical thinking stopped and orthodoxy came to the mainstream in the Islamic world. That assault brought to an end the development of philosophy and natural sciences in the Muslim world. As a consequence, the decadence of Islamic intellectual tradition started and still continues.

There is a long list of both Eastern and Western scholars who have argued that Imam Ghazali was responsible for the decadence of

the Muslim Ummah. I will cite here some of them. For example, the modern Muslim jurist and historian Syed Ameer Ali (1849–1928) from the Indian sub-continent pointed out in his book *The Spirit of Islam* that “Rationalism was thus fighting a losing battle of its old enemy, the writings of Imam al-Ghazali, which were directed chiefly against the study of philosophy.”<sup>2</sup>

The contemporary Arab philosopher and thinker Mohammed Abed Al Jabri (27 December 1935 – 3 May 2010 Rabat) also holds the view that Imam Ghazali was the imperative cause of the death of rationalism in Islamic history comparing to Averroes who was the great custodian and preserver of reason and philosophy. He figured it out in these words: “...post-Averroes Arabs have lived on the margin of history (in inertia and decline), because we kept clinging to the Avicennian moment after Ghazali granted it currency within “Islam”.”<sup>3</sup>

Neil deGrasse Tyson (born October 5, 1958) is an existing renowned American astrophysicist, author, and science communicator. He also proclaimed in his public lecture on how religious fundamentalism is the root of the collapse of the Islamic Golden age of Science and Mathematics in Baghdad that “al-Ghazali.....out of his work you get the philosophy that mathematic is the work of devil and nothing good can come out of this philosophy.”<sup>4</sup>

This hypothesis became popular and acquired attention of scholars after the advent of modernity. When they started to study the golden age of Islamic history with the lenses of modernity in the perspective of renaissance, they invented a theory of anti-rationalism by means of blaming Imam al-Ghazali. In fact, Imam Ghazali was not against philosophy and natural science. His engagement with philosophy and science is extensive and longstanding which can be recognized and measured in many ways. This article will argue against the prevailing misconception about Ghazali relating with philosophy and science and try to bring out the alternative view that he was not against philosophy and science. I will also try to construct the thesis that Imam Ghazali could be a suitable persona for constructing a living theological paradigm.

The scholarly work of Imam Ghazali unveils itself his place in the field of philosophy and science. The following works could be considered a most relevant and illuminating one to determine his accurate position:

*Maqasid al-falasifah* (مقاصد الفلاسفة) (Aims of the Philosophers) Full title: *Maqasid al-falasifah: fi al-mantiq wa-al-hikmah al-ilahiyah wa-al-hikmah al-tabʿiyah*

*Tahafah al-Falasifa* (تحافه الفلاسفة) (Incoherence of Philosophers)

*Mīyār al-'Ilm fī fan al-Mantiq* (معيار العلم في فن المنطق) (Criterion of Knowledge in the Art of Logic)

*al-Madnun bihī'ala għayr ahli* (المضنون به على غير اهله) (the hidden [knowledge] from the masses)

*al-Qistas al-Mustaqim* (القسطاس المستقيم) (The Correct Balance)

*Mihāk al-Nazar fīl al-Mantiq* (محك النظر في المنطق) (Touchstone of Reasoning in logic)

Firstly, it is to be noted that he did not denounce philosophy in essence in *Tabafahal-falasifa* which can be known evidently from the proclamation of *Maqasid al-falasifab*. He was refuting some theological positions by using the same logic and principles which were not wrong in themselves. These introductory notes are so lucid and clear to clarify his position about philosophy and branches of philosophy and simplify the objective of his critique.

اعرفك اولاً ان علومهم اربعة اقسام، الرياضيات والمنطقيات والطبيعات والاهليات (واما الرياضيات) فيها نظر في الحساب والهندسة وليس في مقتضيات الهندسة والحساب ما يخالف العقل ولا هي مما يمكن ان يقابل بانكار وحده اذا كان كذلك فلا غرض لنا في اشتغال بايراده (واما الاهليات) فاكتر عقائدهم فيها على خلاف الحق والصواب نادر فيها (واما المنطقيات) فاكتر على منهج الصواب والخطأ نادر فيها وانما يخالفون اهل الحق فيها بالاصطلاحات والايرادات دون المعاني والمقاصد اذ غرضها تهذيب طرق الاستدلالات واما الطبيعات فالحق فيها مشوب بالباطل<sup>o</sup>

Imam Ghazali particularly stated that there are four branches of knowledge of the philosophers and then described the merit of each of them. He clearly mentioned that Mathematics had no such thing which was problematic and in conflict with religion and Logic is mostly correct and arguments in its vocabulary and terminology not with teleological use of it and Empirical sciences are mixed up with right and wrong. He had issue essentially with some Theological consequences and he said that many of theological positions of philosophers are mixed with error and rare in the right. He criticized those theological issues by pointing out their mistakes. He did not discredit philosophy but the theological views of philosophers which came in conflict with the doctrines or Islamic creed. For instance, if he had condemned some philosophical views, it does not mean that he was against philosophy per se. It's very simple to comprehend that the critique of some conclusions does not lead to the critique of principles.

## Ghazali and Philosophy

Let us take a look at the issue of Ghazali and philosophy. After the translation of *Maqasid* into Hebrew, it played a significant role in the Jewish literature of the middle ages. “The *Maqasid* served for the Jews as the textbook of the peripatetic philosophy according to the version of Ibn Sina.”<sup>6</sup> This translation is consulted and used by the desire to defend philosophy, believing that philosophy was an ally of religion.<sup>7</sup>

His early traditionalist adversary also complained his use of logic as propaedeutic to the science of *usul al-fiqh*. Ibn as Salah<sup>8</sup> and later Ibn Taimiya denounced that he endorsed and applied logic in *Mustasfa* and they censured his statement that it is an introduction to all the sciences and that he who does not have a thorough knowledge of it cannot inspire confidence in his knowledge.<sup>9</sup> Another scholar of Ghazali, George Makdasi shed light on his logic and philosophy by describing that his audacious stand was bound to arouse suspicions that he was not entirely unaffected by the heresy of the *falasifa*.<sup>10</sup>

There is an extensive catalogue of Muslim and non-Muslim philosophers who are influenced by the thought of Ghazali and he was influenced by them. Imam Tusi, Imam Fakhrudin Razi and Sharif Jurjani were influenced by philosophical thought of Ghazali and carried forward the philosophical theology that was formulated by him. Ramon Lull, T.O.S.F. (Catalan: c. 1232– c. 1315; in Latin Raimundus or Raymundus Lullus or Lullius) was a philosopher, logician, and theologian. He was student of the renowned philosopher Leibniz. He was influenced strongly by Ghazali and his thought. He was interested in logic and ethics and sought it from *Maqasid al falasifa* that had been translated into Latin. He worked on philosophico-theological system by means of rational discourse and his first works, a compendium of the Muslim thinker Al-Ghazali's logic and the *Llibre de contemplació en Déu* (Book on the Contemplation of God), a lengthy guide to finding truth through contemplation.

Muhammad bin Murtaza Faiz al-Kashani who was a pupil of great philosopher Mulla Sadra, wrote an classic book *المحجة البيضاء في تهذيب الإحياء* on the patron of *Ihya*<sup>11</sup> of Imam Ghazali with amendment according to the Shi'ites. It is an authentic referential book in Shi'ite school of thought. Imam Ghazali himself was influenced by philosophers like al-Farabi, Ibn-Sina and *Ibn- Maskawayh*. His exegeses of some *Ayat in* (مشكوة الانوار) *Mishkat al- anwar* are similar to the explanations of Ibn-e Sina in (اشارات) *Isyarat*. His arguments for essence and reality of soul

are derived from (كتاب الشفاء) *Kitab al-Shifa* of Ibn-Sina. *Maqasid al-falasifa* is the reproduction of *Ibn-Sina's* Persian work (دانشنامه علائی) *Danishnama*. The philosophy of ethics including essence of morality, its division and principles which are described with reference to Islam in *Ihya* is identical to philosopher Ibn-Maskawayh's<sup>12</sup> book (تهدیب الاخلاق) *Tehzeeb al-akhlaq* that is known as summary of the Greek philosophy on ethics.

It was philosophy that groomed Ghazali in argumentation and provided clarity to his thought. He argued while presenting his thought syllogistically in peripatetic fashion. He explained that how syllogistic form of reasoning can help in the problems of jurisprudence. He applied also syllogistic method for providing foundations and interpretive framework to solve the problems of jurisprudence that is acknowledged as *Usul al-Fiqh* in his book *Al-Mustasfa min 'ilm al-usul*. "Ghazali at first found solace in logic and deployed it to advance his theological propositions. Mastering the repertoire of logic, as well as of metaphysics and physics, clearly furnished his narrative with additional clarity, subtlety, and sophistication. However, it also provided him with new possibilities to share and exchange ideas with audiences beyond his limited fraternity of jurists and theologians."<sup>13</sup>

### **Ghazali and Cosmology**

The position of Ghazali vis-a-vis cosmology is also debatable. He presented his own ideas about cosmological issues in the seventeenth discussion of *Incoherence of Philosophers* and later he also expressed his views about causality in a different way in *Ihya*. He stressed different aspects in different works. The traditionalist scholars situate him in the reference of theological school of Ash'arism and his position is understood as occasionalism. His ideas related to cosmology bear a resemblance to modern science as well. Allamah Shibli<sup>14</sup> stated the opinion of Imam Ghazali about creation of the Universe in his distinguished book "Al-Ghazali" that this universe was created by God according to order, coherence and harmony as much as possible.

The modern debate on chapter 17 of *Tahafut al-falasifa* has focused on defining Ghazali as either a natural philosopher or an occasionalism theologian. In his defense of the possibility of miracles Ghazali presented two theories of causation, one denying the logical basis of Aristotelian notions of natural causality, and the other more or less adopting these notions. The two theories seem mutually exclusive and incompatible, and for this reason scholars have

attempted to explain Ghazali for the apparent confusion.”<sup>15</sup> It is a stand in debate that did Ghazali deny the causality or not. In fact, Ghazali did not deny causality in general but the argument which Ghazali directed against the causal doctrine of philosophers is aimed at disapproving the necessity of causal relations as claimed by the philosophers.<sup>16</sup>

Professor Frank Griffel proposed that Ghazali was not an occasionalist in the line of the Ash‘arites. But he has his own different stand points which also elucidate causality in a more adjustable way and said that “Overall, Ghazali tried to make philosophical cosmology more approachable to the religiously trained reader. Later, in his *Revival of the Religious Sciences*, Ghazali writes that it is not contrary to the religious law for a Muslim to believe that the celestial objects are compelled by God’s command to act as causes (*asbab*) in accord with His wisdom.”<sup>17</sup>

### **A Corridor of Hope**

Imam al-Ghazali has the promise of becoming a corridor of hope in constructing a living theological paradigm. He is a great source of inspiration in rationalistic inquiry, agonizing self-criticizing orientation, and interdisciplinary approach, diachronic and scientific approach. He guides us to deliverance from self-indulgence and proffers an enlightening approach to interact with others in modern and postmodern pluralistic society. Ghazali has a deep theistic foundation as well as flexible exterior in epistemology and cosmology which both are needed in a living theological paradigm. There are few motivating forces which make him a corridor to hope.

### **Rational Inquisition**

He was not against rationality as mentioned above but it was unbridled rationalism which he opposed. He was not a foe of philosophy but there were some theological consequences of Muslim philosophers which he criticized. He mentioned a catalog of problems in *Incoherence of philosophers* which were conflicting with Islam. He criticized those problems by emphasizing three of them. He also condemned the oppressive attitude of Muslim philosophers which was based on arrogance, egotism and absolutism or they claimed that their interpretation of God and cosmos was absolutely correct and there is no other possibility to be right. There was a small number of people like philosophers who can clutch at it and other are inferiors and ignorant who have no capacity to grasp it. There were actually theological and moral triggers which prompted him to disparage their ideological position and cynical behavior. He used reason in a proper way and created the methodological space for

rationality in his philosophical theology. Rational inquisition in his paradigm of jurisprudence and cosmological structure is noticeable that can be accommodating for us to develop a living theological paradigm.

### **Empirical Attitude**

Imam al-Ghazali has an empirical attitude which is normally underestimated. He was not against natural sciences as some of his critics propagated to establish this charge. He evidently remarked about empirical sciences in the beginning of *Maqasid ul Falasifa* that it was not all about misleading knowledge of reality but rather is a mixture of wrong and right. I think that it is a really fair epistemological position to assume any form of knowledge and reality. This kind of attitude is appreciated in modern and natural sciences which are central grounds for new theological paradigm. It has already been discussed at the length that he did not deny causality but he situated the doctrine of causation in a moderate way which is adjustable for religion and modern sciences. He recognized empirical method and valued empirical premises as Michael E. Marmura cited: “In the Standard for Knowledge, the logical treatise appended to the Incoherence, Ghazali accepts the Avicennian claim that certain empirical premises yield certainty.”<sup>18</sup>

### **Agonistic Orientation**

There is also a distinguishing quality of Imam Ghazali; his agonistic behavior. This agonistic apparatus is related to conflicts. This behavior is not confined to aggressive and skeptical behavior but it is engaging and reconciliatory orientation. This behavior puts emphasis on the significance of conflict and divergence in the field of ideas and the history of thought. This attitude is pertinent to postmodern condition and a pluralistic society. Living theological paradigm is interwoven with a cluster of complexities and conflicting agencies. Imam Ghazali suffered a storm of complexities and struggled a lot to engage with it. We are also facing the same situations which are more complex and ambiguous. The diversity of existential condition and philosophical posture nurtured the dynamic and vigorous inferences in theology. In this situation, Imam Ghazali can lead us in a most encouraging and appropriate way.

