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Editorial

Editorial

We are pleased to announce the publication of the 22nd issue of *Insight Islamicus*, the annual journal published by our Institute. This issue contains eleven research articles and one book review. We are optimistic that our readers will be greatly benefited by the proficient body of work contained in this issue, characterized by authentic scholarship, depth of learning, and originality of thought. The content of this volume is divided into four sections. Section first consists of three papers deliberating upon the spiritual dimension of Islam. While highlighting some fundamental concepts and components of Islamic spirituality it also explains the significance and relevance of Islamic spiritual teachings to promote peace and tranquility in human lives without any discrimination. Section two deals with the two most important aspects of Islamic sciences: *Hadīth* (traditions of the Prophet ﷺ) and *Fiqh* (Islamic jurisprudence), covering the contribution of some prominent contemporary scholars to the Hadith and Fiqh. The third section expounds modernity, reform, and revival of Muslim thought in the Muslim world which include Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan's contribution to Muslim modernist thought, reform and revival in Islam and the intellectual growth of Iranian society under the Pahlavi dynasty and its impact on socio-cultural legacy of modern Iran. The fourth section deals with the aesthetic and ethical aspects of Islam with an explicit description of the art and architecture of Islamic civilization in general and the architecture under the Ottoman Empire in particular, as well as the ethical precepts propounded by Islam for the preservation and protection of the environment.

In the first article of this volume, Dr. Rafique Anjum outlines the biography and the notable contribution of Maulana Wahiduddin Khan in the

development of peace and spirituality. Deep insights regarding his early life, education, achievements, and thought form the core of this paper. The author portrays Maulana as a prolific writer, creative thinker, philosopher, scientific theologian, and a modernist reformer with the mission to prove Islam as the only religion capable of filling the ideological (and spiritual) vacuum in the modern world. Sumeera Nisar in her research paper explores the Sufi thought of Maulana Ashraf Ali Thānwi. The article introduces the discipline of *Taṣawwuf* / Sufism as a core area of Islamic scientific legacy and as a field marked by diverse discourses. In the rest of the paper scholarly description of the understanding and assessment of *Taṣawwuf* / Sufism is highlighted in light of Maulana Thanwi's works. In this section a third article contributed by Dr. Shahida Bilquees judiciously brings to fore the concepts associated with Islamic Spirituality. In an engrossing manner, the summary of major spiritual concepts like *nafs, tadabbur, tazkiyah, dhikr, ṣidq, mujāhadah, taqwā, shukr, ma'rifah,* and *tawbah* is presented. Furthermore, it has been observed that the idea of Islamic spirituality has remained the pivot of human thought and actions across the dimensions of space and time.

The second section begins with the article of Sheraz Ahmad Mir in which he presents an analytical and balanced assessment of *Ḥadīth* studies as given in the works of Muḥammad Muṣṭafa al-A'ẓami. He coherently summarizes the major contributions of al-A'ẓami in this field in light of his works. The main theme of his paper revolves around al-A'ẓami's critical response to various Orientalist claims on the documentation and preservation of *ḥadīth* in the first two centuries after *Hijrah*. Ishfaq Amin Parrey in his article deals with a highly technical science of *Uṣūl al-Fiqh* in which the author critically examines the legal thought of Muḥammad al-Tahir ibn al-Āshūr who is underlined as one of the most profound legal theorists and *mufassirūn* of the

modern times. Besides referring to multi-dimensional aspects of *Usul*, an effort has been made to introduce a nuanced and multifaceted reading of one of the key and highly fundamental concepts of Islamic Legal theory, i.e. *Maqāṣid al-Sharīʿah*.

In the third section of this issue Dr. Saima Mohiuddin Trumboo embarks upon an intellectual portrayal of the responses and reception of modernity by the Muslim scholars with special focus on the contribution of Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan. The author argues that Muslim response to modernity is usually classified into two distinct branches: (i) the fundamentalist/traditionalist and (ii) the reformist/modernist. Various facets of the life and works of Sir Sayyid are analyzed and explored in detail and conceptualization of modernity in his thought is presented before the readers objectively and extensively. Muhammad Shafi Bhat in his paper examines the concept of reform in Islam vis-à-vis its historical developments. The author critically evaluates the meaning and interpretation of reform as understood by the Muslim scholars through the primary texts of Islam and also gives a lucid description of related terms like *Iṣlāḥ* and *Tajdīd* in the Islamic Tradition. It is believed that reform in Islam is primarily associated with renewed interpretations of Islamic texts as necessitated by changing time and circumstances. The last article in this section is jointly written by Sayed Aaqib Qadri and Shakeel Ahmad Wani. This paper carefully unpacks the ostensible developments that marked the intellectual environment in Iran during the rule of the Pahlavi dynasty. The intellectual heritage of this era, the influences that drove them and its implications in the shaping the modern Iranian mind and vision form the subject matter for discussion in this article.

In the first article of the final section of this issue, Dr. Burhan Rashid delves deep into the explanation of the most important aspect of generosity, namely, *al-ithār* (altruism), in the light of the Quran and Hadith. The author defines

al-ithār in both literal and technical terms, and then discusses some of its virtues and excellences, as well as its various levels/aspects. He also provides examples from the lives of the Prophet and his Companions to illustrate their acts of charity and altruism. The next article of this section is from Dr. Nasir Nabi in which he discusses an important aspect of Islamic civilization, namely the Muslim art and architecture during the Ottoman Empire. After providing a historical account of the cultural and social interactions between Greco-Roman and Levantine countries with special focus on art and architecture, the author critically narrates Muslim architecture under the Ottoman Empire. Furthermore, an effort has been made to refer to various factors that led to its development and its subsequent influences and impacts. Main focus of the paper is to introduce the readers to the building styles, structures, and functions of kulliye (Complex), *darusshifa* (hospital), *madrasa* (educational institutes), mosques, *hammam* (public bath), government offices, *turbe* (mausoleum), and a variety of other public functional buildings in the Ottoman Muslim society. However, owning to the fact that the article is divided into two parts of which only first part has been published in this issue, it is likely to be concluded in the next issue of this journal. The next paper is a joint contribution of Dr. Bilal Ahmad Wani, Shakeel Ahmad Wani, and Sayed Aaqib Qadri. The paper highlights the comprehensive ethical paradigm enshrined in Islam and outlines how it can play a major role in the protection and conservation of our environment. In this theoretical study, Islamic principles and teachings are shown to be directed not only to the Muslims but to the human race in its entirety. Throughout the paper, the discourse emphasizes the sanctity and sacredness of nature and environment and the need to look after natural resources, including the protection of animal and plant life.

The issue concludes with a book review of "*Towards Islamic English*" by Zeeshan Ahmad Sheikh. The work is authored by Ismail Raji al-Faruqi highlighting three important questions: Who are the Muslim users of English? What is nature of the distortion claimed to exist? And what is the desired rectification? This detailed review of the book provides sufficient understanding and idea of the discourse that al-Faruqi has initiated vis-à-vis the above three questions and its relevance for the students and scholars of the discipline of Islamic Studies.

Finally, we extend our heartfelt gratitude and sincere appreciation to all our esteemed authors. We are optimistic that their valuable, insightful, and highly engaging contributions will be of interest to researchers throughout the globe. We are also deeply thankful to Dr. Burhan Rashid for designing and proof reading the contents of this volume.

Editors

Maulana Wahiduddin Khan: The Ideologue of Peace and Spirituality

Dr. Rafique Anjum*

ABSTRACT

Maulana Wahiduddin Khan (1925-2021) was a noted Indian Islamic scholar, scholastic theologian, philosopher and peace activist. He had authored over 200 books on Islam, including Mazhab aur Jadeed Challenge, Prophet of Revolution, Tazkeerul Quran, Islam the Creator of Modern age, Prophetic Wisdom, Islam Rediscovered, Jihad, Peace and Inter-Community Relations in Islam and The Ideology of Peace. He received many national and international awards in recognition of his contribution to world peace including the 'Demiurgus Peace International Award'; the 'National Amity Award', 'Padma Bhushan' and Padma Vibhushan (2021). He was also awarded the title of 'Ambassador of Peace' by the International Federation for World Peace, Korea. In 2015, he was conferred with 'Sayyidina Imam al-Hassan ibn Ali Memorial Peace Award' by the 'Forum for Promoting Peace in Muslim Societies' in Abu Dhabi (UAE), in recognition of his contribution to world peace particularly promoting peace in Muslim societies.

1.1 INTRODUCTION

Maulana Wahiduddin Khan (1925-2021) was one of the leading Indian Islamic scholars of modern times, recognized worldwide for his scholarship and his commitment to the cause of Islamic revival and reform. Later in life he had grown into a multifaceted personality with deep knowledge of science and western philosophy in addition to Islamic sciences. His strong conviction, exemplary perseverance and clarity of vision are unparalleled in contemporary Islamic thought.

Maulana Wahiduddin Khan developed his own understanding of Islam and its place in the modern world. Although the Muslims of India are his primary focus, and the development of his thought must be located in the specific Indian context, Maulana seeks to address the Muslim Ummah as a whole. Maulana appeared on the intellectual scene of subcontinent in post-partition era. The history of Islamic

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reformist thought in the latter half of twentieth and early 21st century can't be complete without a comprehensive account of Maulana's ideas and endeavors.

His prominent senior contemporaries included Allama Sir Mohammad Iqbal, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, Maulana Abul Aala Mawdudi, and Abul Hassan Ali Nadvi. Though a sizeable literature has been produced on the life, works and ideologies of these stalwarts, little is available in written form about Maulana's reformist and revivalist efforts barring a few polemics. His modernist approach and rediscovery of Islam from its original sources has not been taken well by his contemporaries and many have criticized him. The criticism has to be balanced by recognizing his contributions as a revivalist and reformist particularly his ideas of Peace, Dawah and Akhirat orientation as essential teachings of Islam. Some literature on the life and thought of Maulana Wahiduddin Khan though scanty exists in English and Arabic languages and it was in fact through these languages that he got introduced to outer world.

In this backdrop it is imperative to take an objective look at the thought and mission of Maulana Wahiduddin Khan in present times, to highlight his real contributions to modern Islamic thought.

Maulana Wahiduddin Khan has written on varied topics. In fact, there is hardly any aspect of Islam on which he has not written something; from theology to science, Islamic sciences to contemporary issues and modern legal issues in Islam to ethical and moral teachings of Islam; each has found a mention in Maulana's writings. The present work is an attempt to classify and summarize his 'Islamic Thought 'expressed in over 200 books on different aspects of Islam.

Since Maulana has authored over 200 volumes on the subject of 'Islam in the Modern world', the present write-up deals with major themes in his writings, elucidation of some of his selected works and exploration of his real contributions to the contemporary Islamic thought. The fields of his special interest including particularly the scientific theology, world peace, Dawah, Spirituality and a change of paradigm from emotional reactions to reasoned response have been focused upon.

1.2 Islamic Thought in India in Early 20th Century

Coming to terms with new challenges has always been a matter of serious concern in all ages for Muslim scholars; and over the centuries they have responded positively to their fullest capability in their respective ages.

The Divine messages throughout the centuries came to reform human understanding, and Messengers were sent as "Muslihun" [reformers], those who bring good, reconcile human beings with the divine, and reform their societies for the better.[1]

The latter half of twentieth century witnessed reformers like Mawlana Sayyid Abul-Ala Mawdudi (1903-1979) and Maulana Sayyid Abul Hassan Ali Nadwi (1913-1999) popularly known as Ali Miyan Nadwi. Both of them were personally pious and prolific writers who, through their writings provided ideological foundations to the contemporary Islamic revivalist thought. They formulated specific responses to the challenges facing Muslim Ummah in general and Indian Muslims in particular. Their contributions in defending Islam against onslaught of western materialistic civilization and the ideologies like Marxism and Communism are laudable. Though revival and reform were the common goals for both of them; they differed in their approaches. Another significant revivalist, reformist and modernist voice of the post-independence India, often overlooked is that of Maulana Wahiduddin Khan (1925-2021), who developed an independent understanding of Islam, capable of solving a host of contemporary problems facing Muslim Ummah.

Mawlana Sayyid Abul Ala Mawdudi considered it essential to reinstate Islam as a political system. It is here that Mawlana Ali Miyan Nadwi and Maulana Wahiduddin Khan parted ways with Maulana Mawdudi. Both of them stress on individual reform to bring about durable and sustainable social changes. According to Nadwi, "The Prophets used to transform men from inside, they emphasized the change in attitudes and perspective of men rather than change of system (Nizam).[2]

It may be of interest to note that despite difference in methodology almost all the Muslim scholars in 20th century remain united in rejecting communism and Marxism as a sociopolitical ideology.

1.3 Early Life and Education

The sociopolitical environ in post-partition India was deteriorating when Maulana Wahiduddin Khan appeared on the Muslim intellectual scene. Maulana, born and brought up in a serene rural atmosphere of rural India, got his early education under Farahi-Islahi school of thought and acquired modern knowledge of English, science and history on his own. He was thus not inclined to a particular tradition and was free to contemplate on the situation and formulate his own response suited to the

Indian conditions in particular and practicable for Muslim ummah in general. It is in this backdrop that his philosophy and religious thought needs to be studied and evaluated as he often boldly claims that 'he is not an extension of any particular ideology or ideologue'.[3]

After Madrasa education, he realized its inadequacy to face the modern world. In search of truth, Maulana Wahiduddin Khan was first attracted to Maulana Mawdudi's forceful and logical presentation of Islamic literature before the world in a systemic manner and its positive impact on Indian youth but Jama'at e Islami's political solution to problems of Indian Muslims, disappointed Maulana Wahiduddin Khan. He now found some solace in Tablighi Jama'at a reformation movement of Indian Muslims that stressed on Akhirat oriented life showing little concern for temporal issues. Soon, Maulana realized that their formulation suits a particular stratum of Muslim society having no fodder for intellectual growth and logical thinking. It is here, that Maulana Wahiduddin Khan started his independent original thinking which led him to the present stature and eminence.

When he turns to Quran for guidance, his gaze is fixed on his favorite and oft quoted Hudaibya Pact; contemplates its universal relevance and he finds the solution for Indian Muslims living in a pluralistic society.

As rightly analyzed by Yoginder Sikand:

"Maulana Wahiduddin Khan has developed his own, in some respects, unique, understanding of Islam and its place in the modern world. He suggests Indian Muslims how to create a balance between their conflicting loyalties to the state, on the one hand, and to their religion, on the other. Although the Muslims of India are Maulana's primary focus, and the development of his own thought must be located in the specific Indian context, He seeks to address the Muslim ummah as a whole.[4]

Al-Risala forms the back bone of Maulana's thought and mission. Small one-page articles of Maulana in simple lucid persuasive and epiphany style fortified with scientific references and vivid presentation are sufficient to tie down readers. An uninterrupted stream of such lessons over last forty years from Maulana's pen have definitely impressed and guided young Indian minds and have spilled over beyond borders. It may be important to note that most of the books by Maulana are in fact collection of Maulana's articles relevant to a particular subject, already published in different issues of Al-Risala.

Major Themes in Maulana's Thought:

Scientific Theology, Peace and Dawah, Islam in the Contemporary world, Revival and Reform in Islam, Islamic Studies: Need for Ijtihad, Indian Muslims: Need for Reform, Woman in Islam, Spirituality and Philosophy of Life.

Maulana Wahiduddin Khan's interest particularly lay in Science and Islam, and his first detailed book on a particular subject was "Mazhab aur Jadid Challenge" published in 1966, translated into English as God Arises and into Arabic as Al-Islam Yatahada that is included in syllabi of many gulf universities. Acclaimed as Maulana's one of the best books it not only explained the compatibility of science and religion but it also dispels and clarifies the doubts in western educated minds particularly the question of God as Creator of Universe; who manages the delicate and calculated balance between heavenly bodies and finally will bring an end to the cosmos as predicted in all divine revelations.

He places Islamic Dawah as the supreme responsibility of every Muslim which of course, needs a peaceful environment. According to Maulana the responsibility of creation of a peaceful environment thus lies on Muslims as dais of Islam and they should go extra mile in establishing peace and making bridges with other communities and nations. He is a strong advocate of world peace and interfaith dialogue. In this connection he has travelled extensively in India and around the globe involving with different world peace organizations and religious groups.

Maulana is particularly critical of such ideologies as Marxism, socialism, communism, and materialism, and have written several books on these subjects. He is equally critical of Muslims for not taking to modern education, science, and technology that has left them far behind the world nations while they were supposed to be the world leaders in this world and the hereafter. Whereas he is critical of the Godless materialistic, philosophy of the West; he is equally appreciative of their advancement in fields of research, science and technology. He impresses upon Muslims not only to benefit from scientific achievements but to be a part of research teams. Maulana Wahiduddin Khan's writings are concerned to present Islam as a comprehensive world view and the only ideology that can fill the vacuum of future world.

Another area of his scholarly achievements is exegesis of holy Quran titled Tazkeerul Quran distinguished from other exegetic literature by its particular

reminder and warning aspect of Quranic teachings as the name itself implies. It focuses itself on the creation plan of God that needs to be conveyed to each and every individual on earth irrespective of outcome or impact-only as a responsibility of a member of Muslim ummah of the last Holy Prophetﷺ. The exegesis deliberately avoids legal aspect of Quranic teachings.

Maulana has penned down several books on Islamic studies i.e. Tafseer, Seerah, Hadith, Kalam, fiqh and tasawwuf and particularly on Islam in contemporary world, condemning the Muslim practice of clinging to the past and not giving due place to exercise of ijtihad; that only can solve most of their problems. On the issue of ijtihad, he stresses for reinterpretation primary texts and re-application of Quranic principles to find answers to modern challenges. Having come to the conclusion that the need of the hour was to present Islamic teachings in the style and language of the present day, Maulana has written over 200 books on Islam. 5

A Significant work of Maulana Wahiduddin Khan regarding the Ideology of Peace: 'Prophet of Peace'

It is one of the important books by Maulana on the theme of Islam and peace in the modern world. The book first published by Penguin Books, India in 2009; consists of 29 small chapters on subjects relating to Islam, peace, Ijtihad, and terrorism.

The "Prophet of Peace" deals with the main events associated with life of Holy Prophet relating to Jihad, Ijtihad, the concept and ethics of war and the dealings with other religious communities. Maulana further argues that it is lack of exercise of Ijtihad that has led the dynamism of Islam into stagnant ritualism.

Maulana, drawing lessons from the Quran and the Sunnah of Holy Prophet of Islam ﷺ, proves that 'in Islam, peace is the rule and war only a rare exception'. He demonstrates that Islam allows only defensive wars and that denial of justice is no justification for aggression. Maulana believes that armed struggle against Muslim rulers in the name of jihad is unjustified and the act of suicide bombing is un-Islamic.

Quoting extensively from Quran and Hadith, Maulana illustrates the Islamic view of modernity, democracy, secularism, freedom of speech and the relevance and scope of the Islamic values in the modern age. Maulana clarifies that Islam as revealed in the Quran is not anti-modernity nor does it advocate violence. He recommends that ideology of violence, prevalent around the globe, cannot be countered by guns and bombs but only with the alternative ideology of peace.

The political interpretation of Islam in recent past has hijacked the basic peaceful ideology of Islam and taken to extremism that has in fact nothing to do with Islam.

The misplaced priorities with Muslim thinkers and ideologues, according to Maulana have led the Muslim Ummah to present mess. The foremost duty of Muslims was to spread the message of God but they are engaged in non-missionary activities with missionary spirit.

According to Maulana, there is presently an ideological vacuum in the world that can only be filled by Islam; and the Muslims having lost their political empire can still avail the opportunity and build a 'Dawah Empire'. The Maulana believes that Muslims should come out of the shell of past and channelize their energies in fields like education, science and technology, industry and above all the Dawah work for which this ummah was in fact raised.

Further he advises Muslims not to treat western nations as their enemies. Rather, they should acknowledge the contributions of west to humanity in the form of advancements in the fields of knowledge, science and technology, social sciences and modern political values like, democracy, secularism and human rights. Still if they have any differences these should be met at intellectual level and not through violence.

Though Maulana has written extensively on subject of Peace and Islam and there are, half a dozen more books on same subject; the 'Prophet of Peace' is unique in the sense that it summarizes Maulana's ideology on many more related topics like, sectarianism, modernity, blasphemy and eschatology. Overall the book is a summary of Maulana's ideology of Peace and Dawah.

1.4 Views of Maulana on Important Issues: Peace, Harmony and Coexistence

Maulana considers Jihad as a peaceful ideological struggle and explains the same in his preface to Tazkirul Quran as:

> Those who are introduced to the Quran only through media, generally have the impression that the Quran is a book of jihad, and jihad to them is an attempt to achieve one's goal by means of violence. Anyone who reads the Quran for himself is soon relieved of this misunderstanding and will easily appreciate that its message has nothing to do with violence.

The Quran; in fact, promulgates peace throughout its textual messages. It is true that jihad is one of the teachings of Quran. But Jihad taken in its correct sense is the name of peaceful struggle; rather than any kind of violent action. Obviously, he Quran is not a weapon but a book which gives us an introduction to the divine ideology of peaceful struggle.[6]

Islam is a religion of peace in the fullest sense of the word. Quran calls its way 'the path of peace'[7]; it describes reconciliation as the best policy;[8] and states that God abhors any disturbance of the peace.[9] It is no exaggeration to say that Islam and violence are contradictory terms. The fact that violence is not sustainable in the present world is sufficient indication that violence as a principle is quite alien to the scheme of things in Islam. Islam claims to be an eternal religion and as such could never afford to uphold a principle which couldn't stand the test of time. Islamic terrorism as such is a contradiction in terms much like pacifist terrorism. Islam is a religion of peace in the fullest sense of the word.[10]

The word Jihad in terms of war or war tactics forms one of the major obligatory duties on Muslim ummah with precedence in the early period of Islam and unequivocal predictions of its lasting value till the Day of Judgment. It also finds favor with traditional ulama and political ideologues, many of whom exploit it for political gains rather than upholding and propagating the word of Allah.

Muhammad Hamidullah explains the truth about war in Islam: 'The life of Prophet Muhammad provides references to only three kinds of wars; defensive, punitive and preventive".[11] Maulana contends that Islam is a non-violent religion; violence or armed struggle is only an exception to this rule. Maulana points out a subtle distinction and clarifies that ultimate aim of Islam is to spread the word of God and not the establishment of political empire as being attempted unsuccessfully throughout the world for couple of centuries.

Maulana Wahiduddin Khan takes the term jihad in literal meaning of struggle for spreading the divine message to the remotest corner of the word. He argues that it is just possible to achieve this goal utilizing the modern advancements in the field of science and technology.

Muslims all over the world are said to be engaged in violence whether active or passive. According to Maulana, just thinking in extremist terms may be described as passive violence while adopting the gun culture may be described active violence.

This phenomenon pertains to Muslim practices and has nothing to do with Islamic teachings. Jihad literally means 'utmost struggle'.[12] The true interpretation of this word is 'a peaceful struggle for the dissemination of the message of God to mankind.'[13]

On the concept of peace, tolerance and non-violence in Islam, Maulana, Summarize his view point as:

> It is no exaggeration to say that Islam and violence are contradictory to each other. The concept of Islamic violence is so unfounded that that prima facie it stands rejected. The fact that violence is not sustainable in the present world is sufficient indication that violence as a principle is quite alien to the scheme of things in Islam. Islam claims to be an eternal religion and as such, could not uphold any principle which could not stand up to the test of time. Any attempt to bracket violence with Islam amounts, therefore, to casting doubt upon the very eternity of the Islamic religion. Islamic terrorism is a contradiction in terms, much like 'pacifist' activism. And the truth of the fact is that, all the teachings of Islam are based directly or indirectly on the principle of Peace.[14]

Talking about suicide bombing, Maulana observes:

> 'Suicide is held illegal in all religions and legal systems of the world. There is a tradition of the prophet of Islam according to which one who committed suicide would have to face eternal hell. He further declares: The truth of the matter is that suicide is totally forbidden (*haram*) in Islam.[15]

1.4.1   Peace

The peace spirituality and Dawah are the values that occupied a place very close to the heart of Maulana. These in fact form the very core of his religious philosophy. Peace according to Maulana is the essential law of nature encompassing the whole known universe and is imbedded in the very nature of man. According to Maulana, 'Peace is a rule and war only a rare exception in Islam.' He describes peace as the greatest good or summum bonum which is an end itself and at the same time contains all other goods and no negative results. Most people hold that freedom is the greatest good but that can't be so described. The unchecked freedom leads to anarchy, with all its attendant problems. Peace brings normalcy. That is the best thing about it, for all developments and progress can take place only in a normal atmosphere.

The 'World Peace' is one of Maulana's major concerns. He has written many volumes on the subject including: 'The True Jihad', Islam and Peace, The ideology of Peace, the Prophet of Peace: Teachings of the Prophet Muhammad, Jihad, Peace & Inter-community Relations in Islam, a Manifesto of Peace, and age of Peace etc.

Drawing on original sources of Islam, Maulana has devised a pacifist ideology of Islam for world peace. He believes that it can be achieved through individual reform by making man spiritually conscious of his status. Towards this end he established a CPS in 2001 at Delhi which undertakes various spiritual and missionary dawah activities at international level. He denounces the political interpretation of Islam that has, according to him, defamed Islam and has proved futile, counterproductive and rather a mirage for beleaguered Muslims all over the world 16. Whereas the whole world puts justice as a precondition for peace, Maulana differs on the subject with valid arguments. He advocates 'Peace for Normalcy and Dawah' not for justice. E.g. the constitution of I.L.O (The International Labor Organization) affirms that: "Universal and lasting peace can be established only if it is based on social justice"

But this assumption is unrealistic according to Maulana. Peace is not desirable for the sake of justice but for the sake of normalcy. Setting justice as a precondition for peace is unnatural according to Maulana. The correct approach he suggests is first of all to establish peace on a unilateral basis. The fact is that in this world one can have only a working justice but not the ideal justice. Working justice is possible in all situations whereas ideal justice is not. Maulana concludes that peace can be achieved by the acceptance of status quo or 'qana'at' (Contentment) in Islamic terms. Through peace the opportunities open up and it is by availing these opportunities that justice can be achieved.

The peace can be attained only on a unilateral basis, without confrontation with others. But when we want to establish social justice and human rights, it becomes a bilateral issue because we have to fight other groups that we think are responsible for injustice and violation of human rights. Therefore, peace for social justice is not a practicable formula. The only workable formula is peace for normalcy. Normalcy gives us the opportunity to achieve our goal through wise planning. One example of this peace strategy is Hudaibyah treaty entered into by prophet of Islam in 628CE. This entailed the prophet having to agree to all of the conditions laid down by his opponents. That has a universal and eternal relevance.[17]

1.4.2   Spirituality

Maulana Wahiduddin Khan with a God given clarity of vision addresses all contemporary issues facing modern world. Materialistic life style has almost turned the common man blind to religious values and his failure to look and think beyond daily requirements. In such a scenario Maulana comes up with spirituality as a panacea for all ailments of modernity right from erosion of ethical values, immoral life style, materialistic leanings and atheistic notions. But his concept of spirituality is not something elitist property. It is open to achievement by common man unlike church and priesthood in other religions or hierarchy of Sufism among Muslims.

It is a sort of democratizing of Spirituality in contrast to conventional ways of Sufism. We can thus infer that the spirituality propounded, practiced and propagated by Maulana has its firm foundations in Quran itself, is based on Contemplations (tadabbur, tafakkur and tawassum), having nothing mysterious and is democratic in nature in contrast to ecstasy and meditation based conventional hierarchical system of Tasawwuf.[18]

1.5 Islam and the West

It is an undisputable fact that many political and economic policies of west are detrimental to the collective good of Muslims; but in reality, this has nothing to do with any enmity towards Islam. According to Maulana the hadith which mentions Dajjal appearing close to doomsday is doubtless correct but certainly it doesn't apply to modern western civilization.

Another hadith of the prophet predicts that close to the doomsday the message of Islam will enter every hut or mansion (Idkhal e kalima). This in fact has been made possible in the modern world, truly speaking only with the help of west. The pre-conditions for Idkhal e kalima include a system of global communication, complete religious freedom, unbounded resources, free enquiry into knowledge including religious, and all these factors are now a reality –thanks to the west. It has thus produced all the means and resources essential to the successful carrying out of Islamic dawah, all over the world. Further it is west that scientifically unraveled the nature's secrets, testifying to the veracity of the Quran: "We will show them our signs in the universe, and in their own-selves, until it becomes manifest to them that this is the truth."[19]

1.6 Religious Pluralism and Inter-Community Relations

Maulana is among the few Indian 'ulama to have taken seriously the issue of pluralism and inter-community relations, free from the polemics and negative stereotypes that generally characterize the response of many Muslims to people of other faiths. He insists that Muslims must come out of their paranoia or 'persecution complex' and separatist mentality[20] search for opportunities that exist despite the odds that seem to weigh heavily against them; they should be guided by pragmatic considerations rather than by a misplaced idealism.

According to Maulana, Muslims must turn to internal reform rather than seeking external solutions to their problems through conflict with the state or with the dominant Hindus. It in his view needs to be attempted through the path of construction rather than confrontation. Maulana writes that the Muslims of India today find themselves in a position similar to that of the Prophet and his followers in Makkah, when the nascent Muslim community was small and relatively powerless. Just as the Prophet, at this stage, concerned himself only with peaceful preaching, so too must the Muslims of India eschew all confrontation with others and, instead, seek to win them over through dialogue and peaceful propagation of Islam.[21]

What is required, then, is a contextual reading of the Qur'an and the Prophetic tradition, the Makkan model providing the basic source of inspiration for Muslims today.[22]

It is only by 'proving their usefulness' to society as a whole that others would not only come to regard Muslims as valuable allies, but would also appreciate Islam as a religious option. Muslims should be able to contribute their services to society and transform themselves from the status of 'takers' to that of 'givers'.23

Based on Prophetic Hadith ' خير الناس من ينفع الناس'[24] on the same subject, Maulana advises Muslims to become givers not takers as they were in the first phase of History of Islam.

One of the ironies of this era is that although the means of communication have greatly advanced, people still have difficulty in a meaningful communication and dialogue with other cultures and religions. There is a lot of misinformation and misunderstanding of the Islamic faith. It is essential that Muslims be judged in the

light of Islamic ideals; Islam should not be judged in the light of what Muslims do in the name of Islam. 25

Religious differences have always existed between people. That is why the history of dialogue is also as old as that of mankind. Drawing lessons from the life of Prophet (ﷺ) of Islam we come across the events of Hudaibya and the 'Mithaq e Madina' or the first written constitution of the world. This was the first religious conference involving religious issues involving Jews, Christians and Muslims-in modern terms-a trialogue to exchange views.

1.7 Muslims in the Contemporary World

About the predicament of contemporary Muslim world, Maulana is of the view they are in a mess of their own making. They have forgotten the lessons of history and the repeated warnings of Holy Quran. The Quran clearly mentions: "Nothing befalls man but is the earning of his own hands"[26] Muslims according to Maulana have forgotten their primary role of dawah as an extention of prophetic mission after Khatm a nabuwwat; and thus, lost the divine protection that is promised and preconditioned with dawa work. Quran says that if they don't perform their assigned duty Allah may bring another people in their place as is evident from many examples from world history quoted in holy Quran.[27]

The Holy Quran further says that Allah destroys one nation at the hands of other and if that is not done the world will be full of fasad or disorder.[28]

Maulana expresses surprise that contemporary Muslims see hands of east or west in their decline and destruction but fail to perceive the Hand of Almighty Allah as admonishment for dereliction of their pledged role of Dawah. Wheras Muslims as best people khairul ummah [29] were supposed to tell the whole world (shahadah alannas) that they should struggle for an ideal world (Jannah) in the after-life; they are themselves busy with the materialistic pursuits of the present world ignoring the assigned job.[30]

Maulana further explains that, the contemporary materialistic world is passing through a spiritual vacuum that can only be filled by Islam if presented in its purest and pristine form. Whereas the scope of Islam is increasing with each passing day-the Muslims have lost their utility and are being punished at the hand of other nations. Here he seems to be in line with the teachings of Tablighi Jama'at and the concept of the (baqaayeanfaa) by Maulana Azad.[31] According to Maulana the

establishment of Muslim states in this world is not the primary goal of Islam, and Muslims by engaging themselves in armed struggles for such a cause are doing more harm to Islam than any real service. Muslims by doing so are only increasing their nuisance value instead of the traditional usefulness of Muslims prescribed and preached by Quran and Hadith.[32] The same concept we come across in pages of Azad's book Quran ka Qanun e Urooj o zawal describing the principle of order and disorder in the world. The present hardships faced by Muslim world are a warning and final call by Almighty Allah, for them to take heed and return to the role of dawah if they wish to avail of His blessings in this world and the hereafter.

Maulana Wahiduddin Khan makes a clear distinction between cause of Islam and the cause of Muslims. According to Allah's Sunnah, the cause of Muslims is served naturally and automatically, once they engage themselves with serving the cause of Islam through spreading the word of God and explaining his plan of creating this world to the whole humanity. But the Muslims to everybody's surprise seek to safeguard their individual, organizational and national interests in the name of serving Islam. This paradox in essence of Islam and praxis of Muslims is preventing other nations from approaching Islam with a clear vision, necessary for accepting the higher values of essential Islam.

1.8 Priorities in Islam: Dawah First

On political decline of Muslims in the contemporary world, Maulana is of the opinion that it is all because of dereliction of their duty as dais of Islam and subsequent moral decay that they have landed in present mess. They have made political interpretations of Islam and are busy in conflicts for establishment of political states instead of Dawah work. Dawah in fact is placed as topmost priority in Maulana's scheme of thought.

Ijtihad: Reinterpretation and reapplication of Islamic Texts

Maulana Wahiduddin Khan is a strong advocate of ijtihad and refuses to accept that doors of ijtihad have been closed. He is for reinterpretation of primary Islamic texts to find answers to the new challenges. For example, he agrees with Asghar Ali Engineer and Javed Ahmed Ghamidi that the very spirit of Islam is democratic and modern values like Democracy and secularism have grown out of Islamic texts through efforts of western scholars. These realities according to Maulana, though not ideal in their present form, need to be availed of rather than frowned upon.

1.9 Pragmatism and Paradigm Shift

According to Maulana Wahiduddin Khan, religious pluralism is the reality of modern life and Muslims should learn to live in peace and maintain intercommunity relations with fellow citizens, in the larger interest of Ummah. He advocates dialogue in place of debates of the past.

In case of disagreements and conflict he suggests scientific analysis and reasoned response to the problems instead of emotional violent reactions and road activism. This is the ideology he has been propagating over past midcentury through his Al-Risala movement with encouraging results. His response to voices for application of Common Civil Code in India is a bright example of reasoned response appreciated even by stalwarts like Ali Mian Nadwi.

Maulana Wahiduddin Khan is a realist who always talks of pragmatism. Rather than struggling for political positions he stresses upon his fellow religionists to engage themselves in missionary efforts and try to build Islamic societies. He is rather for individual reform and Akhirat oriented life.

1.10 Spirituality in Islam

Spirituality is an established way of controlling the onslaught of modern materialistic ways of life in almost all religions. But the methodologies adopted often conflict with the basic teachings of religion. The spirituality propounded practiced and preached by Maulana Wahiduddin Khan is unique in the sense that it has firm foundations in Quran itself, in terms like tadabbur and taffakur.

Further there is democratization of spirituality and anyone through mind based focused study of Quran and nature can experience the divine presence; unlike a ecstasy or asceticism based hierarchical system of conventional Sufism.