### **Diversity and Interdisciplinary Approach**

Imam Ghazali is not decisive and conclusive about ideas which are scattered in different texts. The materials given in the *Tahafut al-falasifa* leave the impression of being inconclusive and open-ended—perhaps deliberately so—and the ambiguities are mirrored in al-Ghazali's other texts. This intellectual haze and open-ended

arrangement endows with mixture of old and new and creates space for a living theological paradigm that can adjust past with present and present with future.

His approach to consult dissimilar scholars, theologians, jurists, mystics and philosophers and gain knowledge from every field of expertise is dynamic and inspirational. The diversity of sources of knowledge and variety of experience enabled him to be multidimensional. Professor Ebrahim Moosa pointed it out in these words: “*This is also what makes his scholarly labors so distinct—that he managed to innovate a very early interdisciplinary approach, mixing metaphors and paradigms in order to illuminate ideas and problems.*”<sup>19</sup>

This approach and behavior is beneficial for academia and intellectuals who intend to construct a new theological bridge between religion and modern sciences.

### **Diachronic Approach**

Ghazali is also brilliant in linguistics. He has a diachronic approach which is lively. The diachronic approach in linguistics cooperates with history in an organic manner. It looks at the development of meaning and considers the evolution of words throughout history. He adopted this approach and provided a new meaning to the word to be alive. We all have different pictures and grammatical effects of religious beliefs according to Wittgenstein. These grammatical effects affect a lot the structure of understanding and participate in constructing a paradigm.

He employed a rich reservoir of vocabulary in Islamic tradition in a vibrant manner. He explained Divine unity (*Tawhid*) in his monumental work (*Ihya*) in different way which is not literal but he exemplified Divine Unity (*Tawhid*) in mystical perspective enchantingly by using as an analogy the walnut with enormous experience as Sufi. He profoundly expended the meaning of *Sunna* and described that it begun as social normativity and remained in the form of good. There is another example of the word *ajal* which was normally understood as a predestined term of life associated to *qadariya* school of thought. He explained this word *ajal* according to an idea of *Ash'arite* in the form of *Occasionalism* and said that it is the moment in which God creates death at the time of death. “It ought to be said that [the decapitated individual] died by his *ajal*, *ajal* meaning the time in which God creates in him his death”<sup>20</sup>. There is a long list of words like *Bid'ah*<sup>21</sup>, *Ilm*, *Itiqad*, *Itibah*, *Taqlid* etc which he connected lively.

This approach is embodied in an active epistemic practice and can unlock for us a door of epistemological reconstruction. The emergence of this living ethos is desirable for constructing a new

livening theological paradigm. Therefore, Ghazali is a better alternative for inspiration in building a living theological paradigm which can accommodate rapture and melancholy of Islamic tradition.

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- <sup>8</sup> al-Dhahabi described Ibn al-Salāh as the shaikh of the Shafi'i scholars and he was famous in the expertise of hadith.
- <sup>9</sup> See Ghazali, *al-Mustasfa min ilm al-usul*, Cairo, Bulaq, 1322, vol. 1, p 10.
- <sup>10</sup> George Makdasi, "The non-ash'arite shafi'ism of Abu Hamid al-Ghazzali", French journal, *Extrat De La Revue Des Etudes Islamiques, Libr. Orientaliste Paul Geuthner*, Tome Liv, 1986, p. 252.
- <sup>11</sup> *Ihya' Ulum al-din*, Translated in English as 'The Revival of the Religious Sciences.
- <sup>12</sup> His complete name is Abu Ali Ahmad ibn Muhammad ibn Yaqub ibn Miskawayh (932–1030). He wrote the book Refinement of Morals (تَهْذِيبُ الْأَخْلَاقِ) by focusing on refinement of character with reference to Islam and Greek philosophy of ethics.
- <sup>13</sup> Ebrahim Moosa, *Ghazali and the Poetics of Imagination*, The University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill and London, 2005, p. 171, 172.
- <sup>14</sup> Allammah Shibli Nomani (1857-1914) is an Islamic scholar of Indian subcontinent. He is famous for his magnum opus *Sirat-un-Nabi* that was completed by his disciple Syed Sulaiman Nadvi after his death.
- <sup>15</sup> Leor Halevi, "The Theologian's Doubts: Natural Philosophy and the Skeptical Games of Ghazali", by the journal of *History of Ideas*, 2002, p 21.
- <sup>16</sup> See Did al- Ghazali deny Causality? To the memory of Richard Walzer, P, 85.
- <sup>17</sup> Frank Griffel, *Ghazali's Philosophical Theology*, Oxford University Press, New York, 2009, p. 146.
- <sup>18</sup> Michael E. Marmura, "Al-Ghazal's Second Causal Theory in the 17th Discussion of his Tahafut," in *Islamic Philosophy and Mysticism*, ed. Parviz Morewedge, Cambridge University Press, New York, 1981, P, 149
- <sup>19</sup> Ibid, 172
- <sup>20</sup> Michael E. Marmura, "Al-Ghazali's Second Causal Theory in the 17th Discussion of his Tahafut," in *Islamic Philosophy and Mysticism*, ed. Parviz Morewedge, Cambridge University Press, New York, 1981, P, 148
- <sup>21</sup> Bidah is the norm that is invented and recognized as religious norm without the sanction of prophet.



SUFI TRADITION OF SINDH AND  
SHAH ABDUL LATIF

Dr. Abdul Ghaffar Soomro

## ABSTRACT

Sindh is the land of rich spiritual of mystical tradition. At the start of the thirteenth century when Sufi orders had started taking roots, Sindh including Multan region came in direct contact with the founder of Shaikh Shahab uddin Suhrawardi. However, before the arrival of Bahauddin Zakariya in Baghdad, Nuh Bhakkari hailing from Bhakkar, Sindh had already received mantle of Khalifa from Shaikh Shahabuddin in Baghdad. In the same century Sayyid Muhammad Makki the grandson of Shaikh Shahabuddin Suhrawardi came to Sindh and settled in Bhakkar. During this century Pir Patho, buried on a hillock near Thatta, was the most prominent Khalifa of Bahauddin Zakariya in Sindh. In this period Shah Jamial who belonged to Chishtiya order traveled from Girnar and reached Thatta to preach Chishtiya teachings in Sindh. Qadriya and Naqshbandiya orders started flourishing in Sindh during the tenth and eleventh centuries. It was scholar turned Sufi Qazi Qadan who composed Sindhi verses of high mystical concepts which were recited by Shah Abdul Karim of Bulri and were included along with his own verses in his *malʿuzat* “*Bayan al Arifin*”. Shah Lutfullah Qadir and Shah Inayat Rizvi are the two most illustrious poets of the Sufi tradition in Sindh, whose all-round poetic influence is discernible in the poetry of Shah Abdul Latif. Miyan Shah Inayat Rizvi was the real predecessor of Shah Abdul Latif in many respects. Shah Abdul Latif was the great grandson of Shah Abdul Karim of Bulri, as such he inherited the great Sufi tradition of Sindh as his family tradition. In Shah Abdul Latif, the mystical tradition of Sindh and its poetical exposition reaches its climax.

Sindh entered the fold of Islam in the first century Hijrah (92/711)/eighth AD and remained a part of the Arab rule till the beginning of the fifth/eleventh century (401/1010). During the last quarter of the fourth century the most celebrated Sufi Hussain bin Mansur Hallaj is believed to have visited Sindh, who was executed in Baghdad in 309/ 922. At the start of the seventh/ thirteenth century when Sufi orders had started taking roots, Sindh including Multan region came in direct contact with the founder of Suhrawardiya order Shaikh Shahab uddin Suhrawardi (d: 632/1234). However before the arrival of Bahauddin Zakariya in Baghdad, Nuh Bhakkari hailing from Bhakkar, Sindh had already received mantle of Khalifa from Shaikh Shahabuddin in Baghdad. In the same century Sayyid Muhammad Makki the grandson of Shaikh Shahabuddin Suhrawardi (son of his daughter) came to Sindh and settled in Bhakkar where he died in 644/1246. During this century Pir Patho (d. 680/1282), buried on a hillock near Thatta, was the most prominent Khalifa of Bahauddin Zakariya in Sindh. In this period Shah Jamial who belonged to the Chishtiya order traveled from Girnar and reached Thatta to propagate Chishtiya teachings in Sindh. Qadriya and Naqshbandiya orders started flourishing in Sindh during the tenth and eleventh centuries.

By the end of the ninth/ fifteenth century Sayyid Muhammad of Jaunpur in India, who had identified himself to be “Mehdi” reached Thatta via Gujarat. Although controversial in his claim, he was able to attract many prominent religious scholars and jurists including Qazi Qadan (d. 958/1551) to be his disciple in Sindh. It was scholar turned Sufi Qazi Qadan who composed Sindhi verses of high mystical concepts which were recited by Shah Abdul Karim of Bulri (d.1034/1623) and were included along with his own verses in his *malfuzat* “*Bayan al Arifin*”. The *malfuzat* was compiled by one of his disciples just six years after his death in 1630. The seven verses so recorded in the *Bayan al Arifin* are regarded as the finest specimen of earlier Sindhi Sufipoetry. The most significant verse which speaks of his spiritual experience and conversion is as under:

جو کيء جاگايوس، ستو هوس نندپر،  
تهان پوء تيسوس، سندي پريان پيچري.

*I was awakeved by a Yogi  
While I was in deep slumber.  
It was only afterwards that I am on path of my beloved.*

After a lapse of four centuries it was in 1978, that more poetry of Qazi Qadan was unearthed along with the poetry of Dadu Dayal of Gujarat (1544-1603), a Bhakti poet of the 16<sup>th</sup> century from Ranila village in Haryana State of India.

It may be pointed out here that the fame of Qazi Qadan as a poet had crossed the frontiers of Sindh just after his death and reached Gujarat so that when Ghausi Mandvi was composing his famous *Tadhkirah Gulzar-e-Abrar* by about the years 1613-20, he cited four verses of Qazi Qadan as proof of being a Sufi poet.

*Bayan al Arifin* being the collection of sayings and discourses of a great Sufi like Shah Karim is the best example of hagiography in Sindh composed in Persian by one of his outstanding disciple just six years after the death of the saint. It further reveals that Shah Karim was initiated into the Qadriya order. He was also a poet of high caliber and his verses contain simple as well as sophisticated ideas of Sufi thought. He was also fond of Sufi *Sama* or singing in which he used to participate himself. He has told about one such *Mehfil-e-sama* in which he participated in Ahmedabad Gujarat, where he had the chance to listen to Hindi verses also. This is how verses of Kabir and Saman are found in the *Bayan al Arifin*. Shah Karim had great appreciation for *Qawwals* or singers. He would always reward them, if nothing else, then whatever he had as additional cloth on his body, usually a *shawl* or that may be something like “*Ajrak*” of today. This is how the *Bayan al Arifin* provides the narrative as well as the substance of the Sufi tradition of Sindh.

The study of *Bayan al Arifin* further reveals the acquaintance of Shah Karim with the ideas of great Sufis like Bayazid Bistami (d. 246/875), Junaid Baghdadi, Mansur Hallaj (d. 302/922), and Abul Hassan Kharqani (d. 425/ 1023). There are indirect references to *Futubat* and *Fusus al-Hikam* of Ibn Arabi. Above all he was well conversant with the *Masnawi* of Rumi (d. 672/ 1274) as is quite apparent from many of his verses.

هي ڪن گڏ هڻا وڪڻي، ڪن ڪي ٻيا ڳنهيڃ،  
تنين سان سڻيڃ، پريان سندي ڳالهڙي.

*Dispose off these asinine ears  
And get other ones.  
So as to hear the message of beloved.  
This reminds of Rumi's famous lines.*

گوش خر بفروش و دیگر گوش خر  
کین سخن را در نیابد گوش خر

The other most distinctive characteristic of Shah Karim's poetry is that he introduced characters of folk- tales of Sindh and assigned mystical meaning to them such as Sassi, Sohni, Marwi and Layla. Besides other familiar characters from everyday life, he referred to *Khaboris* as the exalted gnostics which is but continuation of Qazi Qadan's concept of Yogi as 'Gnostic' or spiritual master.

ڏيهه ڏيهائين ناه، جتي پير نه پڪيان،  
تتي ڪاهوڙيان، ور ڏيئي وڻ چونڊئا.

*That land is altogether different*

*There no birds can reach.*

*Only the ascetics go there And avail of its fruits.*

Shah Lutfullah Qadir (d. 1090/ 1679) and Shah Inayat Rizvi (d. 1130/ 1717) are the two most illustrious poets of the Sufi tradition in Sindh, whose all-round poetic influence is discernible in the poetry of Shah Abdul Latif. Shah Lutfullah Qadri as the appellation suggests was affiliated with the Qadriya order and by training and aptitude was an accomplished religious divine and Sufi master. Besides his Sufi poetry which was first discovered in 1968 by Dr. N. A. Baloch, his scholarly Sufis treatise in Persian has been recently translated and edited into Sindhi in 2009. In this book, which he has written for the beginners of the Sufi path he has delineated some of his personal spiritual experiences and has enumerated 184 stages or stations on the path, which the traveler or the *salik* has to tread before reaching his goal i.e. attainment to God.