1.11 Conclusion

Maulana Wahiduddin Khan was a prolific writer who has produced a sizeable body of Islamic literature in recent times. Maulana Wahiduddin Khan appeared on the Indian intellectual scene, strictly speaking, in the post-partition era. It was the experience of developments in early part of 20th century that made Wahiduddin Khan what he is today. He analyzed the causes of Muslim decline and could very well visualize the future situation. Reading inadequacies in the response of his contemporaries to modern developments; he undertook to formulate his own

response suited to new situations; based on positive thinking and scientific temperament. Through his self-study of modern subjects; he is fully convinced that the only way to rehabilitate Muslims is to provide them with the weapon of modern education.

Maulana Wahiduddin Khan, a creative thinker, a philosophical and scientific theologian and a modernist reformer was of the opinion that there is a need for Muslims to take to primary Islamic texts for guidance on response to modern challenges. That will not only revive the original Islam but will also change their outlook to modern world; he asserted.

Like Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan and Muhammad Abduh, he calls for a bold new theology or reinterpretation of Islam and acceptance not rejection of best in the west. In his revivalist efforts he wants to show that through his rediscovery, he was reclaiming the original Islam that God disclosed through His last Prophetﷺ; not the one that evolved over the centuries of explanations and ambiguous commentaries in period of philosophical and juristic discussions. Like Sir Sayyid Ahmed Khan, and the Egypt reformer, Muhammad Abduh he has a strong conviction about compatibility of Islam with scientific thought. He doesn't stop just here; in fact, he exhorts Muslims to exploit the modern developments of science and technology, particularly the ways of communication, in favor of Islam for its peaceful propagation to the remotest corner of the globe.

It seems pertinent to quote a summary of Maulana's own words that conclude his mission:

> For last forty years (now 60), I have been serving Islam. I have always concentrated on Tawheed, the validity of Islam as the only acceptable religion, the infallibility of Quran as a book of Guidance and the Prophet of Islam as an ideal and eternal guide for the whole mankind; along with proving polytheism as an unscientific ideology. In brief my mission is to prove logically and scientifically that all man-made-isms are false and Islam is the only religion that can fill the ideological vacuum in modern world.[33]

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The Ṣūfī Thought of Mawlānā Ashraf ‘Alī Thānvī

Sumeera Nisar[*]

ABSTRACT

Islam has its own way and system of redefining concepts and giving them new meanings. It is identified by rigorous study and examination executed after taking into consideration the improvement in knowledge with the evolved comprehension of the Quran, Hadith, agreement of the recognized imams, besides the principles of reason and intellection. This system of rethinking and redefining is spread across all branches of Islamic scientology like Tafsīr, theology, fiqh, taṣawwuf, philosophy, and socio-political thought. One core area of this scientific legacy is the discipline of *taṣawwuf*, a field marked by diverse discourses all focusing on outlining its proper conception and nuanced application. As a multitude of Muslim scholars have endeavored to describe *taṣawwuf*, in this paper we shall attempt to present the understandings and assessments of Sufism by one such scholar from the Indian subcontinent namely Mawlānā Ashraf ‘Alī Thānvī.

Keywords: *Taṣawwuf*, Sufi Thought, *Tazkiyah*, *Ihsān*.

1.1 Classical Understanding of *Taṣawwuf*

It's imperative to have a concise look at the definitions of *taṣawwuf* as articulated by its various classical masters to get an overall idea about its conventional understanding before evaluating its concept as promoted and understood by Mawlānā Thānvī. The upholders of *taṣawwuf* have described it from different perspectives. Abū al-Qāsim al-Junayd (d. 910) is one of the most outstanding personalities from the early phase of *taṣawwuf* and is acknowledged as the architect of the Baghdad or Iraqi school of Sufism.[1] When inquired about his perception of *taṣawwuf*, he responded that it is "the Truth that turns you lifeless from yourself and makes you alive through Allāh." Furthermore, "it is that you stay with Allāh devoid of whichever affiliation other than Him."[2]

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Abū Muḥammad Ruwaym b. Aḥmad (d. 915-16 CE) said, "It is better for you to stay in companionship with whichever group of people, instead of staying in companionship with the sūfīs."[3] This is for the reason that almost all people learn the exteriors of *din*, while the sūfī faction of people learns and study the real truths and essence of things. At the same time as all other people try to entail upon themselves the apparent commandments of the Sacred Law, the sūfīs oblige upon themselves the Real Truth or essence of virtuous conscientiousness and constant honesty. Thus if anybody diverges from them in anything that they have attained, Allāh will eliminate the luminosity of belief from his heart.[4] Al-Junayd submitted that the Sufis learned Sūfīsm not in the course of words but through hunger, the rejection of this materialistic world, and keeping themselves away from the luxuries which they are comfortable with and in which they attain enjoyment.[5] Abū al-Ḥasan al-Sari b. al-Mughallis al-Saqatī asserts that the *sūfī* is the one in whom the radiance of awareness and understanding does not turn off the radiance of conscientiousness. He does not speak of any understanding and comprehension in his internal self that may disagree with the exterior meaning of the *Qur'ān* or the Prophet's (ﷺ) *Sunnah*. His miracles do not push him to disobey the holiness of the divine preventions.[6] Abū al-Husayn al-Nūrī says, "Sūfīsm is the rejection of everything that satisfies, gratifies, and gives pleasure to the soul."[7]

Al-Junayd described Sūfīsm or Sūfī as someone similar to the earth. All repulsive kinds of stuff are put on it, but only excellent stuff emerges from it.[8] Mansur al-Hallāj (d. 922) describes the sūfī as one who is particular in his persona, nobody acknowledges him and he acknowledges no one.[9] According to Maʻrūf al-Karkhī (d. 815), Sūfīsm means standing by the realism/truth in addition to not trusting that which people enclose.[10] Abu al-Ḥasan ʻAlī b. ʻUthmān al-Hujwīrī has illustrated three stages of those who are regarded as sūfīs,

- The first one is the sūfī who is dead to himself and subsisting by the Truth; he has escaped from the grip of human traits and has arrived at the Truth of realities.
- *Mutasawwif:* This is the second level. *Mutasawwif* is the aspirant who tries to find this stage of the sūfīs with his firm hard work and corrects and repairs his being at the same time. They are in quest of improving their demeanor.

- *Mustaswif*: The third are those who pretend and who attempt to be similar to the first or second group so that they attain prosperity, status and get hold of their share in the materialistic world.[11]

Abū Zakarīyyā al-Anṣārī (d. 1520) illustrated that *taṣawwuf* educates one how to purify one's self, advance one's morals, and build up one's inner and outer facets of life to achieve eternal delight. Its object is the cleansing and refinement of the being and its end is the accomplishment of everlasting felicity and purity.[12] Some sūfīs recognize the idea of Sufism in the *Qur'ānic* notion of *muḥsin* (the one who is pious and does good deeds to the point of *Iḥsān*) along with *muqarrab*, which means the one near to Allāh. Therefore, the author of *'Awārif al-Ma'ārif*, Shihāb al-Dīn al-Suhrawardī (d. 1234), asserts that for him the term sūfī only means *muqarrab*.

1.2 Mawlānā Ashraf 'Alī Thānvī on *Taṣawwuf*

While amplifying the real essence of *Ṭarīqah*, he informed us concerning things that are not compulsory in *taṣawwuf*. Amongst these, he lists *kashf* (unveiling), *tawīz* (amulets), *karāmah* (miracle) for materialistic pursuits or worldly pursuits, absolute elimination of all vices, astonishing spiritual states, seeing lights while remembrance of Allāh, beatific visions, accurate inspirations (*ilhām*), and Shaykh's taking responsibility for someone's exoneration on the Day of Judgment.[13] The core thrust of Ashraf 'Alī Thānvī's descriptions is the indispensable goals of *taṣawwuf*.[14] Other things that are by and large allied with *taṣawwuf* but are not fundamental to *taṣawwuf* are negated so that the adherent can have honest intentions focusing only on the imperative goals of *taṣawwuf*.

Mawlānā Thānvī has affirmed that he did not give priority to *'ulūm al-mukashafah* (sciences of unveilings); rather his main focus was on *'ulūm al-mu'āmala* (sciences of actions). He thinks that the former has no function in achieving nearness to Allāh, while the latter is related to guidelines and prohibitions and leads to the unswerving part of achieving closeness to Allāh.[15] Understandably, *taṣawwuf* is a multifarious phenomenon. Consequently, *taṣawwuf* as perceived by Mawlānā Thānvī comes to one thing: the quest for the pleasure of Allāh.[16] To achieve this, one must have *ta'alluq ma'a Allāh*, which means that one ought to attempt to be assiduously cognizant of Him which is *iḥsān*. To accomplish *iḥsān*, one must purify

oneself of malice and beautify oneself with praiseworthy character. This is *tazkiyat al-Nafs*. Furthermore, for one to uphold *ta'alluq ma'a Allāh* and be respected by Him one must avoideverything forbidden by Him. This is obedience to the commandments of *Sharī'ah* both on the exterior and on the interior.

1.3 Development of Science of Sufism

Mawlānā Thānvī has also shed some light on the progress of the discipline of *taṣawwuf*. He holds that during the epoch of the Prophet (ﷺ), the disciplines of *Tafsīr*, *ḥadīth* or *uṣūlal-fiqh*, etc., were not branched. Afterwards, classification was done and several sciences originated from the *Qur'ān* and *ḥadīth* and each was given a different name. Just as other derived sciences received a specific name such as the science of *fiqh* and science of *ḥadīth*; likewise, the given name of the "way" or the "path" formulated by shaykhs was known as Sufism. The one who studies *Sharh al-Wiqayah* or *al-Hidayah* is called the learner or student of *fiqh*. Similarly, a person who learns the science of *ḥadīth* or *Tafsīr*, it is not presumed that he is learning science of *fiqh*, even though *fiqh* had many *'ulūms* in it such as *'ulūmal-ḥadīth*, *'ilm al-kalām*, etc. Likewise, if a person goes behind the path of the Sūfī teacher, we say he is studying Sufism or it is said that he is a ṣūfī. Someone who just offers salah or goes for fasting can't be called as a ṣūfī although Sufism in its comprehensive sense contains all of this. He further adds that the way *Kanz al-daqa'iq* and *al-Hidayah* are indispensable; in the same way, it is crucial to learn the work of Abū Talib Makkī namely *Qūt al-qulūb*, Imām al Ghazālī's book called as *al-Arba'ūn* along with Shaykh Shihab al-Din Suhrawardi's work termed as *'Awārif al-ma'arif*.[17]

1.4 Significance of Classical Shaykhs

Mawlānā Thānvī makes the following of a classical shaykh prerequisite for anyone who wants to understand *Sufism*. The initiators of the above-mentioned traditional sciences of Islam were accredited as Imams by all. Bearing in mind Imām Abū Ḥanīfa's knowledge of the science of *fiqh*, Imām al-Shāfi'ī was strained to declare that Muslims require Imam Abū Ḥanafī in the field of *fiqh*. Imam al-Bukhārī was recognized as an Imam; furthermore, even today his scholarship in science of *ḥadīth* is renowned. In the same way, there have been such pious people who have been approved as the leading figures in the discipline of *taṣawwuf* like Junayd Baghdadi,

Shaykh Abd al-Qadir Jilani known as the shaykh of shaykhs, Khawaja Baha' al-Din Naqshband—founder of Naqshbandi order, Khawaja Mu 'in al-Din Chishtī—founder of Chishti order in south Asia also known as Khwaja Ghareeb Nawaz and Shaykh Shihab al-Din Suhrawardi —author of *'Awarif ul-Maarif*, so on. The afterward generations cannot do anything in affairs of *Sharī'ah* exclusive of following the preceding ones; equally, in *Sufism*, there is not a single method above and beyond following the traditional masters of the way even though, the lowest rank of purification of self which shows the way to *Najat* can be achieved without following the shaykhs of the path. Nevertheless, that which is preferred and is the flawlessness and excellence of *tazkiyat al-nafs* cannot be attained except with the companionship of the shuyukhs or masters.[18] Now let's go through the ṣūfī thought of Mawlānā Ashraf 'Alī Thanvi, "The spiritualist penchant in human temperament—has been the trait of serious and strong minds in all ages and the midst of every segment of society."[19] Religion in broad-spectrum and the mystical pursuit scrupulously are as everlasting as man's subsistence itself, as a man cannot stay behind exclusive of looking for or enquiring about the infinite and without desiring to rise above himself. To be a man denotes to want to exceed the purely human or material self.

Therefore, to be pleased with the simple human is to plummet into the infra-human position.[20] This prime and perpetual quest, entrenched in man's nature, is certainly a search for truth, about the nature of Allāh, man and universe. An assortment of ideologies in the narration of human deliberation which has been put forward to endow us with solutions to the problems are fundamentally metaphysical or transcendental and have been responded to on assorted levels such as philosophical, religious, and mystical. We shall focus our attention to the way or methodology embraced by Mawlānā Thānvī towards the understanding of these problems –Allah, man, and the universe in light of the *Qur'ānic* and *ḥadīth* basis.

1.5 Allāh
1.5.1 Existence of Allāh

Mawlānā Ashraf 'Alī dealt with the question of the existence of Allāh in his way. His observations and analysis can be abridged as follows:

a. The whole universe with its obscure structure requires the existence of an Architect (*sāniʿ*) who has not merely planned but has categorized it. He oversees and controls it via His will and supreme authority. Nature as well as its rules (physical laws) are under His formation. Nature itself is submissive in the way that it has neither any force nor awareness of its own and is reliant on Allāh for all its functions. Allāh is an all-powerful Maker who enjoys the authority to alter even the properties of every facet. The causes themselves are, as a result, ineffective unless they are put to action or activated by Allāh.[21]

b. Every occurrence in the universe is relative and dependent. There being or incidence is neither interminable nor predictable. The facet of possibility is, though compulsory for every dependent which depends on its consciousness, realization, and clarification on something exterior to itself that is not conditional but is a reason for its subsistence. That something is Allāh called as *Wājib al-Wujūd i.e.*, the Necessary Being, who depends for His subsistence upon nobody but His being. He is the Manufacturer and the Originator of the universe. He enjoys timeless, arbitrary willpower, and exercises it devoid of exterior intrusion, the query then arises: is it not incongruous to embrace that the divine will is everlasting, and what is willed conditional? Mawlānā Thānvī asserts that it is the qualities of the Essential Being that are perpetual, at the same time their relationship with the possibles is dependent.[22]

c. To sum up, Ashraf ʿAlī said that Allāh could have revealed Himself in this universe in that way putting end to every difference, allied point of views and discussions but then belief would have become somewhat enforced on one and all, and human reflection, thoughtfulness and ultimately surrender would have no part/share in it.[23]

Maulana Ashraf ʿAlī has simply illustrated four attributes of Allāh. They are Creation, Knowledge, Power, and Wisdom.

• Creation: Ashraf ʿAlī holds that Allāh produces whatsoever He desires and for the implementation of His will He does not require a manager or any explicit cause, nor any equipment, artisan, helper. He says "*Be*," and His will is materialized. This realization or materialization takes place with or

devoid of any reasons or ways as these too at the end of the chain consequently necessitates a willing decisive cause.[24]

- After knowing that Allāh is eternal and the only Creator, one gets encountered with questions whether the act of creation is necessary for divinity, then even creation itself presumes perpetuity? Ashraf 'Alī tackled this by stating that Surah *Luqmān* 31: Verses 10-11, in reality, emphasizes that Creation of that which is possible is the power and attribute of Allāh and in no means does it put forward the perpetuity of the act of creation. [25] Allāh acts continuously all the time but His actions ought not to be considered as compulsory for His Essence as it would involve certainty in the eternity of creation. Ashraf 'Alī asserts that the verse *Kulla yawum Huwa fi sha'n* expresses the reality that the whole things that take place through the universe, together with creation, nourishment, regulation, etc., obtain their occurrence from Allāh.[26] Allāh is therefore not just the one and only Creator of the universe but also the only Sustainer and Administrator of it.[27]

- Knowledge: Allāh is away from the requirement of an associate. He is matchless in creation in addition to legislation, exclusive in being the Ultimate Supreme Ruler, Omniscient, Invincible, and Giver of incalculable rewards. He makes anything He likes and devises regulations as He desires. He has perfect knowledge of diminutive things scrupulously, whether apparent or concealed.[28]

- Omniscience (knowing everything) is an exclusive attribute of Allāh and is judiciously not possible for anyone else.[29] His knowledge crosses over both in the existence and those who are not existent, and that too in infinitesimal points. Every incidence dealing with the past, present along with future has been documented in the *Lauh-i Maḥfūẓ i.e.*, Guarded Tablet which does not in any sense demonstrate that Allāh requires it. Allāh's trait of Knowledge is infinite in its totality. [30]

- Power: Mawlānā Thānvī delineates *'ilm-i ghayib* as complete, unswerving knowledge that moves beyond the perimeters of time and space. It is exclusively the excellence of Allāh and, so, inaccessible. As for the human acquaintance of genes and the timing of rain is concerned, he remarks that these aren't away from the scope of human knowledge as a man can be

familiar with these with the assistance of a range of signs, but even here human knowledge requires a medium or the signs, whereas Allāh's knowledge is unswerving and direct.[31]

- Wisdom: Allāh is judicious, no matter what He produces, He constructs with some reason, and we are unable to take hold of details because of human precincts. Even the formation of evil by Almighty Allāh—for instance, as per Mawlānā Thānvī ungratefulness or unfaithfulness–is good as it contains few positive facets. But that does not, in any case, denote that, one should believe that no matter what one does as will encompass positive sides, and that consequently one should not or would not be held answerable for negative dimensions? Because, Ashraf 'Alī says, man's analysis is provisional and limited, while Allāh's intelligence is supreme and endless. When He affirms anything to be iniquity for man, it shall stay primarily vice for him, other facets and aspects become irrelevant.[32] In another place, Mawlānā Thānvī restates that Allāh being the All-Wise, all His acts are astute however the core thought and concern are ahead of human apprehension.[33] He might thoughtfully award someone triumph and the same may not be the case with others; but in showing the reality, and in conferring the authority of choice and will, He treats each one the same.[34] Ashraf 'Alī asserts that whatsoever He does, He does with knowledge and wisdom.

1.6 Mawlānā Ashraf 'Alī Thānvī on Psychological Nature of Man

Mawlānā Ashraf 'Alī considers man as an exclusive amalgamation of Divine Names and Essence, the meticulous explanation of this inclusiveness lying away from the authority and power of any man, for the reason that the Divine Names are inestimable along with the Essence being transcendent. Acquaintance, knowledge, and understanding of man being limited it is impossible to comprehend the incomprehensible.[35] Seven attributes shape the foundation – Life, knowledge, Hearing, Sight, Will, Speech, and Power. Man is or has been made the epitome/perfect materialization and the manifestation of these seven attributes yet remaining, unmatchable with Almighty Allāh.[36]

1.6.1   Perfect Receptor

Divine Names are manifested in two ways:

- *Takwīnī*: cosmic, which are correlational.
- *Tashrī'ī*: legislative, which is inculcated.

While Mawlānā Ashraf 'Alī argues, the first one is the understanding of the majority of human minds, he limits himself to the enlightening facets of the second one, using the expression *faid* for Divine elegance and graces that tumble down upon man as the result of Divine Names, instilling in him polished qualities, provided he attests himself to be a justified receiver. According to Ashraf 'Alī, the receiver thus turns out to be an engaged spectator of Allāh such that he is not able to attribute even the term being (*wujūd*) to Him. Some of the qualities of a perfect man are:

- Generous and munificent towards the servants as well as people of Allāh and shielding himself from all that is evil and others from causing any damage.
- Gaining knowledge, understanding, excellences, and perfections, converting the imperfections into flashes of brilliance, ignoring the faults of people, however subjugating such opponents as the Lower Self and the evil powers.
- Keeping in check both the apparent and the hidden.
- He suppresses fabrication and esteems the truth, honors the upright, and prevails over the vicious.
- Kind for mankind while executing, sermonizing or directing, tolerant and pardoning, he is all the time conscious of the sham of self and alerting and making the ignorant finely aware about it.
- He bigheartedly expends his powers and his wealth, together with ordinary and saintly, for pleasing Allāh, over his dependents and the seekers of gnosis, abstaining from shutting the door of knowledge and comprehension rewards for the common welfare, denouncing all types of rivalries and animosity among the people.
- Answering the call of the Almighty unconditionally and in an obsequious manner and subserviently merciful to everyone who needs him.
- He stays away from looking suspiciously at any worldly being; somewhat looking down at the world and all that it contains.

- Ashraf 'Alī asserts that the most perfect man is Prophet (ﷺ) a matchless personification of both the Divine Magnificence and the Divine Splendor granted by Allāh, then the Prophet's trail by the responsibility to Allāh depends on their likeness with diverse varieties and grades of excellence and perfection.[37]

1.7 Beatific Vision

Mawlānā Thānvī deals with one more subject that is of Beatific Vision or seeing Allāh in this world and the life hereafter. Different schools of thought carry diverse opinions about the same problem. The Mu'tazilites clearly and firmly denied it on the basis that Allāh is free from space and direction, consequently, visualizing Him is not possible in the present world nor in the life hereafter,[38] Abū al-Ḥasan 'Alī al-Ash'arī,[39] Abū Mansūr al-Māturīdī,[40] Abū Jaf'ar al-Ṭahāwī,[41] and Abū Muḥammad ibn Hazm[42] confirmed that it is possible for the Muslims based on the *Qur'ānic* verses[43] and reliable Hadith related to this matter.

Ashraf 'Alī maintains that to see Allāh with human eyes is not possible for us (man) in this world[44] save for the Prophet Muḥammad (ﷺ) who is said to have seen Allāhonce with his human vision and after that with his heart.[45] There were different views between the *Ṣaḥābāh* of the Prophet (ﷺ) over this subject. Ibn 'Abbās (d.58-678) acknowledged it in reverence of Prophet Muhammad (ﷺ) While the Mother of believers A'ishah denied it. In an attempt to resolve this, Ashraf 'Alī says that what the former asserted was just the vision, not including the minute niceties, at the same time as what the latter annulled was an unfathomable and deeper understanding.[46]

Ashraf 'Alī considers that Allāh will reveal Himself twice on the final Day–Day of Verdict. Those who believe will not be capable enough to identify Him on the initial occasion. In the latter, they will be acquainted with Him and afterward go down in *Sajdah* (prostration). Mawlānā Thānvī proposes that on both the junctures the demonstrations will be similar: The Day of Decision being an extension of the exceptional world, therefore, the Essence will not be displayed or revealed. Afterward in Heaven, all the curtains will be raised from the Essence and the Muslims will be proficient to see Allāh's Face, although there also they will be incapable to go through deeper and investigating His Nature or grasping Him.[47]

1.8 Virtues *(Fadā'il)* and Vices *(Radhā'il)* in Man

Mawlānā Thānvī used Abu Hamid Muhammad Ibn al-Ghazālī's list of culpable and laudable qualities and added few more to them. Mawlānā Thānvī also explained them, and the ways of avoiding the blameworthy and acquiring the praiseworthy traits.

Ashraf 'Alī Thānvī's explanation on some virtues of man *(Fadā'il)*

1.8.1 *Niyya* (Intention)

The Prophet (ﷺ) said, "Verily judgment of action depends upon one's intention.[48] Intention implies the deepest and inmost penchant of the mind to do any action or deed. Cleanness of intention comprises of three diverse facets:

- ❖ One does a specific action regarding that as a correct one, so one should execute it as one's responsibility and obligation as a human. This type of performance is laudable and exceedingly praise-worthy
- ❖ One does particular actions motivated and encouraged with wrong reason in mind. It is denounced and is considered unworthy and contemptible.
- ❖ One does any good act ordinarily without any aim or objective in mind. This outlook of mind is not absurd, irrational, and unreasonable to purity or cleanness of intention. Mawlānā Thānvī further adds that the level of reward pivot on the degree of honesty of doer. Let's have a look at the classification of degrees prepared by Ashraf 'Alī:
- Highest grade: One should work and put efforts for the sake of Almighty Allāh without regard for any materialistic concern at all.
- Second grade: One should work for a humanitarian cause; for the general welfare of the public regardless of one's worldly interests in view.
- Third grade: One does any good with no specific *niyah*. He does it as routine stuff. The goal of the doer is neither any worldly gain nor has any spiritual end in mind. He does good things just for the sake of routine work. This also falls in the type of honesty of purpose and pure *niyat*.

1.8.2 *Taqwā* (Piety)

Taqwā – verbal noun–is derived from w-q-y. It means to fear someone or to protect oneself. Technically, it is taken usually as the thought of fearing Allāh and being away from sins and saving oneself from His punishment. While defining and

understanding fearing Allāh, sūfīs by and large cite the notion of Allāh is the most beloved and so interpret term *taqwa* as "being fearful of Allāh's discontentment."[49] Piety is in scheming and directing one's each action towards the correct way in different areas and stages of life and limiting oneself from those acts which are illicit, forbidden by *Sharīʿah*, and to follow the doctrines and commands instructed by Islām flawlessly and with a good objective and clean intention. *Taqwa* involves two features:

(a) The fear (of Allah's punishment);
(b) To save oneself from evil deeds.

Ashraf Ali says it's quite a natural one can safeguard oneself from malevolent desire if he is scared of and is well aware of the consequent disadvantageous and detrimental outcomes of such actions. Both sides are, as a result, inter-connected.

1.8.3   *Dhikr* (Remembrance)

Adhkār is the plural of *dhikr* that technically implies "to remember." To do *dhikr* is commanded in copious places in the Holy *Qur'ān*. It has the following levels:

    a. *Ṣūrī:* Ṣūrī means apparent. Apparent *dhikr* implies to remember Allāh by reiterating His name. This can be done through the tongue or the heart (*qalb*). It has two further types:

- *Dhikr-i lisānī:* It means *dhikr* with the tongue.
- *Dhikr-ī Qalbī:* It means *Dhikr* without the tongue and only in the heart, with or without the presence of mind. Sūfīs have long debated which one is more excellent. Opinions vary and each side is armed with proof.[50]

    b. *Ḥaqīqī:* Ḥaqīqī means real. Real *dhikr* is recollecting Allāh through pleasing him moreover fulfilling His *Ḥaqūq*/ rights. This covers the complete *Sharīʿah* because His rights contain all the orders, instructions, and exclusions of *Sharīʿah*.[51] *Ḥuqīqī dhikr* is preferred in *Sharīʿah* while the *Suri* is training for it. That is why it is also advantageous and laudable.[52] Allāh says in the *Qur'ān*: *Surely, Ṣalāh restrains one from shameful and evil acts.*[53]

1.8.4   *Al-Tawādu'* (Humility)

The word humility signifies that one must regard himself as an insignificant person. He is indebted for his whole existence to Him alone. So, he should be most modest

amongst Allāh's creatures on the world and should consequently shape his outlook of mind accordingly. One should groom himself in a way that one should not feel proud and pompous if appreciated and lauded and should not be upset if criticized or condemned. In short, praise and criticism shouldn't affect him in any way.[54] Both things are the same for him. This is the elevated level of humility as per Mawlānā Ashraf 'Alī and can be achieved on the intellectual plane.

1.8.5   *Tawbah* (Repentance)

To be reminiscent and remind oneself of the erroneous acts done by him and to express and feel regret over them sincerely and to make one's mind up not to do again the same in future and to abstain from them with complete grit at the time when such urges occur is termed as 'Repentance'.[55]

Methods and Necessity

1) One should consciously be terrified and regretful that one should discard the routine commission of sins with all genuineness and authenticity and should decisively decide not to reiterate the same thing in the future.
2) One needs to constantly ask Allāh for his help from the fear of falling again in sins at any time.
3) One should make attempts with utmost eagerness and consciousness to deft the desire for sins and seek Allāh's support at every time.
4) The best technique is to consistently prompt oneself about punishments prescribed by the *Qur'ān* and ḥadīth of Prophet (ﷺ) for the wrong doers.[56]

Mawlānā Thānvī's explanation of some vices (*Radā'il*):

1.8.6   *Kadhib* (Lie)

To believe in any happening or occurrence opposing to facts, real detail, and particulars and to utter something devoid of finding out the essential truth and on simply hearing from one saying about any incidence of any episode comes within the term 'Lie'. The Qur'ān says – "*And shun lying speech*".[57]

1.8.7   *Ghībah* (Backbiting)

Backbiting implies an unpleasant expression by direct/straight terms or by replication in the absence of somebody, which if done in his presence will upset his feelings and emotions. On the other hand, if whatever is held is false, it is then fake allegation (*tuhmat*), slander, and defamation which are great sinful acts. Since it is in

contravention of one of the primary human rights, therefore the backbiter won't be exempted by Allāh unless and until the person affected and affronted pardons him.[58]

The holy *Qur'ān* says: "*And spy not, neither back-bite one another*".[59]

1.8.8   *Al-Isrāf* (Extravagance)

Al-Isrāf denotes expenditure on anything not required or spending on any item devoid of any thought and consideration whether it was essential to spend on that item/thing at that very point in time. *Qur'ān* talks of such extravagant persons in the following words: "*Verily those who spend extravagantly are brothers of Satan*".[60]

The Prophet ﷺ has austerely prohibited throwing oneself open to needless expenditure apart from what is essentially required.[61] One should consider two main factors while spending on anything:

  ➢ One should check whether there is any sort of loss in any form if the expenses are not incurred on a specific thing.
  ➢ One should consult some specialist and knowledgeable manager having insight in the particular line whether the sum planned to be spent on a particular item will be of some use and will prove helpful in maintaining with the anticipated plan or will serve no purpose of whatever type and will be unproductive.[62]

1.8.9   *Kibr* (Pride) and *Ḥasad* (Jealousy)

Pride signifies an overstated sense of worth having extremely elevated estimation concerning one's being and arrogant attitude for others and holding them as disgraceful, contemptible, insignificant, and degraded in comparison to his/one's being. Such an individual looks and thinks low for others and feels grand and ostentatious with such behavior in everyday actions of life with his associates. If, on the other hand, one acts reluctantly in a position of absentmindedness devoid of any hidden cause, it is not an evil behavior. If one does again the same thing deliberately and willingly and continues with it, it will be counted as evil action or conduct.[63]

Allāh further praises those who are unpretentious and modest and turns His face away from the bigheaded, arrogant and egotistical, and the rewards which might have been sending to him could be ceased and closed down because of embracing egoistic approach.[64]

Jealousy represents the aggrieved and resentful outlook of mind for one's associates when one sees his fellow beings in a joyful, excellent, flourishing, and affluent state. Such a person, instead of showing friendliness, develops the wish that the joyful condition of one's associate or brother should turn into an unhappy one and attempts to make difficulty for him for his abrupt ruin and collapse. And he celebrates his unpleasant conduct inside one's being. [65] There are three phases of this position of mind.

❖ The first one is a position when one is hindered and forced to take action otherwise.

❖ The second position is when one's action is calculated and purposeful acts in that way.

❖ The final one is that position where one tries to be in opposition to and disagree with one's jealous feeling.

The first is forgivable or justifiable and the second is evil furthermore the third is creditable and praiseworthy so is rewardable.[66]

1.9 Levels of *Taṣawwuf*

He delineated what he thought to be the accurate course of action and suitable sequence for attaining their levels for embarking on the spiritual way. He says there are two levels of *taṣawwuf*.

1. At the outset, construction of the hidden and the apparent by following all the guidelines of *Sharī'ah*. [67] The primary stage requires two things.

• The foremost is to get hold of *'Ilm-i Dīn* as much as is needed through whichever ways available to one.

• The subsequent step is executing this *'film* with willpower.

2. The Second level of *taṣawwuf* is attaining *Iṣlāḥ*. Accomplishing this level one requires two things:

   a. Repentance: Honest penitence from every sin –big and small, is the first step. *Tawbah* necessitates that one should attempt to make up for all those responsibilities which remained unfulfilled; whether *Ḥuqūq Allah* or *Ḥuqūq al-'Ibād*. Consequently, whatsoever prayers one has skipped or charity one has not paid, or *ṣawm* that one has left; one must make up for all of them. In the same way, the *Ḥuqūq* of fellow beings that one has not accomplished need to be fulfilled, or else one needs to request those to whom they are

payable that they are excused. This is an indispensable initial step. Devoid of this, efforts and actions will be of no advantage. Thānvī announces that those who don't have the strength of mind and the dedication to be on the path of *Sharī'ah* are not real seekers.[68] Real seekers have to be obedient to the rulings of *Sharī'ah*. In nutshell, one can say that the initial level has to be attained to move towards the second level.

b. Search for Knowledge: The following footstep is that one must search for knowledge as has been illustrated concerning the primary level. When this is attained, he should search for a competent *shaykh* who can direct him on the pathway. He can then decide to take an oath *(bai'āh)* with him or continue a pupil-teacher connection exclusive of it. By and large, oath *(bai'āh)* is the chief indication of recognition as a student. The pupil must follow every guideline of his teacher or *shaykh*. If feasible for the student, after doing *(bai'āh)* he should stay with the shaykh for some time. If that's not possible, then he has to follow his commands anywhere he is at the same time as corresponding with him frequently.

1.10 Conclusion

Mawlānā Thānvī's method of explaining *taṣawwuf* was by transmitting to addressees what is not Sufism along with what isn't requisite and mandatory to become an Sūfī. He was of the view that those who look for extraordinary maqamat, depens on dreams, rests on mystical powers, have anextreme desire of unveiling (*Kashf*), and get involved in perplexing and inexplicable narratives in addition to mysterious assumptions and chase supposedly spiritual bliss is not what is preferably essential or else this maywell prove a diversion.The actions and performances of the masters of *taṣawwuf* of old might not be simply taken as been largely in conformity and consistency with Sharī'ah rules and cannot be categorized as the way moving to an acceptable end but they could be regarded as the practices of those who don't have control on what they and how they were performing and executing and, therefore were faultless and above suspicion.

Mawlānā Thānvī does not give any credence to the philosophical dialogues concerning subjects of Sufism. Thus, he represents Sufism's non-philosophical dimension. His style is straightforward and puts immense significance on the objectives. In common words, the aim is to attain the happiness of Allāh by acting

upon and following the Shar entirely without any compromise. In exact words and aligned with the conventional perceptive of Sufism, this involves restructuring one's self which is termed as *tazkiyat al-nafs*, and working tirelessly to attain nearness to Allah.

References and Endnotes

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[7] Al-Qushayrī. p. 46.

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[63] Ibid. p.86

[64] Ibid. p. 87.

[65] Khawaja, Ahmad Ali. p.88-89.

[66] Thānvī, Ashraf 'Alī. *Ta'līm al-Dīn ,* p.81.

[67] Lutf-e-Rasul, Shah. (n.d.). *Tashīl Qasd al-Sabīl.* in Thānvī, Ashraf 'Alī. *Islāḥī Niṣāb*. Multan. Kutub Khāna Mājidiya. n.d. pp.580-581. [Urdu] cf. Bashir, 'Aamir. *Sharī 'at* and *Ṭarīqat*: A Study of the Deobandī Understanding and Practice of *Tasawwuf.* p. 211.

[68] Din, Muḥammad. *Shari 'at-o-Ṭarīqat,* p.56.