The poetry of Lutfullah is replete with common place imagery as well as scholarly explanation of *wahadat al wujud*. His poetry abounds in direct quotations and technical terms from the works of Shaikh Abdul Qadir Jilani, Shaikh Akbar Ibn Arabi and others. He seems well aware with the Persian Sufi tradition and its masters such as Sana'i, Attar, Shaikh Sadi. He has divided his poetry under seven headings and in the last chapter he has explicitly mentioned Yogis as spiritual masters and gnostics.

Here we cite just one verse which quotes the most famous aphorism of Ibn-Arabi:

بيائي ٻڙو ناه ڪو، شڪ سيوئي لاه،  
جا تو دوئي پائئي، سا هڏهين ناه،

سبحان من اظهر الاشياء و هو عينها، دوس دليئون راه،  
ات هند حكايت ناه، حيرت جهڙي ڳالهڙي.

*Duality is not rewarding at all,  
Keep yourself away from every doubt.  
The duality which you come across,  
exits no where in reality.  
Glory to Him who manifested Himself  
in every thing and is their essence,  
Only his friends areacquanted with this fact  
This mystery is beyond explanation  
Here bewilderment is the order of the day.*

Miyan Shah Inayat Rizvi (d: 1130/1717) was the real predecessor of Shah Abdul Latif in many respects. The indigenous tradition of Sufi poetry which commenced with Qazi Qadan in the tenth/sixteenth century was strengthened by Shah Karim with the addition of *Sama'* or singing including intoning. Shah Inayat Rizvi's poetry is how ever essentially based on folk tradition of music. It is in this background that while compiling his poetry, it was properly placed under such headings as *Surud Kahyan, Asa, Marui, Sobni* etc. Shah Inayat made extensive use of folk tales along with metaphors for explaining the implications of spiritual life. He continued with the image of yogi as traveler of the spiritual path and he added new symbolism of 'Nath' and 'Gorakh' in it.

نڪي ڳولين ڳوٺ ۾، پيهي ڪين پنين،  
ويئي بڪ بس ڪري، اتان آديسين،  
اڻ گهريو عنات چئي، تن کي ڏنو ڏيهه ڏٿين،  
گورڪ ڳوڏڙين، آسڻ ويني آڻيو.

*The ascetics search Him not in village surroundings  
Nor do they go for begging here and there  
They have divested themselves of hunger totally,  
Lord, the all-giver have taken care of their needs  
This is what Inat has to say.  
Gorakh, their master was pleased to visit them at their place.*

Shah Abdul Latif (d. 1165/ 1752) was the great grandson of shah Abdul Karim of Bulri, as such he inherited the great Sufi tradition of Sindh as his family tradition. It has been pointed out by the biographers that Shah Latif besides the Holy Qur'an, used to have the *Bayan al Arifin* and the *Masnawi* of Rumi as his constant companions. He was a born poetic genius and in his poetry *Shah-jo-*

*Risalo* Sufi tradition of Sindh blossomed with all its hues and colours. In so far as the description of Sufi path in his poetry is concerned. He unequivocally states.

وحده لا شريك له، جان تو چئين اِيءِ،  
مج محمد كارڻي، نرتئون منجهان نيءِ،  
تان تو وچيو ڪيئن، نائين ڪنڌ بين ڪي.

*When you have affirmed oneness of Allah,  
leaving no partner with him,  
Then believe in the Prophethood of Muhammad (PBUH)  
With all devotion and sincerity  
Go not astray and prostrate not before others.*

All Sufi poetry revolves round one point and that is yearning of human soul to meet its beloved who is none else but his creator, the lord of the universe. According to Sufis, meeting this beloved in this life is possible as against the general belief of meeting him after physical death. This is what Sufis call “dying before death” i.e. *mutu qabla an tamutu*.

All the great Sufi teachers and masters are agreed that journey to God or traveling on the path is to be undertaken under the guidance and supervision of competent spiritual master. Shah Latif has described all this as a warning to Sasui, who is but *salik* or traveler on the path.

سپا سياهي، آهي آري ڄام ري،  
ڪڏهن پسبي ڪانه ڪا، رءِ لالڻ لالائي،  
من لا شيخ فشيخ له الشيطان، ان رءِ اونداهي،  
هوءَ جا هلي هيڪلي، سا گيرب گمائي،  
من يمشي في الطريق بلا شيخ ڪمن يمشي في  
البحر بلا سفينة اهڙي اوائي،  
تنه ريءَ توائي، ڪوڙين ٿين ڪيتريون.

*It is dark all around without my beloved.  
No light is possible without his glowing face.  
My beloved cleansed my heart by removing dust and dirt  
He who is without guide, has, Satan his guide.  
Is the wise dicsource.  
The one who travels unaccompanied is bound to go wayward.  
The one who goes without guide is like crossing a sea without boat.  
Numerous lost their way when they.*

*ventured such unseen journey.*

There is much discussion in the poetry of Shah Latif as to what are the qualifications and characteristics of a spiritual master, who can guide the *talib* or seeker and put him on proper path. He has identified them in Sur 'Kalyan' with this precondition.

حاصل جان نه حال، صوفي جمر سدائين،

ڪينهن تينن قال، وٿون جن وڃايون.

*Claim not yourself to be a Sufi*

*If you have not attained to the 'Hal'.*

*They shundiscourses and verbosity who have lost everything.*

In sur Ramkali, he has identified them with yogis, Kapris, Adesies and they symbolize gnostics or Arifs:

جياسون جوڙ ٿي، جوڳي ڏٺوسون،

ڪنا تنهن مون، حاصل ڪي حال ڪئون.

*I was fortunate to enjoy the*

*company of that 'yogi'*

*Due to him I attained to the 'Hal'.*

'Hal' and 'Maqam' are the two technical terms signifying what are called 'the states and stations' on the Sufi path and their full description is available in the classical manuals of Sufis such as *Kitab ul Taarruf* by Kallabadhi, *Kitab al-Luma*, by Abu Nasr Sarraj, *Risala-e-Qushairyia* of Qushairi and *Awarif al-Maarif* by Suhrawardi.

Distinction between 'Hal' and 'Qal' a favorite topic with Rumi and it has been briefly explained in the *Masnavi*.

ماڀرون را ننگريم و قال را

ما درون را بنگريم و حال را.

*We look not at the tongue or outward*

*We look at the inward (spirit) and the state of feeling*

Both Rumi and Shah Latif have treated gnostics as the true spiritual masters in whose company one reaches the goal or destination. It is they who are highly capable enough to rekindle the light of life in us otherwise we are dead and in darkness. Shah Latif has laid great emphasis to be in their company as they can instill life in you. They can bring you on the threshold of real life. Shah Latif identified them in these words.

مرٿان اڳي جي مٿا، سي مري ٿين نه مات،

هوندا سي حيات، جيٺان اڳي جي جيا.

*Those who die before death are never dead,  
They live for ever who lived this life earnestly*

Rumi has given exposition of this phenomenon in this way

سایه یزدان بود بنده خدا،  
مرده او زین عالم و زندهء خدا.

*The shadow of God is that servant of God,  
who is dead to this world and living through God.*

At another place Rumi has clarified that only God intoxicated souls are alive, others are dead. If you want to be alive, go and sit with them otherwise you will be dead, when you go and sit with others, who were apparently alive, but their souls are dead.

ای خنک آن مرد کز خود رسته شد،  
درو جود زنده پیوسته شد.

*Oh, fortunate is the man who is freed from himself,  
and united with the existence of a living one!*

Yet at another place Rumi ascribes to these spiritual masters the role of Israfeel, the angel who is supposed to revive the dead from the graves.

هین که اسرافیل و قتلند اولیا،  
مرده را زیشان حیاتست و نما.

*Beware, for the saints are the Israfeels, of the present time.  
The dead ones get life and freshness from them.*

Shah Latif has dwelt at length with such saints or friends of God in Ramkali, in forty three verses he continuously repeats the words, 'I cant live without them' or 'My life is not possible without them.'

ستی سیج هیاس، مون کی آه اثارو،  
جني جاگایاس، آء نه جینندي ان ري.

*While I was in leisuly sleep, a deep sigh of love woke me up.  
The one who awakens me, I cant live in his separation.*

H.T. Sorley in his monumental work *Shah Abdul Latif of Bhit* while assessing the impact of Rumi on the thought process of Shah Latif was of this view 'To what extent Shah Abdul Latif was acquainted with the great Persian poets we do not know, there is no evidence that he had studied any of them except Jalaluddin Rumi, a copy of whose *Masnavi* was said to be constantly in his hands.'

It was under the influence of Rumi's concept of Arif or gnostic that Shah Latif presented the Yogis as an ideal of gnostic, and eulogized their spiritual attainments. 'Abmal' (plural of *Hal*) in that

particular traditional Sufi terminology, shows his extraordinary understanding and personal achievements as a Sufi.

مونا طورسینا، سندا سنیاین،  
 سجدي ۾ سيد چئي، گوڈا گوڈزين،  
 فکان قاب قوسين اودني، تا نانگا ائين نم،  
 کل من عليها فان، باقي کين بچن،  
 الله ولي الذين آمنوايخر جهنم من الظلمات  
 الي النور اهزيء ۾ ۾ ۾  
 خزموسي صعقا، تا جوگي جنگ جلن  
 مازاغ البصر و ماطغي، اهزيء ۾ روش رون،  
 مشاهدو محبوب جو، اتي اديسين،  
 بي يبصر بي يمسع بي وصال و هن،  
 بي يشمي بي ينطق تا اهزيء ۾ چال چلن،  
 سيد چئي سندين، تون کل پچين تو كهزي.

*The (arch like) knees of the ascetics are Mount Sinai,  
 sayyid says the loosely dressed are in prostration having bent their knees.  
 And it was a two bow lengths or less, the poorly attired were in such proximity.  
 Everything is perishable nothing (excepting God) is everlasting.  
 Allah is the friend of those who believe in Him, and He leads them from darkness  
 to light is their way of life.  
 Moses fell down unconscious whereas the valiant yogis are burning.  
 His sight turned not aside nor transgressed is their way of ascent.  
 This is how the ascetics gained the vision of love.  
 He sees by Me, he hears by Me, he unites Me- this indicates their union.  
 And he works by Me, He speaks by me, this is what they achieved.  
 Sayyed says What can I tell you about them.*

Here we may differentiate Arifs or gnostics as the mystics who have been bestowed with ‘Hal’ or state after having passed through stations such as repentance or (Tawbah) patience or (Sabr), trust or *tawakkul* or in other words who are recipients of special dispensation from God Almighty. This is how state and stations have been defined in the standard classics of sufi thought and practice such as *Awarf-al-Maarif* of Shaikh Shahabuddin Suhrawardi where in we find this exposition of ‘Qurb’ or nearness to God:

الله عباد طورسینا هم رکبهم تكون روسهم علي رکبهم و هم في محال القرب

*There are such servants of God whose Mount Sinai is their knees and when they keep their head on knees, they reach the state of ‘Qurb’ i.e. nearness to God.*

‘Qurb’ or nearness to God is further divided into *Qurb-e-Nawafil* and *Qurb- Faraiẓ*, and according to Sufis it is based on a *Hadith Qudsi*. In the last two lines of this verse, the actual words of Hadith have been quoted and similar words have been cited by Rumi more than once in his *Masnavi*:

رو که بی یسمع و بی ببصر توئی  
سر توئی چه جائی صاحب سر توئی

Go, for thy sake God said,  
By Me he hears and by Me he sees,  
Thou art the divine consciousness.

'Love of God' is also a state which is especially conferred on the mystics endowed with *Hal'* and to this Rumi has referred as under:

عشق جان طور آمد عاشقا  
طور مست و خر موسی صاعقا

*Love inspired Mount Sinai, O lover,  
Sinai was made drunken and Moses fell in a swoon.*

The third state which has been referred to in this verse is contemplation or *Mushabdab* bearing reference to the Qur'anic verse:

چشم ظاهر ظابط حیل بشر  
چشم سر حیران مازاغ البصر

*His outward eye is apprehending human forms,  
while his inward eye is dazzled in (the glory of) the eye did not stray.*

These are the states which have been experienced by the mystics and here is an evidence from the same *Minhajal-Marifat* of Lutfullah Qadri referred to earlier:

(مرغ باطن) و ببعض اوقات چنان میرفت که بیک تگ از هم کون و مکان  
را گذاشته و جولان در عالم لامکان میداشت و مسافت 'دنا فتدلی' را قطع کرد  
بعالم معراج میرسید و طواف دربادیه 'قاب قوسین' میکرد.

*Oh, my dear sometime the bird of my spirit flies so high and so swift that with one leap forward it crosses all the boundaries of universe and enters where there is no space and time. It draws nigh and further nigh and after that stage ascends higher and higher and finally circumambulates within less than two bow-lengths or even nearer.*

The above lines from Ramkali present the best example of Sufi tradition which evolved over the period of two centuries, having its origin in the tenth/ sixteenth century and culminated in the twelfth/ eighteenth century poetry of Shah Abdul Latif, who is one of the great Sufi poets of the world.