Some Essential Concepts of Islamic Spirituality: An Overview

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ABSTRACT

Spirituality is the quality or state of being actively attached with and sensitive towards religion or religious matters; the quality or state of being spiritual. Spirituality is related to the human spirit or soul as opposed to material or physical things. The technical part of spirituality is to understand the concept of spirit and soul which are both abstract and complex to put into words. We do, however, try to make an effort to reach within, too deep into the subject to extract the meanings based on both rationality and experience. Human experience about the soul is subjective. One cannot reify it. We understand the limitations with social sciences, primarily with the abstract concepts. They scarcely permit decisive definitions. This may be the reason why elaborations and comprehensive explanations related to these abstract ideas give more comfort to academicians. In the following pages, a humble attempt has been made to elucidate these concepts and mankind's progress to realize the spirituality that lies in comprehending human soul and the questions that arise with it which primarily includes the problem of defining 'soul'.

Keywords: *Īmān, Iṭā'ah, Taqwā, Iḥsān, maḥabbah, shukr, khushu', Sharī'ah, Ṭarīqah, Ḥaqīqah, Ma'rifah, Ḥāl, Maqamāt, Tawbah, Wara', Zuhd, Faqr, Ṣabr, Tawakkul, Riḍa'.*

1.1 Philosophical and Religious Perspectives of the 'Soul'

There are both philosophical and religious definitions of the 'soul'. Both these knowledge traditions perceive it differently. The former perceives it rationally through theological discussions and the latter as part of belief. From the very beginning scholars have made assumptions regarding the concept of soul. Greek scholars like Socrates, Plato and Aristotle considered it as incorporeal, eternal and

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divine aspect of human being. Socrates is said to have advised the fellow Athenians to work for progress in the soul than in body organs because bodily goods are dependent on such excellence. Almost in all religious traditions, humans are portrayed as beings with souls, except that of Buddhist tradition which is silent about the concept of God and soul.

In Islam, soul is something which humans can neither see nor understand, yet we believe in it for we see its effects. The soul is one of the greatest proofs so of the existence of God. It also serves as refutation of the materialists and naturalists who always desire tangible evidence so that they may perceive with their senses to believe in the soul, although they cannot perceive it with their senses, rather through its effects. The soul is one of the heavenly secrets. No one knows its true reality save Allah, and any attempt to investigate it is futile.[1]

Allah says in the *Qur'an*:

> "And they ask you (O Muhammad) about the soul. Say, 'The soul is of the affair [i.e., concern] of my *Rabb*. And you [i.e., mankind] have not been given of knowledge except little.'"[2]

There is a *Hadith* reported by Abdullah ibn Mas'ūd:

> "Verily the creation of every one of you is brought together in the mother's womb as a drop of semen for forty days, then it becomes a clot for the same period, then it becomes a blob of flesh for the same period. Then the angel will be sent unto it to blow into it a spirit, and the angel is ordered (to carry out) with four instructions, to write down its livelihood, the span of life, its deeds, and whether it is wretched or fortunate."[3]

1.2 Four Essential Components of the Soul

i) *Qalb*[4]: It is connoted in two parts. The first part is a piece of flesh in the chest cavity called heart, which is hollow in interior, filled up with blood and which is a source of *Rūḥ* or life. The second meaning of *Qalb* is the soul in its immaterial aspect of formlessness.[5]

ii) *Rūḥ*[6]: It is a material thing within the heart, which vibrates the whole body like the current of electricity, and runs through the veins of the body. It is called life. It is the processing unit of bodily capabilities like the power of touch, hearing, sight, smell and the power of the other limbs.[7]

iii) *'Aql*[8]: The first meaning of *'Aql* is the intellect by which the true natures of material objects are known. The second meaning of *'aql* is the power to understand esoteric phenomena.[9]

iv*) Nafs*[10]: In its unrefined state, "the ego (*Nafs*) is the lowest dimension of man's inward existence, his animal nature." *Nafs* is an important concept in the Islamic tradition, especially within Sufism and the discipline of gnosis. *Nafs* means inner self- the evil side of our soul.[11]

It has two interpretations. The first interpretation is passion or baser and lower self. Passion is a comprehensive word consisting of greed, anger and other evil attributes. The Prophet ﷺ is reported to have said: Your greatest enemy is your passion lying by your two sides. The second meaning of *Nafs* is the 'soul'.[12]

1.2.1   Three Principal Stages of *Nafs*

They are specifically mentioned in the *Qur'an*. They are stages in the process of development, refinement and mastery of the *nafs*.[13]

i)   *Nafs-i-Ammārah*[14]: This is the castigated soul; it will by its very nature direct its possessor towards vice. None could be rid of its evil without assistance from Allah. The Quran says: "Nor do I absolve my own self (of blame), the (human) soul is certainly prone to evil, unless my Lord bestow His mercy, but surely my Lord is Oft-Forgiving, Most Merciful."[15]
And also it says: "And were it not for the grace and mercy of Allah upon you, not one of you would ever have been pure."[16]

In its Primitive Stage, the *nafs* incites us to commit evil. This is the *nafs* as the lower self, the base instincts. Islam emphasizes the importance of fighting *nafs* because Prophet Muhammad ﷺ said, after returning from a war, "We now return from the small struggle (*Jihad-i-Asghar*) to the big struggle (*Jihad-i-Akbar*)". His Companions asked, "O! Prophet of God, what is the big struggle?" Prophet ﷺ replied, "The struggle against *nafs*."

The *Qur'ān* enjoins the faithful, " to hinder the *nafs* from lust"[17] and the *Ḥadīth* warns that, "The worst enemy you have is (the *nafs)* between your sides."

ii)   *Nafs-i-Lawwāmah*[18]: In *Surah al-Qiyāmah*, the *Qur'ān* mentions, "The self-accusing *nafs*"[19]. This is the stage where "the conscience is awakened and the self accuses one for listening to one's ego. One repents and asks for forgiveness. Here, the *nafs* is inspired by our heart, sees the results of our actions, agrees with our brain, sees our weaknesses and aspires to perfection.[20]

This stage is when the person makes mistakes, but continuously questions his actions and feels guilt. He is weak but he has faith. He struggles to control his desires and whims.[21]

The struggle with one's soul is the biggest struggle for a believer. The believer has to check upon himself to decide which of his emotions and wishes are acceptable and which are evil. He had to stand against the evil instigations of his soul such as selfishness, jealousy, arrogance and greed.[22]

The *Qur'an* says, "I do call to witness the Resurrection Day, and I do call to witness the self- reproaching spirit (*Nafs al-Lawwāmah*)."[23]

iii) *Nafs-i-Mutma'innah*[24]:

In *Sūrah al-Fajr*, the *Qur'ān* mentions, "O! the *nafs* at peace."[25]

This is the ideal stage of ego for Sufis. At this level, one is firm in one's faith and leaves the bad manners behind. The soul becomes tranquil, at peace. At this stage, all Sufis have relieved themselves of all materialism and worldly problems and are satisfied with the will of God.[26]

This is the satisfied Soul. This is the noblest state. The satisfied soul finds its peace and consolation in the *Qur'an*, prayer and the company of the righteous. The *Nafs-i-Mutma'innah* has such a deep conviction in Allah and the Last Day that it is never upset by the sorrows of this world.[27]

The *Qur'an* says:
> "To the righteous soul will be said, "O (thou) soul, in (complete) rest and satisfaction! Come back thou to thy Lord, well pleased (thyself), and well-pleasing unto Him! "Enter thou, then among My devotees! "Yea, enter thou My Heaven!"[28]

1.3 Islamic Spirituality

The concept of Spirituality in Islam is based on the principle of God-realization. It is from God where all virtues emerge. And when man's contact with God is established, in the world of his feelings, at the psychological level, an unseen, inner revolution is brought about which is called Spirituality.[29]

This finds expression in the *Qur'ān* in these words:
> "God is the light of the Heavens and the earth. The metaphor of His light is that of a niche in which there is a lamp, the lamp inside a glass, the glass like a brilliant star, lit

by a blessed tree, an olive, neither of the east nor of the west, whose oil would well-nigh glow forth even though the fire did not touch it. Light upon light! God guides to His light, whom He wills. And God sets forth parables to men, and God has knowledge of all things."[30]

This verse makes it clear that on the one hand, God is the source of inspiration, and on the other, He is the consciousness of Spirituality (God-consciousness) with which man is born. In this way when these two things come together, Islamic Spirituality comes into existence. This is indeed another name for the awakening of God-consciousness. When it reaches its highest stage the believer's realization of God comes to that point where he begins to feel consciously in his worship, that he is seeing God and that if he is not seeing God, God is seeing him. If the first type of experience is called direct spiritual experience, the second-type may be termed indirect spiritual experience. As the *Qur'an* tells us, "For God is always close to us—closer than the life blood in the Jugular vein".[31]

By total surrender to God, the soul can realize nearness to God. Due to his high state of receptivity, he reaches the stage where he is enabled, in the words of the Prophet ﷺ: "To see with God's eye, to speak with God's tongue, to walk with God's foot, to hear with the ear of God." Then, all limitations vanish and his day and night are spent in God's neighborhood. All this can be felt, not described in words. [32]

The beginning of all sorts of spiritual activity is in fact the process of *Tafakkur*[33] and *Tadabbur.*[34]

Man possesses a double personality. Therefore, two types of provision are to be constantly supplied for him to survive; one being physical provision, the other being spiritual provision. The center of the acquisition of physical provision, according to the *Qur'an*, is this earth[35] and the center of the acquisition of spiritual provision is the Being of God. That is why this provision is called 'Lord's sustenance'[36] or 'spiritual provision' is, in actual fact, the result of a contact with the external source of sustenance – that is, God. This goal is achieved entirely through mental action. This mental activity is called *tafakkur* and *Tadabbur* or contemplation (remembrance of God, thoughts of God) in the *Qur'an* and this is the basis of receiving Spirituality or *Rabbaniyat* in Islam.

Contemplation is the source of Islamic Spirituality–contemplative Spirituality–which is received through a thinking process rather than the cessation of intellectual activity. In fact, the process of contemplation or *tafakkur* and *tadabbur* as mentioned in the *Qur'an*, is the beginning of any spiritual activity.[37]

Tawassum[38]*:* The universe according to the *Qur'ān* has been fashioned by God in a way that it may become a source of spiritual inspiration for man. According to the *Qur'an*, it is the quality of *tawassum*[39] that enables one to find inspiration in the universe: Surely in this are signs for those who examine. That is, to observe the phenomena of the universe in order to draw lessons from them and receive spiritual nourishment–*Rabbaniyat*–from the physical events.

A truly religious person is able to convert physical events into spiritual lessons through the process of contemplation and reflection–*tafakkur* and *tadabbur*. The *Qur'an* has described how godly people continuously derive such sustenance from their environment, thus maintaining their intellectual and spiritual well-being. This is elaborated in the *Qur'an* as follows:

> In the creation of the heavens and the earth, and in the succession of night and day, there are signs for men of understanding; those that remember God when standing, sitting, and lying down, and reflect on the creation of the heavens and the earth (saying): 'Lord, You have not created these in vain. Glory be to You! Save us from the torment of the fire, Lord.[40]

The *Qur'an* further enlightens that this intellectual process has two different directions — *Al-Anfus* and *Al-Āfāq. Al-Anfus* literally means soul, that is, inner world; *Al-Āfāq* literally means the universe, that is, external world.

When a believer sees the universe functioning in a perfect manner and finds that all the events in this vast universe always lead towards a meaningful result, he realizes that man's life too must have a meaningful end. This makes him exclaim: "O our Lord! You have not created all this without purpose. Glory be to you! Give us salvation in the life to come."[41]

Thus, the universe is a manifestation of God's attributes. Hence, it is a source of spiritual nourishment for those who want to lead a divine life on earth. For them, the whole universe becomes an important means of reaching spiritual perfection. This spiritual development continues throughout their earthly life till a time comes when they attain that degree of Spirituality, which the *Qur'an* calls the *Rabbani* soul.

Therefore, a believer is not supposed to shun his normal life in order to lead a life of observation and contemplation. Islam does not advocate withdrawing from the world. What is desired from him, according to Islam, is that while fulfilling all his duties, his heart should not be attached to worldly affairs. In this way he continues to gain spiritually.[42]

Apart from the parts of the soul, and the spiritual activity of *tafakkur* and *tadabbur*, there are some important aspects of Islamic Spirituality which are pivotal for attaining the goal of Spirituality.

1.4 Aspects of Islamic Spirituality

Tazkiyah[43]: It means abandoning a life of ignorance and wretchedness and leading a life ruled by the conscience.[44] The *Qur'an* says, "*Tazkiyah* alone can lead one to the Heaven."[45]

Allah took a covenant from all humans before they came to earth that they would worship Him and Him alone[46]. *Tazkiyah* is fulfillment and return to the first covenant between humans and Allah. Allah got a covenant from all human souls before they were created that they would obey Him. When humans commit sins they are breaking that covenant. *Tazkiyah* is a process that helps humans stick to their part of the covenant.[47]

Dhikr[48]: It means living with divine consciousness. When you have attained this state of consciousness, at every moment you will be in a state of *dhikr*, even though you may not be uttering any specific words. The *Qur'an* repeatedly tells us to remember God. This is what is known as *Dhikrullah*. One should remember God as often as one can. When your own divine feelings, your remembrance of and love and praise for God take expression in words that is *dhikr*.[49]

Remembrance is a powerful support on the path to God (Glorious and Majestic). Indeed, it is the very foundation of this (Sufi) path. No one reaches God save by the continual remembrance of Him. There are two kinds of remembrance: that of the tongue and that of the heart. The servant attains perpetual remembrance of the heart by making vocal remembrance. It is the remembrance of the heart, however, that yields true effect. When a person makes remembrance with his tongue and his heart (simultaneously), he attains perfection in his wayfaring.

The greatest source of pleasure is in the remembrance of God. It is this reality, which finds expression in the following verse of the *Qur'an*: "It is only in the remembrance of God that hearts are comforted."[50]

God Most High says, "O you who believe, make remembrance of God abundantly"[51]

On the authority of Abu al-Darda, the Messenger ﷺ of God is reported to have said: "The best of your good works, the purest of them in your Lord's sight, the highest of

them in your ranks, that which is better than giving gold and silver in charity and fighting your enemies and striking their necks is the 'remembrance of God'".

There are various methods of performing *Dhikr* and *Muraqabah*, for instance, (i) Some sit and repeat the word Allah by inhaling breath from left side; (ii) Others fold the legs and repeat the word mentally from right and then from left; (iii) Some inhale, meditating on '*la* (not) from navel and draw the breath up to the left shoulder, then think on Allah (God) in memory (brain) and exhale saying '*illallah* "but God" from the left side; (iv) Some close the eyes and the lips and mentally repeat Allah, the hearer Allah, the seer, Allah, the knower; (v) First, from the navel to the breast, then upward; then imagine it in an abstract sense beyond the body, (vi) Allah, from the right side, then from the left; (vii) *la ilāha*, exhaling, and *illallah* inhaling: and (viii) By counting a number of times on a rosary, while meditating or repeating a sacred word. The attention must be fixed on that word so much so that all other thoughts and sensible images disappear from the mind. Among the words selected for recitation are *la ilāha illallah* (there is no God but Allah).[52]

Khuluq[53]: God Most High says, "Verily you (O Muhammad) are upon a noble character". [54] On the authority of Anas, Prophet Muhammad ﷺ is reported to have said, "The one among the believers who has the greatest faith is the one of the finest character."

It is clear, then, that fine moral character is the most excellent virtue of the servant and the one by which his inner nature is known. Man is veiled by his body, revealed by his character.

Khuluq forms an important aspect of Spirituality and finds practical implication in the Sufi literature. To mention some, Al-Wasiti stated, "God described him as being upon a noble character because he sacrificed this world and the Hereafter, being content with God Most High." He also said, "Noble character means that one neither disputes with others, nor is disputed by them because he possesses complete inner knowledge of God Most High."

Al-Ḥusayn b. Mansur explained: "The meaning of noble character is that the harshness of men does not affect you once you have become attentive to God."

Abu Saʿīd al-Kharraz noted: "Noble character means that you have no aspiration other than God Most High."

Al-Kattani asserted: "Sufism is moral character. Whoever surpasses you in moral character has surpassed you in Sufism."[55]

Ṣidq[56]*:* The word *Ṣādiq* (truthful one) is derived from *Sidq* (truthfulness). The word *Ṣiddīq* (exceedingly truthful, veracious) is the intensified form of it, being he who is pervaded by truthfulness. The lowest degree of truthfulness is that one's inner being and outward actions are in harmony. The *Ṣādiq* is one who is truthful in word. The *Ṣiddīq* is one who is truthful in all his words, deeds, and inward states.[57]

God Most High says, "O you who believe, fear God and be with the truthful ones" [58] Truthfulness is the supporting pillar of this path (path of sufism / guidance). By acquiring it, comes the perfection on the path, and through it comes its order. It comes after the degree of Prophethood, as God Most High says, "those who obey God and the Messenger are in the company of those God has blessed – the Prophets and the veracious."[59]

On the authority of 'Abdullah bin Mas'ūd, the Prophetﷺ stated, "If a servant remains continuously truthful and is intent on truthfulness, it will be written with God that he is veracious, and if he remains continuously deceitful and is intent on deceit, it will be written with God that he is deceitful."

Khawf[60]: God most High says, "They call on their Lord in fear and hope."[61]

On the authority of Abu Hurayrah the Messenger of Godﷺ is reported to have declared, "One who weeps out of fear of God Most High will not enter the fire. [Moreover], dust from the path of God will never combine in the nostrils of a servant with the smoke of Hell."

Anas bin Malik reported that the Messenger of God ﷺ asserted, "If you knew what I know, you would laugh little and cry much."

Abu 'Ali ad-Daqqāq explained the different stages of *Khawf*, "Fear has differing stages: *Khawf*, *Khashiyah*, and *Haybah* (fear, dread, and awe), *Khawf* is one of the conditions of faith and its criterion, for God Most High says, 'Fear Me if you are believers'[62]. *Khashiyah* is one of the conditions of outer knowledge, for God Most High says, 'Truly they fear God, among His servants, who are learned'[63]. And *Haybah* is one of the conditions of inner knowledge, for God Most High says, 'God bids you beware (only) of Himself'. [64]

Further, Abu al-Qāsim al-Hakim noted, "Fear is of two types: terror (*Rahbah*) and fear (*Khashiyah*). The possessor of *Rahbah* takes refuge in flight when he is afraid, but the possessor of *Khashiyah* takes refuge in the Lord." It is correct that it is said that

the words *Rahbah* (to stand in terror) and *Haraba* (to flee) have one meaning, just as is the case with *Jadhaba* (to attract) and *Jabadha*. When one flees (*Haraba*), he is attracted to his own desire, like the monks (*Ruhban*) who follow their desires. But if their restraint is the rein of knowledge and founded on the truth of the law, then it is fear (*Khashiyah*).[65]

Mujāhadah[66]: God Most High says, "And those who strive for our sake, we will certainly guide them to our paths. God is with those who do right." [67]

On the authority of Abu Sa'īd al-Khudri it is reported that when the Messenger of Godﷺ was asked about the best kind of striving (*Jihad*), he answered: "It is a just word spoken to a tyrant ruler."

Further, great Sufis stress upon striving as:

Abu 'Ali ad-Daqqāq declared, "God will beautify the inner faculties with contemplation for one who adorns his outer being with the striving, for God Most High says, 'And those who strive in us, We will certainly guide them to Our paths'" (*Al-Qur'an*-29:69).

Al-Sirri said, "O young men! Strive earnestly before you reach my age, when you will become as negligent as I."

Ibrahim bin Adham observed, "A man attains the rank of the righteous only after passing through these six steps: (1) He must close the door of bounty and open the door of hardship. (2) He must close the door of dignity and open the door of humility. (3) He must close the door of repose and open the door of striving. (4) He must close the door of sleep and open the door of vigilance. (5) He must close the door of wealth and open the door of poverty. (6) He must close the door of worldly expectation and open the door of preparedness for death." [68]

Wilāyah[69]: Allah uses this word to refer to Himself in the verse: "Allah is the *Wali* of those who believe and takes them from the darkness into light....." (*Al-Qur'an*- 2:257). ".... Allah is the *Wali* of those who have faith" (*Al-Qur'a:n*-3:68). "... Allah is the *Wali* of the righteous" (*Al-Qur'a:n*-45:19).[70]

The word *Wali* (saint) has two meanings. One of them derives from the paradigm *fa'il* with a passive meaning. That is, God (May He be exalted) takes possession (*Yatawalla*) of the saint's affairs. He does not give him charge over himself even for an instant. God takes over caring for him.

The second meaning derives from *fā'il* with an intensified active sense. This applies to the one who actively undertakes worship of God and obedience to Him such that

his acts of worship constantly succeed each other without any intervening rebelliousness. Both meanings must be present for the saint to be a true saint; his fulfillment of God's rights over him must be performed fully while God's constant guarding and preserving of him, in good times and bad, must also be present. Anyone who acts in a manner objectionable to the divine law is deluded and deceived.

One of the attributes of the saint is that he has no fear, for fear is anticipating some disagreeable event that might come or expecting that something beloved might pass away in the future. The saint is concerned only with the present moment. He has no future to fear. The saint also feels no grief because grief is a hardship of the heart. How could one who feels the glow of contentedness and the pleasures of being in harmony with the divine law grieve? God Most High says, "Behold! There is no fear upon the saints of God, nor do they grieve."[71]

On the authority of 'A'isha the Prophet ﷺ stated, "God Most High says, 'Whoever harms a saint has called forth My battle against him. A servant, best draws near to Me by performing the obligations I have enjoined on him. He continues to draw near to Me by means of supererogatory acts of worship until I love him. I hesitate in doing nothing as I hesitate in taking the spirit of My believing servant, for he abhors death, and I abhor offending him, but there is no escape from it."

Sainthood further finds mention in Sufi literature of great Sufis. Yaḥyā bin Mu'ādh declared, "The saint is a fragrant plant placed in the earth by God. The truthful takes in his fragrance and it comes into their hearts so that they long for their Master. Then they increase their worship according to their different natures."

1.5 Methods of Spiritual Training

The methods that Islam lays down for spiritual development rest, in addition to faith (*Iman*), on five pillars.

Ṣalāh[72]: The first is the *Ṣalāh*, which brings man into communion with Allah five times a day, reviving his remembrance, reiterating his fear, developing his love, reminding him of this divine command again, and thus preparing him for obedience to Allah. Five obligatory prayers are offered in congregation so that the whole community and society may be prepared to journey on the path of spiritual development.

Ṣawm[73]: The second is the *Ṣawm*, which for a full month, every year trains each man individually, and the Muslim community as a whole, in righteousness and self-restraint; it enables society, the rich and the poor alike, to experience hunger, and prepares people to undergo any hardships in their search to please Allah.

Zakāh[74]: The third is *Zakāh*, which develops the sense of monetary sacrifice, sympathy and cooperation among Muslims. There are people who wrongly interpret *Zakāh* as a tax; in fact, the spirit underlying *Zakāh* is entirely different from that of a tax. The real meaning of *Zakāh* is sublimity and purification. By using this word, Islam seeks to impress on man the fact that inspired by a true love of Allah, the monetary help which he renders to his brethren will uplift and purify his soul.

Hajj[75]: The fourth is the *Hajj* which aims at fostering the universal brotherhood of the faithful, based on the worship of Allah, and which results in a worldwide movement of responding to the call of Truth.[76]

Jihād[77]: The last is *Jihād* that is, exerting oneself to the utmost to disseminate the word of Allah and to make it supreme, and to remove all the impediments to Islam through tongue or pen or sword. The aim is to live a life of dedication to the cause of Allah and, if necessary, to sacrifice one's life in fulfilling this mission. This is the highest Spirituality, rooted in the real world, which Islam wants to cultivate. Life-affirmation based on goodness and piety, and not life-denial, is what Islam stands for. And this lends a unique character to Islam.[78]

1.6 Way to Spirituality

In addition to the above mentioned methods to develop Spirituality, the way to Spirituality includes:

Īmān[79]: The first necessity for progression along the path of spiritual development is *īmān*. The mind and heart of a man should always be aware of that Allah alone is His master, Sovereign and Deity. Seeking His pleasure should be the aim of all his endeavors. This should be a firm conviction, based not merely on the intellect, but also an acceptance by will. The stronger and deeper this conviction, the more profound a man's faith will be.[80]

Iṭā'ah[81]: The second stage is that of *Iṭā'ah*, meaning that man gives up his independence and accepts subservience to Allah. Man should not only acknowledge Allah as his Lord and Sovereign but should actually submit before Him and fashion his entire life in obedience to Him.[82]

Taqwā[83]: The third stage is that of *Taqwā*. It means, fear of God. It consists in a practical manifestation of one's faith in Allah in one's daily life. Among the community of believers, some are superior to others; and this superiority is a direct result of their own strivings. It is a superiority linked to *īmān*, the strength and depth of faith. A living faith drives the one who possesses it to shield himself from whatever displeases Allah. This shield in Arabic is called *Taqwā*. It has been variously translated as "Fear of God", "piety", as well as "God- consciousness", and it carries all these meanings and more.[84]

Taqwā also means desisting from everything which Allah has forbidden or has disapproved of; man must be in a state of readiness to undertake all that Allah has commanded, and to observe the distinctions between lawful and unlawful, right and wrong, and good and bad in life. God most High says, "Verily the noblest of you in the sight of God is the one who is the most God-fearing."[85]

Dhū al-Nūn al-Miṣrī declared, "The God-fearing person is one who does not taint his outward being with resistance or his inwardness with superfluous matters. He stands with God in a station of harmony."

Iḥsān[86]: The last and the highest stage is that of *Iḥsān*.

Iḥsān means "Perfection" and "Excellence". It is a matter of taking one's inner faith (*īmān*) and reflecting it in both deed and action, a sense of social responsibility borne from religious convictions.[87]

Iḥsān, meaning "to do things beautifully", is one of the three dimensions of the Islamic religion, the other two being *Islam* and *Īmān*. In contrast to the emphases of *Islam* (what one should do) and *Īmān* (why one should do), the concept of *Iḥsān* is primarily associated with intention. One who "does what is beautiful" is called a *Muḥsin*. It is generally held that a person can only achieve true *Iḥsān* with the help and guidance of God, who governs all things.

Ihsan is the highest stage of spiritual advancement. At this stage the devotee has such a realization of the religious truths which amounts almost to their direct vision. This quality of *Ihsan*, which was later termed as *Mushāhadah* (direct seeing) by the Sufis, is described in the tradition by the Prophet ﷺ as: "*Iḥsān* is to adore Allah as though thou do see Him for even if thou do not see Him, He, nonetheless, sees thee."?[88]

Such a person thus begins to like what is liked by the Lord and to dislike what God dislikes. The man should then not only avoid evil, for it displeases his Lord, but should use all his powers to eradicate it from the face of the earth; he should not be content with adorning himself with the good which Allah wants to flourish but should also strive to attain and propagate it in the world, even at the cost of his life. A man who reaches this stage attains the highest pinnacle of Spirituality and is nearest to Allah.[89]

This path of spiritual development is not meant for individuals only, but for communities and nations as well. Like individuals, a community, after passing through the various stages of spiritual elevation may reach the ultimate stage of *Iḥsān* a state also, through all its administrative machinery, may become *Mu'min* (faithful), *Muslim* (obedient), *Muttaqi* (God-conscious) and *Muḥsin* (godly). In fact, the ideals aimed at by Islam are fully achieved only when the whole community accepts them and a *Muttaqi* and *Muḥsin* state comes into existence. The highest form of civilization, based on goodness, is then reached.[90]

The Holy Prophet Muhammad ﷺ said, '*Ihsan* is that you should Worship Allah as though you are seeing Him.

1.7 Concept of Islamic Spirituality

The concept of Spirituality in Islam promotes that God is the treasure house of all virtues. There are the three important concepts which further strengthen the Islamic Spirituality. The three concepts are chosen not only because they are theoretically important, but also because they are practically rewarding. If we want to grow spiritually, we can easily do this by developing these qualities in our lives.[91] These include:

Maḥabbah[92]: Love for Allah is a very important concept which can help us practically develop our spirituality, and become closer to Him.[93]

God's love for the servant is His desire to bestow blessings specifically on a given servant, just as His mercy for him is His more general desire to bestow blessings. So mercy carries a more specific meaning than desire, and love carries a more specific meaning than mercy. God's desire to extend rewards and blessings to the servant is called "mercy," and His desire to confer nearness and exalted states on him is called "love." God's desire is one attribute that takes on different names according to the different acts to which they are connected. If it is connected with punishment, it is

called "wrath." If it is connected to universally bestow blessings, it is called "mercy." If it is connected with particularly bestowed blessings, it is called "love".

God Most High says, "O you who believe, whoever among you turns away from his religion, [know that in his stead] God will bring forth a people He loves and who love Him"[94].

On the authority of Abu Hurayrah the Messenger of God ﷺ said, "He who loves to meet God, God will love to meet him. And he who does not love to meet God, God will not love to meet him."

Abu 'Ali al-Rudhbari finds importance of *Maḥabbah* in Spirituality and states, "Love is conformity (to the wishes of the Beloved)."

Further, Abu 'Abdullah al-Qurashi declared, "The inner reality of love means that you give all of yourself to the One you love until nothing remains of you for you."

Abu 'Ali ad-Daqqāq asserted, "Love is sweetness, but its inner reality is bewilderment." He also said, "Passionate love [*'ishq*] is exceeding all limits in *Maḥabbah*.

Shukr[95]: It is a very significant concept. It is a primary issue related to the core of *Īmān*. It is also practical and uncomplicated. Moreover, if we are thankful, we can achieve many things as Allah says in the *Qur'an*:

When Moses said to his people, 'Remember Allah's blessing upon you when He delivered you from Pharaoh's clan who inflicted a terrible torment on you, and slaughtered your sons and spared your women, and in that there was a great test from your Lord.' And when your Lord proclaimed, 'If you are grateful, I will surely enhance you (in blessing), but if you are ungrateful, My punishment is indeed severe.' *Al-Qur'an-* (14: 6 - 7).

The real nature of thankfulness, in the view of the people who have attained the truth, is recognition of the bounty of the Bounty-Giver, in an attitude of submissiveness and in accordance with this saying, "God (May He be exalted) is described as thankful *(Shakur,)* in the sense of widely extending His favors, not in a literal sense."

This means that He rewards the servant for thankfulness. So, He has designated the recompense for thankfulness as thankfulness (on His part), just as He has stated, "The recompense for an offense is one equal thereto." *Al-Qur'an-*(42: 40).

Thankfulness of the servant, in the true sense, includes both mentions by the tongue and affirmation by the heart of the Lord's bestowal of blessings. Thankfulness is

divided thus: thankfulness by the tongue, which is recognition of blessings with a degree of submission, thankfulness of the body and limbs, which means taking on the characteristics of fidelity and service, and thankfulness of the heart, which is withdrawn to the plane of witnessing by constantly observing respect. It is said that the learned are thankful with their words, the worshippers are thankful in their deeds, and the Gnostics are thankful in their steadfastness toward Him in all of their states.

"Thankfulness is attributing the blessings to their proper owner with a quality of submission." God Most High says, "If you are thankful, I will give you more."[96]

Al-Junayd observed, "Thankfulness is that you do not regard yourself as worthy of blessings." Ruwaym, a great Sufi saint explained, "thankfulness is that you exhaust all your capacities [in the effort to give thanks]." It is said, "the thankful one [*Shākir*] is he who is thankful for what is, and the very thankful one [*Shakur*] is he who is thankful for what is not." It is said, "the *Shākir* is thankful for a gift, and the *Shakur*, is thankful for rejection."[97]

Khushu'[98]: God Most High says, "Successful indeed are the believers, those who humble themselves in their prayers"[99]

On the authority of 'Abdullah bin Mas'ūd the Prophet ﷺ declared, "The one who has even the smallest amount of arrogance in his heart will never enter Paradise." Then a man observed, "O Messenger of God, man dearly wishes that his garments should be beautiful." So he said, "God Most High is beautiful and loves beauty; arrogance is turning away from God, and scorning man."

Humility is submission to God, and submissiveness is surrender to God and forswearing objection to divine wisdom and is a guiding tenant of all Sufis.

Muhammad bin 'Ali at-Tirmidhi explained, "Humility is this: if the fires of a man's passions abate and the smoke of his breast subsides and the light of glorification shines in his heart, then his passion dies and his heart lives and all his limbs are humbled."

Al-Hasan al-Baṣrī noted, "Humility is constant fear accompanying the heart."

When al-Junayd was asked about humility he replied, "(It is) that the hearts abase themselves before the One who knows the hidden matters."[100]

Thus, in Islamic Spirituality it is very important to be humble, not just as a claim that we may utter without firm belief, but as a deep sense of nothingness.

1.8 Ta*s*awwuf

The Spiritual training for the progression on the path of Spirituality is achieved through *Ta*sawwuf which is the science of Islamic Spirituality and it can be explained from the perspective of the three basic religious attitudes mentioned in the *Qur'an* and discussed above: *Islam, Īmān, Iḥsān.* The attitude of Islam, which has given its name to the Islamic religion, means submission to the will of Allah. This is the minimum qualification for being a Muslim. Technically, it implies an acceptance, even if only formal, of the teachings contained in the *Qur'an* and the traditions of the Prophet ﷺ. *Īmān* is a more advanced stage in the field of religion than *Islam.* It designates a further penetration into the heart of religion and a firm faith in its teachings. *Iḥsān*, the third quality, is the highest stage of spiritual advancement. At this stage the devotee has such a realization of the religious truths which amounts almost to their direct vision. This quality of *Iḥsān* is described in the Tradition by the Prophet ﷺ as: "*Ihsan* is to adore Allah as though thou do see Him for even if thou do not see Him, He, nonetheless, sees thee."

According to these three stages of religiosity, Sufism may be defined as the spiritual progress of a devotee from the initial stage of Islam to the final stage of *Iḥsān.*[101]

1.8.1   Stages of *Ta*s*awwuf*

There are four stages of practice and understanding in *Ta*sawwuf; *Sharī'ah*, *Ṭarīqah*, *Ḥaqīqah* and *Ma`rifah.*[102]

Sharī'ah[103]: It is the basic foundation for the next three stages. In Arabic, *Sharī'ah* means "road/ path; it is a clear track, a well-travelled route that anyone can follow". It is the stage wherein a devotee has to follow strictly the rules of religion. At this stage, the devotee learns how to annihilate himself. This is also called *Fana fi al-Dhaat.* This happens in the natural state of every human being living in the world, technically called '*Alam-i-Naasut.* But the Sufi *Fana* means self-mortification before actual death.

The *Sharī'ah* consists of teachings of Islam, basically the morality and ethics found in all religions. It provides guidance to us for living properly in this world. Trying to follow Sufism without following the *Sharī'ah* is like trying to build a house on a

foundation of salt. Without an ordered life built on solid moral and ethical principles, mysticism cannot flourish.

Ṭarīqah[104]: It literally means the path in the desert that the Bedouin would follow to travel from oasis to oasis. This path is not clearly marked like a highway; it is not even a visible road. To find your way in the trackless desert, you need to know the area intimately, or you need a guide who knows the destination and is familiar with the local landmarks. Just as the *Sharī'ah* refers to the external dimension of religion, the *Ṭarīqah* refers to the inner practices of Sufism. The guide you need in order to find your way is the *Shaykh*, or Sufi teacher. The *Sharī'ah* makes the outer day-to-day life clean and attractive. The *Ṭarīqah* is designed to make the inner life clean and pure. What is lawful at one level may not be lawful at another level of understanding. For example, the outer practice of fasting is required by religious law, but according to the Sufi path, one of the essential reasons for fasting is to develop self-discipline and to control the insatiable ego. If a person is proud of fasting, the fast is still technically lawful, but in terms of the Sufi path, the fast is a failure.

Ṭarīqah is the stage wherein a devotee has to follow blindly the commands of his mentor which is termed as *Fana fi al-Shaykh*. Herein, the aspirant starts traversing the path of spiritual journey leading to the world of angels, technically called *'Ālam -i-Malakut*.

Ma`rifah[105]: It is the stage wherein a devotee follows rigidly the teaching of the holy Prophet.☙ In the language of the Sufis it is called *Fana fi al-Rasūl*. Here, the devotee attains some power; divine knowledge dawns on him; his soul is strengthened enabling him to take strides further toward the "world of pre-destination," called *'Ālam-i-Jabarut*.[106]

God Most High says, "They have not estimated God as He deserves to be estimated"[107].

In the usage of the scholars, *Ma`rifah* is `ilm (knowledge). Thus, in their opinion all `ilm is *Ma`rifah*, all *Ma`rifah* is `ilm, and everyone who is *'ālim* (knowledgeable) with respect to God is an *`arif* (Gnostic) and vice versa. But among the Sufis, *Ma`rifah* is the attribute of one who knows God (May He be exalted) by His names and attributes and is truthful toward God by his deeds, who then purifies himself of base qualities and defects, who stands long at the door, and who withdraws his

heart continually (from worldly matters). Then, he enjoys a goodly nearness to God, who verifies him as true in all his states. The temptations of his soul stop, and he does not incline to any thought that would incite him to other-than-God for, when he becomes a stranger to men and is free of the calamities of his soul, when he is purified of joy in, and concern for, other-than-God, when his intimate prayers with God Most High in secret are constant, when he is sure in every glance of Him of his return to Him, and when God inspires him by making him aware of His secrets concerning his destiny, he is, at that time, called a "gnostic" (*'Arif*) and his state is called "gnosis" (*ma'rifah*). In short, the degree of gnosis he will reach is determined by the degree to which he is estranged from his self.[108]

Haqīqah[109]: In Sufi terminology, it is called *Fanā fi Allah*. The goal of the journey is reached and the aspirant unites with truth. This state of the world is called *`Alam-i-Lahut*. It may also be noted that *Haqīqah* is also named as *Waṣl*.[110]

1.8.2   Main Stages of *Ma'rifah*

Among the given four, *Ma'rifah* is concerned mainly with immediate experience and forms the path of Sufis. This path is described as a journey by Sufis. The path is known as "path of *tarīqah*." It has seven stages which are called *maqamat*.[111]

There are differences in Sufis in regard to "stages" but the main stages are explained below.[112] These stages constitute the ascetic and ethical discipline of Sufi. Each of the stages is the result of the stage preceding it. The path of Sufi is not finished until he travels all the stages. In each stage, he is to make himself perfect before advancing to the next. After completing all the stages the seeker becomes Gnostic, *'Ārif*.[113]

These Stages are as follows:

Tawbah:[114] Allah says in the holy Quran, "Turn all together toward God (in repentance), O Believers, that you may attain bliss"[115]

It is reported on the authority of Anas bin Malik that the Messenger of God ﷺ said, "The one who repents from sin is like one without sin, and if God loves a servant, sin does not adhere to him." Then he recited, "Verily God loves those who turn unto Him [in repentance], and He loves those who purify themselves" *Al-Qur'an* (2:222).

On the authority of Anas bin Malik the Messenger of God ﷺ is reported to have said, "There is nothing more loved by God than the youth who repents."

Therefore, repentance is the first degree among the degrees of the wayfarers and the first station among the stations of the seekers. The inner meaning of repentance in Arabic is "return." It is said, "He repented," meaning, "He returned." So, repentance is to return from what is blameworthy in the law of Islam to what is praiseworthy in it. The Prophet ﷺ said, "Remorse is an act of repentance."

Therefore, those well versed in the fundamentals of religion among the people of the *Sunnah* have said, "There are three conditions of repentance (which must be fulfilled) in order that it be sound: remorse for the violations that have been committed, immediate abandonment of the lapse, and firm resolve not to return to similar acts of disobedience."

One must apply these principles to make repentance effective.

As God Most High says, "Turn (*tūbū*) all together toward God in repentance, O Believers" (24:31).

Inabah is the quality of the saints and those drawn nigh unto God. Allah Most High says, "And those who brought a heart turned in devotion (*munīb*) (to Him)" (Al-Quran, 50:33).

Awbah is the quality of the Prophets and Messengers. God Most High says, "How excellent a slave! Ever did he (Solomon) turn (*Awwab* to Us)" (Al-Quran, 38:30 and 38:44).

Al-Junayd stated, "Repentance has three senses. The first is remorse; the second is the resolve to give up reverting to what God has forbidden; and the third is the righting of grievances."

Sahl bin 'Abdullah declared, "Repentance is giving up procrastination."

Al-Ḥārith asserted, "I never say, 'O God, I ask You for repentance.' I say, 'I ask You for the longing for repentance.'"

Wara'[116]: On the authority of Abu Dharr the Messenger of God ﷺ said, "Part of the goodness of a man's practice of Islam is that he abandon whatever does not concern him." Ibrahim bin Adham explained, "*Wara'* is abandoning whatever is dubious, and the abandonment of whatever does not concern you means abandoning whatever is superfluous."

Abu Bakr as-Ṣiddīq reported, "We used to forswear seventy categories of the permitted, fearing to fall into a category of the forbidden." The Prophet ﷺ told Abu Hurayrah, "Be abstinent and you will be the most worshipful of mankind."

Yahya bin Mu'adh, a great Sufi asserted, "There are two kinds of abstaining: Abstaining in the external sense is that there be no outward movement except for

God Most High, and abstaining in the internal sense is that nothing other than God Most High enter your heart."

Zuhd[117]: It means that one should give up voluntarily those things which give physical enjoyment. It has itself three stages: (a) Renouncing something which may bring name and fame (b) Investigating what to be given up and what not to be given up. (c) Not possessing nor wishing to possess any worldly thing. [118]

On the authority of Abu Khallad, the Prophet ﷺ said, "If you see a man who has been endowed with renunciation of the world and speech, then draw near to him, for he is infused with wisdom."

Sirri as-Saqati asserted, "God (May He be exalted) withdraws the world from His saints, denies it to His pure ones, and removes it from the hearts of those whom He loves, for He has not approved it for them."

Al-Junayd said, "Renunciation is emptying the hand of possessions and the heart of attachments."

Ahmad bin Hanbal further explained the concept of *zuhd* as:

> There are three kinds of renunciation: forswearing the forbidden is the renunciation of the common people; forswearing excess in the permitted is the renunciation of the elite; and foreswearing whatever diverts the servant from God Most High is the renunciation of the Gnostics.[119]

Faqr[120]: God Most High says, "(Alms are) for the poor who are in need for the cause of God, who cannot move about in the land (seeking livelihood). The ignorant one thinks them wealthy because of their restraint (in asking). You will know them by their mark: they do not beg from men in a demanding way. Whatever wealth you give, God is well aware of it."[121]

On the authority of Abu Hurayrah, the Prophet ﷺ is reported to have said, "The poor will enter paradise five hundred years before the rich. In the reckoning of paradise this equals one half of a day."

Poverty is the distinguishing trait of the saints, the adornment of the pure, and God's chosen quality for His elect, the righteous and the prophets. The poor are the elect of God (Glorious and Majestic) among His servants. They are the vessels among His creation for His secrets, by whom God safeguards creation and by whose blessedness nourishment is spread among men. The patient poor ones will be the companions of God Most High on the Day of Resurrection, as it is told in the tradition on the authority of 'Umar bin al-Khattab who said that the Messenger of God ﷺ said, "There is a key to everything, and the key to paradise is love of the

indigent. The patient poor are those who will be very near to God Most High on the Day of Resurrection."

Al-Shibli commented on poverty as, "The very least sign of poverty is that if all the wealth of this world was given to one man and he spent it all in charity in one day, but then it occurred to him that he should have saved enough for one day's food, he would not be truthful in his poverty."

Şabr[122]: God (May He be exalted and glorified) said, "And be patient, and your patience is only by God"[123]

God Most High says, "Verily God is with the patient ones".[124]

On the authority of Abu Hurayrah, 'A'ishah related this tradition from the Prophet, "patience is at the time of the first obstacle."

Patience is, then, of different kinds: patience with what the servant acquires (through his deeds) and patience with what is not by his acquisition. As for patience with acquired things, it is of two kinds: patient perseverance in what God commands and patient perseverance in shunning what He prohibits. With regard to patience with things not acquired by the servant, his patience is enduring a decree of God that results in hardship for him.

Junayd al-Baghdadi said about patience that, "It is drinking down bitterness without a frowning look."

Abu 'Abdullah bin Khafif remarked on patience that, "Patience is of three kinds: that of the one who strives to be patient, that of the patient one, and that of the very patient one." 'Ali bin Abi Talib observed, "Patience is a mount that never stumbles."

Tawakkul[125]: God Most High says, "Whosoever puts his trust in God, He will suffice him." "Let those who believe trust in God."[126] He also says, "Put your trust in God if you are believers" (Al-Quran, 5: 26).

As Dhu al-Nun al-Miṣrī has said, "Trust in God is abandoning the stratagems of the soul and stripping off power and strength, for the servant is only capable of trust in God when he knows that God (May He be exalted) knows and sees all of his states."

Rida[127]: In this stage the Sufi does everything to please God. It is binding on the servant that he be satisfied only with the destiny with which he has been commanded to be satisfied, because it is neither possible nor necessary that he be satisfied with all parts of his destiny, such as acts of disobedience and the numerous

trials of the Muslims. Satisfaction is the greatest gate of God." They mean that whoever is honored with satisfaction is met with the most perfect welcome and is honored with the highest favor. God Most High says, "God is well pleased with them, and they are well pleased with Him."[128]

When Abu ʿUthmān was asked about the saying of the Prophet ﷺ "I ask You to grant me satisfaction after the decree has been decided," he explained, "This is because satisfaction before the decree has been decided would mean there is a resolution to be satisfied, but satisfaction after the decree has been decided is (true) satisfaction."[129]

Abu ʿAli al-Daqqāq, a great mystic declared, "Satisfaction is not that you experience no trials; satisfaction is only that you not object to the divine decree and judgment."
Further ʿAbd al-Wahid bin Zayd explained, "Satisfaction is the greatest gate of God and the paradise of this world."
Abu Sulayman al-Darani declared, "If the servant rids himself of the memory of passions, then he will be satisfied." Al-Nasrabadhi stated, "Whoever wishes to reach the place of satisfaction, let him adhere to that in which God has placed His satisfaction."
Al-Fudayl bin ʿIyad declared, "Satisfaction is better than asceticism in this world because one who is satisfied never wishes for anything beyond his station."

1.9 Sufi Ethics

As every phenomena/process has a set of rules and regulations to be adhered to so has the Sufism too some ethics to follow. Among the cardinal tenets of Sufism, the following find the role to play:
ʿUbudiya[130]: A novice must submit himself to the will of God and live in perfect harmony with the divine Will.[131]

God Most High says, "Serve your Lord until (the Day of) Certainty comes to you"[132]
The Messenger of God ﷺ remarked, "Wretched are the slaves of money; wretched are the slaves of fine clothing."[133]

It is related on the authority of Abu Hurayrah that the Messenger of God ﷺ said,

> "Seven are the ones God will shade in His shade on the day there will be nothing but His shade: a just *imam*, a youth who grew up in service to God Most High, a man whose heart is attached to the mosque from the moment he leaves it until he returns,

two men who love one another for the sake of God and who meet and take leave of one another for this purpose, a man who makes remembrance of God without restraint so that his eyes overflow with tears, a man who answers a beautiful woman who would seduce him by saying, 'I fear God, Lord of the worlds,' and a man who gives charity in secret such that his left hand knows not what his right hand gives."

Dhu al-Nun al-Misri explained, "Servitude is that you be His slave every instant, just as He is your Lord every instant."

1.9.1   *Ikhlāṣ*[134]

Sincerity is having God as one's sole intention in worship. It means that one desires nearness to God by one's worship, to the exclusion of all else, whether it be making a show before men, trying to earn their praise, or loving to receive glory from them — anything other than desire for nearness to God, Most High. Sincerity means purifying actions of any awareness of fellow creatures. "Sincerity means protecting oneself from (concern for) the regard of men."

God Most High says, "Is it not to God that sincere devotion is due?"[135]

An authentic tradition states that the Prophet ﷺ related, on the authority of Gabriel, who related about God (May He be exalted) that He said, "Sincerity is a secret taken from My secret. I have placed it as a trust in the hearts of servants I love."

Anas bin Malik relates that the Messenger of God ﷺ declared, "Rancor will not invade the heart of the Muslim if he conforms to three things: sincerity toward God in actions, giving honest counsel to those in command, and keeping to the community of Muslims."

Abu 'Ali al-Daqqāq while observing sincerity has stated, "Sincerity is guarding oneself from (concern for) the opinions of men and truthfulness is cleansing oneself of awareness of self. The sincere one is not hypocritical, and the truthful one is not conceited."

Furthermore, Abu Ya'qub al-Susi observed, "When they perceive the sincerity in their sincerity, their sincerity is in need of sincerity."[136]

1.9.2   *Kashf*[137]

The uncovering of anything covered; manifestation. A mystic term used for a revelation of any secret truth to the mind of man, by the grace and power of God.

This is classified into: (a) *Mahazerah*, in which intellect is the means of reaching to a conclusion; and (b) *Mushāhadah*, in which personal knowledge is a proof of ecstasy

(*wajd*) and the condition attained (*hal*). By ecstasy, Sufis mean the true state of yearning or momentary absorption in the divine beloved. The state of ecstasy is higher than prayer when the divine will is revealed. A constant state of ecstasy leads to complete submission to the divine will.

1.10 Spiritual Knowledge

This is of three kinds: (a) Normal or Certain (*Ilm ul-yaqin*), reaching to a proof by intellectual reasoning; (b) Abnormal or the essence of certainty (*Ainu al-yaqin*), loss of worldly consciousness in a state of ecstasy, or knowing a spiritual secret by perceiving it and (c) Super-normal or the truth of certainty (*Haq ul-yaqin*), union with the truth or seeing and feeling the quality of a thing. These three stages of knowledge are illustrated by saying that a fruit may be known by its correct description, and better known by seeing it and perfectly known by seeing and tasting it.

Hal[38]: It is a mental state gifted momentarily by divine grace. In this state, one is either in the form of *qabz*[139], or depression of the heart or by *bast*[140] expansion of the same. The *Qur'an* says: "Allah contracts and expands the (spiritual) food." When it is gifted continuously, it is called *milk* (or possession), and when it becomes permanent, it is named *maqam* (or station).

Muraqaba[141]: It is watchfulness over the innermost being because of awareness of the Unseen with every glance and utterance. God Most High says, "God is watchful over all things"[142]

The Prophet ﷺ is reported to have said, "Vigilant awareness is the servant's knowledge of the Lord's constant awareness of him."

Al-Junayd declared, "One who achieves a vigilant awareness, fears only the loss of reward from his Lord."

Dhu al-Nun al-Misri, one of the great Sufi saints observed, "The sign of vigilant awareness is choosing what God Most High chooses, making great what God Most High makes great, and belittling what God Most High belittles."

Further, al-Nasrabadhi asserted, "Hope impels you to obedience, fear removes you from disobedience, and vigilant awareness leads you to the paths of inner truths."

And Al-Jurayri explained, "Our way is founded on two parts: that you compel your soul to a vigilant awareness of God Most High and that this knowledge be visible in your outward movements."[143]

Fanā[144] and *Baqā*[145]: The end of the Sufi path is *Fanā* followed by *Baqā*. These are the two highest stages of spiritual development. *Fanā* means passing away of the individual self. By *Fanā* or annihilation the Sufi means self-negation of earthly tendency. *Fanā* is a state of losing or forgetting self-consciousness in a state of ecstasy. In the highest stage of *Fanā*, even the consciousness of attaining *Fanā* disappears. This stage is known as *Fanā* which marks the beginning of the final stage. He lives, acts and does everything as a second person without selfish interest. *Baqā* means passing from the phenomenal self to the real self.[146] and *Baqā*, retention of spiritual existence, or extraction of evil qualities and retention of virtue or permanency of mind from sensible objects to spiritual reality, the extinction of material desires and the loss of selfish consciousness.[147]

1.11 Conclusion

To conclude, it is pertinent to place here that the idea of Islamic Spirituality has remained the pivot of human thought and deed. Spirituality is related to the soul. The soul is the king of the body through which man acquires the knowledge of Allah and His attributes. *Qalb*, *Rūḥ*, `Aql* and *Nafs* are the important aspects of the soul that help to attain Spirituality. Among these, *nafs* holds an important position in the process of achieving the Spirituality. The development, refinement and mastery of *nafs* are obtained in three stages: *Nafs-i-`Ammārah*, *Nafs-i-Lawwāmah*, and *Nafs-i- Muṯma'innah*. The beginning of all sorts of spiritual activities is in fact the process of contemplation and reflection. Apart from the parts of the soul there are some important aspects of Islamic Spirituality which are pivotal for the achievement of goal of Spirituality. These include: *Tazkiyah*, *Dhikr*, *Khuluq'*, *Ṣidq*, *Khawf*, *Mujāhadah*, *Wilāyah*.

Islam has prescribed a mechanism of spiritual training for the individuals and society to prepare in the achievement of the same. The training starts with the five pillars of Islam viz., *Ṣalāh*, *Ṣawm*, *Zakāh*, *Ḥajj*, *Jihād*.

The first necessity for progression along the path of Spiritual development is *īmān*, the second being *Iṯā'ah*, the third being, *Taqwā* and the fourth being *ihsān* (meaning

to do beautiful things) and this is the highest stage of spiritual advancement. Further, *maḫabbah*, *shukr* and *khushuʻ* strengthen more the Islamic Spirituality. The spiritual training for the progression in the path of Spirituality is achieved through *Taṣawwuf*, which is the science of Islamic Spirituality. *Taṣawwuf*, can be explained from the perspective of three basic religious attitudes mentioned in the *Qur'an* which include; *Islam*, *īmān* and *Iḥsān*. There are four stages of practice and understanding *Taṣawwuf*, which are: *Sharīʻah*, *Ṭarīqah*, *Ḥaqīqah*, *Maʻrifah* wherein the devotee follows rigidly the teachings of the holy Prophet ﷺ. Among the given four, *Maʻrifah* denotes the path of Sufis. It has seven stages which are called *Maqamat*: *Tawbah*, *Waraʻ*, *Ẓuhd*, *Faqr*, *Ṣabr*, *Tawakkul*, *Rida'*.

References and Endnotes

[1]Al-Sheha, Abdurrahmaan, *The Beginning and The End*, tr. Abu Hashim, ed. Abu Ayoub Jermoe Boulter, Abdurrahmaan Murad.

[2]*Al-Qur'ān-* 17:85.

[3]*Saḥīḥ al-Bukhari:*,Vol. IV, Hadith No., 3208, p. 111.

[4]It is an Arabic word which means heart: a hollow muscular organ that pumps the blood through the circulatory system by rhythmic contraction and dilation.

[5] Ibid. p.4.

[6] It is an Arabic word which means spirit: the non-physical part of a person which is the seat of emotions and character; the soul.

[7]Ibid.

[8]The faculty of reasoning and understanding objectively, especially with regard to abstract matters.

[9]Ibid., p.5.

[10]It is an Arabic word which occurs in the *Qur'ān* and means self, psyche, ego or soul.

[11]Ibid.

[12]See, e.g., *Al-Qur'an* 38:72; 15:29; 32:9.

[13]*The Purification of Soul*, compiled from the works of Ibn Rajab al-Hanbali, Ibn al-Qayam al-Jawzi and Abu Hamid al-Ghazali, Ahmed Farid, Al-Firdous Ltd., London.

[14]The inciting *nafs,* the *nafs* that urges evil.

[15]*Al-Qur'an-* 12:53.

[16]Ibid., 24:21.

[17]Ibid., 79:40.

[18]The self accusing *nafs*, the *nafs* that blames.

[19]Ibid., 75:2.

[20]*The Purification of Soul*, Op. cit., p.57.

[21]*Imam Ghazzali's 'Ihya 'Ulum-Din,* Op. cit*.,* p.5.

[22]Yahya, Harun*,The Moral Values of Qur'an,* Good wood Books, New Delhi, 1999.

[23]*Al-Qur'an-* 75:2.

[24]The *Nafs* at Peace.

[25]Ibid - 89:27.

[26]*The Purification of Soul*, Op. cit., p.53.

[27]*Imam Ghazzali's 'Ihya 'Ulum-Din,* Op. cit*.,* p.5.

[28]Ibid., 89:27-30.

[29]Khan, Maulana Wahiduddin, *Centre For Peace and Spirituality*, U.S.A, Good wood Books, Nizammuddin, West Market, New Delhi, 110013.

[30]*Al-Qur'an-* 24:35.

[31]Ibid., 50:16.

[32]Op. cit*., Centre For Peace and Spirituality*.

[33]*Lit.* Contemplation or thought. According to the *Kitabu al-Ta'rifat*, it is the lamp of the heart whereby a man sees his own evils or virtues.

[34] It is Arabic word which means reflection of thoughts.

[35]*Al-Qur'an*: 14:32.

[36] Al-*Qur'an*: 20:131

[37]Ibid*.,Taffakur and Tadabbur.*

[38]It is an Arabic word which means "the ability to understand the signs of nature."

[39]*Al-Qur'an*- 15:75.

[40]Ibid., 3:191.

[41] *Al-Qur'an*, 3:191.

[42]Op. cit., *Centre For Peace and Spirituality,* (*Taffakur and Tadabbur*).

[43]It is Arabic word which means purifying. It means purifying the individual of unfavourable elements, so that he may reach the point of perfection in a favourable environment.

[44]Op. cit*., Centre For Peace and Spirituality (Tazkiyah).*

[45]*Al-Qur'an*- 20:76.

[46]Al-Quran, 7:172-173, 36:60.

[47]Op. cit*., Centre For Peace and Spirituality (Tazkiyah).*

[48] An Arabic word which means remembering, the religious ceremony, or act of devotion, which is practised by the various religious orders of *faqirs*, or *darweshes*.

[49]Op. cit*., Centre For Peace and Spirituality (dhikr).*

[50]*Al-Qur'an*- 13:28.

[51]Ibid., 33:41.

[52]Ibid.

[53] It is an Arabic word which means moral character, disposition; temper; nature.

[54]*Al-Qur'an*- 68:4.

[55]*Al-Qushayri's Epistle on Sufism*, *Al-Risala al- Qushayri fi`ilm al Taṣawwuf,* tr. Prof. Alexander D. Knysh, Garnet Publishing Limited, South Street, U.K, 2007.

[56] It is an Arabic word which means truthfulness, telling or expressing the truth; honest or candid.

[57]*Principles of Sufism, al-Qushayri,* tr., B. R. Von Schlegell, Islamic Book Trust, Kuala Lumpur, 2004.

[58]*Al-Qur'an*- 9:119.

[59]Ibid., 4:69.

[60] "Fear." generally used for the fear of God. Abdu'llah ibn Mas'ud relates that Muhammadﷺ said: "There is no Muslim whose eyes shed tears, although they be as small as the head of a fly, from *fear* of God, but shall escape hell fire." (*Mishkat*, book xxii. ch. xxix. pt. 3.)

[61]Ibid., 32:16.

[62]Ibid., 3:175.

[63]Ibid., 35:28.

[64]Ibid., 3:28.

[65]*Al-Risala al-Qushayri fi`ilm al Ta<u>s</u>awwuf,* Op. cit*.,* p.142.

[66] It is Arabic word which means striving or spiritual struggle: to make every effort to combat and overcome one's desires whenever they lead one away from the commands of Allah.

[67]*Al-Qur'an-* 29:69.

[68]*Principles of Sufism,* Op. cit*,* pp. (12-15).

[69]Sainthood, the term saint has been used to translate the Arabic word *wali* (pl. *Awliya*) which Allah used to designate those who are close to Him. But, a more appropriate translation is "close friend" because *wali* literally means an "*ally*".

[70]Philips, Dr. Bilal, *The Fundamentals of Tawhid (Islamic Monotheism*), Maktaba As-Sunnah, Dargah street, Mahim, Mumbai, 2008.

[71]*Al-Qur'an-* 10:62.

[72]Prayer, the act of communicating with a deity (especially as a petition or in adoration or contrition or thanksgiving).

[73]Fast, abstain from drinks and foods, as for religious reasons.

[74]Almsgiving, the fourth pillar of Islam, an act of worship.

[75]Pilgrimage, a Journey to a sacred place, *Ka'bah*.

[76]*The Spiritual Path in Islam*, (*An Article),* Maududi, Abul-'Ala,

[77]*Jihad,* a holy struggle or striving by a Muslim for a moral or spiritual or political goal.

[78]Ibid.

[79]Faith, a strong belief in a supernatural power that control human destiny.

[80]Ibid.

[81]Obedience, the trait of being willing to obey.

[82]Ibid.

[83] It Is an Arabic word which means God consciousness. It also means protection and shield from what is harmful.

[84]*The Fundamentals of Tawhid (Islamic Monotheism),*Op. cit*.,* p.172.

[85]*Al-Qur'an-* 49:13.

[86] It is Arabic term which means godliness. *Lit.* "To confer favors, or to perform an action in a perfect manner." A term used in the traditions for the sincere worship of God.

[87]Maqsood, Ruqaiyyah Waris, *Teach Yourself Islam, Teach Yourself World Faiths*, p.41, 1994.

[88]Schimmel, Annemarie, *Mystical Dimensions of Islam*, University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill, 1975.

[89]Op.cit. *The Spiritual Path in Islam.*

[90]Ibid.

[91]Shomali, Muhammad Ali, *Key Concepts in Islamic Spirituality*, Message of Thaqalayn: A Quarterly Journal of Islamic Studies, Ahl al-Bayt World Assembly, Tehran.

[92]Love, a noble state that God has confirmed as a quality belonging to the servant, and He has made known His love for the servant. So God (Glorious and Majestic) is characterized as loving the servant, and the servant is characterized as loving God.

[93]Ibid., p.18.

[94]*Al-Qur'an-* 5:54.

[95]Thankfulness. The virtue of thankfulness is very much related to love for Allah. If you are thankful you will certainly love Allah because of all His favours and if you love Allah you will believe in Him and obey Him. Thus, thankfulness is the core of *Iman* (faith).

[96]*Al-Qur'an-* 14:7.

[97]*Principles of Sufism,* Op. cit, pp. 190-191.

[98]Humbleness, it is the ultimate humbleness or spiritual poverty. This means to strengthen our understanding of the need for Allah and achieve a sense of complete reliance on Him.

[99]*Al-Qur'a:n-* 23:1-2.

[100]*Principles of Sufism*, Op. cit, pp. 85-86.

[101]*Mystical Dimensions of Islam*, Op. cit*,* p.9.

[102]*Essential Sufism: Selections from the Saints and Sages*, ed. James FadIman and Robert Frager, Suhail Academy Lahore, Pakistan, 2004.

[103] The religious law, the law including both the teaching of the *Qur'an* and of the traditional sayings of Muhammad.⌖

[104]The mystical path, a legacy, a request, an inheritance which refers to the practice of Sufism.

[105]It is Arabic word which means gnosis (Lit., knowledge). It is the term used by Sufi Muslims to describe mystical intuitive knowledge of spiritual truth reached through ecstatic experiences, rather than revealed or rationally acquired.

[106]*Sufism, Evolution and Practice*, ed. Mohamed Taher, Anmol Publications, New Delhi, 1997.

[107]*Al-Qur'an-* 6:91.

[108]*Al-Risala al- Qushayri fi`ilm al Taṣawwuf,* Op. cit., p. 319.

[109]Truth; sincerity. "The stage in the mystic Journey of the Sufi when he is supposed to receive a revelation of the true nature of the God-head, and to have arrived at "the truth."

[110]*Sufism, Evolution and Practice,* Op. cit.p.10.

[111]The word *maqamat*, is the plural of *maqam* which means [the act of] "being placed", in the same way as the word *mudkhal* ("entry") may mean the act of being entered or the word *mukhraj* ("exit") may mean the act of being driven out. For one cannot enter a station unless one witnesses God – Most High – placing him into that station. Then and only then can one build one's affair on a sound foundation.

[112]Khan, Mohammad Sharief and Saleem, Mohammad Anwar, *Muslim Philosophy and Philosophers*, Ashish Publishing House, Delhi, 1994.

[113]Ibid., p.47.

[114]Repentance, it means, the sins are abandoned and it is resolved never to return to them. A novice should think of his sins with deep regret. Others should repent for forgetting God. They should forget their sins because the thought of the sins comes between them and God.

[115]*Al-Qur'an*- 24:31.

[116]Abstinence, it means one should refrain himself from indulgence. In Sufi sense, it may be of three types: (a) Abstaining from acts which are doubtful (b) Abstaining from whatever one's consciousness does not allow (c) Abstaining from anything which diverts attention from God.

[117]Renunciation, abstinence; a religious life, exercising oneself in the service of God; especially being abstinent in respect of eating; subduing the passions.

[118]*Muslim Philosophy and Philosophers*, Op. cit., p. 47.

[119]*Principles of Sufism,* Op. cit., pp. (40-41), (43-45).

[120]Poverty, it means to be stripped of every wish that can turn one's thought from God. It may be of three types: a) neither to possess nor seek anything. b) Not to possess anything but not to decline if offered. c) Not to possess anything but to seek the help of friends in extreme need.

[121]*Al-Qur'an*- 2:273.

[122]It means to keep mental equilibrium in adversity in distress and in trials from God. It may be of three types. (a) Patience in God. (b) Patience in and for God. (c) Patience in, for and with God. The first type is of one who can endure distress at one time but loses patience at another time. The second type is of one who is not moved and who does not complain of his bad circumstances, the third type is of one whose equilibrium of mind is not lost in any adversity.

[123]Ibid., 2:273.

[124]Ibid., 2:153, 8:46.

[125]Trust in God. It means complete dependence on God in all affairs. It is of two types: (a) Renunciation of every personal initiative such as seeking food, taking medicine, etc. (b) Admission of some personal initiative such as working for the purpose of subsistence etc. Trust in God is reliance on what is in God Most High's hand and despairing of whatever is in the hands of men, trust in God is emptying the innermost being of [even] the thought of demanding fulfillment in one's search for sustenance."

[126]*Al-Qur'an*- 65:3.

[127] It is an Arabic word which means "the fact of being pleased or contented; contentment, approval or satisfaction."

[128]Ibid., 98:8.

[129]*Principles of Sufism,* Op. cit., p.167.

[130]It Is Arabic word which means servitude. It is the state of being completely submissive to and controlled by someone more powerful.

[131]Shustery, Prof. A.M.A., *Early Sufis and their Sufism*, Adam Publishers and Distributors, Delhi, 199.

[132]*Al-Qur'an*- 15:99.

[133]*Al-Risala al- Qushayri fi`ilm al Tasawwuf,* Op. cit., p.210.

[134]Sincerity, it is the quality of being honest, true and real. This indicates the effort of moving towards the divine Being and keeping this ideal of movement above all other desires. It is opposite to *riya*, which means hypocrisy or pretended love without the putting forth of any effort to gain the beloved. *ikhlas* demands self sacrifice and indifference to all other ideas. When *ikhlas* becomes perfect, self-consciousness also is lost.

[135]*Al-Qur'an*- 39:3.

[136]*Principles of Sufism,* Op. cit*.,* pp. 186-187.

[137]Unveiling of the spiritual mysteries.

[138]A state, or condition, a term used by the Sufi mystics for those thoughts and conditions which come upon the heart of man without his intention or desire, such as sorrow, or fear, or pleasure, or desire, or lust. If these conditions are stable and transient, they are called *malkah* or *maqum*; but if they are transient and fleeting, they are called *hal*. or The mystical state (*hal*) is something that descends upon the hearts [of the mystics] regardless of their intentions, their [attempts to] attract it, or their [desire to] earn it. This can be [the states of] joy, grief, expansion, contraction, passionate longing, vexation, awe or need.

[139]Contraction is caused by an experience that descends upon one's heart. It may imply censure or indicate that one is liable for chastisement. As a result, contraction enters the heart and it contracts. For the divine gnostic contraction is the same as the state of fear is for the beginner.

[140]When, an experience is caused by closeness or by [God's] turning [to the servant] with gentleness and hospitality, then what enters the heart is expansion for the gnostic, expansion is the same as the state of hope is for the beginner.

These two states (*qabz* and *bast*) come after the servant has advanced above the state of fear and hope. [Likewise]. In general, one's contraction corresponds to one's expansion and one's expansion to one's contraction.

[141]Vigilant awareness, meditation, contemplation, an act of devotion performed by the Sufis.

[142]*Al-Qur'an*- 33:52.

[143]*Al-Risala al- Qushayri fi`ilm al Tasawwuf,* Op. cit., p.202.

[144]Annihilation, extinction, this is the last stage in the Sufistic journey.

[145]Affirmation, this is the highest stage in the spiritual development.

[146]*Muslim Philosophy and Philosophers,* Op. cit., p. 48.

[147]*Early Sufis and their Sufism,* Op. cit., pp. 26-27.

Muḥammad Muṣṭafa al-Aʿẓami's Contribution to *Ḥadīth* Literature

Sheraz Ahmad Mir[*]

ABSTRACT

This paper discusses the contribution of Muhammad Mustafa al-Aʿẓami to the *Ḥadīth* literature. It begins with the biography of Muhammad Mustafa al-Aʿẓami with a special focus on his legacy, education and achievements. It also provides a detailed account of his works; his authored books as well as his edited books. In terms of his contribution towards *Ḥadīth* sciences, it first discusses his arguments in response to the claims and theories of Orientalists on the pre-Arabia literature and documentation of *Ḥadīth* in the first two centuries of Hijrah. The main contention of Orientalists is that the development of *Ḥadīth* literature took place after these two centuries. His response to the arguments of Orientalists regarding the *Isnād* system; its origin and validity, and his contribution towards the computerization of *Ḥadīth* literature in Arabic language is also discussed. Furthermore, a detailed analysis of M.M. Al-Aʿẓami's approach regarding the origin, meaning, and methodology of *Ḥadīth* criticism is also made. He takes into account the arguments of opponents of *Ḥadīth* and comes up with academic responses to their objections. In light of Qurʾānic injunctions and other reliable sources, he argues that the science of *Ḥadīth* criticism is not a late invention, rather, a science initiated by the Prophet ﷺ himself. He also cites numerous incidents from the Companions in which they applied the principles of *Ḥadīth* criticism.