ARISTOTELIAN FRAMEWORK OF  
SHAH WALIULLAH'S THEORY OF  
MIRACLES IN *TAWIL-UL-AHADITH*

Hafiz Muhammad Hammad Mushtaq  
Aliya Saleem Naushahi

## ABSTRACT

Miracles are an intriguing subject of introspection not only in the religious but also the philosophical arena. They are considered to be the proof of religion, for within them is a vigor that aids in validating the existence of the supernatural realm, deity, and the deity's pulsating relation to humans. It is pertinent to note that amidst all religious symbols, miracles enjoy a special and distinct status. Owing to their supernatural and divine nature (as the textual evidence suggests), it has been generally believed that Miracles are inexplicable. Nevertheless, people of all ages and religions have tried to offer a framework to help explain, understand, and contextualize the wide range of miracles across the traditions. A variety of explanations ranging from naturalistic to mystical are readily available. Shah Waliullah of Dehli also tries to offer an explanation in this regard which is Aristotelian and naturalistic in spirit. The present study is an attempt to highlight the Aristotelian substructure of Shah Waliullah's theory of Miracles in his *Tawil-ul-Ahadith*. It tries to reveal how Waliullah's theory of miracles is a close ally of Aristotelian theory of causation, which is evident from its harmony with Aristotle's principle of reason, theory of causation, and God. Furthermore, an evaluation has been made to determine the status of Waliullah's theory particularly with reference to its consistency and explanatory power to unleash its problems.

Considering thought to be an ongoing process makes it possible for the world to evolve. The assumption of the continuity of thought aids in finding new insights from the available body of knowledge, thereby assisting epistemic evolution. Methodologically, it has been a common practice amongst all the phenomenal thinkers including Plato, Aristotle, Avicenna, Kant, Sadra, Suhrawardy, Heidegger, and many others to build on the available knowledge base. Despite their criticism of each other's thought these monumental thinkers never appeared to have made an attempt to uproot the entire system of thought. Instead, the great thinkers have always taken special care not to negate the process of epistemic evolution in favor of blind faith and fundamentalism. Endorsement and adoption of whatever is good and acceptable has been a norm amongst them. The *Love of Wisdom*, rather than dogma, has guided and evolved humanity through ages. Appreciation, respect, continuity, unity and evolution are the virtues of the path of love, which ultimately lead to wisdom. Being guarded by truth, the path that leads to wisdom is perennial, beyond geographical, temporal, and religious boundaries and is one.

The eighteenth century Muslim mystic, theologian, thinker, and reformer Shah Waliullah of Dehli appears to be in line with this attitude, at least practically.<sup>1</sup>

A testimony to this is given by a person who is considered to be the most profound scholar of Waliullahi thought, i.e., Ubaidullah Sindhi. Sindhi used to deliver lectures on Shah Waliullah's Magnum Opus *Hujjatullabul Baligha (The Conclusive Argument)*. In his explanatory book on the major work of Shah Waliullah he has outlined all the philosophical sources of his thought. According to Sindhi, apart from few innovations, Waliullah's thought is a synthesis of the four major Philosophical strains of thought prevalent in the Muslim intellectual world, which include:

1. Platonic Philosophy
2. Peripatetic Philosophy
3. Illuminationist Philosophy
4. Mysticism/ Sufism

He makes it clear in his *Study Guide to the Conclusive Argument* in the following words;

Philosophy of Imam Waliullah does not resemble with any of its predecessors. Many of his concepts resemble with Platonic philosophers. Some of them resemble with Peripatetic philosophers as well. Apart from this, he takes after all the mystic philosophers of Islam especially Sheikh e Akbar Muhayyuddin Ibn-e-Arabi and Imam-e-Rabbani Sheikh Ahmed Sirhindi. However, he has his distinct flavor in some matters as well.<sup>2</sup>

A little later in the text he makes the point even more explicit by saying;

After the demise of Imam (Shah Waliullah) his elder son Shah Abdul Aziz inherited all his scholarship. Likewise, Shah Abdul Aziz's younger brother Shah Rafiuddin (Younger son of Shah Waliullah) was also a scholar of Waliullahi thought. Under the guidance of these two scholars there emerged in Delhi a large group of scholars who were well versed with the Philosophy of Plato, Aristotle, Illuminationist Philosopher Shihabuddin Suhrawardy and Sheikh e Akbar Muhayyuddin Ibn-e-Arabi. After understanding all these philosophies they were able to become scholars of Waliullahi thought.<sup>3</sup>

With this backdrop of collective epistemic evolution- irrespective of the geographical, temporal or religious boundaries-this paper attempts to trace the linkages between Aristotelian theory of causation and Waliullah's theory of miracles. The text under consideration is *'The Interpretation of Dreams' (Ta'wil ul-Abadith)* by Waliullah. The task of delineating an affinity between Aristotelian causation and Waliullah's theory of miracles will be carried out by highlighting how Waliullah implicitly borrows Aristotelian tools such as 'the principle of reason' and theory of four causes in his framework and their extension to the realm of miracles. Owing to Waliullah's allegiance to Aristotle's causation, he falls into the trap of limiting God as will become evident during the course of this study. Finally, an exploration will be made to reveal how Waliullah's effort to naturalize mysticism and religion makes his theory of miracles not only inconsistent but also how it reduces its explanatory power and intellectual appeal.

### **The Principle of Reason**

*'The Interpretation of Dreams' (Tawil-ul-Abadith)*, according to Waliullah, aims at citing a natural cause for every event.<sup>4</sup> In this sense, the text gives a causal explanation of whatever happens in the universe. Waliullah builds this thesis on *The Principle of Reason*<sup>5</sup>, according to which, *nothing happens in the world without a cause*.<sup>6</sup> Waliullah universalizes this principle by making it a property of man

(in the Aristotelian sense of the word) by saying, “*man by his nature is disposed to think that there is a cause for every happening.*”<sup>7</sup>

The principle, however, is not new with Waliullah as it is at the heart of the whole Aristotelian project. Right from the beginning of *Metaphysics*, Aristotle explicitly states ‘the principle of reason’ to be the main explanatory principle. The aim of *Metaphysics* (for Aristotle) is to show that nothing happens in the universe randomly, and/or without a cause. Importantly, in causal and naturalistic Aristotelian setup, knowledge becomes possible only by knowing the causes *in toto*. For Aristotle, even ‘chance’ is a part of causal structure and is itself an incidental cause. While explaining the difference between spontaneity and chance, Aristotle unveils their causal nature in the following words in *Physics*;

Both belong to the mode of causation ‘source of change’, for wither some natural or some intelligent agent is always the cause; but in this sort of causation the number of possible causes is infinite.

Spontaneity and chance are causes of effects which, though they might result from intelligence or nature, have in fact been caused by something incidentally. Now since nothing which is incidental is prior to what is per se, it is clear that no incidental cause can be prior to intelligence and nature.<sup>8</sup>

Causation is so central in Aristotelian philosophy that the relation between truth and causation is of necessity, for Aristotle, as “*we do not know a truth without its cause.*”<sup>9</sup> (993b-23) Waliullah, however, extends this principle quite unconventionally to the realm of miracles too by saying that ‘*even miracles have their causes.*’<sup>10</sup> If we replace the term ‘chance’ with the term ‘miracles’ in Aristotelian system, Waliullah’s theory of miracles begins to emerge. The position is quite anti-theological by normal religious standards and is not a new one as the causation (and its limits) was the main point of contention between Philosophers (principally between Ghazali and Ibn Rushd), historically.

#### **Four causes**

In the Philosophy of Aristotle, theory of four causes applies not only to every entity that *is* but to every process of change and becoming. Moreover, causation, according to Aristotle, is not only limited to the changes taking place on the sublunary world but is relevant even to the ethereal realm. The four causes, according to Aristotle, which govern the universe in its entirety, are:

- Material cause
- Efficient cause
- Formal cause
- Final cause

Aristotle outlines this classification of causes in his *Metaphysics* in the following words;

...causes are spoken in four senses. In one of these we mean the substance, i.e. the essence (for the 'why' is reducible finally to the definition and the ultimate 'why' is a cause and principle); in another the matter or substratum, in a third the source of change, and in a fourth the cause opposed to this, the purpose and the good (for this is the end of all generation and change).<sup>11</sup>

Upon analysis, this theory of four causes becomes explicit in Waliullah's explanatory framework of miracles. A general outlining of this schema becomes visible in the following excerpt of *Tawil-ul-Ahadith*;

When God intends to do a certain thing, He effects expansion or contraction in the Sublime assembly and thereby, completes His intention<sup>12</sup>.

In the above quoted reference the intention of God is the Final cause for which everything else is there for. This shows the teleological inclinations (which is the hallmark of Aristotelian system) of Waliullah's system on the whole. Whereas '*expansion and contraction in the sublime assembly*' is the formal cause as owing to the influence of these forces all the changes on the earth take place. The notion of '*sublime assembly*' is the Aristotelian equivalent of 'the fixed stars'. The last of the two causes, i.e. efficient and material causes are implicit in the last three words of the reference quoted above. They become explicit on joining these three words with another reference from the same book;

when the settlement of the people of the Thamud were in the mountains and their caves, the nearest possible chastisement for them was the earthquake and the roar. Then Salih prayed for their destruction.<sup>13</sup>

The above quoted is the equivalent of the completion of God's intention. Here we find the nature of the earthquake as the efficient cause, as wherever earthquake occurs, it leads to destruction (it is the nature of earthquake). While to be amongst the mountains and the caves amounts to be the material cause as being in such an environment makes the earthquakes even more fatal.

### **The Limitless God**

An entity which has limits cannot qualify as God in the religious and theological sense. The notion of God is central to Aristotle's teleological worldview. However, Aristotelian God contrary to religious viewpoint is inert, passive and limited. Adoption of Aristotelian understanding of God resulted in never ending religious, theological, and philosophical disputes in Muslim intellectual world. Aristotelian scheme, being naturalistic, had no room for Miracles.

Miracles, at best, can be seen as chance (which is embedded in the causal nexus and is not over and above it) in Aristotelian philosophy.

Waliullah, interestingly, tries to incorporate such exclusive properties of God as limitless and always active in his causal framework for the explanation of Miracles that is problematic. Few principles in *Tawil-ul-Abadith* that not only point towards this difficulty but also pose serious questions about the validity of his framework in a religious setup are listed below.

- “God chooses that form of punishment which happens to be the nearest to the natural causes on that day.”<sup>14</sup>
- “The Divine Laws (Nawamis, pertaining to Shara’i) depend upon the Universal Laws and the occasions indicative of wisdom, while the causes (Tarqibat) are based on the particular expediencies and the decree (Qada) comes into effect at every suitable time.”<sup>15</sup>
- “...the selection of the nearest and the easiest causes at every time.”<sup>16</sup>
- “This is the Divine course which will continue as such, if there is no obstruction.”<sup>17</sup>

Miracles, in the religious sense, are exemplification of God’s might and power. Miracles signify the ultimate and infinite control that God has over everything, which is not in need of anything. God at *Will* can change the course of happenings and brings things out of naught. Contrarily, according to the above cited Waliullahi principles, it appears that Miracles are not instances of God’s might or an objective free choice of God. Making God’s choice dependent upon ‘the nearest to the natural causes’, and ‘suitable time’ along with the possibility of obstruction and dependence of Divine laws on the Universal laws, makes God a limited entity. The textual evidence and the mainstream view of God sharply contrasts with this schema as it limits God. This kind of approach to explain the miracles (which potentially threatens the status of God), consequently, seems to lower the status of Deity.

### **The problem of consistency**

Despite taking a naturalistic stance (alone) to explain Miracles, Waliullah adds a religious flavor to it. This becomes evident when he outlines the criterion of becoming knowledgeable (which amounts to knowing all the causes). His approach, however, raises questions on the consistency of his explanatory scheme. To start with, the prerequisites of knowing all the explanatory causes of every phenomenon (including miracles) include the knowledge of Physics

and Astronomy- as heavenly bodies are also considered to be an important agent in this causal framework. In his own words;

These causes, however, are known to him who has thoroughly comprehended the science of the working system of the whole universe and has properly understood both the earthly and the heavenly causes working in it.<sup>18</sup>

This knowledge, though necessary, is not sufficient to know all explanatory causes. Waliullah adds the religio-mystic flavor to this naturalistic effort to know explanatory causes by qualifying only the chosen one to yield all the explanatory causes of every phenomenon by saying;

... Understood only by those whom He has chosen and whom He has taught the science of the interpretation of dreams (*Tawil-ul-Ahadith*), and by those whose hearts He had expanded with both the acquired and the hereditary knowledge.<sup>19</sup>

The acquired knowledge in the above mentioned reference points to the knowledge of Physics and Astronomy. The hereditary knowledge, however, complicates the framework being subjective as opposed to the acquired knowledge that is objective in nature. It is bafflingly difficult (if not impossible) to balance effectively and fairly the phenomenon of '*being a chosen one*' in a causal explanatory framework. The hereditary knowledge is subjective and problematic as even though considered foundational in mystical sciences, it is transferred from the masters to the disciples (either through inspiration or oral tradition and is not testable). In this ambiguous scheme of qualifications he further adds '*the science of interpretation of dreams*' which has the mystical connotation of being connected to a higher power that inspires the believer with the truth related to all the happenings, which are unknown otherwise.