Keywords: *Sunnah, Ḥadīth* Criticism, Orientalists, Islamic Religious Sciences, *Isnād.*

1.1. Introduction

Indian subcontinent has been rich in terms of knowledge right from the Prophetic period. Twenty two Companions of the Prophet ﷺ came to the subcontinent to illuminate it with the light of Islam. After the period of Companions, their students started teaching Islam in general and its religious sciences including ḥadīth in particular in the subcontinent. In the second century AH, ḥadīth literature was taught in a systematic manner and the books of ḥadīth were also classified and

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compiled. It was Rabi' b. Sabih as Sa'di al Basri (d. 160 AH) who first started teaching *ḥadīth* in the subcontinent. In the third century, it was Raja' al-Sindhi (d. 221 AH) who became prominent in the teaching of *ḥadīth*. In the fourth century, it was Qadhi Abu Muhammad Mansuri who made significant contribution in this science *ḥadīth*. In the fifth century it was Shaykh 'Ali b. 'Uthman al Hujwīrī Ghaznavi who became engaged in the teaching of *ḥadīth*. One of the most prominent figures in the *ḥadīth* studies in the sixth and seventh centuries was Shaykh Razi al-Din Hasan b. Muhammad As Sagani (d. 650 AH). He wrote *Mashriq al-Anwar* which is considered to be the most significant book on *ḥadīth* literature. Then it was Shaykh 'Ali Muttaqi (d. 975 AH) who made significant contribution to *ḥadīth* literature. He wrote the famous book *Kanz al 'Ummal.* In the tenth century it was 'Abd al-Ḥaqq Muḥaddith Dehlavi who became famous in the teaching of *ḥadīth* in the subcontinent. He wrote many books in the field of *ḥadīth* sciences and also explanation of *Mishkāt al-Masabih.* Then his son Shaykh Nūr al-Ḥaqq Dehlavi (d. 1037) took the responsibility to teach the *ḥadīth* and write about its sciences. Another prominent name in this era was that of Shaykh Ahmad b. 'Abd al-Ahad Faruqi Sirhindi famous with the name Mujaddid Alf Thani (d. 1034 AH). Shah Walīyullah made significant contribution in *ḥadīth* literature in the twelfth century. He wrote explanation of famous *ḥadīth* book *Muwaṭṭa'* of Malik entitled *al-Musaffa (Persian), al-Musawwa (Arabic).* In the thirteenth century his son Shah 'Abd al-'Aziz (d. 1239 AH) continued the legacy of his father. He wrote famous book *Dabistan-i Muḥaddithīn* and various other books in the field of *ḥadīth* studies. Some other prominent scholars who contributed to *ḥadīth* studies in that century were Muhammad QasimNanotawi, 'Abdal Hayy Lakhnawi (wrote the famous book on ḥadīth criticism *al-Rafa' watTakmil fil Jarh wa ta'dil*) and Nawab Siddiq Hasan Khan, Syed Nazir Hussain Muhaddith Dehlavi, Rashid Ahmad Gangohi and 'Abdur Rahman Mubarakpuri. Anwar Shah Kashmiri made significant contribution to the *ḥadīth* literature in 13th century. His lectures on *Sahih* of Al-Bukhari were compiled by Badr 'Alam Mirathi in the book entitled *Faiz ul Bari.* In the 14th century AH, Shabir Ahmad 'Uthmani made contribution to *ḥadīth* literature. He wrote *Fathul Malham* a detailed explanation of *Sahih* of Imam Muslim. Some other prominent figures of that century were Badr 'Alam Mirathi, Muhammad Yusuf Kandhalavi, Zafar Ahmad 'Uthmani Thanawi (wrote the famous book *A'la' us Sunan*), Muhammad Idris

Kandhlavi (famous books *Tuhfatul Qari, At Ta'liq al-Sabih 'ala Mishkat al Masabih, Hujiyyati Ḥadīth*), Muhammad Zakariyya Kandhalvi (famous books *Auj al-Masalik Sharah Muwatta Imam Malik, Al Kawkab al Durari Sharah Tirmidhi, Al Abwab wat Tarajim li Sahih Al-Bukhari*). One of the most prominent figure of that century was Habib al-Rahman al A'zami. He edited various classical *ḥadīth* texts and classified them like *Musannaf* of 'Abdur Razzaq, *Musannaf* Ibn Abi Shayba, *Musnad* Humaydi, *Bihar ul Anwar.* Manazir Ahsan Gilani (d. 1956) contributed to the ḥadīth studies in a significant manner. He wrote the famous book *Tadwini Ḥadīth.* Manzur Ahmad Nu'mani is also among the prominent figures. He wrote the famous book *Ma'ariful Ḥadīth.*

1.2. Biography of Muhammad Mustafa Al-A'ẓami

Muhammad Mustafa Al-A'ẓami was born in 1930 C.E in Mau (Azamgarh) area of Uttar Pradesh, India.[1]. He studied for about six months in the *Madrasa* of *Shahi Masjid* of Muradabad and almost for one year in Aligarh Muslim University. He completed his basic religious education in the well-known institution of India Dar al-*'Ulūm* Deoband in 1952 C.E. He completed his *Fazilah* degree from the same institution.[2] He went to Aligarh Muslim University to complete his research on the topic related to 'Muhammad b. 'Abd al Wahhāb but wasn't able to complete it due to his departure to Qatar. During his stay in Qatar, he came across the work of Joseph Schacht which turned out to be his life changing experience. He went to al-Azhar; a prominent University of Egypt for higher studies and completed his masters from this University in 1955 C.E.[3] Then he returned back to his homeland after completing his Master's degree.[4]

In 1955, he went to Qatar for employment purpose after a short stay in his homeland. He taught the Arabic language to non-Arabic audience there for some time. Then he got appointed as librarian in the national public library of Qatar. In the meantime, he worked on some important manuscripts due to his extreme educational interests.[5] He went to London and in 1966 C.E completed his doctorate on the topic 'Studies in early *Ḥadīth* literature' under the supervision of A J. Arberry and R.B. Serjeant from the famous Cambridge University of London.[6] He came back to Qatar and worked as curator of public library for two years till 1968 C.E.[7] He was then appointed as Associate Professor in Umm al-Qura University Makkah from

1968 to 1973 C.E. In the year 1973 C.E, he was appointed as Professor in King Saud University. He made tremendous contribution in the field of *Ḥadīth* sciences during this period. Significant numbers of researches have been made in the field of *Ḥadīth* literature under his supervision in the Universities of Makkah and Riyadh during the period of 1968 to 1991 C.E. He has held the post of evaluator in the field of *Ḥadīth* in various universities of Saudi Arabia. He has also been the member of different educational and research institutions.[8]

He worked as chairman of the department of Islamic Studies, college of education, King Saud University; visiting scholar at University of Michigan, Ann Arbor (1981-82); Visiting fellow at St. Cross College Oxford, England (1987); King Faisal Visiting Professor for Islamic Studies at Princeton University, New Jersey (1992); Visiting Scholar at University of Colorado, Boulder, USA (1989-91) and member of committee for promotion, University of Malaysia. He was also an Honorary Professor, department of Islamic Studies, University of Wales, England.[9]

He was provided with the citizenship of Saudi Arabia due to his tremendous contribution to *Ḥadīth* literature in 1981 C.E and various other responsibilities were also handed to him.[10]

He was among the recipients of King Faisal Award in 1980 C.E for his marvelous contribution in the field of *Ḥadīth* literature. He received this award for the following works:

a. For his book *Dirāsāt fi al-Ḥadīth al-Nabawi* which is the Arabic translation of his doctoral thesis *Studies in Early Ḥadīth Literature* with some addendums.
b. Four volume edition of *Ṣaḥīḥ Ibn Khuzaymah* which was published after his research.
c. Computerization of Prophetic *Ḥadīth* in Arabic language.

He passed away on 20 December, 2017 at an age of 87 years in Riyadh, Saudi Arabia.

1.3. His Intellectual Legacy

1. Studies in Early Ḥadīth Literature

Originally his doctoral dissertation, the first edition of this book was published from Beirut in 1968 C.E, second edition in 1978 C.E and third edition in 1988 C.E and various other editions have also been published from time to time. It has been

translated in Turkish language in 1993 C.E and in Indonesian language in 1994 C.E. It is a prescribed textbook in various Eastern and Western Universities. In this book he responds to the arguments of Orientalists especially Goldziher and Schacht regarding *Ḥadīth* literature.

2.   Dirāsāt fi al Ḥadīth al-Nabawi Ta'rīkhuhu wa Tadwīnuhu

This book is actually the Arabic translation of his thesis. He translated it himself with some additions. The first addition of this book was published by King Saud University in 1975 C.E. Afterwards many other editions have been published from Riyadh and Beirut.

3.   Manhaj al-Naqd 'inda al-Muḥaddithin San'atuhu wa Tarikhuhu

The first edition of this book was published in 1975 C.E from Riyadh. In this book the author has discussed about the methodology used by the *Ḥadīth* scholars to authenticate the vast *Ḥadīth* literature. He proves with the aid of strong arguments that the methodology used for *Ḥadīth* scholars for *Ḥadīth* criticism is by no means imperfect. It also discusses the methodology used by early *Ḥadīth* scholars regarding the recording of *Ḥadīth*.

4.   Kitab al Tamyiz li al-Imam Muslim

This is the famous book of Muslim b. Hajjaj on the topic of principles of *Ḥadīth*. It was published after the edition and comments of Mustafa Al Aʿzamī.

5.   Studies in Ḥadīth Methodology and Literature

The first edition of this book was published from USA in 1977 C.E. Afterwards many editions have been published from time to time. This book deals with the methodology of *Ḥadīth* literature so that it would be easy to understand the *Ḥadīth*. It also provides a detailed response to the critique of Orientalists on *Ḥadīth* literature.

6.   The History of Qur'anic Text from Revelation to Compilation

The author has divided the book into three parts. The first part deals with the history of Qur'ānic text. He begins with the brief outlook of Islamic history in

which he discusses the Geo-political and religious conditions of pre-Islamic Arabia. Then he provides the outline of Prophet's life in Makkah and Madina.

The second part of this book discusses the history of Biblical scriptures. It begins with the brief outlook of early history of Judaism. Then it provides the history of Old Testament and its corruption. After the Judaism, it provides the brief outlook of early history of Christianity. Then it discusses the history of the New Testament, its anonymous authorship and its corruption. The final part of this book deals with the Orientalist discourse on the Qur'ānic studies. It also discusses about the motivations of Orientalists for the study of Islamic texts.

7. *Ṣaḥīḥ Ibn Khuzaymah*

The author collected the authentic *Ḥadīth* apart from *Ṣaḥīḥ* of Al-Bukhārī and Muslim after travelling to various countries. He hadthem published in four volumes after editing and commenting on them. The first edition of this book was published in 1970 C.E from Beirut. This is a unique book which was thought to have been lost but Mustafa Al-Aʿzamī discovered it and made its publication possible.

8. *Kuttab al-Nabi*

The first edition of this book was published in 1974 C.E from Damascus. Second edition was published in 1978 C.E from Beirut and third edition in 1981 C.E from Riyadh. Numerous editions have been published afterwards from time to time. This book is translated in English language by the son of the author Anas Mustafa al A'ẓami.The author has divided the scribes of the Prophet ﷺ into three categories. The first category deals with those scribes who took the most active part in this process for example, Zayd b. Thabit, Ubayy b. Ka'b, Muʿāwiyah. The second category deals with those scribes which were relatively less active in this process than the first category like Abū Bakr, ʿUmar, Abū Ayyub. The third category deals with those scribes which were least active in this process like Ja'far b. Abi Ṭālib, Abbas b. ʿAbd al Muṭallib. This book discusses about the scribes of Prophet among the Companions. Historians have listed almost forty five scribes of Prophet among the Companions. The author has listed more than sixty scribes of the Prophet from the Companions.

9. On Schacht's Origins of Muhammadan Jurisprudence

The first edition of this book was published in 1985 C.E from New York and second edition in 1994 C.E from England. Afterwards there have been numerous editions of this book published from time to time.The author divides the book into two parts. The first part deals with law and Islam. It discusses the place of law in Islam and the role of Prophet in Islamic law. It then takes into consideration the arguments of Schacht regarding the place of law in Islam and the Prophet's role. Then it discusses the existence of Islamic law, judicial activities of Prophet and legal literature in the first century A.H.

1.4. Contribution of Muhammad Mustafa Al A'ẓami to *Ḥadīth* literature

Muhammad Mustafa Al-Aʿzamī has made significant contribution to *Ḥadīth* literature. Some of the prominent aspects of his contributionare outlined below:

1.4.1. Status of literary activities in the early period of Islam

There is an ample evidence for the presence of written material even in pre-Islamic Arabia. Documents related to the genre of everyday writing concerning legal and economic matters can be found. A bulk of correspondence by letters in the form of orders, cover letters and delivery invoices can be found written on wooden sticks and palm-leaf stalks. There can also be found the lists of personal or family names recorded on wooden sticks. Some legal texts regarding the decrees and prohibitions executed by the ruler or some other high ranking official of the community can also be found written on stone or rock. A unique type of legal text can also be found in the form of personal confessions. They were normally cast in bronze tablets and were probably hung in temples. They were composed of the texts containing public confessions of the cultic offenses committed by certain individuals or groups. It also recorded the penances imposed on them. In addition to these, there are some instances of religious texts worth to be considered of literary composition such as oracles, omens and proverbs. There exists a unique composition called Hymn of *Qaniya* that can be treated as literature in the strict sense of the word. It is actually the poem of twenty seven lines addressed to the goddess Shams.[11] From this discussion it becomes quite clear that there was the existence of large scale literary activities in pre-Islamic Arabia and it would be wrong to say that the number of persons who were able to write at the time of advent of Islam in Makkah was only

seventeen.[12] According to Al Aʿzamī, there were schools in the pre-Islamic Arabia in which education was provided to boys and girls. They were taught the skills of reading as well as writing. There were also much of the literary activities taking place in the pre-Islamic Arabia such as tribal poems and also historical incidents. Some writings possess occasional nature such as promissory notes, personal letters and tribal agreements.[13]

The first revelation[14] was actually a sort of motivation for the Prophet to set some kind of educational policy, because it was based on the principle of seeking knowledge. Prophet sent his Companions like Mus'ab b. ʿUmair and ʿAbdullah b. Umm Maktum to Madina to fulfill their role as teachers prior to his migration to Madina. The Prophet on his arrival to Madina commanded to build a mosque which was to be used as a kind of school. There were nine other mosques which served as schools for learning various Islamic sciences. The ransom for the prisoners of Badr was fixed to teach the children of Madina the art of writing.[15] The Prophet highlighted the importance of education through his sermons and admonished with punishment to those who showed reluctance towards it. Prophet sent large number of teachers to places like Bi'r Ma'unah, Najran and Yemen in order to educate people living outside Madina. Prophet also influenced the masses through the medium of his sayings about the role of education in the society.[16] The educational policy of Prophet proved very fruitful. There can be found a long list of secretaries of Prophet who used to write for him. Almost fifty secretaries can be listed who were assigned to write in special sectors such as correspondence with tribal chiefs, keeping account of Zakat and other kinds of taxes, agricultural products etc. Various advices from the Prophet can also be found on the art of letter writing, revision after completion, dotting ambiguous letters etc.[17]

1.4.2. Orientalist conception of this literature and the response of M.M. Al-A'ẓami

The view of Goldziher regarding this literature is that the works of the prose writers of the Umayyad period have perished almost entirely. He further says that in this branch of literature the same secular, non-Muhammadan spirit prevailed which has been mentioned as characteristic of the poets who flourished under the Umayyad dynasty, and of the dynasty itself. He further says that those traditions which were current in the Umayyad period were hardly concerned with law but rather with ethics, asceticism, eschatology and politics. According to M.M. ʿA'ẓami,

the reason for the conception of Goldziher regarding early writing and literature of Umayyad period is the natural outcome of his observance of the religious conditions of that time.[18] Goldziher is of the opinion that Muslim community was ignorant of Islam as a religious practice as well as dogma. Goldziher uses seven *Ḥadīth*s for reference to verify his arguments regarding the ignorance of early Muslim community.[19]

According to M.M. Al A'ẓami, the conclusions made by Goldziher are not balanced because he fails to highlight the positive aspects of the educational activities of the early Muslim community. He makes use of some anti-Umayyad sources without critically analyzing them. He over-generalizes the facts and tries to apply a single incident to the whole community. For example, Goldziher used the *Ḥadīth* from the *Ṣaḥīḥ* of Al Bukhārī narrated by Abū Qilaba, "Mālik b. Huwarith came to mosque of the Prophet and said, "I pray in front of you and my aim is not to lead the prayer, but to show you the way in which the Prophet used to pray." He concluded that people of the early Muslim community had no idea how to perform daily prayers which is proof enough that Muslim community was extremely ignorant of even the essential religious matters. But according to M.M. 'Azami, this conclusion is totally irrelevant because it was only meant for teaching process and it would be inappropriate to consider the whole community as ignorant by quoting a specific incident out of context.[20] Most of the times, teachers demonstrate practically some aspects in order to eradicate the errors in executing them.

1.5. Recording of *Ḥadīth*: Arguments of Orientalists and M.M. Al-A'ẓami's Response

There are numerous verses from the Qur'ān which put emphasis on education; which includes the process of reading and writing. For example, "Proclaim! (or read!) in the name of thy Lord and Cherisher, Who created."[21] "Allah will raise to (suitable) ranks (and degrees), those of you who believe and who have been granted knowledge."[22] "Are those equal, those who know and those who don't know?"[23] "Those truly fear Allah, among His servants, who have knowledge."[24] There are also many Prophetic injunctions which emphasize on attaining knowledge. It also mentions great rewards for those who attain knowledge.

The recording of *Ḥadīth* began in the rudimentary form during the lifetime of the Prophet. Three methods were used by the Prophet to teach his *Sunnah* or *Ḥadīth*s to the Companions.

Firstly, he used to repeat the things thrice in order to make them easy to memorize and understand. He also used to make the Companions repeat what they had learnt. He used to ask questions to the deputations arriving from various cities in order learn new things from them. Secondly, he used to teach his *Sunnah* by the written method. It includes the letters of the Prophet to kings, rulers, Muslim governors and chieftains. It also includes the dictations of the Prophet to different Companions like 'Alī b. Abi Ṭālib, 'Abdullah b. 'Amr b. 'As etc. Finally, Prophet used to teach his *Sunnah* by practical demonstration. For example, method of ablution, prayers, fasting, pilgrimage etc.[25]

The Prophet also laid emphasis on knowledge in the farewell sermon of Hajj. Prophet created incentives for teachers as well as students. He said, when a man dies, his acts come to an end except three which includes the knowledge from which benefit continues to be reaped.[26]

Companions used to learn the *Sunnah* of the Prophet by three methods. Firstly they used to memorize it. For example, Anas b. Mālik said that we used to sit with the Prophet; and the Prophet taught us *Ḥadīth*. We used to memorize it and after we departed it was as if cultivated in our hearts. Secondly, there was a significant number of Companions who used to put the *Ḥadīth* in writing, for example, 'Abdullah b. 'Amr b. 'As. Finally, Companions used to learn *Ḥadīth*s by practice.[27]

When the Companions of the Prophet spread to all over the Muslim world, there was now the need to travel to gather or collect the knowledge of *Ḥadīth*. There was only one method prevalent for learning *Ḥadīth*s that is *Sama'*, reading by teacher to his students in the period of Companions. Then the new methods were devised from time to time like '*Ard* that is reading by students to teachers, *Ijazah* that is to permit someone to transmit a *Ḥadīth* or book on the authority of the scholar without reading by anyone, *Kitabah* that is to write *Ḥadīth*s for someone etc.[28]

There are two assumptions related to the recording of *Ḥadīth* from the camp of Orientalists. The first assumption is that the recording of *Ḥadīth* didn't exist until the second century A.H. Second assumption is that the *Ḥadīth*s were first recorded by al Zuhrī on the order of 'Umar b 'Abd al 'Azīz.[29]

These assumptions were formed due to the following misconceptions:

a. Misinterpretation of the words *Tadwīn, Tasnif* and *Kitabah*. They were all understood in the meaning of record.

b. Misunderstanding of the terms *Haddathana, Akhbarana, 'An* etc. They were all understood in the meaning of oral transmission.

c. Certain arguments that the memory of Arabs was so unique that they felt no need to write down anything.

d. Some traditions of the Prophet which prohibit the recording of *Ḥadīth*.

e. Misinterpretation of statements of early *Ḥadīth* scholars which deal with the recording of *Ḥadīth*s.[30]

One of the reasons for the misconception that *Ḥadīth* was not written until the end of first century A.H is that the historians while discussing *Tadwīn Ḥadīth*; have diverted their discussion towards the large scale *Tadwīn* of *Ḥadīth* that began in the second century A.H. They didn't take notice of or ignored those collections which were collected by Companions and Successors in the first century A.H. These collections were later compiled and classified by *Ḥadīth* scholars in the third century A.H. Historians didn't make mention of the *Ḥadīth* collections from Companions and Successors because they felt no need to make mention of them as they appeared already in the collections of the third century A.H. For example, the collection of Companion 'Abdullah b. 'Amr b. Al 'Ās; known as *Saḥīfah sadiqa*; was fully included by Ahmad b. Hanbal in his *Musnad*. Similarly the collection of Abū Hurairah through his disciple Hammam b. Munabih appeared in various famous collections like *Saḥīḥ* of Al Bukhārī and *Saḥīḥ* of Muslim and *musnad* of Ahmad b. Hanbal in the third century A.H. In the words of Abū al Hasan Nadvi, "If all those *Ḥadīth*s are collected which are present in the collections of Companions and Successors and then they are compared with those present in later collections, it will become quite clear that most of the *Ḥadīth*s from later collections have been written by Companions and there can't be found even the slightest variation."[31]

'Umar b. 'Abd al 'Azīz ordered not only Abū Bakr b. Hazm but also his other governors of various provinces to collect the written material of Prophetic traditions. He performed this task because of the fear that this precious heritage might be lost due to the sectarian conflicts and the consistent deaths of prominent *Ḥadīth* scholars. Then numerous books of *Ḥadīth* were brought to the caliph, which

were then compiled by his orders after careful scrutiny and copies of that compilation were sent to all provinces under his caliphate.[32]

The works of Companions and Successors can be termed as the first stage in the *Tadwīn al-Ḥadīth* process. The second stage of this process is the one initiated by 'Umar b. 'Abd al 'Azīz. Then the next stage is the one in which *Ḥadīth* scholars compiled and classified *Ḥadīth* in the form of *musnad, sunan, jami'* and *Saḥīḥ* genres.

According to Aloys Sprenger the *Ḥadīth*s were set into writing in the earliest days of Islam. But he was aware of the fact that these writings were not books in the literary sense, but rather notes or perhaps collections of individual sayings meant for private use. This argument contradicts the view of Goldziher who writes that in the earliest Islamic times the predominant opinion was that only the Qur'ān should be put into writing, while *Ḥadīth* should accompany it as oral teaching only.[33] So according to Goldziher, there was a long period of purely oral *Ḥadīth* transmission. He is of the opinion that the *Ḥadīth* scholars put the *Ḥadīth* into writing due to three reasons:

a. The fear of pious people to alter unintentionally the original wording of the Prophet.
b. The rejection, expressed by many groups, of those *Ḥadīth*s that appear in contradiction with the Qur'ānic authority.
c. The aspect of tendency that is suppressing uncomfortable traditions.[34]

According to al Dhahabī, 'Āishah said that her father Abū Bakr collected five hundred *Ḥadīth*s of Prophet. He didn't seem to be convinced about this act and finally burned his collection.[35]

Another frequently quoted opponent of written traditions among the Companions is 'Abdullah b. Mas'ūd. He is said to have ordered his son to immediately destroy a *Ḥadīth* narrated by him differently. The Makkan legal scholar 'Amr b. Dinar didn't allow his students to copy his traditions or even his own legal opinion due to the possibility of altering it afterwards. Al Awza'i is reported to have said that the science of *Ḥadīth* used to be a noble thing when people received it in lessons and memorized it together. But when it entered the books, its luster vanished and it came in contact with the people who have no understanding of it.[36]

According to a tradition, it was the Umayyad caliph 'Umar b. 'Abd al 'Azīz who ordered the first official collection (*Tadwīn*) of *Ḥadīth* because of the fear that it might vanish and its supporters might die out. This type of effort was attempted earlier also by Marwan-I and 'Abd al 'Azīz b. Marwan. This task was first assigned to Abū Bakr b. 'Umar b. Ḥazm but it was completed by al-Zuhrī. He seems to have been plagued by scruples all over his life because of it which is evident from a number of dicta that have been handed down by or about him. For example, he says that we were reluctant to set the knowledge (that is tradition) down in writing, until these rulers forced us to do so. Now we are of the opinion that no Muslims should be forbidden to do it.[37]

The term used for prohibition of writing down is *kariha al kitab* meaning he was averse to writing things down. Fuat Sezgin suggested that it can be translated the other way as we were averse to transferring *Ḥadīth*s in the way of *kitab* (i.e. the act of copying text without having read them to the master or heard them from him). But there are other instances which show that the phrase *kariha al kitab* is meant for prohibition of writing of *Ḥadīth*. For example, Ibrahim al Nakha'i disliked writing *Ḥadīth* in notebooks. In these types of instances it would be wrong to translate *kitab* as the manner of transmission of simply copying the written texts.[38]

The dicta in favor of writing down *Ḥadīth*s may have been circulated as early as the first century A.H. The name of 'Abdullah b. 'Amr b. 'As appears frequently in this regard, who was the owner of a *Ṣaḥīfah* that is a booklet in which he had written down traditions of Prophet and his Companions. He didn't keep it secret like others but he boasted it in public and gave it a name *al-Ṣādiqah*. This *Ṣaḥīfah* was then passed on to his son. The spread of *Ḥadīth*s in favor of written form of preserving tradition took place mainly in the following second century A.H. in Makkah and one of the supporters of written *Ḥadīth* was Mujāhid. He is said to have lent his books to one of his pupils to copy. The lowest level of opposition against written tradition appears to have been in Yemen. Hammam b. Munabbih is the author of a *Ṣaḥīfah* that survives and has been edited.

From the middle of second century A.H onwards we find Iraqis among those who set in circulation the traditions in favor of written *Ḥadīth*. Thus the Basran al Khasib b. Jahdar first spread the Prophetic *Ḥadīth* according to which the Prophet said to a man who was complaining about his weak memory to help his memory with his right hand.[39]

According to M.M. Al Aʿzamī, the terms *Tadwīn* and *tasnif* are not meant for writing down but for collection and classification according to subjects. So the statement that the first person to perform the task of *Tadwīn* of knowledge was Ibn Shihab al Zuhrī doesn't contradict the process of recording and collection of *Ḥadīth* in the first century A.H. It is because of the misinterpretation of the term *Tadwīn* which gave rise to such an argument. He says, there is no doubt that most of the Arabs possessed unique memory but it is in no way the justification for the argument that they were in no need of writing down knowledge because of their unique memory. There can be people with extraordinary memory in any period of time but the process of writing down knowledge can in no way be banned due to this.

M.M. Al Aʿzamī quotes *taqyid al ʿilm* of al Khatīb and says, he mentions the names of six Companions of the Prophet who disapproved the recording of *Ḥadīth*. Which are Abū Saʿīd al Khudri, ʿAbdullah b. Masʾud, Abū Musa al Ashʾari, Abū Hurairah, ʿAbdullah b. Abbas and ʿAbdullah b. ʿUmar. He also provides the names of twelve Companions who were supposed to be against writing down *Ḥadīth*s. Which include Al-Aʾmash, ʿAbidah, Abū al ʿAlīyah, ʿAmr b. Dinar, Ibrahim al Nakhaʾi etc. According to M.M. Al Aʿzamī, these Companions or Successors had written down *Ḥadīth*s and in many cases had sent them to others.[40]

The *Ḥadīth*s against writing down traditions from the Prophet have been narrated by three Companions; Abū Saʿīd al Khudri, Zaid b. Thabit and Abū Hurairah. The *Ḥadīth* versions of Abū Saʿīd al Khudri and Abū Hurayrah are deemed weak and unacceptable by the *Ḥadīth* scholars due to the presence of transmitter ʿAbd al Rahman b. Zaid. The *Ḥadīth* version of Zaid b. Thabit is *mursal* and unacceptable because its transmitter al Muttalib b. ʿAbdallah didn't meet Zaid b. Thabit. The second version of *Ḥadīth* from Abū Saʿīd al Khudri which reads, don't write from me anything other than Qurʾān and whoever has written anything from me other than the Qurʾān should erase it is also of disputable nature among the *Ḥadīth* scholars. It is believed to be the statement of Abū Saʿīd al Khudri which was erroneously attributed to the Prophet. Even if it is considered to be *Ḥadīth* coming from the Prophet, it could mean to prohibit the writing of *Ḥadīth* on the same sheet of paper on which Qurʾān was written. The reason can be the mixing of words of Qurʾān and the *Ḥadīth* which could lead to the state of confusion that the words of *Ḥadīth* written on the same sheet belong to Qurʾān.[41]

According to M.M. Al A'ẓami, many *Ḥadīth* scholars copied *Ḥadīth* but sometimes disliked doing so for inappropriate or sometimes for no reasons. For example, it is reported that Ibrahim al Nakha'i was against writing *Ḥadīth*s for the reason that whoever writes depends on it. It can be clearly concluded from this statement that he preferred to memorize the *Ḥadīth*s so that the memory of scholar can act as an active library. It is inappropriate to interpret the statement in favor of his reluctance to write down *Ḥadīth*s.[42]

The question raised by Goldziher regarding the traditions about prohibition or permission of writing *Ḥadīth* is that the *Ḥadīth*s on both prohibition and permission of writing *Ḥadīth* are forgeries from the two rival groups of early period. According to him the two rival groups *Ahl al-Ḥadīth* (pro *Ḥadīth* group) and *Ahl al Rai'* (anti *Ḥadīth* group) forged *Ḥadīth*s to safeguard their sectarian interests.

According to M.M. Al A'zamī, this conclusion from Goldziher is erroneous because the extremist scholars against writing of *Ḥadīth* belong to the pro *Ḥadīth* group. So how can a scholar from any group forge *Ḥadīth*s in favor of its rival group? For example, Ibn Sirin and 'Abidah who belonged to the camp of pro *Ḥadīth* scholars are reported to have been against writing *Ḥadīth*s. Same is the case with the anti *Ḥadīth* scholars.[43]According to al Dhahabī, "It seems that the prohibition of writing *Ḥadīth* was meant to make Companions more attentive towards the Qur'ān so that it can be copied and memorized without any mistake. When this task was achieved, the permission was again granted to write down *Ḥadīth*."[44]

There are numerous traditions which emphasize on the permission of writing *Ḥadīth*. For example, it is narrated from 'Abdullah b. 'Amr b. Al 'Ās that Prophet said, "Put the knowledge into writing."[45] Similar words are narrated from Anas b. Mālik, 'Umar b. al Khattab and 'Alī b. Abi Talib. Another *Ḥadīth* is narrated from Rafi' b. Khudaij in which he mentions an instance in which they asked Prophet if they should write down *Ḥadīth*s which they hear from him. The Prophet replied, "You should write them and there is nothing wrong in it."[46] It is narrated from 'Abdallah b. 'Umar that he asked the Prophet to grant him permission for writing *Ḥadīth*s and the Prophet granted him the permission to write down *Ḥadīth*s.[47]

The narration of al-Dhahabī regarding the burning of collection of *Ḥadīth* by Abū Bakr is deemed to be inauthentic by him. It contains in its *Isnād* a weak narrator 'Alī b. Salih al-Madini.[48] Instead there can be found numerous traditions narrated by

Abū Bakr in the later collections of *Ḥadīth*. Even if the incident is considered authentic, Abū Bakr himself states the reason for this act. He said, "It consists of some traditions which I have heard myself from the Prophet. It consists of other traditions which I have heard from other Companions and I am not sure about their authenticity. I don't want to attribute to Prophet a word which was not uttered by him." So this incident is an inappropriate evidence for the prohibition of writing down *Ḥadīth*.[49] When he sent Anas b. Mālik to Bahrain for the collection of *Zakat*, he handed him a book *kitab al sadaqah* which he wrote himself. It consisted of those Prophetic traditions which dealt with details of *Zakat* and other taxes. Al Bukhārī has narrated it in various sections of his *Saḥīḥ*.[50]

'Umar b. al Khattab made a decision during his caliphate to collect and compile *Ḥadīth*s. He sought the suggestion of other Companions and they all liked the decision. He thought about this decision for about one month and decided not to perform this task. The reason for abandoning this task was fear that Muslims might rely on this compilation like previous nations and the Qur'ān might lose its value. He was concerned about this because of the fast expansion of Islam. Large number of people was entering into the folds of Islam and they were not so much knowledgeable about the sources of Islam. It was quite possible that they could rely on the collections of *Ḥadīth* at the cost of Qur'ān. It becomes clear from this incident that 'Umar was in favor of writing *Ḥadīth* otherwise he couldn't have thought of taking such decision and also he couldn't have thought so extensively about his decision. Furthermore he possessed a collection of *Ḥadīth* of his own which he had put in the case of his sword. Nāfi' narrates from Ibn 'Umar that he found *Ḥadīth Sahīfah* which belonged to 'Umar in his sword case and it was related to the rulings of *Zakat* on animals. It could be that *Sahīfah* which was later in the possession of Salim which he read before al-Zuhrī. When 'Umar b. 'Abd al 'Azīz became caliph he sent a person to Madina to bring the collections of Prophet and 'Umar related to rulings on *Zakat*. He brought a *maktub* from the family of 'Umar in which the rulings of *zakat* were exactly same as found in the *maktub* from the Prophet, both of these *maktubs* were copied for the caliph.

There can be some more reasons for the Prophet's prohibition of writing *Ḥadīth* as follows:

a. Prohibition and permission of writing down *Ḥadīth* was based on the knowledge of lexicography. For example, 'Abdullah b. 'Amr was aware of lexicography and for this reason he was granted permission to write down *Ḥadīth*. Those who were not fully aware of lexicography were prohibited from writing *Ḥadīth* because of the chances of mistakes in their writing. This is the view of al Jazai'ri and Ibn Qutaibah.

b. Writing of *Ḥadīth* was prohibited in the early period but it was later abrogated by the Prophet. This is the view of Ibn Qutaibah.

c. Prohibition of writing *Ḥadīth* was general but the permission for its writing was specific for certain persons only. This is the view of Subhi Salih.

d. Prohibition of writing was meant for those people who could rely on their memory. And its permission was meant for those who couldn't have relied on their memories. Ibn Qutaibah preferred this view.

e. Some people are of the opinion that writing was prohibited due to the lack of writing equipment. This is the view of Abū al A'la Mawdudi.[51]

It can be concluded from the above discussion that first stage of recording *Ḥadīth* in the written form was in the period of Prophet and Companions. Then this process was continued by Successors in the second century and afterwards. The arguments put forward by the Orientalists are based on the misconceptions and misunderstandings. Their views are refuted by *Ḥadīth* scholars from time to time. M.M. Al Aʿzamī has responded to those views systematically in his works. For example, *Sahīfah Hammam* is mentioned by al Dhahabī as *Nuskhah Hammam*. The word *nuskhah* means copy. This word has been derived from the fact that the students used to copy out from the teachers' books. They used to copy it on sheets (*Sahīfah* or *Suhuf*), so the word *Sahīfah* was used as well. For example, *Sahīfah* of 'Abdallah b. 'Amr b. 'As can be termed as a book or a booklet because, it consisted of hundreds of *Ḥadīth*s, and couldn't be written on a single sheet. *Kurrsah* means a booklet or a notebook. *Risalah* also means a letter as well as book. For example, the *Risalah* of Samurah to his son, which according to Ibn Sirin contained much knowledge. The portion of this *risalah* is still preserved in *mu'jam* of al Tabrani and is a lengthy one.[52]

After mentioning these terms, al-Aʿẓami classifies the literary period upto 150 A.H. into four categories:

a. The writings and works of the Companions.
b. The writings and works of the Successors who lived mostly in the first century.
c. The writings and works of the scholars whose literary careers coverthe later part of the first century as well as considerable period of the second century A.H.
d. The writings and the works of the scholars who were born between 70 A.H. and 110 A.H.[53]

He lists fifty transmitters of *Ḥadīth* in the written form in the first category. He also mentions in detail about their literary activities. He discusses in detail their written collections and also responds to certain arguments against them. It includes Abū Hurayrah, ʿUmar b. al Khattab etc.[54] He lists in the second category forty nine transmitters of *Ḥadīth* who used to write down *Ḥadīth*. He also deals in great detail about their literary activities and also their written collections. It includes the nephew of ʿĀ'ishah; ʿUrwah b. Zubayr who was a great patron of writing down *Ḥadīth*.[55] He lists in the third category eighty seven transmitters of *Ḥadīth* who used to write down *Ḥadīth*. He dealt in detail about their literary activities and also their written collections. It includes al-Zuhrī, Ibn Sirin, Hisham b. ʿUrwah etc.[56] He lists in the fourth category two hundred and fifty one transmitters of *Ḥadīth* who used to write down *Ḥadīth*. He discussed the details of their literary activities and also their collections of *Ḥadīth*. He also mentions their students and teachers.[57]

1.6. *Isnād* system: arguments of Orientalists and M.M. Al A'ẓami's response

According to Leone Caetani, *Isnād* was a later invention that followed the traditions. This suggests that *Isnād* originated much later than it was thought. It may be a consequence of the needs of the new civilization due to the Muslim conquest. According to Caetani, ʿUrwah b. Zubair uses no *Isnād* and quotes no authority except the Qur'ān which means that in his period there was no existence of *Isnāds*. He concludes that the origin of *Isnād* may be placed somewhere between the period of ʿUrwah b. Zubair (d. 94 A.H) and Ibn Ishaq (d. 151 A.H) because *Isnād* is used by Ibn Ishaq but in the rudimentary form. The science of *Isnād* developed though not in perfect form in the period of al-Waqidi (d. 207 A.H) and his secretary Ibn Sa'd (d.