How to adjust and justify the above mentioned mystico-religious subjective list of qualities (as a person principally has no control over them because they are not acquired) is itself problematic in a causal framework. Instead of providing a satisfactory explanation, the framework adds to the already existing absurdity related to the miracles. This effort to wed the contradictory positions like naturalism and mysticism causes serious issues of consistency. Due to this paradox, Waliullahi system lands in the confused land between the two extremes of naturalism and mysticism where the problems related to demarcation and prioritization between the two start to emerge.

### **Evaluating the explanatory power of Waliullah's theory**

When we see the list of miracles provided by Waliullah in *Tawil-ul-Ahadith*, it includes the prophetic tales from all the major religions.

However, the explanatory power of his framework is by no means satisfactory as it fails to tear off the mysteriously fictional character of a number of such miraculous phenomena. For example, while explaining the miraculous blessings which God had bestowed upon Mary, Waliullah says;

God showed many signs to Mary. He created fruits for her with the word *Kun* (Be) without any elemental cause...<sup>20</sup>

What needs an explanation in all this is the possibility of creation without elemental causes. In other words, we are interested in finding out those causes (incidental or otherwise) that may result in such a miraculous phenomenon. The answer, however, that Waliullah gives is that “*the creation those days did not depend upon an elemental cause*”<sup>21</sup> The explanatory power of this reply is highly questionable on factual basis. Furthermore, is it a satisfactory answer at all? Waliullah extends the unknown variable to the whole instead of explaining it. According to the reply, either nothing needs an explanation as nothing is problematic, or everything is in need of explanation as everything was problematic and abnormal in those days. But if we consider abnormality (associated with the miracles) to be normal with reference to any specific time then the novelty of miracles becomes dull as it must have happened to a number of other people or could have happened, potentially, at the least. If we take this as a framework for the explanation of miracles, then they somehow lose the status of being the sign of God. This paradox is similar to what Nietzsche highlights while criticizing Kant in *‘Beyond Good and Evil’* by stating;

But is that- an answer? An explanation? Or is it not rather merely a repetition of the question?<sup>22</sup>

This type of explanation is comparable to Ghazali’s explanation of miracles. Ghazali, in the same vain expounds that the whole universe is miraculous in order to explain miracles. In the above mentioned explanation Waliullah is unintentionally saying the same although his intention is to go in the opposite direction to that of Ghazali. We can simplify this comparison as;

The whole nature is Miraculous = “The creation of those days did not depend upon elemental cause.”

Waliullah by offering an explanatory framework for miracles was supposed to explain the reason behind the creation not involving elemental causes (in the case of Mary). Paradoxically, nevertheless, he comes up by declaring it to be just one amongst the other, thereby, rendering the whole universe abnormal, mysterious and inexplicable. This is the principle path that he has taken in explaining the causality of miracles (i.e. the abnormality was the normality of that era). Instead of enlightening about the nature of miracles he has made it

even more obscure by increasing the number of variables that need explanation.

### **Conclusion**

Considering knowledge to be perennial and evolutionary, it is argued in the present study that Waliullah's theory of miracles in his *Tawil-ul-Abadith* is Aristotelian in nature. It is seen that by grounding his explanatory framework of miracles in Aristotle's *principle of reason* which is considered to be the backbone of his theory of causation, Waliullah makes explicit use of the famous four causes (i.e. material, formal, efficient and final) as have been expounded by Aristotle in his works. These four causes help Waliullah to naturalize the miracles to make them worthy of explanation just like the ordinary and routine working of the universe. This step is important in that from this it is possible to infer quite in line with Newtonian Modern Physics, that both natural and supernatural phenomena (but not the deity and sacred entities) are of the same nature upon which the same laws apply. However, his effort to unite naturalism to mysticism and theology drives his framework to imbalance owing to increase of unknown variables by declaring the supernatural as natural of the specified time. This declaration not only undermines the status of miracles but also is in contrast to the factual evidence. Furthermore, it appears to offer no explanation at all as if everything was of the same abnormal nature at some point in time, then either a miracle was not a miracle at all or everything was miraculous. But by saying that everything was miraculous in nature at some particular point in time, we cannot do any good in explaining the miracles (as the aim of any explanatory framework is to reduce the unknown variables by rendering the understandable elucidation of the phenomenon by keeping all other things constant). This does no service to his project of making comprehensible an obscure area of religious thought. It at best reduces the explanatory power as well seriously dents the consistency of his explanatory framework.

### NOTES AND REFERENCES

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- <sup>1</sup> Theoretically, however, he possibly differs on it and offers disfavorable opinion about Philosophy in his important work *Khair-e-Katbeer*. For details see *Khair-e-Katbeer*, Dar-ul-Ishaat, Karachi, 1992, p.288. Waliullah offers the following arguments about the philosophers:  
*Those who call themselves Philosophers should not be taken seriously at all as they are the accursed. Allah has willfully left them astray. They are the captives of their limited and ignorant reason and they do not know how to get out of it. If you are in search of the Real their knowledge and arguments are of no utility.* (*Khair-e-Katbeer*-p.288)

- <sup>2</sup> Sindhi, Ubaidullah, *Sbarah Hujjat Ullah al-Baligha*, Sind Sagar Academy, Lahore, 2010, p.48. The text is translated by the author himself.
- <sup>3</sup> Ibid, p.49.
- <sup>4</sup> Waliyullah, Shah, *Tawil ul-Abadiith*, Kitab Bhavan, New Dehli, 2011, p.v.
- <sup>5</sup> As Martin Heidegger names it so.
- <sup>6</sup> Waliyullah, *Tawil ul-Abadiith*, p.v.
- <sup>7</sup> Ibid, p. 5
- <sup>8</sup> McKeon, Richard, *The Basic Works of Aristotle*, Modern Library, New York, 2001, p.247.
- <sup>9</sup> Ibid, p.712.
- <sup>10</sup> Waliyullah, *Tawil ul-Abadiith*, p.v.
- <sup>11</sup> McKeon, *The Basic Works of Aristotle*, p.693.
- <sup>12</sup> Waliyullah, *Tawil ul-Abadiith*, p.26.
- <sup>13</sup> Ibid, p. 22.
- <sup>14</sup> Ibid, p.49.
- <sup>15</sup> Ibid, p.51.
- <sup>16</sup> Ibid, p.52.
- <sup>17</sup> Ibid, p.53.
- <sup>18</sup> Ibid, p.v.
- <sup>19</sup> Ibid, p.4.
- <sup>20</sup> Ibid, p.66.
- <sup>21</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>22</sup> Nietzsche, Friedrich, *Beyond Good and Evil: Prelude to a Philosophy of the Future*, Vintage Books, New York, 1966, p.18-19.



EPISTEMOLOGICAL ACCESS TO  
TECHNOLOGY BLENDED WITH  
PEDAGOGY AS A CONGRUENT  
COMPONENT FOR STUDENTS'  
ACHIEVEMENTS

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## ABSTRACT

This article examines how epistemological access to technology blended with pedagogy performs a congruent role for students' accomplishments at the higher education level in Pakistan. Students, at this level, come with varied linguistic backgrounds showing horrendous differences of skills and limited cognizance of interacting with advanced technologies. In the context of Pakistan, pedagogues likewise are the propagators of conventional apparatuses with regard to teaching English as a foreign language. Research in the domain of epistemological integration of technology with pedagogy is scarce at the university level in Pakistan. Therefore, the motivation behind this exploration is to comprehend how and to what extent epistemological access to technology enhances the pedagogical access for purposeful learning and can affect the learning outcomes of the students. The study used quantitative and experimental research methods, employing the data apparatuses of low assessments (pre-test, assessments and a post-test). SPSS version 21 was used to analyze the data and it was further deciphered and reported by using descriptive and inferential statistical apparatuses, and the differences were spotlighted amongst the varied assessments. Research findings contributed scholarly to the existing literature to promote epistemological access to technology at higher education level to meet the demands of the post-modern world.

The present study confers that solely physical access to the provided resources at education institutions does not validate the achievements of the students, rather epistemological access – i.e. purposeful access – to the physical and intellectual resources shall be provided to guarantee personal and professional accomplishments of the students.<sup>1</sup> Consequently, access is more than getting a place for education; it shall provide purposeful learning to extend academic experiences of students into successful professional practices.<sup>2</sup> This purposeful learning does not entail insignificant enrollment by paying the fee and attending classes rather post-enrollment experiences are needed to be addressed if real learning is to take place. This remodeling of the framework likewise demands an ontological turn in our thinking which focuses on how students can persist in the education system rather than why do understudies fail. In the current era of technology, a shift from conventional to progressive pedagogies is required to meet the complexities, cultural diversities and individualities of the students at higher education institutions. Pakistan is certifiably not a different case in this chaotic situation and we need to reconsider the traditional way to deal with pedagogy. This paper suggests the use of mixed pedagogies with the Technological Pedagogical Content Knowledge (TPACK) framework for the successful teaching-learning process.

The study would develop an insight into the epistemological access to technology and pedagogy for effective integration of technology with the pedagogical practices to validate purposeful access to the provided resources, to secure in turn academic and professional success and students. The study will accentuate to renovate the existing practices of pedagogues and work on their training programs to make it a part of the planning process for deeper reformation of the education system in Pakistan.

The purpose of the study was to explore the interactive effect of Epistemological Access to Technology (EAT) and Pedagogical Access (PA) on Student Achievements (SA). The study also examined the effect of teachers' training program on the enhancement of pedagogical access to improve students' learning outcomes.

This study was focused on following questions:

- a) What is the effect of teachers' training on epistemological access to technology at higher education level?
- b) How can epistemological access to technology improve pedagogical access for meaningful learning?
- c) How much and to what extent epistemological access to technology combined with pedagogical access can influence the learning outcomes of the students at the university level?

To find the conclusion two hypothesis were adopted. Firstly that there will be no statistically significant difference in the learning outcomes of students due to teachers' epistemological access to technology combined with pedagogical access.

Second, that there will be a statistically significant difference in the learning outcomes of students due to teachers' epistemological access to technology combined with pedagogical access.

Epistemological access technology is a generic trait of pedagogy in the Western countries; however, it is in the process of being introduced in Pakistan.<sup>3</sup> Higher education has been investing in widening the arena for the access to knowledge<sup>4</sup> as it is directly related to student accomplishments. In the procedure of blending pedagogy with technology, the significance of epistemological access to technology should be stressed in order to make it more effective. Epistemological access implicates 'learning how to become an active participant in academic practice'.<sup>5</sup> The Information and Communication Technologies (ICTs) are gradually assimilating with the teaching-learning processes and are adding to its value.<sup>6</sup> Current practices bolster the evidence that isolated pedagogical apparatuses whether conventional practices or the progressive practices are not effective, and complexities, uncertainties and individualities of the postmodern era demand the dissolution of these dichotomies and progression towards "future three"<sup>7</sup> which advocates the mixed pedagogical modalities. To ensure the personal and professional success of students, we need to have epistemic access to the provided resources and methodologies because the process of teaching and learning is more complex than the mere application of technology.<sup>8</sup>

To secure purposeful access to technology the first order barriers (lack of resources, institution, subject culture, assessment) are not challenging. It is rather the second order barriers (attitudes and beliefs, knowledge and skills) that are a real threat to re-culturing and the change process.<sup>9</sup> To control the second order barriers, it is pertinent to reshape the beliefs and values of the teachers<sup>10</sup> who keep the difference in the espoused beliefs and enacted beliefs in their

daily classroom practices. It is the difference in the theory and practice, which moulds the neutral nature of technology for purpose of ease only. Unfortunately, teachers have limited the use of technology to reduce their workload only as they use portals, LMS accounts and assessments just to prepare the result sheets, to mark attendance and to evaluate students on the objective type assessments,<sup>11</sup> which leaves various other dimensions of the technology unexplored. Hedegaard and Chaiklin have developed the concept of teaching and learning as a 'double move' between situated activity and subject matter concepts<sup>12</sup> which emphasize on the complex and multidimensional use of the technology for teaching as well as learning practices. The classroom press – “press for immediacy and concreteness, press for multidimensionality and simultaneity, press to ever-changing conditions or unpredictability, press for personal involvement with students”<sup>13</sup> faced by teachers accentuates the gap between re-culturing and restructuring, whereby restructuring is mostly done through the provision of resources to bring change but re-culturing is the missing ingredient to design a change strategy at educational institutes for effective results. This restructuring without re-culturing brings just episodic reform rather than meaningful reform<sup>14</sup> and it will bring change only at the surface level and may increase the risk of appraising non-events. The understanding that the access to knowledge should be more inclusive indicates that access to resources is associated with upward mobility, social cohesiveness and human rights.<sup>15</sup> Therefore, to bring in deep reforms it is mandatory to be more inclusive and to work on the missing factor of re-culturing as well.

Moreover, it requires teacher training to integrate technology into teaching methodologies for effective outcomes to ensure maximum utilization of physical and intellectual resources. TPACK framework – which involves a blend of integrated technological knowledge (TK), content knowledge (CK) and pedagogical knowledge (PK) – shall be used to refine the existing knowledge of teachers and to aid the construction of new epistemologies which in turn influence pedagogical decisions of teachers at the time of designing a course.<sup>16</sup> This transformative nature of TPACK will not only help to repurpose technology through teacher's design effort but also to completely adopt and utilize the framework for successful teaching-learning practices in the classroom setup.