230 A.H). He is of the opinion that the greater part of the *Isnād* was put together or created by the traditionists of the end of the second century.[58]

According to Joseph Horovitz, the entry of *Isnād* can be traced back to the period of last third of the first century. He argues that Ibn Ishaq often doesn't make use of *Isnāds* but he used it only when he was sure that the information he received was from his teachers. He further argues that the *Isnād* was known to al Zuhrī but it was older than his period. He refutes the arguments of Caetani and Sprenger in which they claim that the *Isnāds* associated with 'Urwah are not genuine, he was credited with having an *Isnād* by the later compilers. According to Horovitz they failed to analyze all the *Isnāds* of 'Urwah. They only referred to that material which 'Urwah wrote to 'Abd al Mālik and ignored the material which he narrated in learned circles. According to him, Jews learned the science of *Isnād* from the Muslims; who had developed it.[59]

Schacht distrusts the *Isnād* Mālik from Nāfi' from Ibn 'Umar on two grounds. Firstly, stating that Mālik was too young to have heard Nāfi' directly. He can at best only have received a book containing traditions transmitted by him and Mālik pretended as if he had actually heard them. Furthermore, the date of Mālik's birth is not known definitely. Secondly, Schacht distrusts this *Isnād* because it is a family one, Nāfi' being the client of Ibn 'Umar. Schacht argues that the family *Isnād* was a device used to spread spurious traditions and he gives examples to prove it.[60]

According to M.M Al-A'zamī, the interpretation of the word *fitnah* by Robson is also erroneous. He suggests that the word *fitnah* best suits the first civil war between 'Alī and Mu'āwiyah. The first reason is the existence of spurious traditions in the middle of the first century which belongs to the period of first civil war. A lot of traditions were forged during the civil war between 'Alī and Mu'āwiyah by the supporters of both parties. It was done by those persons who were skeptic towards Islam. They disguised themselves as the supporters of any one of the parties and fabricated traditions for political purpose. So it seems appropriate to interpret the word *fitnah* as the period of first civil war. Another reason is the usage of phrase 'they didn't ask' which clearly shows that he was referring to the period earlier than his own. It also affirms the existence of *Isnād* in the earlier period but it was left to the transmitter whether or not he discloses his sources.[61]

Al-Aʿzamī treats the *Ḥadīth* literature as an independent branch and separates it from legal science and *Sīrah* literature. He comes up with twelve examples and produces them as an evidence in order to refute the claims of western scholars especially Schacht. He is of the opinion that absence of *Isnād* in the legal traditions or the *Sīrah* literature doesn't mean that the *Isnād* didn't exist at that period. He states that it was custom of the early scholars to skip the usage of *Isnād* in order to make the work precise. For example Al Aʿzamī quotes Abū Yusuf who says in *Kharāj* that he could have used *Ḥadīth* with *Isnād* if he doesn't have the fear of making his work voluminous. It was also the custom of early scholars to quote directly from the higher authorities instead of using the complete *Isnād* for the reason of making the work precise or may be for the reason that they had mentioned the complete *Isnād* in some other works. Sometimes the early scholars only mention that certain practice is the *Sunnah* of the Prophet without mentioning the *Isnād* or even the actual text because of the reason that the tradition is well established among the scholars. For example Al Aʿzamī quotes al Shāfiʿī who refers to a tradition in *Risalah* without giving any details but the Proper details can be found in his other prominent works like *al Umm*.

He is of the opinion that the literature of legal science or *Sīrah* literature is inappropriate to be used for the study of traditions and *Isnāds* and their growth. He treats *Ḥadīth* as the independent subject with many subsidiary branches. He concludes that it would be wrong and even unscientific to study *Ḥadīth* as the subject in legal books as Schacht and other western scholars did.[62]

1.7. Computerization of the religious texts

One of his original contributions includes the computerization of religious texts in a manner that was ahead of his time. He became aware of computer technology during his stay in USA in the late 1970's. He decided to apply such technology in the service of the *Sunnah* of the Prophet. In 1980 he was able to submit a preliminary, computer-generated concordance of a small collection of *Ḥadīth*s to the King Faisal International Award which proved to be successful. In 1981, he was able to purchase a superior type of computer HP 3000/S44 after using Hewlett Packard 1000 minicomputer for a very long period of time. He produced the new edition of *Sunan Ibn Majah* with a concordance of almost all the words in the book, alongside many

other indices generated by the computer. He strenuously obtained manuscripts from around the world so that printed editions could be verified. These efforts led to the *Musnad* of Imam Ahmad being corrected, and the purchase of the first rate manuscript of *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhāri* based on the work of Yunini.[63] When the project was started in 1978, the computers were not in a position to enter texts with diacritics. In 1983, due to the latest technology it was possible to insert text with diacritics. He worked exhaustively with others on a programme that would automatically insert the diacritics into the stored texts so as to save manually inputting them, which had a success rate of 80%. By 1991, the programme had developed to the point where tens of volumes were digitally stored, as well as providing the possibility for sophisticated searches of the stored collections, with the programme amounting to 100 megabytes, and including digitalized pictures of geographical maps and locations that could be pinpointed and enlarged by the user.[64] However, as mentioned by Imtiyaz Damiel, this project was never completed despite the huge strides that were made at such an initial stage.

1.8. *Ḥadīth* criticism

One of the prominent contributions of Muhammad Mustafa al Aʿzamī is the detailed academic analysis of origin, meaning and methodology of *Ḥadīth* criticism. He explained this science in an academic manner in order to provide response to the objections of opponents of *Ḥadīth* literature. According to him, the word *Naqd* was used for *Ḥadīth* criticism by the scholars of second century. It doesn't mean that this science was totally no existent in the first century. It emerged in the Prophetic period and got developed gradually. Qur'ān used the word *Tamyiz* which means to separate one thing from the other and it can be considered as the synonymous term with the *Naqd*. Some scholars named the science of *Ḥadīth* criticism as *al Jarḥwa al Ta'dīl*.[65]

One of the prominent objections from the opponents of *Ḥadīth* related to compilation of *Ḥadīth* literature is that the *Ḥadīth* scholars were unaware of the rules of *Ḥadīth* criticism; or the rules of the *Ḥadīth* criticism didn't exist at the time of compilation of *Ḥadīth* literature. *Ḥadīth* scholars somehow avoided the usage of the principles of *Ḥadīth* criticism at the time of compilation of *Ḥadīth* literature. These arguments can be found in the works of prominent opponents of *Ḥadīth* like Aslam

Jayrajpuri. According to him, *Ḥadīth* literature was compiled along with the *Isnād* and the principles of *Ḥadīth* criticism were formulated after that. He further writes that the *Ḥadīth* literature was put into writing in the beginning of the second century by the order of 'Umar b. 'Abd al 'Azīz but the *Ḥadīth* literature was criticized from the third century.[66]

This objection from the opponents of *Ḥadīth* is baseless because there are numerous verses of Qur'ān which highlight the importance of *Ḥadīth* criticism.[67] Qur'ān wants us to investigate the sayings of any person which is the basis of need of the science of *Ḥadīth* criticism. So it seems impossible that Prophet and his Companions didn't formulate some principles regarding this science.

The injunctions of the Qur'ān related to *Ḥadīth* criticism were first of all put in application by the Prophet himself. There are numerous incidents from the Prophetic period which not only highlight the importance of this science but also throw light on its important principles. The first step which Prophet took in this regard was to warn his people about the punishment for attributing something intentionally to him. He encouraged them to show utmost caution in narrating the *Ḥadīth*s. He said, narrate *Ḥadīth* from me but refrain from attributing falsehood to me, whoever attributes falsehood intentionally to me, he made his seat in the hellfire.[68]

Second step which Prophet took was to warn his people about those people who will attribute falsehood to him. He instructed to refrain from such people. He said, in the later times there will come liars to you, who will tell you those *Ḥadīth* which neither you nor your ancestors had heard before. You must protect yourselves from them; they may make you go astray.[69] The third step taken by the Prophet in this regard was the instruction that one should not accept anything without proper investigation. He said, it is enough for a person to be deemed as a lair if he narrates everything he hears without proper investigation.[70]

Fourth step taken by the Prophet was the instruction of *Dirayat al Ḥadīth.* It served as an important tool to check the inconsistencies in the text of the *Ḥadīth.* Companions used to identify the *Ḥadīth* by feeling its words because they were familiar with the style of the Prophetic utterances.

The Prophet applied the science of *Jarḥwa Ta'dīl* in the rudimentary form in his lifetime in order to provide guidance about it. Prophet gave the title *Ṣiddīq* to Abū

Bakr, he said 'Abdullah b 'Umar is *Rajulun Salihun*, he accepted the witness of Khuzaymah b. Thabit equivalent to two[71]; and similar other titles. It is actually a sort of *Ta'dil* and *Tawthiq*. Similarly, Prophet did *Jarḥ* of some persons like Abū Jahm and also of some hypocrites by mentioning their names. In the Prophetic period whenever Companions felt doubtful about any *Ḥadīth*, they used to ask the Prophet about it. In this way they implemented the principles of *Ḥadīth* criticism. There are many such incidents in the Prophetic period.

1. 'Alī returned from Yemen at the time of *Hajjah al Wada'* and brought an animal of sacrifice with him. He saw Fatima in colored clothes and applied *Kohl* in her eyes. He went to Prophet and told him about it and also mentioned that she replied that it was done by the permission of the Prophet. On hearing all this from 'Alī, Prophet replied that she told the truth and repeated it thrice.[72]

2. 'Abdallah b. 'Umar heard a *Ḥadīth* that whoever prays in sitting position gets half the reward. He went to the Prophet in order to get the clarification and saw Prophet praying in sitting position. He informed Prophet about the matter and he replied that you heard right, but I am not like anyone amongst you.[73]

According to Al-A'zamī, after the death of the Prophet, Islam and its teachings got spread to vast areas. Firstly, it was due to the expeditions led by the Muslim army in order to defend Islam from the attacks of their enemies. They conquered different territories in order to spread the message and teachings of Islam and free people from the chains of disbelief, polytheism and various other vices. Secondly, it was due to the educational policy implemented by the caliphs of the Prophet. They used to send teachers to various provinces in order to make them aware of the teachings of Islam. It was due to their tiresome efforts that a lot of provinces entered into the fold of Islam. It was thus necessary to develop the science of *Ḥadīth* criticism in order to avoid *Ḥadīth* forgery. For this reason, Abū Bakr, and 'Umar and 'Alī were the most prominent personalities in this field.[74]

According to al-Dhahabī, Abū Bakr was the first person who showed the cautious nature in accepting the *Ḥadīth* of the Prophet. He used as an example the incident in which Abū Bakr said to an old lady that he didn't find any part of inheritance for her in Qur'ān and the *Sunnah* of the Prophet.[75] Same was the case with other caliphs. For example, Ibn 'Umar said, 'Umar command us not to accepted *Ḥadīth* from anyone

expect the one who is reliable.[76] 'Alī used to take oath from the person who narrated *Ḥadīth* to him before accepting it.[77] Then Successors followed this trend and continued to develop this science. According to M.M Al A'ẓami, there were numerous scholars from Madinan school like al-Ẓuhrī, Hishām b. "Urwah, etc. who worked on this science and made efforts to develop its principles. There were also scholars from Iraqian school like Hasan al Basri, Ibn Sirinetc who also worked on the development of this science.[78] It becomes clear from the above discussion that the science of *Ḥadīth* criticism was present in the period of Prophet and the Companions in its basic form and in accordance with the need of that period. *Ḥadīth* scholars developed it from time to time and in accordance with the need of their times.

1.9. Conclusion

Al-A'zami clarified the wrong notion of Western scholars that there was lack of literary activity in the early period of Islam. He provided strong arguments in order to show the status of literary activities in the early years of Islam. He explained the role and activities of Prophet in the spread of educational policy. He pointed towards the existing literature of religious and non-religious nature that can be traced back to the Prophetic period. These arguments were posed in response to the Orientalists like Ignaz Goldziher who tried to show the ignorance of Muslim community in the first two centuries of Islam. Their main objective behind all this was to show the late origin of *Ḥadīth* literature.

He showed the incidents of writing *Ḥadīth* and other documents in the Prophetic period. He provides the long list of those Companions and Successors which belonged to the first two centuries of Islam. He also mentioned their collections of *Ḥadīth* along with the necessary details. He responded with strong arguments to the assumptions made by the Western scholars regarding the recording of *Ḥadīth*. He highlighted the defects in their arguments and responded to their misconceptions. He also discussed the case of prohibition of writing *Ḥadīth* by the Prophet and explained its causes. An attempt has been made in this thesis to include the arguments of various other *Ḥadīth* scholars like FuatSezgin who suggested that *Kariha al Kitab* can be translated the other way as we were averse to transferring *Ḥadīths* in the way of *kitab* (i.e. the act of copying text without having read them to

the master or heard them from him).This has been done in order to boost the relevance of this thesis.

Muhammad Mustafa al-Aʿzamī is credited with a unique contribution of computerization of the religious texts. In the discussion of *Ḥadīth* criticism it becomes clear that M.M. Al Aʿzamī responded to the wrong notion of opponents of *Ḥadīth*. M.M. Al Aʿzamī provides strong arguments to show the presence of principles of *Ḥadīth* criticism in the first two centuries of Islam. He narrates numerous incidents from the Prophetic period, the period of Companions and the period of Successors in which the principles of *Ḥadīth* criticism were implemented. In the period of Companions there was no need to compile this science because they were all trustworthy and they used to identify the forgery very easily. They had collections of *Ḥadīth* of their own which they had heard from the Prophet, for this reason it was hardly possible to make the forged *Ḥadīth* spread.

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Muḥammad al-Ṭāhir ibn al-'Āshūr's Contribution to *Maqāṣid al-Sharī'ah* in the Contemporary Times

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ABSTRACT

In the postcolonial times, Muslim majority lands witnessed an active and critical engagement between a section of Muslim scholarship and the incursions made by the colonial modernity, its various institutional manifestations in these lands in the socio-political, economic or religious contexts and importantly the legal restructuring in the Muslim majority countries in the twentieth century. In the backdrop of the assault of the colonial modernity, a need for a reformative model or framework to deal with the disputations of the modernity was felt like never before in history of Islamic people. Among all such reformative ideas, responses and the movements, Muḥammad 'Abduh   initiated a process of reformation rooted in Islamic theology, Islamic law and the inter links between the theology and the law. Succeeded by two of his illustrious students; Rashid Rida- a Syrian-Egyptian scholar and the main proponent of the reformative-*Salafi* paradigm and Muḥammad al-Ṭāhir ibn al-'Āshūr – an erudite Tunisian scholar and a leading jurist of the school of Malik. This paper endeavors to present a succinct appraisal of the legal thought of ibn al-'Āshūr who remains one of the most influential legal theorist and Qur'ānic exegete of the modern times. He came up with a very persuasive and original model of reformation and legal theory based in *Maqāṣid al-Sharī'ah*.

Keywords: *Maqāṣid al-Sharī'ah*, *Uṣūl al-Fiqh*, Postcolonial, *Maṣlaḥah*, Islamic Legal Theory.

1.1. Muḥammad al-Ṭāhir ibn al-'Āshūr in the *'ulama*tic (Scholarly) Context of Modern Tunisia

Muḥammad al-Ṭāhir ibn Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad al-Ṭāhir ibn al-'Āshūr (1296-1394 A.H/ 1879-1973 C.E), popularly known as ibn 'Āshūr, was born to a very influential and one of the most notable families of the city of Tunis in 1879 C.E. The family of ibn   al-'Āshūr's, known as a very influential family in the sphere of

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spirituality early and later in the spheres of Islamic scholarly tradition and the Tunisian politics as well, originally of the Moroccan Idrisīd descent, migrated from Muslim Spain to settle in Tunis. Muḥammad ibn 'Āshūr (b. 1030 A.H/ 1621 C.E in Morocco) settled in Tunis and with him the 'Āshūrs started their endeavor in the spiritual circles. Among the 'Āshūrs of fifth generation, three brothers Aḥmad (d. 1255A.H/ 1839 C.E), Muḥammad (d. 1265 A.H/ 1849 C.E) and importantly Muḥammad (d. 1284 A.H/ 1868 C.E) studied at the *Zaytūna* mosque, one of the greatest centers of Islamic learning in North Africa, to graduate as *'ulamā*. Muḥammad al-Ṭāhir, the grandfather of the twentieth century scholar who goes by the same name, later became a chief Mālikī judge and most renowned among three brothers and was appointed as *mufti* in 1861 C.E. Ṭāhir ibn 'Āshūr, born in 1296 A.H/ 1879 C.E, started his training at *Zaytūna* mosque in 1892 to become an *'ālim*. Belonging to the influential families from both paternal and maternal sides, his paternal grandfather Muḥammad al-Ṭāhir ibn 'Āshūr was a leading religious authority and a government official. While from his maternal side, his grandfather Muḥammad al-'Azīz Bu 'Attūr (1825-1907 C.E) worked as the first minister for 'Ali Bey (r. 1882-1902).[1] In the modern era, the early efforts at modification and reorganization in Tunisia was started during the tenure of Aḥmad Bey (r. 1837-1855) deriving the inspiration from the Ottoman and the Egyptian modernization programs.

Under the brief rule of Muḥammad Bey (r. 1855-1859) with the issuance of *'ahd al-amān* and *al-qānūn al- asāsī* (the fundamental law), the reformist project took hold. Following the patterns of the Ottoman *firmāns* (Ottoman Sultanic declarations) issued in 1839 and 1856, *al-qānūn al-asāsī* pronounced the introduction of the concepts of political equivalence among the various groups of the populace and the citizenship. Under Muḥammad Ṣādiq Bey (r. 1859-1882), with the introduction of new constitution in 1860, the reform project touched its new heights, instituting the separation of powers, limiting the prerogatives of the Bey. With this a new court system was introduced and a high council was formed to act as parliament as well as Supreme Court.[2] Albert Hourani has written a chapter in his book about the development of earliest modern reformist roots among Muslim intelligentsia as 'The First Generation: Taḥtāwī, Khayr al-Dīn and Busṭāmī[3], implying at the first generation of the reformers who shaped the milieu for any future full-fledged

reformation process of Islamic thought, institutions and society. Khayr al- Dīn al-Tunīsī (1822-1889), a prominent reformist of the 19th century, was chosen as the first head of the High Council. He made attempts to make the council play the active role as defined by the constitution made him to face stiff resistance from the Bey, which resulted in the resignation of Khayr al-Dīn al-Tunīsī in 1862. In the course of next seven years, Khayr al-Dīn travelled between Tunisia, Istanbul and Europe and published a treatise in 1867, *Aqwām al-Masāliq fī Maʻrifā Aḥwāl al-Mamālik[4]* (The Road Most Straight to Know the Conditions of the State). This volume, *Aqwām al-Masāliq fī Maʻrifā Aḥwāl al-Mamālik*, dominated the Tunisian political scene as well as the intellectual arena for more than a century. This book drew responses from various circles, illustrating the dissection within the Tunisian intellectual milieu including the Tunisian landscape of *ʻulamā* and the Tunisian political settings. In this treatise, *Aqwām al-Masālik*, Khayr al-Dīn al-Tunīsī focused on two major strands of the Tunisian community, firstly the enthusiastic among the statesmen and the *ʻulamā* and secondly the unmindful common masses. For the statesmen and *ʻulamā*, he urges them to exercise everything that may bring about the welfare in the Islamic community and development to the civilization. On the other hand, he tries to push and encourage the passive common masses against their unawareness and assumption of the dodging of every institution that is not found among Muslim people.

In 1869, Khayr al-Dīn al-Tunīsī returned back to political scene to chair the International Finance Commission, the time when Europeans intensified their incursions in Tunisian affairs. In 1873, the anti-reformist Prime Minister Khazāndār was replaced by Khayr al-Dīn.[5] From 1873 to 1877, Khayr al-Dīn made efforts to implement the ideas he had formulated in *Aqwām al-Masālik* with respect to reform, to deter European intrusions and stabilizing the Tunisian government. While doing so the distinction between the Tunisian ruling elite, the *ʻulamā* and the notables became more obvious. Being the prime minister of the Tunisia, Khayr al-Dīn made efforts at new institutional establishment with religious symbols, involved the *ʻulamā* in the administration. To hint at the reformation rooted in Islamic tradition, the administration of the new public library was handed over to Muḥammad Bayram V and Maḥmūd ibn al-Khūjā, the two senior *ʻulamā* and the newly founded organ of the government, *al- Raʼīd al-Tunīsī*, was hand over to another group of *ʻulamā*.

They were also employed into the modern day Ṣadīqīyah College and were also engaged in the reorganized *awqāf* (religious endowments). While all these changes were taking place, *Zaytūna*- the university mosque stronghold of traditional Islamic education and of *'ulamā*, faced the changes in its educational system, albeit at a very low level.[6]

In response to the French occupation of the Tunisia, the greater majority of the *'ulamā* rose up against the French dominance. Many of the *'ulamā* encouraged armed struggle against the occupation and the others immigrated to the areas under Ottomans. Among the *'ulamā*, a good number of them chose to continue their teaching services at the Ṣadīqīyah college and it provided a space for interaction between the French and the Tunisian *'ulamā*. As the French didn't tinker with pre-occupation governmental structures and institutions, the *'ulamā* convinced themselves of serving the Tunisian authority of Bey, not the French occupying forces. But, the French establishment gradually started influencing the *'ulamā* spheres. Louis Machuel, in May 1883, was appointed as the Director education in Tunisia with experience in Algeria's French School system. Through his non-confrontational approach and cooperation with traditional Islamic Institutions, his first aim was to put the Ṣadīqīyah College under his own authority for some fundamental restructuring of the institution and the curriculum.[7] He made a major attempt to control *Zaytūna*, which was confronted with stiff resistance from the *'ulamā*. However, in 1892, he was able to gain control over *madaris* (religious schools) affiliated with *Zaytūna* through manipulating the existing powers of the state. Hence exercising significant influence over the administration of the *Zaytūna*[8] and because of his non-confrontational methods, it guaranteed as little resistance as possible from the local populace.

1.2. Muḥammad al-Ṭāhir Ibn al-'Āshūr: The Making of an *'Ālim* and an Intellectual

Muḥammad al-Ṭāhir ibn 'Āshūr, after receiving his primary education of Arabic and French languages and Qur'ān in a traditional *kuttab* (school) of Tunisia, joined *Zaytūna* in 1892. In Tunisia, he studied under some of the most eminent scholars (*'ulamā*) of the time which included Muḥammad al-'Azīz Bu 'Attūr, 'Umar ibn al-Shaykh (1822- 1911), Ṣāliḥ al-Sharīf (1869-1920), Muḥammad al-Nakhlī (1860-1924),

Salim Bu Ḥājib, Ibrāhīm al-Mirghānī (1863-1930), Maḥmūd ibn al-Khūjā (1854-1911), Muḥammad ibn Yusuf (1863-1939). All the teachers of ibn 'Āshūr were all affiliates of the Māliki School, with the only exception of a Hanafi Shaykh al-Islam, Mahmud ibn al-Khūjā. When ibn 'Āshūr joined *Zaytūna*, the French occupation of Tunisia had entered its second decade and by this time the active Tunisian resistance was dying out. All such existing circumstances pushed the *'ulamā* and the promising Tunisian intelligentsia to go for some soul-searching exercise. The reformist camp was reorganizing itself and asking for a restructuring of education and need for a reformation in the society. A group of French educated Tunisians, who were supporters of the reformist *'ulamā* like Muḥammad al-Sanusi and Salim Bu Hajib, launched a newspaper, *al-Haḍira* in 1887. It established the first marks in the revival of the reform debate.

The same bunch of individuals founded an institution, *al-Jāma'īya al-Khaldūnīya*, in 1896. It included Muḥammad ibn Khūjā, Bashīr Safar and Muḥammad al-Asrām as its members and who were supported by some *'ulamā* like 'Ali al-Sanūsī, Muḥammad al-Nakhlī and Salim Bu Ḥājib. Their major objective in establishing such an institution was to make additions and enhancements on the Zaytūna curriculum with 'the universal sciences'. Both these projects were amply supported by the liberals in the French colonial administration. Besides the segment of *'ulamā* associated with *al- Haḍira*, Jama'īya al-Khaldūnīya and the Ṣadīqīyah College, Shaykh Muḥammad al- 'Aziz Bu 'Attūr, the maternal grandfather of ibn 'Āshūr, was very cooperative as a prime minister during the 1890s. Shaykh Mahmud ibn al-Khūjā, among ibn 'Āshūr's teachers, was opposed to the reformist ideas. Besides the pro-reform teachers of ibn 'Āshūr, he also learned under some anti-reformist *'ulamā* like Shaykh Mahmud al- Khūjā; in his earlier days a comrade of Khayr al-Dīn Tunīsī, later grew into more conservative in his outlook. Another of his teachers who protested against the idea of change and cooperation with French colonial authorities was Shaykh Salih al-Sharif al- Tunīsī and he had to flee to Ottoman lands where he played a key role in the dialogue of reform and change.

Ibn 'Āshūr under the tutelage of so many diverse teachers certainly got influenced to engage with the issue of reform and seems to have made the decision for himself in his early life. He completed his basic studies from *Zaytūna* in 1896 and soon got appointed as an auxiliary professor. In 1900, he was appointed as a lecturer at

Ṣadīqīyah College.   In 1903, at the age of twenty-four he passed the oral examination to be appointed as a first class professor at *Zaytūna*. Next year, he was designated with the position of state deputy at the *niẓāra* of the mosque-university. It was at this position ibn 'Āshūr took his first steps to reform Zaytūna curriculum/ education, what later got converted into a lifelong project of ibn 'Āshūr.[9]

Ibn 'Āshūr's tilt towards reformist branch of the Tunisian *'ulamā* became apparent in 1903 when Muḥammad 'Abduh visited Tunisia to call for financial support for his journal *al-'Urwah al-Wuthqā*. Being very familiar with the Tunisian *'ulamā* landscape, Muḥammad 'Abduh seen as the master architect of Islamic reformism, was received warmly. In many of his encounters with the Tunisian *'ulamā*, of which many were attended by ibn 'Āshūr, he deliberated upon educational reforms and was very critical of traditional pedagogical methods. He advocated the legacy of ibn Taymiyyah (d. 728 A.H/ 1328 C.E), the famous fourteenth century polymath from Syria. Subscribing to the ijtihād-centric ideas of ibn Taymiyyah meant an assertion of reconstruction of the religious thought of Islam primarily rooted in the Qur'ān and Sunnah combined with his own reformist ideas. It started a debate accusing Muḥammad 'Abduh of Wahhābism. Amidst all this controversy, ibn 'Āshūr published a write-up in *al-Manār* (the famous journal founded and edited by Rashid Riḍa, a disciple of Muḥammad 'Abduh) strongly defending Muḥammad 'Abduh and his reformist project, albeit anonymously.[10] Ibn 'Āshūr kept writing for *al-Manār* anonymously; the reason for staying anonymous has been argued with many possibilities like the claim of Arnold Green[11] for the strength of the conservative *'ulamā*, or the ibn 'Āshūr's own non- belligerent nature. Although being a contemporary of scholars who remained politically active like Rashīd Riḍa and 'Abd al-Ḥamid Bādīs (1889-1940), ibn 'Āshūr chose to be a non-activist reformist, a somewhat detached intellectual. His aristocratic family background, the structural interests that crafted and connected his social context with the power centers, Tunisian or French, influenced his outlook and left him with few choices to choose from. Ibn 'Āshūr grew into a politically conscious scholar and socially indecisive.[12]

Well, it is argued that ibn 'Āshūr was influenced by three spheres of influences. First is from his background of the aristocratic family. Secondly is by the institution of the *'ulamā* of Tunisia, where he was trained and educated from and remained its associate for all his life. Thirdly, it is from the developments in the political and

social spheres of Tunisia and the world around like the sway of imperialism, modernization and the development of the sentiment of independence.[13] Ibn 'Āshūr critically engaged with all these powerful centers and came out successfully as an original thinker, an educationist, an exegete, a reformist and a legal philosopher.

1.3. *'Ilm Uṣūl al-Fiqh* and *'Ilm al-Maqāṣid al-Sharī'ah*

Maqāṣid al-Sharī'ah was the next big thing to happen in the arena of *Uṣūl* studies after *Uṣūl al-fiqh* itself. The discipline is meant to study the sources and methodologies of Islamic law and is also being called as philosophy of law.[14] While *uṣūl al-fiqh* concerns itself with the subject of legal theory and the methodologies employed in determining the sources of the law and the methodical procedures of the derivation of the legal rulings therefrom; *Maqāṣid al-Sharī'ah* essentially concerns the philosophy and the intents and ends of the law.[15] In the modern times, el-Mesawi opines, ibn 'Āshūr is the major proponent of reformulation of *Maqāṣid* studies not just as a central theme in *uṣūl al-fiqh* but to establish *maqāṣid al-Sharī'ah* as an independent discipline of learning and inquiry to be studied under the title of *'ilm al-maqāṣid al-Sharī'ah*.[16] In the debate of *uṣūl al-fiqh* and *maqāṣid al Sharī'ah* and their inter-relationship, ibn 'Āshūr contends for his prompt position of distinguishing *'ilm al-maqāṣid al-Sharī'ah* from *'ilm uṣūl al- fiqh.* He argues for *maqāṣid al-Sharī'ah* as an independent branch of knowledge unlike the discipline of the principles of the legal theory (*'ilm uṣūl al-fiqh*) for the very evident reason of being two dissimilar sciences addressing two very different subjects, employing two distinct methodological paradigms rooted in distinctively different epistemologies.[17]

Ibn 'Āshūr first makes the position of *uṣūl al-fiqh* clear. Its focus is pronunciation of the methods and modes of derivation of legal pronouncements and identification of *al- adillah al-fiqhiyyah* (legal indicants) and argues for the *ẓanni* (probable) nature of the *uṣūl* (principles) arrived at by the legists (*uṣūliyyun*) against the popular claim of the *qati'* (categorical/ certain) nature of the *uṣūl* (principles); the postulate proposed by the likes of abu al-Ma'ali al-Juwayni[18] (d. 1085 C.E) and Abu Ishaq al-Shatibi[19] (d. 1388 C.E). Ibn 'Āshūr contends this statement by claiming too much difference of opinion among the scholars on almost every aspect of the science of principles of legal theory. He alleges, to claim certainty in this science is to position principles of legal theory in the same vein of the fundamentals of faith (*uṣūl al-Dīn al-sam'iyyah*).[20]

After stating his position on the *'ilm uṣūl al-fiqh*, ibn 'Āshūr makes advances to define *'ilm al-maqāṣid al-Sharī'ah* as a distinct science, the science of the intents/ purposes of the law which is meant to put forward *uṣūl al-qati'yyah* (the definite principles). These principles define the epistemological frame of understanding the religion of Islam.[21] Ibn 'Āshūr prioritizes *'ilm al-maqāṣid al-Sharī'ah* over *'ilm uṣūl al-fiqh* from the reference point of epistemological soundness and reliability and degree of certainty in the knowledge corpus of Islamic history. He explains the knowledge obtained by inductive (*istiqra*) reading of the Qur'ān and the authentic Sunnah of the Prophet pertaining to the higher intents of the law, *hikam* (wisdom), *maṣlaḥa* (welfare) and *mafsada* (mischief) in relation to legal pronouncements of *Sharī'ah* are known with certainty (*yaqin*). Its goal is to achieve the general welfare of the legal subjects- individual or the community, and by default the possible check at everything harmful and mischievous (*mafsada*). So, the inference stands that the *Sharī'ah* is purportive in its very nature with certainty, albeit human cognizance or realization of the individual or specific intents/ aims might fall short of certainty.[22]

1.4. Ibn 'Āshūr's views on *Maqāṣid al-Sharī'ah*

In his scheme of Islamic legislation (*tashri' al-Islami*), ibn 'Āshūr distinguishes legal theory (*uṣūl al-fiqh*) from the intents/ purposes of the law (*maqāṣid al-Sharī'ah*). He argues that the general purposefulness of the *Sharī'ah* is to assure the preservation of the order (*nizam*) of the Muslim community (*ummah*), maintenance of the welfare (*salah*) of the *ummah* and the welfare of humankind at the individual level.[23] Ibn 'Āshūr delving deep into the nature of *Sharī'ah* proposes the all-inclusive rule being the accomplishment of the *Maṣlaḥah* (welfare) and the aversion of the *mafsadah* (mischief) in the process of legislation.[24] Ibn 'Āshūr constructs upon the theory of *maqāṣid* as theorized by al-Ghazali[25] (d. 505/1111) in terms of *Maṣlaḥah* and *mafsadah* and their consequent role in Islamic legislation; the five universals that need to be safeguarded at every level of human existence, *al-darurat*, the traditionally accepted five principal denominations of the preservation of religion, life, intellect, progeny and property. But, ibn 'Āshūr was not a passive adherent of the classical formation of the strict *maqāṣid* theory, rather walking more the footsteps of ibn 'Abd al-Salam (d. 660/1263) and al-Shatibi, he had more of the liberating and inclusivist tendencies to take *'ilm al-maqāṣid al-Sharī'ah* to next level. So, in the estimate of ibn 'Āshūr for a

precise and broader definition of *maqāṣid al-Sharī'ah*:

> From a comprehensive thematic analysis of the textual sources of the *Sharī'ah* pertaining to the objectives of legislation (*tashri'*), we can draw the following conclusions. Both its general rules and proofs indicate that the all-purpose principle (*maqsad 'amm*) of Islamic legislation (*tashri' al-islami*) is to preserve the social order (*nizam*) of the community (*ummah*) and ensure its healthy progress by promoting the well-being and righteousness (*salah*) of that which prevails in it, namely, the human species. The well-being and virtue of human beings (*maṣlaḥa*) consist of the soundness of their intellect, the righteousness of their deeds as well as the goodness of the things of the world where they live that are put at their disposal.[26]

As the basic premises of the theory of *maqāṣid al-Sharī'ah* are rooted in the age old discourse of *maṣlaḥa* and *mafsadah*, the universal intent in the process of legislation being the realization of *maṣlaḥa* and elimination of *mafsada*, ibn 'Āshūr also offers some important comments on it. He broadly classifies *maṣlaḥa* as a distinctive feature of the action that leads to *salah* (probity/ suitability) from which benefit emanates out either in absolute sense or principally for the society and for the individual. On the other hand, *mafsadah* is an act that leads to *fasad* (corruption), the result being *darar* (harm) predominantly or every-time and everywhere. It effects the whole society and the individual.[27] In the nature of such *maṣlaḥa* and *mafsada*, it can be *'amm* (general) or *khass* (specific), influencing the society or an individual.[28]

Ibn 'Āshūr is the advocate of broadening the characterization of the *maqāṣid al-Sharī'ah* beyond its traditional delimitations of preserving the necessary five universals; religion, life, intellect, progeny and property, that primarily concern the individual subject of the law. Ibn 'Āshūr argues for the more universal values like equality (*musawat)* and freedom (*hurriya*) and these belong to the *maqāṣid al-asliyyah* of the *Sharī'ah* just as the five *darurat* (essentials) belong to this category.[29] In his categorization of *maqāṣid al-Sharī'ah*, ibn 'Āshūr differentiates the *qariba* (immediate) objectives from the *'aliya* (higher) objectives. The *qariba* objectives are the ones with universal appeal and the *'aliya* objectives are with relation to higher universals, meant for the attainment of *maṣlaḥa* and the elimination of the *mafsada* at the communitarian level.[30]

In El-Mesawi's assessment if ibn 'Āshūr's attempt to establish *'ilm al-maqāṣid al-Sharī'ah* as an independent discipline of inquiry and learning to engage more meaningfully and efficiently with the challenges of modernity, the study of ibn 'Āshūr's views on *fiṭrah* (primordial human nature) stands appropriate. Ibn 'Āshūr tries to attempt an analysis of the deep crises inflicted by modernity on contemporary human subjectivity, their collective psychology and identity in terms of disengagement of modern man with value system and expressive loss of meaning manifested at various levels of individual and collective life, through linking of the subject of primordial human nature (*fiṭrah*) with the *maqāṣid al-Sharī'ah* (higher intents and objectives of the *Sharī'ah*).[31] All this strenuous endeavor in ibn 'Āshūr's thought seems to work out the core concern of reviving the natural disposition of the human existence (*fiṭrah*) and its correlation with the cosmic principles arrived at and recognized through *'ilm al- maqāṣid al-Sharī'ah* to strike the common ground where human existence willfully submits to the *Sharī'ah* to realize and actualize the objectives intended by the Law-Giver (*Shari'*), working in tandem, to derive good and welfare for an individual and the community in this world and world hereafter.