Technology-based teaching methodologies may cursor a breakthrough in the prime educational objective of self-actualization of the students. The first and foremost step towards self-actualization is self-awareness that may be expedited by the use of

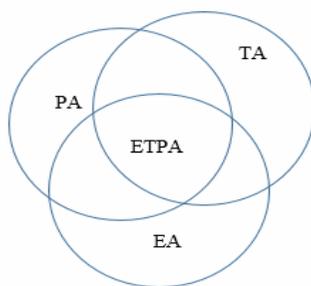
technology-based teaching practices that are in confirmation of the age of the student rather than that of the teacher. Self-awareness is crucial for self-regulated learning and the more a student is aware of his strength and weaknesses the more he is conscious of his learning path. This self-consciousness turns learning into transformative learning which is necessary for the sustainability of the learning process to ensure the success of students for lifelong learning.<sup>17</sup>

Learning exists under the feedback provided by formative assessments and summative assessments. Current evidence<sup>18</sup> spotlights the absence of quick feedback provided to the students, which kills their motivation and engagement for learning. Informing students about their performance empowers the students to take precautionary steps for improving their learning, so the assessment system should be responsive enough to provide flexibility to individualized learning paths: making learning challenging for capable students and facilitating those who are at-risk.

As existing epistemologies, values and beliefs of teachers affect their pedagogy; similarly, the personal epistemology of students affects their learning.<sup>19</sup> So, teachers shall not only know the beliefs and values of students but also attempt to mould and reshape their beliefs and values because the students' interpretation of the instruction depends on their personal epistemology. If they value technology and believe that they can use it to improve their learning, they may better respond to the pedagogical strategy, and their personal epistemology will positively affect the learning process.

Existing teaching practices not only reflect myopic thinking with which we deal with educational technology in fragmentation but also constrain our vision of what and how much might be accomplished with computer technology in our classrooms. Furthermore, a design experiment approach is used not just to honour the complexity of the detailed implementation of intervention yet, in addition, to lessen the gap between theory and practice.

The researchers argue that the suggested model offers an insight into technology integration at theoretical, pedagogical and methodological levels. Contrary to the pedestrian view of technology, our framework highlights affordances and connections between pedagogy and technology keeping in mind epistemological underpinning for valued access. The triad in Figure 1 articulates the specificity of the connection between pedagogy, technology and epistemology instead of taking every segment in segregation.



**Figure: 1.** Epistemological Technological Pedagogical Access (ETPA). The Three Circles: Pedagogical Access (PA), Technological Access (TA), and Epistemological Access (EA) converge to lead to ETPA.

The experiment was conducted at the University of Central Punjab, which is a large private sector university in Lahore, Pakistan. The university intakes 650 students in the fall semester and 200 students in the spring semester, every year under the Bachelor of Computer Science (BSCS) program.

A total of 650 students were enrolled into the program and all the students were taken as the subject of the study. The whole intake was randomly grouped into thirteen (13) sections titled as A to M, and each section comprised of fifty (50) students. The participant studied Functional English in their first semester and took part in the experiment in the fall semester 2017.

The course duration was four months (16 weeks) consisting of 30 lectures of 90 minutes each. The purpose of the course was to reduce most occurred grammatical errors in English language students usually made at the faculty using multiple language learning software i.e. Transparent Language Online (TLO) and Hypermedia Learning System (HL). Moreover, the Learning Management System (LMS), built on the same structure as Moodle, was used to conduct the assessments whereby each test and assessment contained 40 queries to be attempted in 40 minutes and automated feedback was shared in the form of students' scores and graphs with both teachers and students.

All the classes were conducted in the language labs where each student was provided with a separate computer and the students could access their course content using individual login and password provided by the university. The study took place in three steps and the first step started with the conduction of pre-test in the first week and the results were shared with all the teachers and students that not only unfolded the prior knowledge of the students

as a whole but also detailed the strengths and weaknesses of each student to self-regulate their learning. Students' scores on the pre-test enabled the teachers to readjust the content in the pre-defined course outline as per requirement of each class and each student.

The second step proceeded with the conduction of 4-Assessments in the duration of four months following one assessment by the end of each month. A quick feedback after each assessment provided the opportunity to each instructor and student for in-depth analysis of their learning path.

In the third step, a post-test was conducted in the last week and the results were compared with the pre-test to record students' progress and academic achievement. The findings of the study helped the planners to further redefine the course contents and pedagogy to meet the needs of the students.

The study used a quantitative design to collect, analyze, interpret and report data. Descriptive analysis and inferential statistics were used to find differences in the assessments (1-4) scores and pre-test/post-test scores.

The phae of findings consisted of a methodical exploration and discussion of the data attained from the pre-test, four assessments, and a post-test, which gauged respondents' retrospective investigation of all the sessions. The findings were equated in the midst of all assessments including pre-test, and post-test. All of the tests were administered in fall 2017 and were computer-based. The tests were adapted from Educational Testing Service's The Test of English for International Communication exam and encompassed 40 items to be attempted in 40 minutes, which were uploaded on the Learning Management System (LMS). The scholarly accomplishment of the respondents was measured through computerized checking. In addition, the tests allocations were then subjected to diverse statistical apparatuses.

The current study utilized a non-parametric statistical test for investigation, as the data were evaluated on an ordinal scale. As non-parametric assessments are usually intended for the enquiry of nominal or ordinal data, they are preferably befitted for the effective utilization in social science and humanities research.

In spite of the fact that the ethics of non-parametric tests have been abundantly faced off regarding the individuals who support utilizing non-parametric tests contend that they have the majority of the excellencies of customary parametric tests, without the conceivable distortions that might emerge if presuppositions are disrupted.

Nonetheless, one drawback is that the non-parametric apparatus tend to center utterly on null hypothesis testing. The null hypothesis for this investigation is that there is no progression among the respondents' pre-test, four assessments, and post-test marks. On the contrary, the alternative hypothesis is that there is a considerable advancement among the respondents' pre-test, four assessments, and post-test results.

Five hundred and seventy-three respondents successfully completed the pre-test, four assessments, and a post-test experiment. 4-Assessments were spread over a period of four months whereby each assessment was conducted by the end of one month to check the progress of the students' learning. The advancement from pre-test to post-test and all 4-assessments for the distinctive test items was figured out for each learner, section and instructor. The data were statistically tabulated into the subsequent categories:

1. Error-wise Comparative Analysis
  - i. Error-wise Comparative Analysis of Pre-test and Post-test
  - ii. Error-wise Comparative Analysis of 4-Assessments
2. Assessment-wise Comparative Analysis
3. Instructor-wise Comparative Analysis
4. Question-wise Comparative Analysis

### 1. Error-wise Comparative Analysis Analysis of Pre-test and Post-test

Figure 2 demonstrates the aggregate percentage of lexical and grammatical errors made by the respondents in the pre-test, and the post-test. The graph illustrates that occurrence of grammatical and lexical errors disseminated disproportionately among all the error-types. The maximum errors made by the participants were in the use of the conjunction, which primarily had 32% of the errors in the pre-test, expanded to 51% of the errors in the post-test. Correspondently, in the use of pronouns, the number of errors increased from 15% to 31% of the errors.

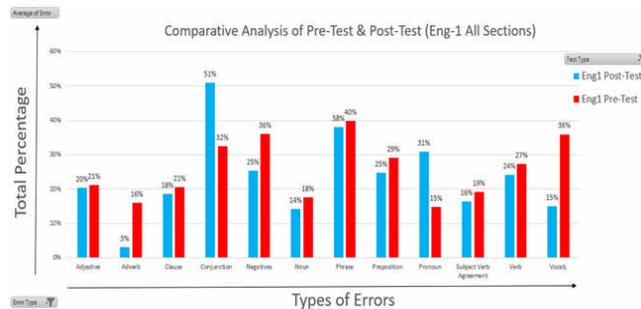
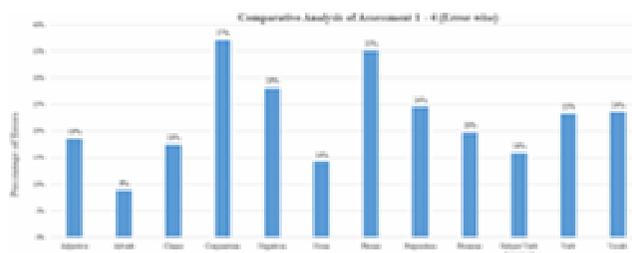


Figure 2: Error-wise comparative analysis of Pre-test and Post-test.

### Analysis of 4-Assessments

Figure 3 shows the error-wise analysis of the four assessments administered over the course of the study. Simultaneously, the maximum errors produced by the learners were again in the use of conjunction which was recorded as 37%. It goes parallel with the findings of pre-test (i.e. 51%), the minimum errors made by the learners were in the use of adverb/ qualifier with 9% of the errors which shows a constant decrease in the learning process of the said error-type, similarly



**Figure 3:** Error-wise comparative analysis of four assessments.

### 2. Assessment-wise Comparative Analysis

The graphic representation delineated in Figure 4 demonstrates a noteworthy difference in the number of error-types by the students. The greatest numbers of errors (39%) were plotted in assessment – 1 among all of the four assessments. A significant improvement was shown among the respondents during the course of training from assessment – 1 to assessment – 2 (the errors reduced from 39% to 26%), and assessment – 3 to assessment – 4 (the errors decreased from 23% to 11%) respectively. However, a reasonable improvement was reflected in the total percentage of errors from assessment – 2 to assessment – 3 (the errors diminished from 26% to 23%).

Moreover, error-wise comparative analysis of all the 4-Assessments, and post-test shows progressive sequencing of the learning curve i.e. adjectives (19% – 20%), adverb (9% – 3%), clause (18% – 18%), negatives (28% – 25%), noun (14% – 14%), phrase (35% – 38%), preposition (24% – 25%), subject verb agreement (16% – 16%), verb (23% – 24%), and vocabulary (24% – 15%).

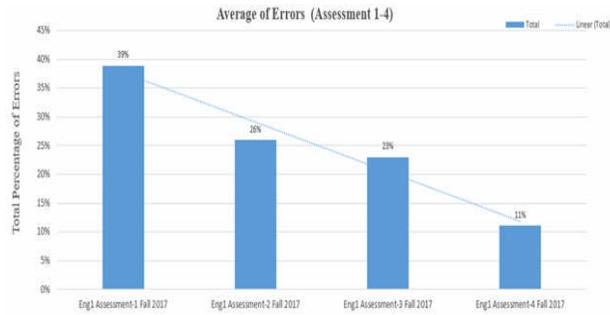


Figure 4: Assessment-wise Comparative Analysis.

### 3. Instructor-wise Comparative Analysis

The graph in Figure 5 illustrates the performance of eight (08) instructors. The findings delineate a comparative analysis of instructor-wise errors dispersed disproportionately among all thirteen (13) sections entitled from A to M, taught by various instructors i.e. AS, AM, AZ, NN took one section each; NM, SH, SM took two sections each; HN took three sections.

The significant performance among all the instructors was reflected by AS and HN who deviated by producing least number of errors in their sections i.e. 21% and 22% respectively.

Moreover, NN and SH deviated at the second place showing with 25% of the error each; similarly, AZ and NM deviated in the third place with 29% of the errors each. On the contrary, SM and AM could not perform well as the maximum number of errors was plotted in their sections i.e. 30% and 33%.

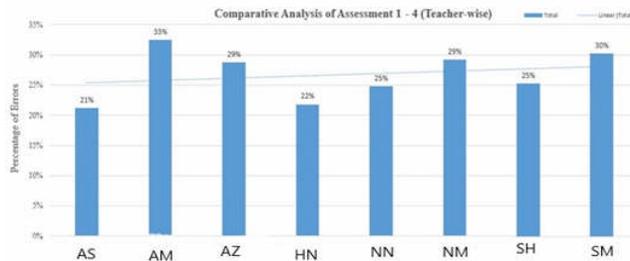
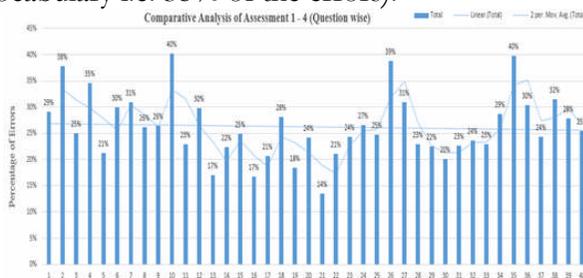


Figure 5: Instructor-wise Comparative Analysis of 4-Assessments

### 4. Question-wise Comparative Analysis

Figure 6 highlights the question-wise investigation of the errors in varied assessments. There were forty (40) test items (questions) in each assessment to be attempted in forty (40) minutes. The percentage of errors fluctuates and indicates disseminated results.

Notwithstanding, most of the students produced the maximum errors in items 10 and 35 (conjunction i.e. 40% each), item 26 (phrase i.e. 39% of the errors), item 02 (negatives i.e. 38%) and item 04 (vocabulary i.e. 35% of the errors).



**Figure 6:** Question-wise Comparative Analysis of 4-Assessments

The findings exemplified in the preceding part go parallel with the assertion by reference<sup>20</sup> that integration of technology into pedagogy shall be purposeful to meet individual diversities of learners. The research question-1 aimed to examine the effect of teachers’ training on epistemological access in higher education. The results highlight the significance of the training workshop attended by all the English language instructors. Figure 5 accentuates that there is no drastic high and low performance by any of the instructor rather the graphics visualisation presents a somewhat parallel performance of the instructors for the training that have acquired. The shared-consensus developed at the training workshop did not end as an episodic event rather technological knowledge acquired by the instructors persisted throughout the semester finally affecting the decisions on instructional design for the next semester. This sustained learning and deeper questioning of the instructors well responded to the dynamic conservatism that prevailed prior to the training. For purposeful access to technology, all the instructors not only learnt “how to do it” but also learnt “why they were doing what they were doing” which resulted in re-culturing along with restructuring. The significant change in the beliefs and values of instructors regarding purposeful access to technology emphasizes that teachers’ training had a positive effect on epistemological access to technology.

The results are also in tandem with<sup>21</sup> the view that incorporates TPACK framework in teachers’ training program with complete follow-up will help in avoiding fragmented workshop and risk-averse approach towards the transition to ensure satisfaction and consistency of the current practices. The consistency in instructors’ commitment to practice what they learnt in the training workshop mirrors up the fact that the teachers did not adopt superficial reform

rather their engagement resulted in a high sense of efficacy and sustained learning.

The research question-2 pointed towards improvement in pedagogical access with epistemological access to technology. The findings reinvigorate<sup>22</sup> the notion that complexities, uncertainties, and diversities of post-modernism demand flexibility in the instructional design and structure. The flexibility to rearrange the contents of the course was offered to all the instructors that facilitated them to overcome the gaps in the pre-designed course outline. This freedom of flexibility allowed each instructor to attend each learner individually to cover the breaches in the learning process. The results demonstrated increased pedagogical access both individually and collectively to all students for meaningful learning. Error-wise comparative analysis of four assessments illustrated in Figure 3 disclosed to each instructor for the error-wise deficiency level for each of their learner which made the respective instructor uncap pedagogical access to at-risk students for better learning. This added endeavours of all the pedagogues improved pedagogical access for purposeful learning.

The research question-3 inquired how much and to what extent epistemological access to technology combined with pedagogical access can influence the learning outcomes of the students at the university level. Error-wise comparative analysis of Pre-test and Post-test exhibited in Figure 2 expounds that there is a significant improvement in the scores of all error-types of pre-test and post-test. The pre-test scores revealed prior knowledge of not only at-risk students but also the advantaged ones to initiate each student's progress from their desired level. This illustration of the students' performance at the pre-test and post-test was shared with the teachers and students through visual graphics which enabled them to start learning from their proficiency level. Simultaneously, assessment-wise comparative analysis depicted in Figure 4 explicates step-wise feedback provided to the students which demonstrates a significant decrease in the aggregate percentage of lexical and grammatical errors produced by the students. Results of post-test were also tabulated as an extension which answered the research question-3 posed by the researchers. The result proved the alternative hypothesis (H1) and found a statistically significant difference in the learning outcomes of students due to teachers' epistemological access to technology combined with pedagogical access.

The focal point of the present study was to investigate how much and to what degree epistemological access to technology combined

with pedagogical access can influence the learning outcomes of the students at the university level. The results of the research indicates that integration of technology with pedagogy shall be purposeful to meet with the individualities of the learners and accentuates on the flexibility in the instructional design as well as structure to meet with the emerging challenges of the time. Furthermore, the integration of these two factors will eliminate the risk of the superficial effect of teachers' training; resultantly, it will develop the sense of effectiveness and continuous learning among pedagogues. This investigation was conducted specifically at the university level in Pakistan to increase the learning competence and efficacy of the students; however, comparative studies could likewise be conducted at the elementary and secondary levels to gauge its effectiveness and appropriateness.

This topic has further implications for future research. The crucial role of epistemological access to technology in the teaching-learning process of the English language, and for those who are studying other subjects, cannot be overlooked due to its paramount role in their respective domains. Moreover, this exploration studied and elucidated the part of epistemological access at the University of Central Punjab, Lahore, Pakistan. However, this can be extended to other public and private universities across the country. Finally, a meticulous analysis of epistemological access to technology amalgamated with pedagogical access for meaningful learning could widen the horizon of pedagogues and the understudies simultaneously.

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METACULTURAL COMMONALITY IN  
EAST AND WEST: A STUDY IN  
PERSPECTIVE OF LITERATURE

Samina Saif  
Dr. Nasima Rehman

## ABSTRACT

The metacultural values provide the foundation of commonality for Eastern and Western civilizations. The primary value is 'love'. The feelings and emotions of love with a description of realities from life are given in *Zebr e Ishq*. Nawab Mirza Shauq's Masnavi *Zebr e Ishq* is a beautiful blend of fiction, romance, reality and autobiography. The autobiographical tales told in the form of poetry have been written by Meer, Sauda, and Momin but the poetry of these great poets lacks the power of that fictional and courageous utterance found in Mirza Shauq's poetry. The most famous Masnavi of Nawab Mirza Shauq Lakhnavi *Zebr e Ishq* was written during 1855 to 1862. He is unmatched in bringing simplicity and pragmatism in Urdu literature. His Masnavi *Zebr e Ishq* is an embodiment of a separate identity, individuality, unity, and artistic expression in the history of Masnavi writing. In this Masnavi, a woman's psyche has been represented in the light of social and cultural factors of Shauq's era. *Zebr e Ishq* does not contain mystical secrets, nor does it address the philosophical aspects; rather it describes an ordinary incident in the most beautiful way. The characteristics of emotional empathy, perfect characterization, psychological representation and realism have rendered it immortal in Urdu literature. There is an analogy in Eastern and Western literature and diversity. The parallel comparison brings an end to the prejudice, stasis, and the conservativeness in literature and critique. There are numerous literary and technical qualities in Masnavi *Zebr e Ishq* which enable it to be included not only in Urdu literature but also in the World's best love poetry.

East is East, and West is West, and never the twain shall meet.<sup>1</sup> A line from a poem by Rudyard Kipling is describing the distance between Eastern and Western civilizations. But there is a domain of literature where all these distances diminish.

The metacultural values provide the foundation of commonality for both civilizations. The primary one is 'love'. The western perspective is beautifully described by Shelly as:

*The fountains mingle with the river  
And the rivers with the ocean,  
The winds of heaven mix for ever  
With a sweet emotion;  
Nothing in the world is single;  
All things by a law divine  
In one spirit meet and mingle.  
Why not I with thine?—<sup>2</sup>*

The feelings and emotions of love with a description of realities from life are given in *Zebr e Ishq*. Nawab Mirza Shauq's Masnavi *Zebr e Ishq* is a beautiful blend of fiction, romance, reality and autobiography. Meer Hassan's *Sebrul Bayan* and Pandat Daya Shankar Naseem's *Gulzar e Naseem* are known by everyone but there is something more unique in Shauq's style. The autobiographical tales told in the form of poetry exist because of Meer, Sauda, and Momin too but the poetry of these great poets lacks the power of that fictional and courageous utterance that is found in Mirza Shauq's poetry. His real name was Tasadduq Hussain. Urdu Masnavi *Fareb-e-Ishq*, *Bahar-e-Ishq*, and *Zebr-e-Ishq* are his creations. The most famous Masnavi of Nawab Mirza Shauq Lakhnavi *Zebr e Ishq* was written during 1855 to 1862. Without any doubt, he is unmatched in bringing simplicity and pragmatism in Urdu literature. His Masnavi *Zebr e Ishq* is an embodiment of a separate identity, individuality, unity, and artistic expression in the history of Masnavi writing. In this Masnavi, a woman's psyche has been represented according to the social and cultural factors of Shauq's era. *Zebr e Ishq* does not contain mystical secrets, nor does it address the philosophical aspects; rather it describes an ordinary incident in the most beautiful way. The characteristics of emotional empathy, perfect characterization, psychological representation and realism have rendered it immortal in Urdu literature. Shauq came under severe

criticism during his era because this Masnavi was labelled as obscene and vulgar, distorting the ethics of society. However, with the passage of time, the critics started seeing Shauq through a different lens along with other writers like Saadat Hassan Manto, Noon Meem Rashid and Meera Jee. They started making parallel comparisons of *Zehr e Ishq* with the literary masterpieces of East and West. The characters of this Masnavi are anonymous but the critics and researchers have named the female character "Mah Jabeen" for their ease because of the attributes given to her by Mirza Shauq.

Mah Jabeen's love exalted from sexual and physical pleasures ends up on her death. The end of this Masnavi is tragic in nature because of her suicide. When Mah Jabeen's parents come to know about her love affair, they want to send her to their relatives in Banaras so as to avoid defamation but the heroine feels devastated. She cannot withstand the disgrace and separation from her beloved and thus ends up taking her life. Her beloved attends her funeral because of her last will and then drinks poison after three days in extreme grief however he survives afterwards. *Zehr e Ishq* is not only an epitome of a cordial affair but also possesses extreme influential qualities. Shauq has got mastery over portraying human emotions in a beautiful manner. This depiction of emotions has added more to the beauty of Masnavi where Mah Jabeen deals with her parents and her conjugal emotions simultaneously. Shauq has rightly presented his society and environment in this Masnavi that is not merely a story of lust and sexual pleasure but actually a true picture of Lakhnavi culture where the princes and the rich are engaged in lustful activities. Separating this Masnavi from the Lakhnavi culture of 19th century is like negating the reality.

Shauq has not tried to hide anything rather he has highlighted all the vices and weaknesses of his society thus rendering this Masnavi both vulgar and immortal at the same time. A contentious aspect of *Zehr e Ishq* is the issue of nudity that is evident in the physical description of the characters and the narration of beloveds' meeting. Shauq's writing has been labelled as immoral with the charge of vulgarity.<sup>3</sup> But Atta Ullah Palvi has admired Shauq for highlighting the social vices and moral flaws with so bold expression. *Zehr e Ishq* embodies the elements of lust and sex in it because it represents the society where prostitution has penetrated among all spheres, leaving no space for anything else except nudity and vulgarity.

Atta Ullah Palvi has presented a concise critical analysis of it. According to him, Emile Zola and Maupassant were the pioneers of realism in Europe and they taught that society's all stinky, reproachful and humiliating moral vices should be highlighted to

such an extent that one starts feeling disgust. This was the belief of Shauq as well. The purpose of writing these Masnavis was to admonish the Lakhnavis.<sup>4</sup> Neither has he ignored the weaker aspects of Hero's personality nor has he made any adjustments in his character according to the established ethical standards. Had he done that, the character of the hero would not have aligned with his environment and era. Realism, without any doubt, is the key to success for this Masnavi. Shauq's hero is an ordinary person who is an inefficient, inert, and a lazy rich, desirous of his beloved for sexual pleasure, more feminine than masculine in nature, and believes in destiny more than hard work. Highlighting these vices in the character of hero is in no way a weakness or fault in the storyline but instead, the sole purpose of Shauq is to show the luxuriated and inefficient society. This character is a substantial proof of the decay of his culture. Shauq was forced to write this Masnavi because of his restlessness with his era's conditions and grievances.

*Zebr e Ishq* is an accurate and true history of Lakhnavi era in which we find the portrayal of all perceptions and thoughts, beliefs and ideologies, and mental inclinations developed in the wake of life. Besides portraying the history, this Masnavi is a sincere representation of its era in terms of social, psychological, ideological, religious, and cultural life.

This masnavi was written during the time of Syed Wajid Ali Shah whose attitude and behaviour has given Lucknow specific cultural mood. According to Khaleeq Anjum the poetry of shok though doesn't possess complex details of events and characterization but the cultural delicacy and details inculcated in the poetry make his poems much worthy and distinct from other poetical masterpieces of his age.<sup>5</sup> The customs and traditions of Lucknow culture are also given in detail in his Masnavi for example lighting in the mosques, celebrations on new moon nights, charities in the courts of saints and charities on Thursdays etc.

*The Sorrows of Young Werther*, an artistic work resembling with *Zebr e Ishq* was written by Goethe in 1774. Goethe substantially reworked the book for the 1787 edition<sup>6</sup> and acknowledged the great personal and emotional influence that *The Sorrows of Young Werther* could exert on forlorn young lovers who discovered it. As he commented to his secretary in 1821, "It must be bad, if not everybody was to have a time in his life, when he felt as though *Werther* had been written exclusively for him." Even fifty years after the book's publication, Goethe wrote in a conversation with Johann Peter Eckermann about the emotional turmoil he had gone through while writing the book:

"That was a creation which I, like the pelican, fed with the blood of my own heart".<sup>7</sup>

The Masnavi *Zebr e Ishq* encompasses the representation of both external environment and the internal emotions of human life. It is considered perfect in its qualities of literary language, style, characterization, individuality, and sensuality in Urdu literature. This is the very reason why it is considered one of the top love Masnavis giving immortality to the name of the poet.