Ibn 'Āshūr engaged with this idea of *fiṭrah* extensively in his works. As a basic concept, ibn 'Āshūr refers to the concept of *fiṭrah* as the natural disposition or order that God has created the humans upon. Henceforth, the idea of *fiṭrah* has an inward and outward character; inwardly the expression of *fiṭrah* at the intellectual level and outwardly the expression of *fiṭrah* at the physical level. Exemplifying this conceptualization of the primordial God-centric nature manifests itself in a variety of ways; to walk on the feet is an act of one's physical natural disposition (*fiṭrah*) but anything contrary to it like using feet to hold things goes against one's state of *fiṭrah*. In the same line, identifying correct analogical relationship between the effect and the cause and deducing inferences from their proper premises is an act of intellectual natural disposition (*fiṭrah*) while as attempting deduction of inferences from irrelevant assumptions and illogical causes goes against intellectual natural disposition (*fiṭrah*). Thus, making a point that things have an inbuilt and inherent meanings of their own, independent of our perceptive potentials of cognition of things, is also a part of intellectual disposition (*fiṭrah*).[32]

While developing his argument of the nature of relationship between *Sharī'ah* and human natural disposition, ibn 'Āshūr argues that the *Sharī'ah* was revealed for the restoration of the primordial nature (*fiṭrah*) of the humans through its commandments in totality. As an example, the institution of marriage, the idea of the protection of life and lineage, collaborating in the pursuits of the common good and survival are all the eminent real manifestations of human natural disposition. Of the same manifestation scheme is to engineer a moral human civilization and so is the pursuit of knowledge advantageous for humanity- the way to express the natural disposition through the intellectual creative-imaginative frame and its novel inventive potentials.[53] Ibn 'Āshūr thus states that as Islam is very organically related to the natural disposition of human existence or its primordial nature, the revealed *Sharī'ah* too is considered as the expression of this very nature or a heavenly confirmation of nature of humans by revealing a complete congruous system of living.[33]

As discussed above that in ibn 'Āshūr's thought, primordial nature of humans (*fiṭrah*) is closely linked with the nature of Sharī'ah. Hence, we try to understand its close correlation with another important Qur'ānic concept related to ontology of human existence namely the event of sacred covenant (*mithāq*), as mentioned in Qur'ān[34]:

> When your Lord brought forth off-spring from the loins of the children of Adam and made them bear witness about themselves, He said, "Am I not your Lord?" They replied, "We bear witness that You are." This He did lest you should say on the Day of Resurrection 'we had no knowledge of that.[35]

Talking of the idea of *mīthāq*, ibn 'Āshūr constructs a comprehensive perspective about primordial nature of humans and its relation with the *Sharī'ah*. In it the holistic concept of *fiṭrah* is emphasized, the transcendental and metaphysical dimensions of man without divorcing him from the material side of his existence and material world and its realities that takes care of both the strengths and weaknesses of human nature are also touched upon. While delineating this relationship between human nature and religion, ibn 'Āshūr addressed it in full awareness of the philosophical developments and debates and various philosophical positions taken in post-Enlightenment European thought, in particular the contributions made by various French philosophers, engaging critically with the likes of Voltaire, Rousseau etc.[36]

From the Qur'ānic perspective, it is in the very natural instinct of the man's cognition of God to submit before His will, deeply embedded in the very essential metaphysical reality related to the human being's ontological (*kawni*) bond with God. This is expressed in the 07:172 verse of the Qur'ān; wherein it reads the off-springs of the Adam were brought forth and asked to bear witness about themselves: 'Am I not your Lord?' They answered, "Yes, we do bear witness thereto".[37] Here, ibn 'Āshūr observes, it is an allegorical representation describing the metaphysical situation illustrating God's creational power in determining the essence and qualities of the created cosmos in accordance to His Will. It shows something whose essential nature cannot be tampered or abused by human intelligence.[38] Ibn 'Āshūr comments about this metaphorical representation of the ontological bond between God and man as the God's impression in man by His creation as the ability to recognize the signs of *tawḥīd* (oneness) of Allah and the natural inclination put in man's natural intelligence for the quest of acquiring such knowledge, provided his natural tendency is free from the corrupting effects of certain factors that might play bad with his natural inborn temperament.[39]

The Islamic idea of being human, the nobility attached to it, his position in the realm of created cosmos and his mission is embedded in the Islamic concept of *mīthāq* (primordial covenant) and its relationship with *fiṭrah* (primordial human nature), so as to stand up amongst all creatures to bear God's trust,[40] as His *caliph* (steward or vicegerent) on the Earth. To deprive humanity of these facets and these concepts is to plunder them of their meaning, dignity and their purpose, reducing them to a mere object of 'gut and sex', a hedonistic purposeless being sans any spiritual sense, a two-fold activity meant for physical maintenance and biological sustenance; implying at a circular function aimed at producing and procreating to consume, and consuming and producing to procreate.[41] By forming such a correlation in between human beings, nature and Islam, the Qur'ānic intent seems to express the congruity of the innate natural capacities and the revealed religion-*Sharī'ah*, which follows the natural description of Islam being *din al-fiṭrah*, the revealed way of life authorized by the primordial nature of man. Hence solidifying the relationship between the ethical values and ontological realities.[42]

1.5. Ibn 'Āshūr and the Concept of *Maṣlaḥah*

Expounding upon the theory of *maqāṣid*, the concept of *maṣlaḥa* finds the central place throughout the Muslim legal scholarship from the pre-modern to modern times. It acts as the corner-stone of the theory of *maqāṣid*. The concept of *maṣlaḥa* is so wide-ranging in Islamic legal thought that it embraces every idea of human good or human prosperity at both the individual and collective levels. Ibn 'Āshūr does discuss this concept of *maṣlaḥa*,[43] he starts his discussion of *maṣlaḥa* with a general overview of the descriptions of *maṣlaḥa* offered by the previous jurists of pre-modern era, he makes mention of ibn Ḥājib, his commentator 'Adud al-Dīn al-'Ijī, 'Izz al-Dīn ibn 'Abd al- Salām and Abū Isḥāq al-Shāṭabī. In the estimate of Ibn 'Āshūr, *maṣlaḥa* should be defined as:

> *Maṣlaḥa* means the utmost righteousness and goodness (*ṣalāh*). For this, it has been expressed in the morphological form *maf'alah* connoting the place in which there is intensity of the meaning from which this form is derived, which is here an allegorical place. It likewise appears to me that *maṣlaḥa* can be defined as being an "attribute of the act (*fi'l*) whereby righteousness and goodness (*salah*) takes place, that is to say utility and benefit (*naf'*) always or mostly for the public or individual. By 'always' I refer to the *maṣlaḥa* that is absolute and regular, while by 'mostly' I mean the *maṣlaḥa* that is predominant in most of the cases. As for the expression 'for the public or individual,' it means that *maṣlaḥa* is of two kinds.[44]

He further elucidates about the categorizations of *maṣlaḥa*:

> From the previous definitions, it appears that *maṣlaḥa* is of two kinds: public and private. Public interests (*maṣlaḥa 'āmmah*) consists of what is beneficial and useful for the whole or most of the community, and does not concern individuals only in so far as they are members of the whole.Private interest (*maṣlaḥa khāṣṣah*) consists of anything that benefits the individuals. It is concerned with the righteousness and goodness of the individual's acts as a means to the righteousness and well-being of the whole society to which they belong. Thus, the primary concern here is with the interest of the individuals rather than that of the general public, which is regarded only secondarily. Part of the Qur'ānic legislation and most of that of the Sunnah are concerned with this category of *maṣlaḥa*.[45]

Contextualizing the idea of *maṣlaḥa* in pre-modern times, Ibn 'Āshūr's theory of *maṣlaḥa* necessitates following facets:

- The broader connotations of the term *maṣlaḥa* vis-à-vis its morphology is derived either from *salāḥa* or *salūḥa* connoting the usefulness, goodness and rightfulness. Being in the morphological form of *mafʿalah*, it signifies the predominance of the quality of goodness and utility in its application in the context it is applied to. Consequently, Ibn ʿĀshūr defines the term *maṣlaḥa* in terms of an ʿattribute of the act (*fiʿl*) whereby righteousness and goodness (*salah*) takes place, that is to say utility and benefit (*naf*) always or mostly for the public or individual'.[46]

- Qualifying an interest as *maṣlaḥa* requires the consequential absolute state of benefit or the predominant state of benefit regulated under all situations or the most of them respectively, in most of the cases it is involved in.[47]

- Ibn ʿĀshūr broadly classifies *maṣlaḥa* into two categories, *maṣlaḥa al-ʿāmmah* as public interest and *maṣlaḥa al-khāṣṣah* as private interest. The public interests take care of whole society or the most of it while the private interests take care of the individuals.[48]

While delving deep into classifications of the *maṣlaḥa* and their textual roots, Ibn ʿĀshūr reiterates the Qurʾānic distinctive way of legislation. In the field of legislation, Ibn ʿĀshūr argues that the Qurʾān legislates for the universal and general aims and interests while as it is the prerogative of the Sunnah of the Prophet to address the specific and individual interests by working in the specific situations. This lays the basic working plan for the working of public (*ʿāmmah*) interests and personal (*khāṣṣah*) interests in tandem for the higher intents of the Sharīʿah. In the schemata of Ibn ʿĀshūr, it is significant to understand the way the public and private interests are different. The interests- *ʿāmmah* and *khāṣṣah*, are not always definite, it is neither sought to be so. The public (*ʿāmmah*) interests while engaging with public spaces does not ignore the interests of the individuals. In the same way, the private (*khāṣṣah*) interest cannot do away with the universal interests, rather it indirectly serves the purposes of the *maṣlaḥa al-ʿāmmah*, the shared interests of the community. So, the nature of these two classes of interests- *ʿāmmah* and *khāṣṣah*, is working in tandem for mutual consolidation of the utilities- communitarian or personal, divorcing any breaches or the presumed conflicts between them.[49]

1.6. *Maṣlaḥah* and the Evolutionary Phases of the Theory of *'Ilm al-Maqāṣid al-Sharī'ah*

From this standpoint and scope of *maṣlaḥa*, Ibn 'Āshūr proposed his framework of the *'ilm al-maqāṣid al-Sharī'ah* which is the establishment of the independent legal discipline to study the universal goals of the *Sharī'ah* and the realization of the well-being of mankind. *Maqāṣid al-Sharī'ah* is hence defined as the paradigm of realization of the well-being of the mankind which organically gives birth to hierarchical tri-layered *maqāṣid* mechanism embedded in their priorities with relation to human welfare: *ḍarūrat* (essentials), *ḥājīyāt* (needs) and *taḥsīnīyat* (embellishments). El-Mesawi considers ibn 'Āshūr the first one in the modern era to attempt a comprehensive definition of *maqāṣid al-Sharī'ah* unlike the pre-modern attempts that conflated the concept of *maṣlaḥa* with *maqāṣid al-Sharī'ah*.[50]

Ibn 'Āshūr attempted this demarcation of *maqāṣid al-Sharī'ah* in three stages[51]. In the first stage, he attempted to define the universal or most general goals of the *Sharī'ah* (*maqṣad al-'āmm*). The twelfth chapter of the treatise by the title *al-maqāṣid al-'āmm min al-tashrī'* (the general objectives of Islamic legislation) deals with this concept of universal objectives of the *Sharī'ah*. This overarching conception of the general objective of Islamic legislation, ibn 'Āshūr explains, is the 'preservation of the social order of the community' and insuring its 'healthy progress by promoting the well-being and righteousness (*ṣalāh*) of the human species'.[52] The positive indicants of this state of well-being and righteousness consist of the soundness of the intellect, uprightness of the deeds- worldly or otherwise, that they face where they live.[53] In the second stage of the definition of *maqāṣid al-Sharī'ah*, ibn 'Āshūr attempts identification of the objectives of the *Sharī'ah* that sprout out from the universal principles. The category of the *maqāṣid* thus formed are classified into more specific and less general *maqāṣid*. The objectives that are termed as *maqāṣid 'āmmah*, the general objectives, notes Ibn 'Āshūr. He explicates upon the general objectives of *Sharī'ah* as:

> The general objectives of Islamic legislation consist of the deeper meanings (*ma'ānī*) and inner aspects of wisdom (*ḥikam*) considered by the lawgiver (*Shar'ī*) in all or most of the areas and circumstances of legislation (*aḥwāl al-tashr'ī*). They are not confined to a particular type of the *Sharī'ah* commands. Thus, they include the general

characteristics of *Sharī'ah*, its general purpose and whatever notions contemplated by the legislation. They also include certain meanings and notions that are present in many, though not all, of the *Sharī'ah* commands.[54]

Taher el-Mesawi makes a point here that the *Sharī'ah*'s general features (*awsāf 'āmmah*) like *samāha* are also categorized among the *maqāṣid*. So, these features play a dual nature of being the properties as well the ends of the *Sharī'ah*, which is defined by the perspective we approach them with.[55]

In the third and last stage of defining the *maqāṣid*, Ibn 'Āshūr attempts at identifying the specific intents (*maqāṣid khāṣṣah*) in each individual arena of Islamic legislation. The third part of the book deals with the identification of these specific ends titled as *maqāṣid al-tashr'ī al-khāṣṣah bi anwā' al-mu'āmalāt bayn al-nās* to mean the specific ends of the Islamic legislation in the field of various human transactions. Ibn 'Āshūr argues for these aims consisting of the procedures intended by the *Shar'ī* to realize the useful purports for the human beings in order to ensure the safety of their public interests (*maṣāliḥ 'āmmah*) that concern their private demeanor. The purport in this part is to regulate the private conduct in a way to help people from avoiding falling into their whims and desires at the cost of the established public interest.[56]

1.7. Introduction of *'Ilm al-Maqāṣid al-Sharī'ah*: A Developing Trend

El-Mesawi infers from the contributions of famous Muslim philosopher, Ibn Khaldūn[57]and French philosopher Andre Lalande[58] (1867-1964) the four basic qualifications for any science (*'ilm*) to be called as an independent realm of inquiry. Firstly to have a specific subject matter (*mawḍū'* and *masā'il*). Secondly, a set of unequivocal general prepositions. Thirdly, a frame of rules and procedures that function as the guiding steps of research in this paradigm of inquiry and investigation (epistemological and methodological roots). And fourthly, the space for the researchers to arrive at the objective verifiable conclusions.[59]

Ibn 'Āshūr penned *maqāṣid al-Sharī'ah al-Islāmīyah*, probably the most significant and original contribution to *maqāṣid* studies only after al-Shāṭibī's *al-Muwāfaqāt*, to address and design the basic requirements- subject matter, basic premises, epistemo- methodical design and practical quantifiable utility. It was meant to establish an autonomously organic dominion of enquiry (*'ilm al-maqāṣid al-Sharī'ah*) into Islamic jurisprudence and Islamic legal philosophy specifically, and more

generally, the broader systematic procedure to re-address the queries pertaining to the socio-historical existence of the humans. The treatise *maqāṣid al-Sharī'ah al-Islāmīyah* consists of three major parts:

- Part I: Establishing *maqāṣid al-Sharī'ah* in Islamic legislation (*ithbāt annā li al-Sharī'ah maqāṣid min al-Tashr'ī*).

- Part II: About the general objectives of Islamic legislation (*fi maqāṣid al-tashr'ī al-'āmma*).

- Part III: *Maqāṣid al-Sharī'ah* in human dealings (*maqāṣid al-tashr'ī al-khāṣṣah bi-anwā' al-mu'āmalāt bayn al-nās).*

The first part of the book primarily sets two important prepositions. First is the establishment of the purposive nature of the Islamic legislation, which is a parallel system of interpretation to the literalist source methodological approach. Secondly, it is to analytically investigate various legal methodologies to arrive at the objectives aimed by the *Sharī'ah*.[60] In the second part, ibn 'Āshūr deals with the subject matter of the discipline, theorization of the *maqāṣid* thought embedded in *fiṭrah*. Establishing his *maqāṣid* theory in human primordial nature (*fiṭrah*), ibn 'Āshūr addresses the necessary inquiry into the human social existence, not just an effort making at explaining the objectives of the *Sharī'ah*[61]. In this part, he paves way for the pattern of social theorization that is potent enough to transcend the materialistic-reductionist epistemology of the post-renaissance philosophies focusing on the nature of man and society and their interconnectedness. This part of the work investigates into the detailed analysis of the foundational concepts of *maṣlaḥa* and *mafsada* and their categorizations. In addition to the expression of *maqāṣid al-Sharī'ah* as the holistic field of examination against the traditionally accepted atomistic theories, he establishes it methodically and epistemologically to be liberated from the historical baggage of the constricted legal methods.[62] The third and the last part of the work is applied examination of the *maqāṣid* theory he explicated upon in the previous parts of the book. It deliberates upon the various domains of human life and its social existence like family life, financial transactions, judiciary etc.

Ibn ʿĀshūr displays the nexus between the human transactions and the *maqāṣid* and by extension the manifestation of the objectives of the *Sharīʿah* through Islamic legislation for the welfare of the subjects. All this is preceded by the important reflection on the identification of the ends and means in the human transactions, their dialectical relationship and moral concerns imbedded in the process of moving from means to ends.[63]

1.8. Conclusion

The above analysis deliberates upon one of the most vibrant Muslim intellectual response to the condition of post-coloniality and modernity imposed upon the Muslim subjects in specific and modern man in general. It deliberates upon ibn ʿĀshūr's recourse to the *maqāṣid al-Sharīʿah* framework as the most effective and meaningful framework to deal with the issues of legal subjects of Islamic law. Commonly supposed 'traditional' *uṣūlī* framework, where exercising *ijtihād* is majorly dominated by exercising strict *qiyās* (analogical reasoning), is identified as poorly equipped to offer meaningful and authentic solutions to the problems of modern times. This sense of inadequacy in the traditional legal framework, major modern *uṣūlī* scholarship ended up at the theories of *maqāṣid al-Sharīʿah* and *maṣlaḥa*. They revivified the Ghazālī - Shāṭibī *maqāṣid* model, ibn ʿĀshūr being its earliest pioneer in modern era and most original legal philosopher revisited this whole legacy of *maqāṣid al-Sharīʿah* thought and emerged out with his theory of *ʿilm al-maqāṣid al-Sharīʿah*, a novel replacement for the traditional legal set-up. It does not, however, mean to belittle the pre-modern legal scholarship on the subject but to evolve it to its logical form- *ʿIlm al-maqāṣid al- Sharīʿah*, the advanced legal theory potent to cater the contemporaneous issues of legal subjects.

Analyzing the contrasts between the methodologies of the dominant legal theory and the *maqāṣid* theory, ibn ʿĀshūr concluded the *maqāṣid* theory as the 'built upon the traditional legal theory' and it turns out to be epistemologically more sound. The methodical probability of the *maqāṣid* theory being more close to certitude, makes the *maqāṣid* framework more valid as a legal procedure. With this legal procedure, the jurisprudents are equipped with more flexibility and the scope of approaching the legal texts to interpret the law is vast vis-à-vis admission and accommodation of legal change within Islamic legal framework.

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species. The well-being and virtues of human beings consist of the soundness of their intellect, the righteousness of their deeds as well as the goodness of the things of the world where they live that are put at their disposal." (p. 91)

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Muslim Modernist Thought: A Study of the Contribution of Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan

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ABSTRACT

Modernity like many other concepts is a social phenomenon, an analytical instrument to describe and analyze social reality, and also a norm and an ideology by which reality as such as valued and judged. Modernity is a way of thought and of living in the contemporary world and of accepting change, as part of political and cultural processes by integrating new ideas into society. There are several forms of responses from Muslims to the concept of modernity which are mainly grouped into two: the reformist/modernist and the fundamentalist. The present paper is an attempt to explore the response of one of the great Muslim modernists, Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan, to the concept of modernity.

Key Words: Modernity, West, Sir Syed Ahmad Khan, *Ijtihad, Taqlid*

1.1 Introduction

"In the sixteenth century CE, a visitor from Mars might well have supposed that the human world was on the verge of becoming Muslim." With this statement, the comparative historian Marshall Hodgson suggested that at the dawn of the modern era Islam was the most vital civilization in the world and that it held a hegemonic potential over east and west. Hodgson called this Islamic Civilization 'Islamdom', in analogy with Christendom, which is different from Christianity intended as a religion. Islamdom was the civilization that had inherited and creatively recombined the cultural characters and the political specificities of a vast and more ancient geo-cultural unit, the Irano-Semitic area. According to Hodgson at exactly the time of inception of the modern era Islamdom reached the zenith, not only of its political power but also of its cultural creativity.[1]

This particular strength of Islamic civilization at the dawn of modernity did not suddenly evaporate West-European powers affirmed their supremacy in long-distance maritime trade and discoveries particularly with the opening of the

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transatlantic routes and the creation of colonies in the east and west of the enlarged globe. The specific ways of blending power and culture that constitute a civilization continued to bring fruits well into the modern era in the case of Islamidom's three different, yet equally flourishing empires; the Ottoman in a large area covering and administrating Anatolia, the near and Middle East, North Africa, the Balkans, and other Europeans regions; the Safavid, in Iran; and the Mughals, in South Asia. Their models of centralized control of territories and population, and styles of ruling and administration partly survived the traumas of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, during which Western Europe turned around the power balance with the Muslim world and gained a hegemonic position over the euro-Mediterranean area and into the Eurasian depths.[2] The age of European expansion and extension penetration and dominance –euphemistically called the age of discovery by Europeans –began in the 16th century but came to the finishing point (end results) in the 19th and 20th centuries. So by the 19th century, the balance of power had shifted towards Europe and much of the world formed itself subjugated to European imperial powers, demonstrating its political, economic, and military importance and challenging the veracity of Islam itself. It was during this period of European colonial expansion that modern Islamic thought emerged. The European penetration and the decline of Muslim supremacy and predominance in 19th century precipitated the crisis that defined the responses of Muslim intellectuals to European Modernity.

1.2 Meaning of modernity

Modernity like many other concepts is a social phenomenon, an analytical instrument to describe and analyze social reality, and also a norm and an ideology by which reality as such as valued and judged.[3] Modernity is a way of thought and of living in the contemporary world and of accepting change, as part of political and cultural processes by integrating new ideas into society.[4] The concept typically refers to the post-traditional post-medieval historical period, one marked by the move from feudalism (or agrarianism) towards capitalism, industrialization, secularization, rationalization, the nation-state, and its constituent institutions, and forms of surveillance.[5] Charles Pierre Baudelaire is credited with coining the term "modernity" (modernite) to designate the fleeting, ephemeral experience of life in an urban metropolis. Modernism as opposed to medievalism believes in the sovereignty of reason and repudiates every authority that cannot stand the test of reason.

How do Muslims respond to this modernity? There are several forms of response, but are mainly grouped into two: the reformist/modernist and the fundamentalist. The modernists are those modern knowledgeable Muslims whose mission, according to Dr. Mir Zohair Hussain[6] is: (a) to define Islam by bringing out the fundamentals in a rational and liberal manner; (b) to emphasize, among others the basic ideals of Islamic brotherhood, tolerance and social justice; and(c) to interpret the teaching of Islam in such a way as to bring out its dynamic character in the context of the intellectual and scientific progress of modern world.[7]

Modernists – being opponents of *Taqlid* and proponents of *Ijtihad* – disagree with the traditionalists who believe in the dogma of *Taqlid.* Instead they hold the view that Islam is a progressive, dynamic and rational religion in which the inhibiting dogma of *Taqlid* holds no place and lay much emphasis on the restoration and exercise of *Ijtihad* and are against the belief that gates of *Ijtihad* are "closed". For them law must be carefully revised in order to be flexible and adaptable enough to incorporate modern political, economic, cultural, social and legal conditions. For example in the South Asia, Sir Sayyid tracing his intellectual heritage to Shah Waliullah Dehlvi (india,1703-1762, an Islamic scholar and reformer who worked for the revival of Muslim rule and intellectual learning in south Asia, during a time of waning Muslim power) argued that the Quranic world view was entirely compatible with science and rational thought. He categorically dismissed the beliefs that the gates of *Ijtihad* were entirely sealed a millennium earlier and denounced the inhibiting force of *Taqlid.* For him, *Ijtihad* was not an exclusive right of a privileged few Ulama, but the right of all devout and enlightened believers to interpret the Quran in the context of the prevailing environment. Through his writing and institution-building, he endeavoured to meet the challenges of modernity by appropriating western education and ideology while giving new direction to Muslim social, educational and religious ideals.[8]

1.3 The Emergence of Islamic Modernism

Islamic modernism is a moment that has been described as the first Muslim ideological response[9] to the cultural challenges which attempts to reconcile the Islamic faith with modern values regarding nationalism, democracy, civil rights, rationality, equality, and progress. It has historically had different schools of

thought moving in many directions.[10] The movement emerged in the 19th century as a response to European colonialism, which pitched the Muslim world into crisis.

Turkey was one of the first Muslim countries[11] where modernity surfaced, with major shifts in scientific and legal thoughts.[12] The Turks were the first among the Muslims to be confronted with the challenge of this nature and the whole of the Islamic world was eager to see if they could offer a lead to the rest of the Muslim countries by the way they acquainted themselves in that hour of trial. It was a pioneering role Turkey had been called upon to play willingly or unwillingly, with the entire Islamic society ready to follow its lead. The intellectual and cultural and also to some extent, the political and spiritual future of the Muslim world rested upon the course the Turks were to choose.[13] This challenge was faced by two classes of men in Turkey. The orthodox Ulama, who were ignorant of the new developments and of the change the world around them had undergone. They showed little awareness of the intensity and magnitude of the threat the growing strength of Europe was spelling out of Turkey. The Ulama had opposed even the military and other rudimentary reforms Sultan Salim 3(1789-1807) and successor, Sultan Mahmud (1807-1839), had introduced towards enabling Turkey to stand its ground, politically and militarily, against the emerging European powers.

The other section comprised the section of young intelligentsia which was educated in Britain, France, and Germany. They were fired with the unbounded desire for slavish imitation of Western social and cultural ideals and materialistic forms of life. They wanted that maturity of outlook which could promote an objective assessment of the western philosophy of life. They were ill-equipped to discover its weaknesses and to determine critically which of its attributes could be useful for Turkey and which of them did not blend properly with its genius and tradition and benefit its historical role. The leadership of this new generation was in the hands of teachers and army officers who also were not distinguished for cultural depth or understanding. On the whole, they represented such elements of Turkish society who had been driven to an acute intolerance of all that was ancient and traditional due to the intellectual stagnation of the Ulama and the hideous moral and social degeneration of the conservative class,-their slothful indifference, narrow mindedness and their shameless hypocrisies and the transparent contradiction between their words and deeds. Added to it was the dismal spectacle of all-around

misery and poverty.[14] Provoked by the colossal injustice of their surroundings and the rank incompetence, obduracy and mental rigidity of the privileged classes and religious leaders, the keen and sensitive young Turks had set their hearts on demolishing the existing pattern of things and bringing about a total westernization of Turkey as quickly as possible.[15] This Islamic modernism in Turkey generated a series of novel institutions, including schools that combined Islamic education with modern subjects and pedagogies, newspapers that carried modernist Islamic ideas across continents, constitutions that sought to limit state power and social welfare agencies that brought state power into even more sectors of social life. The key figure in the Turkish modernist movement was Namik Kamal, the editor of a journal called "Freedom". His goal was to promote freedom of the press, the separation of powers, and equality before the law, scientific freedom and reconciliation between parliamentary democracy and the Quran. Another figure was Zia Gokalp who said "in order to defend our freedom and independence against Europe, we have to conquer the civilization of the Europeans.[16]

Turkey became the leader of modernism and westernization in the east. The progressive sections of Islamic countries took it up as their model and Kemal Ataturk as a personification of nation advancement and freedom. Turks published books on astronomy, biology, scientific concepts and many newspapers for Muslim revival. The Turkish revolution had produced a deep impression universally on Muslims and went a long way in determining their attitude towards the problem posed by western civilization. The next country to become the scene of cultural confrontation between the east and the west was India.[17] Many modernists came to the surface to shoulder the responsibility in India like Sir Syed Ahmad Khan, Iqbal etc.

Yet these challenges also provided an opportunity, according to modernist Muslims. By realizing modern ideals, Islamic society could not only survive but thrive as well as recover the original ideals of their faith. "All new things are hardly blameworthy. On the contrary, most innovations are praiseworthy," wrote Rifa'a Rafi al Tahtawi (Egypt, 1801-1873).[18] Not all the modernists fawned so enthusiastically over European civilization, some distinguished between aspects worthy of adoption and these to be rejected. Rida, for example, concluded that "all that we need to acquire from Europe is its scientific achievements, technical skill and advanced industries.

The acquisition of these aspects does not require all this amount of westernization.[19] Yet these critics embraced the ideals of modernity even as they berated Europeans for failing to live up to these ideals. Thus Islamic modernism began as a response of Muslim intellectuals to European modernity, who argued that Islam, science and progress, revelation and reason, were indeed compatible. They did not simply want to restore the beliefs and practices of the past; rather they asserted the need to 'reinterpret and reapply' the principles and ideals of Islam to formulate new responses to the political, scientific and cultural challenges of the west and of modern life.[20]

1.4 Pioneers of Islamic Modernism

Although Islamic modernism is often simply presented as a response to the challenge of the west, in fact, its roots are both Islamic (its revivalist tradition) and western (a response to European colonialism). Islam possesses a rich long tradition of Islamic revival (*Tajdid*) and reform (*Islah*). Throughout the ages, individuals and organizations undertook the renewal of the community in times of weakness and decline, responding to the apparent gap between the Islamic ideal and the realities of Muslim life.[21] As with all things a return to the fundamentals of Islam-The Quran, The Life of Prophet Muhammad (pbuh) and the early Muslim community-offered the model for Islamic reform.

During the 18th and 19th centuries, revivalist leaders and movements had sprung up across the Islamic/ Muslim world. In other words in diverse circumstances, Muslims initiated various revival and reform movements in the 18th and 19th centuries stretched across the Muslim world. From North Africa to south and south East Asia, Muslim responses to colonialism and imperialism were conditioned, both by the source of threat and by Islamic tradition- ranging from holy war (*Jihad*) to emigration (*Hijrah*), non-cooperation to adaptation and cultural synthesis. Some Muslims ranging from secular to Islamic modernists pursued a path of accommodation to harness the west's scientific and technological power to revitalize the community and to regain independence. That is, Muslim views of the west and the responses to its power and ideas varied from rejection and confrontation to admiration and imitation. And in the words of John L. Esposito, four diverse responses to the West took shape: rejection; withdrawal; secularism and westernization; and Islamic modernism.[22]

In the emergence of Islamic modernism, it is evident that it called throughout the Muslim world for a reformation (*Islah*) and reinterpretation (*Ijtihad*) of Islam. Responding to the plight of Muslim communities and the intellectual   and the religious challenge of the west, Islamic modernism sought to bridge the gap between Islamic traditionalists or conservative religious scholars, characterized by following and emulating the past blindly (*Taqlid*) and western secular elites, regarded as uncritical in their imitation of the west and insensitive to Islamic tradition. The blame for the backwardness and the plight of the Muslim community was credited to the Ulama's static simplification of Islam's classical formulations and their resistance to change; so Islamic modernists wished to produce a new synthesis of Islam with modern science. John L. Esposito, regarding this situation, claims:

"Islamic modernists of the nineteenth and twentieth century, like secular reformers were open to accommodation and assimilation; they wished to produce a new synthesis of Islam with modern sciences and learning. Thus they distanced themselves from rejectionist tendency of religious conservatives as well as western oriented secular reformers who restricted religion to private life and they looked to the west to rejuvenate state and society."[23]

The most prominent intellectuals who pioneered the modernist visions and agendas were Jamal al Din Afghani (1838-1897), Muhammad Abduh (1849-1905) in the middle east, Sir Syed Ahmad Khan (1817-1890), Muhammad Iqbal (1877-1938), Rashid Rida, Ali Shariati, Maulana Maududi, Hassan al Banna, Mustafa Kamal Ataturk etc. Despite some distinctive differences, each argued that Islam was a dynamic progressive religion that was made stagnant and moribund by the forces of history and the mindset of some Ulama. They identified the sources of Muslim weakness and asserted the compatibility of religion, reason and science; they reclaimed the glories of Islamic history, reminding Muslims that they had once been very strong, spawning vast empires and an Islamic civilization whose wonders included major achievements in science, medicine and philosophy. They set out to initiate a reformation, to boldly redefine or reconstruct Islamic beliefs and thought, to reform Islamic theology and law. At the same time, they emphasized Muslim pride, unity and solidarity to face the political and cultural threat of European colonialism. In the middle east, Jamal al din Afghani, who epitomized the concerns and program of Islamic modernism argued that reason, philosophy and science were

not strange to Islam, were not simply the products of the west, or as Adeed Dawisha writes, he argued that "Islam was in harmony with the principles discovered by scientific reason, [it] was indeed the religion demanded by reason.[24]

1.5 Sir Syed Ahmad Khan: His Life, Thought and Reforms
1.5.1   Life

Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan, educational reformer and founder of Islamic modernism in India,[25] (often called after his two titles of honor Sir Sayyid) came from an ancient distinguished Muslim family of Delhi on 6 Dhu'l-Hijjah 1232/ 17th of October 1817. Sayyid Ahmad khan was on his father's side a Hussaini Sayyid. His lineage can be traced back through generations to the Holy Prophet. The last Imam among his ancestors was Hadrat Imam Muhammad Taqi bin Imam Musa Riza. He called himself a Taqavi Sayyid. Sayyid's ancestors moved to Damghan, a famous ancient city of Iran because the Fatimid's were driven out of their homelands of Arabia and Iraq by the cruelty and oppression of Umayyad's and Abbasids. Later they took up permanent residence in Herat.[26]

Sir Sayyid's father, Mir Muttaqi, was free in his manners and religious views. In the reigns of Shah 'Alam and Akbar Shah, he held the same position as his father had held before him in the Darbar-I Am and Darbar- Khas. Sir Syed visited special court sometimes accompanied by his father and sometimes alone. Mir Muttaqi was a follower of the mystic, Shah Ghulam 'Ali, whose Khanqah was renowned in the city of Delhi. Shah Sahib treated him like his own son. He married with Aziz un-Nisa Begum, the eldest daughter of Khwaja Faridud din Ahmad who had very good terms with Sayyid Hadi. He was an extremely courteous and honest man. When Bahadur Shah came to the throne and the organization of the court was completely changed, Mir Muttaqi stopped his visits altogether. However the allowance he received from the Red Fort and other tokens of esteem were continued as usual until his death.