The linguistic expertise used by Nawab Mirza Shouq is the spurb feature of this masnavi. Though there are no detail of events, characters, scenes or metaphysical elements but the use of daily language of women of Lucknow, idioms and proverbs has given the picturesque of the social life of Lucknow in this masnavi. According to Dr Shameem Unhonevi simplicity, originality and spontaneity are the main features of this masnavi with which it captures the reader throughout his reading. Meer Anees and Mirza Shouq have given new standards of linguistic and figurative aspects of poetical narration.<sup>8</sup>

*The Sorrows of Young Werther*, is also considered an excellent representative of masterly description of human feelings with linguistic skills. In *Frankenstein*, Mary Shelley makes direct references to the novel *The Sorrows of the Young Werther*. This is done when Victor's creature finds the novel and reads it to pass the time and practice his language skills. The creature learns a lot from reading this novel, especially about emotions and feelings.<sup>9</sup>

The most interesting element found in this Masnavi is that it provides a lot of analogies and parallels in Eastern and Western literature. According to Aale Ahmad Suroor, *Zebr e Ishq* ranks greatest among all Urdu Masnavis, particularly among Lakhnavi Masnavis. Because, for him, the most bright and thrilling pictures are found in Shauq's work. He calls *Zebr e Ishq* the greatest Lakhnavi Masnavi instead of *Gulzar e Naseem* and Shauq the greatest Masnavi writer.<sup>10</sup> Similarly, Abul Lais Siddiqui also prefers *Zebr e Ishq* over *Gulzar e Naseem* and *Sebrul Bayan*.<sup>11</sup>

Abdul Majid Daryabadi compares Shauq with English literature's acclaimed dramatist William Shakespeare. Shakespeare's dramas comprise the elements of separation, grief, detachment and suicidal tendencies. It can especially be seen in *Romeo and Juliet*. For Abdul Majid Daryabadi, Shauq's work can even be ranked higher than the work of the most famous English dramatist Shakespeare in its effectiveness, didacticism, and representation.<sup>12</sup> Where Abdul Majid Daryabadi prefers Shauq over Shakespeare in terms of representation, Khawaja Ahmad Farouqi has found the work of

Shauq and Shakespeare alike.<sup>13</sup> He supports the thought that *Zebr e Ishq's* heroine has more energetic and courageous character than the hero on the basis of her exemplariness. He believes that Mirza Shauq has shown his heroine superior to the hero and this quality is found in Shakespeare's dramas too. Despite her youthfulness, naivety and extreme sentimentalism, the character of Mah Jabeen possesses activeness and strong determination. She does have the higher psychological and spiritual qualities than the hero. Majnun Gorakhpuri drew analogies among *Zebr e Ishq*, a Russian novel *Anna Karenina* (1878), and a Persian epic *Shahnameh* (977-1010). He was impressed by three female characters in fictional literature who possessed grace and elegance even in their lowliness. One of these characters is Anna Karenina, the heroine of Russian fiction writer Tolstoy's work, who falls for Vronsky despite having a blissful married life. She tries hard to get Vronsky's attention but commits suicide upon failing to do so. She feels no remorse for her actions till her death. The second of them is Manizeh, the heroin of *Shahnameh* written by Persian poet Ferdowsi, who falls for Rustam despite being a princess. She does not even care about her royal elegance and luxurious lifestyle. Third of them is Mah Jabeen of *Zebr e Ishq*.

Majnun Gorakhpuri found Mah Jabeen equal to Anna Karenina and Manizeh in attributes because of her determination, courage, and perseverance.<sup>14</sup> Mah Jabeen is also determined to die because life is meaningless for her without her beloved. She makes an exemplary speech in her farewell meeting with the hero. She links the continuity of life with the eternity. Her eloquent speech is full of exemplary wisdom addressing the secrets of life and death, issue of mortality and immortality, impermanence of life, and universality of death. Majnun Gorakhpuri highlights the above mentioned qualities in Mah Jabeen's speech and wants this Masnavi to get the same status in Urdu literature as the German philosopher and fiction writer Johann Wolfgang Von Goethe's famous novel *The Sorrows of Young Werther* (1774) possesses in German literature. According to Nizami Bidayuni Masnavi *Zebr e Ishq* was written in 1861. Rasheed Hassan Khan also agrees with it. The Masnavi *Zebr e Ishq* consists of 455 verses. *The Sorrows of Young Werther* is a loosely autobiographical epistolary novel by Johann Wolfgang von Goethe. First published in 1774, it reappeared as a revised edition in 1787. It was one of the most important novels in the *Sturm und Drang* period in German literature, and influenced the later Romantic movement. Goethe, aged 24 at the time, finished *Werther* in five-and-a-half weeks of intensive writing in January–March 1774.<sup>15</sup> The book's publication instantly placed the

author among the foremost international literary celebrities, and was among the best known of his works.<sup>16</sup>

Goethe's Werther also commits suicide in despair of love. He also embraces death against life just like Mah Jabeen. Majnun Gorakhpuri finds *Zebr e Ishq* and *The Sorrows of Young Werther* equivalent in literary status. One can forget the distinction between life and death while reading both these works of literature. The fear of death vanishes from the mind.<sup>17</sup> There is a strange similarity between Masnavi *Zebr e Ishq* and *The Sorrows of Young Werther* with the impact of cultural differences and diversities. In Masnavi *Zebr e Ishq*, heroine of the story commits suicide while in *The Sorrows of Young Werther* suicide is committed by hero of the story. In Masnavi *Zebr e Ishq* the bravery and courage of the heroine and weakness and cowardice is of the hero reflect the specific culture of Lucknow when the Masnavi *Zebr e Ishq* was being composed. *The Sorrows of Young Werther* is a story about unrequited love, was presented as a collection of letters written by Werther, a young artist of a sensitive and passionate temperament, to his friend Wilhelm. These give an intimate account of his stay in the fictional village of Wahlheim,<sup>18</sup> whose peasants have enchanted him with their simple ways. There he meets Charlotte, a beautiful young girl who takes care of her siblings after the death of their mother. Werther falls in love with Charlotte despite knowing beforehand that she is engaged to a man named Albert, eleven years her senior.<sup>19</sup>

Both these writings were considered a stimulant for suicidal attempt during their period, therefore their publishing was kept banned for many years. Both these creations belong to two different cultures. In *The Sorrows of Young Werther*, the marriage of Charlotte was a tragedy for Werther. While Mah Jabeen in *Zebr e Ishq* was unmarried and there was no hindrance in her meetings with the hero. In actual, Mah Jabeen was living in a shallow and inert society where no action was taken to resolve an issue. Although *The Sorrows of Young Werther* is different from *Zebr e Ishq* in its cultural aspects because the heroine is helpless here. Her society is shallow and inert. But the similarity of both these writings arises from the emotion of love that makes their writers immortal. The element of tragic pain is common in the characters of Tolstoy's Anna, Goethe's Werther, Shakespeare's Juliet and Nawab Mirza Shauq's Mah Jabeen. All these characters reflect emotional turmoil that exerts deep influence upon the reader's heart. These characters have sacrificed their lives in the loyalty with their love.

Every masterpiece carries its meaning in two types of waves that travel on both internal and external surfaces. On external level of the meaning, we can find a sketch of that particular era's cultural and

social life. While in its internal meaning, we find the writer's own psyche and his mental inclinations. In both *Zehr e Isbq* and *The Sorrows of Young Werther*, the social and ideological apprehension of their respective era is present but at the same time both these works address the issue of self-negation and the tragedy of the soul as well. Both these writers, consciously or unconsciously, represent the shattered hopes, dimness of the stars, skepticism, curiosity, and the similar factors of emotional tragedies because of the uncertainty of life. The tendency of "suicidal attempt" was lying somewhere in the subconscious of these writers that popped up in their works.

This goes without saying that all superior or inferior living beings consider their life the most precious treasure in this world, and the instinct to preserve their life and safety is penetrated into their soul. But human psyche, due to some particular sensory, psychological or psychical experiences, gets inclined towards getting freedom from the confines of life. However, this should also be kept in mind that the metaphor of death carries the realization of its aftermath more than any other fear in itself. The end of life on death is a mandatory, involuntary and natural action but it does not mean that one should escape the life because of any failure in a pursuit or its instability. The main purpose of all the above mentioned writers of East and West is to highlight the intensity of love. Universal concept of love which is described in the Masnavi *Zehr e Isbq* is the commonality of metacultural nature between East and West. This metacultural commonality provides common ground for sharing other values and concepts between both civilizations. The narration of love which comes in the conversation of Mah Jabeen and his beloved during their last meeting reminds us the 'Love' of Shelley: Werther is overwhelmed by his excess of emotion, which seems to be the sole cause of his suicide. ... Though his actions may be rash, overblown, and juvenile, Werther clearly tried to overcome his infatuation with Lotte. He left Wahlheim, moved to a new town, and tried to begin a new life.<sup>20</sup>

In short, imagination has no boundary, religion, age or profession. Therefore the representation of love is similar in Persian literature in the form of Ferdowsi's *Shahnameh* in 10th and 11th century, English literature in the form of Shakespeare's *Romeo and Juliet* in the end of 16th century, German literature in the form of Goethe's *The Sorrows of Young Werther* in 18th century, Russian literature in the form of Tolstoy's *Anna Karenina* in 19th century, and Urdu literature in the form of Nawab Mirza Shauq's *Zehr e Isbq* in 19th century despite all of them having different time and space. All these writers do have the similarity in their imaginativeness regarding the human tragedy.

The love and sacrifice are synonyms. No love exists without sacrificing. The dream of hero of Masnavi *Zebr e Ishq* gives this dimension of love. The hero witnessed a vision that:

*In ecstasy I saw a dream  
Mah Jabeen was saying to me with agony  
That you lost your senses up to such an extent  
That you forgot me within a few days  
My achievement of all this story is this much  
That what time I passed it was with hardships  
This is the only of my success in love  
That I sought friendship with the grief*

The same feeling of love can be seen in verses of Coleridge:

*All thoughts, all passions, all delights,  
Whatever stirs this mortal frame,  
All are but ministers of Love,  
And feed his sacred flame.<sup>21</sup>*

The incidents like Mah Jabeen's story often occur in our society but no one had the moral audacity to represent them before Shauq. The notion of the rights of women is disseminated generally in literature and particularly in poetry but in real life, a woman is not even provided with the basic rights to spend her life. Shauq has artistically shown the social upheavals and moral vices in their real form without any pretense. Because of this realistic approach, he has been called the pioneer of realism like French writers Emile Zola and Guy de Maupassant in 19th century. Instead of becoming a moral teacher, Shauq preferred becoming an artist while writing the spiritual and physical aspects of love in a Lakhnavi culture. His effort is, without any doubt, appreciable.

Both Masnavi *Zebr e Ishq* and *The Sorrows of Young Werther* were popular and had great impact on their society. The Masnavi *Zebr e Ishq* was banned after it was played on stage because it was opinion of the critics that it can create same feelings and emotions in the readers which were demonstrated by hero and heroine of the story. Similar was the case of *The Sorrows of Young Werther*. The book reputedly also led to some of the first known examples of copycat suicide. The men were often dressed in the same clothing "as Goethe's description of Werther and using similar pistols." Often the book was found at the scene of the suicide.<sup>22</sup> Rüdiger Safranski, a modern biographer of Goethe, dismisses the Werther Effect 'as only a persistent rumor'.<sup>23</sup> Nonetheless, this aspect of "Werther Fever" was watched with concern by the authorities – both the novel and the Werther clothing style were banned in Leipzig in 1775; the novel was also banned in Denmark and Italy.<sup>24</sup> It was also watched with

fascination by fellow authors. One of these, Friedrich Nicolai, decided to create a satirical piece with a happy ending, entitled *Die Freuden des jungen Werthers* ("The Joys of Young Werther"), in which Albert, having realized what Werther is up to, loaded chicken's blood into the pistol, thereby foiling Werther's suicide, and happily concedes Charlotte to him. After some initial difficulties, Werther sheds his passionate youthful side and reintegrates himself into society as a respectable citizen.<sup>25</sup>

The novel is the story of a sensitive, artistic young man who demonstrates the fatal effects of a predilection for absolutes—whether those of love, art, society, or thought. Unable to reconcile his inner, poetic fantasies and ideas with the demands of the everyday world, Werther goes to the country in an attempt to restore his well-being. There he falls in love with Charlotte (Lotte), the uncomplicated fiancée of a friend. Werther leaves but later returns, feeling depressed and hopeless no matter where he lives. Torn by unrequited passion and his perception of the emptiness of life, he commits suicide.

An exceptionally popular book, *The Sorrows of Young Werther* gave expression to what Scottish historian and essayist Thomas Carlyle called "the nameless unrest and longing discontent which was then agitating every bosom." The mind that conceived its symmetry, wove its intricate linguistic patterns, and handled the subtle differentiation of hero and narrator was moved by a formal as well as a personal passion. The translated title (which uses "Sorrows" instead of "Sufferings") obscures the allusion to the Passion of Christ and individualizes what Goethe himself thought of as a "general confession," in a tradition going back to St. Augustine.

The credit of highlighting the aspects of tragedy in the global literature and *Zehr e Ishq* in the critique of Urdu literature goes to Majnun Gorakhpuri, Farman Fatehpuri and Abdul Majid Daryabadi. Besides these, some prominent critics in Urdu literature like Syed WaqarAzeem, Dr. Jameel Jalibi, Aale Ahmad Suroor, Ata Ullah Palvi, and Khawaja Ahmad Farooqui have analyzed this Masnavi in the light of literary perspectives in English, Persian, German, Russian, French, and Urdu literature. They have done its comparative studies with different literary masterpieces and the philosophical and literary thoughts of great writers. In these comparative readings, they pointed out the analogies in Eastern and Western literature and the diversity in it. Such parallel comparisons bring an end to the prejudice, stasis, and the conservativeness in literature and critique. There are numerous literary and technical qualities in Masnavi *Zehr e Ishq* that enable it to be included not only in Urdu literature but also

in the World's best love poetry.<sup>26</sup> This is the reason why so many literary critics have done its comparative study with other literary masterpieces in the world.

#### NOTES AND REFERENCES

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