Sayyid's mother was largely responsible for his early education and the formation of his character. She was pious, religious and kind lady having foresight and great wisdom. Sir Sayyid's elder brother was Sayyid Muhammad Khan. His sister Safiyat-un-Nisa begum, who died at an advanced age, was a distinguished and outstanding lady.[27] She had made a study of various religious works and Hadith in the original Arabic.

Sayyid was born as a third child and fed by Hatim Ali Khans mother (his cousin) and later by his own mother. There was nothing outstanding about him but his radiant health and physical strengths. It appears rather that he developed his intellectual powers gradually by continuous training, hard work and continued application.[28] He was brought up by a lady called Man Bibi, an old servant of the family for whom he had deepest affection. His upbringing was not so strict that he was not allowed to take part in games nor so lax that he could play where and whom he liked. Sir Sayyed was alert artful and sometimes quite naughty.

1.5.2   Education

Sir Sayyid's education started with Bismillah ceremony by Shah Gulam Ali. After this, he began to read the holy Quran and it was by a lady from a noble family who observed strict purdah. After reading Quran Molvi Hamiduddin taught him usual Persian text books like Kalima, Khaliq Bari and Amal Nama. After his death other people taught him Gulistan and Bostan of Shaikh Sadi. He then went on to study Arabic in which he read such works as the Sharh-ul-Tahzib, the Yabzi, the Sharh-ul-Mulla, the Mukhtasar Maani and the Muattawal ma anaqulutu. He was about 18 when he finished his formal studying, but maintained his interest in reading.

When Sir Syed began his career, he was sent first of all to the High Court in Agra. He was married at the age of 18. In 1838, the year in which sir Sayyid's was nearly twenty two years old, he decided to enter the service of the British government because the allowances which Sir Sayyid's family received from the fort were stopped immediately after the death of Muttaqi. Later in 1838 he was appointed as deputy Munshi in Agra by Robert Hamilton. At Agra Sir Sayyid composed a chart, in Persian entitled, Jam I Jam (the cup of Jamshed). This work was published in 1840 which included a brief account of 43 emperors of different houses. In the same year Sir Sayyid qualified the examination for pertaining to Munsif court and in Dec 1841, he was appointed as Munsif in Manipur and then transferred to Fatehpur Sikhri where he remained as Munsif for four years. Sir Sayyid managed to acquire a magnificent house which had once been the Khwabgah of Emperor Akbar. At this stage Sir Sayyid published the following three works:

1. "*Jilaul Qulub bi Zikrul Mahbub*" (written in 1839). This small booklet deals with the birth, death, miracles and other events in the life of the Holy Prophet (pbuh.)[29]

2. "*Tuhfa–i-Hasan*" (1839); this is in fact an Urdu translation of the 10th and 12th chapters of the Persian work, Tuhfa-i-Isna Ashariya. In this work he criticized the Shias and tried to refute their accusations.[30]

3. "*Tashil fi Jar us Saqil*" (1844). This is an Urdu rendering of the Persian work, Miyar al Uqal written by the scholar Bu Ali.[31] The work is itself a translation from Arabic. It contains an account of the five principles of mechanics.

At this time, Sir Sayyid was given his hereditary titles by the emperor by Bahadur Shah and thus Sir Sayyid's full title at this time was Javvad-ud DaulaSayyid Ahmad Khan Arif I Jang. In 1846 Sayyid came from Fatehpur Sikhri to Delhi and remained there for next eight years untill1854 when he was appointed Sadr Amin at Bijnaur. In Delhi during the period Sayyid consulted various preachers like Maulvi Navazish Ali, late Muhammad Faizul Hassan and Maulana Makhsusullah and made a thorough study of works on jurisprudence like Misl I Qudusi, some Qasidas like the Shashi, Sharah I Vaqaye of the Saba I Mullaqa, Hadith from Mishkat, Jami I Tirmizi, several parts of Shaih Muslim and Quran. Apart from these works Sayyid (as he confessed himself) read nothing else with the aid of a teacher. Now that sir Sayyid was stationed permanently in Delhi he planned to develop a newspaper, Sayyid-ul-Akhbar, which had managed by his brother and decided to do some research into the building of the city and its surrounding districts and thus completed the first edition of Asar us Sanadid within the space of one and a half years.

This work was translated in English and French and it was on the basis of this translation that he was made an honorary fellow of the royal Asiatic society on 20th of June 1864. In Delhi he wrote various papers and booklets also. Some of them are:

FavaidulAfkar fi AmalulFarjar, Qaul I MatindarIbtal I HarkatZamin (1848), KalimatulHaqq (1849), Rah I SunnatdarRadd I Bidat (1850), Namiqadar Bayan I Masala I Tasavvur I Sheikh(1852), SilsilatulMuluk (1852), and Aghaz I kimiya I Saadat.

In 1854 and 1855 in Bijnaur he completed the works like second edition of Asar us Sanadid, Zila I Bijnaur Ki Tarikh, and revised edition of Ain I Akbari. In 1859 Sir Sayyid founded a Persian madrassa in Moradabad with English as medium of instruction in schools. He revised the work, Tarikh I Firozshahi, wrote the commentary "Tabinul Kalam" of the first 11 chapters of the Genesis and of the first

five chapters of the Gospel according to Saint Matthew. The commentary found enemies and critics on all sides. He was the first Muslim to undertake such a task. On one hand the Muslim Ulama objected because the sir Sayyid had rejected the idea that the text of Bible had been falsified. On the other hand, because he had proved that there was absolute agreement between pure Christianity and Islam and considered that the very fundamentals of present day Christianity- the trinity, the expiation of sins and the rejection of the holy prophet, Muhammad- were false, the commentary also proved unacceptable to the Christians.

A decisive change of his life and outlook was effected by the Indian revolution, known as mutiny (1857). The unhappy outcome of it, especially for the Indian Muslims decided him to work for the future of his compatriots, in the first place by earnest attempts at reconciliation between the British and the Indian Muslims, who, rather than Hindus, were considered to have been the actual rebels. He wrote two treatises to calm the resulting passions, viz, Asbab Baghawat Hind, 1858, and Loyal Muhammadans of India, 1860-1. He blamed both sides and in his opinion the mutiny was caused by the Indian peoples misunderstanding of English rule as well as the government's ignorance of the conditions of the ruled.[32] Keeping aloof from political agitation he sought the upliftment of his nation with spiritual means derived from 19th century European model of life. He knew that without widespread education in India the progress of nation was impossible. He therefore founded a scientific society at Ghazipur where he started the translation of the best works of Indian literature and the most useful English works. Here Hindus, Muslims and British people worked together. Sayyid began a journal for the scientific society which later developed into the Aligarh gazette which always remained a valuable instrument for social reform, political and religious reform. He founded a school in Ghazipur in 1864 and in the same year was transferred to Aligarh.

On his visit to England (1869-70) he was much impressed by the standard of the civilization of the ordinary Englishman. His thought was that the well-being of Muslims depended on two major factors- western education and an ability to understand and mix freely with the British otherwise it seemed to him that the Muslims stood little chance of making progress or of retaining a place of honor and respect in India . In Britain he wrote Khutbat I Ahmadiya which was a strong reply of the book "the life of Mahomet', by Sir William Muir.

Back in India he started a periodical "*Tahdhib al-Akhlaq*" with the object of educating the public by removing prejudices, aimed largely at reforming Muslim religious thinking and putting the Muslims back on the road to progress. Tahdhib al Akhlaq tried to do for India what Steetle and Addison had done for the British at the beginning of 18th century with their London magazines Tatlar and Spectator.[33] Sir Sayyid wanted to prove that the objections the Christians made that Islam barred the way to progress and civilization were unfounded. He felt that the Muslims had to acquaint themselves with the fundamental principles upon which European civilization was based and with the reasons for its success. His next and more admirable achievement was the establishment of a Muhammadan Anglo Oriental College at Aligarh (1878) modeled after Oxford and Cambridge. He instituted the Muhammadan educational conference (1886) which held annual meetings in various cities and afforded opportunities for exchange of thought and propagation of reforming ideas.[34] His loyalty to the British was rewarded by nomination in 1878 as a member of the vice regal legislative council and his appointment in 1888 to be a knight commander of the star of India. In 1889 he received an honorary degree from the University of Edinburgh.[35] On 27th of March Sir Sayyid breathed his last by reciting over and over again two verses of the holy Quran. In the times of India (29th of March 1898) an Anglo – Indian wrote of Sir Sayyid as;

He dreamed of raising Islam to the level it had reached in the twelfth Century, when it was the undisputed master of learning and philosophy.[36]

1.5.3   Thought and Philosophy

Sir Sayyid Ahmed khan is the eldest of the five prominent Muslim modernists whose influence on Islamic thought and polity was to shape and define Muslim responses to modernism in the latter half of the 19th century. Like the other modernists of his time –like Sayyid Amir Ali (1849-1928), Jamal al-din Afghani (1838-1897), Namik Kemal (1840-1888)and Sheikh Muhammad Abduh (1850-1905), Sir Sayyid was deeply concerned with the state of Muslims in a world dominated by European colonizing powers.[37] Being an educational and political leader of Muslims, who were living under British colonial rule in India he developed the concepts of religious modernism and community identity that mark the transition from Mughal India to the rise of representative government and the quest for self-determination. In other words, Sir Sayyid surveyed the abysmal state of Muslim communityin India after the Sepoy uprising of 1857, which resulted in formal British

colonial rule and the end of Muslim dominance in the Indian sub- continent. The sepoy uprising or the war of independence as Indian call it, was a crucial event in the history of Indian Muslims and it deeply influenced the evolution of Sir Sayyid's thinking. Most important, it convinced him that the best of western civilization could and should be assimilated by Muslims because the "pure" Islam taught by Quranand lived/practiced by Prophet was not simply unopposed to western civilization but was, in fact, its ultimate source and inspiration. To put in other words, the first two decades after 1857 witnessed Sir Sayyid's increasing preoccupation with the prevailing conditions of Muslims in India. He perceived Muslims as backward and in need of education. This period also saw an increasing degree of public involvement in educational and social arenas and Sir Sayyid undertook three major projects.

1.5.4   Sir Sayyid: Religion and Science Compatibility

Sir Sayyid believed in the compatibility of religion and science and considered natural law and divine law to be the same, because according to him revelation cannot be opposed to scientific actuality since an agreement between Gods word and work is essential.   "............... Having by-passed the age old controversy concerning the eternity of the Quran, Sir Syed proceeded to down a more important and fundamental preposition that the Quran being the word of God, and the objective world as we know it being the work of God there could not be any contradiction between the two. This implied that the Quran had to be understood not only in the medium of the Arabic as spoken at the time of the Prophet (pbuh), but, also, is the light of the latest discoveries of natural sciences and conformity with them". Sir Sayyid was quite aware of the objection which such a stand naturally evokes. If the Quran is to conform to the scientific discoveries of each generation, which sometimes contradict the earlier discoveries, this will reduce the Quran to a plaything of various interpreters. But, says Sir Sayyid, "We are glad at this objection which we accept as glad tidings for we are convinced that the Quran accords with the actual reality. Being the word of God its great strength lies in the fact that at every level of our knowledge it provides us guidance in affairs in which it is meant to guide us. As the sciences go on progressing and when we consider matters in this light, we will find that the words of the Quran will still accord with reality. And if our earlier understanding has been proved to be wrong, the fault lies in our understanding and not in the Quran".[38] And this applies not only to the past,

Sir Sayyid leaves open the possibility that scientific developments in the future, too, even while   contradicting many of our present day scientific postulates, will provide us with a newer and ever more profound understanding of the Quran.

For him, as, between the words of god (scripture) and the work of God (nature) there can be no contradiction he believed that when there appeared a contradiction between a scientific fact and religious rule then the latter must be reinterpreted according to scientific evidence.[39]

For religion Sir Sayyed says "............ it is true that religion plays a great part in making a people civilized. There are, no doubt, some religions which stand in the way of progress. It is our aim to judge where Islam stands in this regard."[40]

He was the staunch supporter of scientific knowledge and western education. The spread of western education among Muslims and the general enlightenment which the introduction of modern science brought about in the public was the greatest challenge. In one of his lectures he refers to the spread of doubt and misgivings in the hearts of the people about Islam.[41] He says, while I am endeavoring to introduce these sciences among Muslims, it is my duty to defend the religion of Islam and to reveal its original bright face". At another place he said, "Today we are in need of a modern 'Ilm al Kalam by which we should refute the doctrines of modern science and undermine their foundations or show that they are in conformity with the articles of Islamic faith. But the important question was how to prove the validity of a particular religion in the face of so many claimants. He came to the conclusion that the only touchstone of a true religion can be this; if it is in conformity with human nature or with nature in general, then it is true. This would be clear proof that the religion in question has come from God, the author of nature both in man and outside.

1.5.5   Sir Sayyid on Nature

What is nature? Sayyid Ahmad khan interprets it in the sense in which the thirteenth/ nineteenth-century scientists interpreted it as a closed system of the universe which obeys certain laws of mechanics and physics and which is characterized by uniformity of behavior to which there cannot be any exception. All inorganic, organic, and human behavior is subject to these laws of mechanical laws. In one of his articles, he says, "In the beginning this knowledge of nature was

limited. But with the increase in knowledge, the sphere of nature has correspondingly increased and, thus, seems to have become co-extensive with what we find in the universe, what we see or feel, so much so that the actions and thoughts of man and even his beliefs are all different chains in the inexorable laws of nature. "But this mechanical conception of nature, as James ward put it, is totally antagonistic to the spiritual interpretation of life, and therefore, cannot be upheld by a person who is advocating the truth of any theistic religion. In the writings of Sayyid Ahmad khan we meet with both types of naturalism, mechanistic and anti-theistic on the one hand and teleological and theistic on other, and often criticism of his views on God and his relation to nature. He rightly said that if God is the mere cause of causes and cannot rise above the laws of nature and the absolute law of right and wrong, then he is God only in name, a being devoid of personality and all feelings of love and affection towards human beings. "God is really dethroned and all religious life becomes extinct. Prayer would become a cold attribute of perfunctory worship of a being whose arm is never stretched out in answer to prayers, whose ear is never open to the supplications of the penitents."

If such is the case, then man has no need to look to God in time of suffering; he has only to get as much detailed knowledge of the laws of nature as possible and then adapt his life mechanically to the requirements of the external world and, thus, attain success in life in proportion to his efforts. This philosophy of life leads to the requirements of the external world and, thus, attains success in life in proportion to his efforts. This philosophy of life leads not to the broadening of human outlook but to the spirit of self –sufficiency and self- centeredness which is the enemy of spiritual life. Sayyid Mahdi refers to the verses 25-35 of the twentieth Surah of the Quran where Moses is said to have prayed to God for granting some specific requests, and the reply was "Granted is your prayer, O Moses," in view of this episode Sayyid Mahdi 'Ali rightly infers that Sayyid Ahmad khan's conception of God and function of prayer (du'a') does not accord with religious consciousness at all. He points out that if we accept this position, it will mean that man has no significant port to play in the world and everything is tied to the inexorable necessity of mechanical laws.[42]

1.5.6   Sir Sayyid and Reason

By reason, Sayyid Ahmad khan means the empirical reason, to which the Quran appeals. He calls it human reason or *aql-I kulli*. "it is that inherent capacity in man by

which he draws conclusions on the basis of observation of objective phenomena or mental thinking processes, and which proceeds from particulars to generalizations and vice versa……". It is the capacity of man which has enabled him to invent new things and led him on to understand and control the forces of nature; it is by this that man is able to know the things which are a source of his happiness and then tries to get as much profit out of them as possible; it is this which makes a man ask the ways and the wherefores of different events around him."[43]

In a very illuminating article, "thoughts of man," Sayyid Ahmad khan discusses the problem of reason in detail. After defining reason as above, he says that man is distinguished from animals on account of rationality, which imposes on him duties and responsibilities far in excess of those on animals. The main function of reason, according to him, is to acquire knowledge about the nature and reality of things. But this knowledge is intimately related with certitude (yaqin)."I fully realized," he says, "that without certitude knowledge is possible neither in the sphere of the world nor in that of religion………. "I come to the conclusion that reason alone is the instrument which can decide the matter, and bring about the necessary conviction. But is not reason fallible? Yes it is, and we cannot help it. As reason is used almost universally, so the reason of one man can be corrected by that of another and the reason of one age by that of another age. Without it nothing can be achieved.[44]

1.5.7   Law making and Islamic jurisprudence

Much more radical is the approach of Muslim modernists towards the Islamic jurisprudence (*Fiqh*). It is recognized that our Muslim Fiqh was largely based on the *ijtihad* of certain legal experts and it is emphasized that just as they made their own *ijtihad*, Muslims of the present times are free to exercise their own *ijtihad*. It is also recognized that man made laws change with the change of time, and what the Muslim jurists thought and wrote for their own times is not eternally binding on the present time Muslims. Modern Muslim legislation should go back to the original sources, i.e., the Quran and the authentic Hadith. At the same time it is not denied that medieval Muslim jurisprudence contains some useful material for legislation, but this material will have to be re-valued. It is also stressed all legislation aims at the promotion of human welfare and that part of Muslim jurisprudence which does not satisfy the requirements of human welfare will have to be dispensed with.[45]

Sayyid Ahmad Khan critically reviews the work done by the ancient jurists. In the Khutabat his attitude towards their achievements is appreciative. He explains in details how they derived rules and laws from the Quran and the Sunnah for the regulation of social, political, and religious life of the people. In view of the spread of Islam, it was necessary that the political and social life of the Muslim community should have been build up in accordance with the spirit of the holy Quran and the example set by the holy prophet. This magnificent work was successfully undertaken by our early jurists. But at present we must distinguish between what the Quran says and the rules and regulations which the jurists have formulated through inference.

In one of his articles, "Uncivilized Countries," Sayyid Ahmad Khan rebukes Turkey for her negligence in the matter of legal reform. He holds that backwardness and weakness of Turkey in his time were due solely to the obsolete legal code that was prevalent there. According to him, it is one of the causes of the decline of the Muslims that they are still following legal codes that were formulated to satisfy the demands of the bygone age. Every age presents new problems; and even though some old problems recur, yet their form is quite different and therefore, the solutions they demand must be totally new. Nothing old can fill the place of the new without adaptation and proper (amendment) amendment. The present age demands a totally new legal system pertaining to social, political, and administrative affairs. Unfortunately, the political decline of the Muslims, instead of giving rise to a spirit of critical appraisal of the situation and a demand for a dynamic adaptation to the new environment, has produced an attitude of passive obedience to a static ideal of *Taqlid*, i.e. blind allegiance to an authority which is no longer valid and useful in the new circumstances. Thus, according to Sayid Ahmad, the spirit of *Taqlid* in the sphere of jurisprudence produced the following evil consequences.

The modernists adopted the term *Ijtihad* (an Arabic term, literally meaning "exert" or "effort" and general translated as independent reasoning) - the intellectual effort of Muslim jurists to reach independent religio-legal decisions, a key feature of modern Islamic reform; also a technical term of Islamic law that describes the process of making a legal decision by independent interpretation of the legal sources, the Qur'an and the Sunnah - as a rallying cry, transforming its meaning into the more general task of "rational interpretation" that they held tobe incumbent

upon all educated Muslims. Historically, Ijtihad has been perceived as a concern primarily of the individual scholar and Mujtahid, whose doors were closed in 4th century AH and a long period of Taqlid followed. Later, post-colonial Islamic thinkers used Ijtihad as shorthand for intellectual and social reform and as a break fromTaqlid or blind imitation of the past legal rulings. Sir Syed praised the broadening use of Ijtihad by Shah Wali Allah. He decried Taqlid which in his opinion was responsible for the decline of Islam. For Sir Sayyid, Ijtihad (innovation, re-interpretation with the changing times) is the need of the hour. Give up Taqlid (copying and following old values). He gave a call that the Muslims could not progress without acquiring knowledge of modern sciences and technology. He asserted the simpletruth that knowledge is not the exclusive preserve of any nation; it belongs to the whole mankind. He maintained a valiant posture and succeeded in realizing the intellectual energy of Muslims and they started getting education of science. They rightly felt the need of Ijtihad. But, alas, Powerful lobby of Ulama overpowered them and opposed all attempts to move towards Ijtihad. In keeping with his rationalist mindset, Sir Sayyid stressed the importance of Ijtihad and a rational interpretation of Islamic religious sources and thought. He believed as well as considered this to be necessary, in order to make Islam acceptable to the new age and because he believed that Islam would notbe understood by Muslims and appreciated by others unless it was presented in a rational way. He also stressed the importance of relying on the Qur'an and sifting the false Hadith from the reliable ones. He tried to remove "the corrosive elements" and accretions that he believed were seriously detrimental to Islam in his day.[46]

1.5.8   Sir Syed as a Reformer

The revolutionary change social and political, which came over the subcontinent in the 13th/19th century this organized the spiritual no less than the mundane life of the Indian Muslims. Syed Ahmad was a realist. He had witnessed vast sections of Muslim aristocracy being either obliterated or utterly impoverished. He was convinced that the British had come to stay in India and their supremacy, along with that of the western way of thinking, could not be challenged in any force able future. The Muslims must, therefore, refashion their lives as Muslims if they did not, they would go deeper down into the morass of degradation. In his opinion the Christian- Muslim rancor was based merely upon mutual ignorance and prejudice. His effort to mediate between the two religions took the form of an unfinished

commentary on the bible which, among other things, sorts to establish that both Islam and Christianity were fed from the same spiritual spring.[47]

Syed Ahmad brought out his magazine, the Tahzib ul-Akhlaq, with the subtitle Muhammadan social reformer. This bright periodical has a cheered carrier and gathered round itself a select and highly discriminating readership which shared Syed Ahmad zeal for reform. The cognate organization, the all India Muhammad educational conference, founded by Sir Syed in 1304 /1886 became a lively form for the discussion of social and educational questions and proved to be an important factor in promoting Muslim solidarity in the subcontinent.[48] "Educate, educate, educate" was his watch word. The other generation among Muslims had no sense of direction. It scouted all current scientific ideas as incompatible. The Muslim child who went to a west oriented school was deemed to have crossed the limits of the holy law and placed himself outside the pale of Islam. This was a way to extinction. With his usual foresight Syed Ahmad grasped the nature of the issue and devised the solution. In the first place, he attempted a new syntheses of religious thought in Islam the central doctrine of which was that Islam was not opposed to the study of science and nothing to fare from its impact, he conceived of a new system of education in which the responsibility for educating the coming generations would be thrown on the community itself and in which the scholars would receive instruction in Islam along with the grounding in western sciences. This was the basic principles of Aligarh education which brought influential elements in the Indian Muslim society into the current of modernism. Sir Syed saw the need for modern education in his community and devoted his energies to seeing to it that this need be met. He also recognized that the community would not be willing (and rightly) to have modern education, if this meant abandoning Islam. He therefore was scare full to provide a college in which both modern secular education and Islamic religious instruction would be simultaneously provided. Yet he also sensed that his own ways on religion, his own interpretation of Islam, and the endeavor's which his own mind was making to synthesize and harmonizes his religious tradition with the spirit and knowledge of modernity, were unacceptable to most of his fellow Muslims. Accordingly, he concedes that in the new college, Islamic instructions should be provided by the recognized, i.e., the traditional-religious leaders of the community, in a traditional way. These, of course, were proponents of a traditional interpretation of Islam.[49] He advocated retention of self-perpetuating

and in expensive arrangement for elementary education. In respect of female education his ideas were not much in advance of his times. He would first have the men educated and leave the problem of women's education to solve itself. [50]

Syed Ahmad wrote a refutation of the book "the life of Muhammad" written by Sir William Muir and named it as "on the life of Muhammad and subjects subsidiary thereto" with the aim of limiting the influence of Christian missionary on Muslim community. Syed Ahmad can justly be regarded as the maker of Urdu prose and the first real prose writer in this language. He worked a veritable revolution in literature. Primarily a reformer who wanted to raise his community to the intellectual level of more advanced western people, he sought to propagate his ideas through workmanlike, unvarnished Urdu prose, by striping of its medieval trappings and invested it with a sensitive and expressive vocabulary to absorb and expound all meaning on different subjects connected with contemporary life. He made his first efforts in this sphere by founding the scientific society at Moradabad in 1281/1864. The society published very readable translations of Standard English works on history, political economy, agriculture, mathematics and other useful subjects. The society also ran a weekly journal, the Aligarh institute gazette, in which appeared articles of popular interest on social, educational and scientific subjects. An idea of Syed Ahmad's notion about the mental and moral equipment of a social reformer and his duties and obligations can be gained from the following extracts taken from one of his best known essays:

"Most people believe that they can rid themselves of social evils by common action......I don't subscribe to this view. The way to reform lies through discord and not through unity. Reformist ideals call for courage and perseverance of a high order. It is for the reformer boldly to violate the customs of this group....in this he will incur a lot of odium and popular disapprobation. But ultimately he will succeed and win converts. Though he provokes opposition in the beginning he is acknowledged a benefactor in the end"[51]

1.6 Conclusion

Sir Sayyid attempted to respond to the two fold challenge of western judgments and contemporary condition of Muslim community in India. From 1858 till his death in 1898, Sayyid Ahmad actively worked for a Muslim revival in educational, social, political and religious field. Perhaps more than any of his contemporaries he understood that the new challenges of western institutions could only be faced by

remodeling Muslim theories of religion and history on the bases of modern sciences. In promoting religious or Islamic modernism he drew inspiration from Shah Wali Allah (1703-1762) and emphasized on rational approach to Islam and devoted his life to modernizing the life of Muslims in the Indian Sub-Continent. For Baljon - presenting Sir Sayyid`s overall picture, his political, social and educational work - his undaunted confrontation with modern thought was no less than a "revolution in Muslim theology", because he worked out, by it, a "modern vision of Islam".[52] Aziz Ahmad and Fazlur Rahman[53] both have discussed Sir Sayyid`s achievements as a religious thinker in the context of Islamic modernism and more specifically Islamic modernism in India. For Aziz Ahmad, Sir Sayyid is its first representative. His theological modernism, thinks Aziz Ahmad, "can be discerned as grappling with two broadly distinct problems: the rationalization of the minutiae of nonessential dogma and the liberalization of Islamic law.

For Sir Sayyid, Muslims needed to change the way they saw and responded to the modern world. Like Jamal al-Din al-Afghani and Muhammad 'Abduh, he called for a bold new theology or reinterpretation of Islam and acceptance, not rejection, of best in the western thought. In Esposito`s words, he called for a new theology to respond to the modern change. He wanted to show that he was reclaiming the original religion of Islam, which God and His Messenger have disclosed, not that religion which the Ulama and the preachers have fashioned. His interpretation of Islam was guided by his belief that Islam was compatible with reason and the laws of nature and therefore in perfect harmony with modern scientific thought. He argued that Islam`s teachings concerning God, the Prophet and the Qur`an are compatible with modern science, which involves discovery of the work of God in natural laws; in other words, Sir Sayyid argued that Islam is "in full correspondence with reason". Furthermore, he equated reason with understanding and considered it an acquired quality that enables human beings to distinguish between good and bad, right and wrong, proper and improper. According to him, who used terms like understanding, reason and intellect interchangeably, the only criterion for a person having reason intellect, or understanding is behavioral rather than substantive. For Umar al-Din, Sir Sayyid presented "a new conception of Islam and laid the foundation of a new [Islamic] theology (*Kalam*). As in former [intellectual] movements Islam had been presented in the form of law, or in the form of philosophy, or again in the form of a Sufi system [of thought], in the same way Sir Sayyid, keeping in mind the scientific

spirit ofthe modern age, presented Islam in the form of a scientific theory".[54] The attitude of this great personality was not only theoretical; he was principally a man of action. By his scientific thinking and critical approach he became the first great thinker whose patterns of thought proved useful and fruitful. He reached to the conclusion that rejection of modernity will lead Muslims nowhere and thus suggested the ways and means to meet the challenges of modern ideas for the future development of Muslim thought and enlightenment of the Muslim community.

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Flexibility within Rigidity: Understanding the Concept of Reform in Islam

Muhammad Shafi Bhat∗

ABSTRACT

The concept of reform is integral to the very fundamentals of Islam. Prophets of God who were sent towards different nations primarily worked as divine representatives of reform their respective communities within. Reform was also at the heart of Prophet Muhammad's (ﷺ) mission which sought to revive Islamic monotheism and reform the then extant Arabian society from prevailing ignorance, socio-moral corruption and idolatry. The primary scriptures of Islam (Quran and Sunnah) have clearly discussed nature and scope of reform for the post-Prophetic times. There upon in the history of Islam after the cessation of institution of prophet-hood, leading Muslim scholars, theologians and Saints actively participated in the pursuit of reform within the backdrop of Prophetic model of reform. This paper thoroughly elaborates the concept of reform in Islam in the primary texts (*nuṣūṣ*) of Islam (*Quran* and *Sunnah*). The genesis of Islamic concepts like *Iṣlāḥ* (reform) and *Tajdīd* (renewal) has been discussed vis-à-vis their linguistic and technical meanings in the Islamic tradition. Besides the approach and understanding of these referential concepts of reform by medieval and modern thinkers have been discussed. Further concept of reform vis-à-vis the reformation movement in Christianity has been discussed in order to showcase the scope and limitations of reform in Islam as compared to drastic reforms initiated by protestant reformers. Lastly, the tools of reform in Islam have been discussed.

Keywords: Continuity, Change, *Iṣlāḥ*, *Tajdīd*, *Ijtihād*, Reform and Revival.

1.1. Introduction

Islam being a revealed religion is comprehensive and holistic in its nature which deals with all aspects of human thought and civilization. Accordingly Islam includes in its holistic teachings both the spiritual and the material facets of human life. Apart from its universal and inclusive nature, Islam in its spirit is among the oldest Semitic religions of the world[1]. As per the primary Islamic texts, Islamic belief system is based upon the primordial principles; the first human being on earth being

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Adam, who besides being referred as the first vicegerent (*Khalīfah*) of God on earth was also the first Prophet of God[2]. With the passage of time, innumerable Messengers of God were appointed and sent by God towards different communities with the identical message of Islam, as was earlier propagated by Prophet Adam, but the new messengers who came after Adam were not merely messengers; they also acted as reformers for the erstwhile message that began with Adam. Quran explicitly states to this effect: "God has chosen Adam, Noah and family of Abraham, and the family of Imran as Messengers for people"[3]. With the passage of time these messages became corrupted or fell in to oblivion, which caused the moral and ethical degradation of the social fabric. Indeed as per Quranic injunction, it is in the nature of man to forget and become weak in his resolve[4].

The primary task of the Messengers of God therefore was not just to deliver the divine message to their respective communities. The message itself was planned to return that community towards the straight path, the path of truth, which their Lord and Sustainer ordained them to tread. The Prophets and Messengers of God in their respective communities always represented a higher level of ethical, moral and mental consciousness. It was an intrinsic part of their message to amplify their community's level of consciousness, polish up their moral wit, intensify their resolve and redirect their path till the community reunites with and submits perfectly to its Creator and Sustainer of the world. In simple terms, the Messengers were to deliver their messages and endeavor to return their respective communities, as it were, back to Islam. Although different Messengers were confronting diverse socio-religious conditions, therefore, there seems varying depiction of one common message by different Messengers as per the challenges they were confronting. However, the primary principles of faith were left unaltered, because according to the Islamic tradition, the basic principles of faith including the fundamental belief in the oneness of God (*Tawḥīd*)[5] are indefinite and ubiquitous which can never be altered nor can be reformed with time. Verily, Quran states about the same, "And indeed, We raised a Messenger amongst every people (saying): (O people) Worship Allah and keep away from *Taghut* (i.e., Satan and idol-worship).[6] At another place Quran states about the same, "And We did not send any Messenger before you (O Muhammad) but We revealed to him (saying): "None has the right to be worshipped but I (Allah)".[7]

Thereupon the primary job of all the Messengers has been the practical application of the faith of Islam, which revolves around the belief in worship of one God (*Tawḥīd*). As a matter of fact Islam as a religion is based on the idea of the reiteration with in the course of history, of a unique and universal Divine message. A large number of Prophets participated in the transitional process of purifying the tradition and defining the status of the human being down the stream of history as a vice-gerent of God (*Khalīfah*) on earth.

Primarily, the whole discourse of reform in Islam revolves round the scope of what needs to be changed with the changing time and space, and what will remain permanent in Islam which cannot be changed or reformed with the passage of time. In the Islamic tradition, the rules which are immutable and trans-historical are called *Al-Thawābit* (immutable) which include basic tenets of the faith (*'Aqā'id*), the primary principles of religion. Those rules which are subject to change with time and space, and are linked to the temporal evolution and environmental changes which are called *mutagayyirāt* (mutable) rules[8]. The primary subject of reform in Islam is the mutable rules. The core ideological tenants (*al-Uṣūl al-Thābitah*) in Islam are immutable and absolute, yet their practical implementations may differ in relation to changing time and space milieus. Tariq Ramadan has provided a beautiful exposition to the implementation of these timeless ideological tenants within the shifting time and space milieus by referring to the example of state established by Prophet of Allah at Madinah within these remarkable words:

> Muslims must, in the course of history, try to remain faithful to those principles and strive to implement them as best they can accord the requirements of their time, but they cannot merely imitate, reproduce, or duplicate a historical model that was adapted for a particular time but no longer corresponds to the requirements of their own[9].

1.2. Institution of Prophet-hood and the Task of Reform in Islam:

The pursuit of reform is intrinsic to the very history of Islam. The coming of different Prophets towards different nations and communities is itself regarded as a divine task to reform that community from moral and social corruption including different polytheistic practices which were prevailing in the society at that particular point of time. From the first Prophet Adam till the last Prophet Muhammad (ﷺ), the divine revelation was conveyed in a complex and devoted way,

a consecration through preaching of authentic traditions as a way to return man to his natural state of being (*fitrah*)[10]. Thus the Islamic concept of *al-Iṣlāḥ*[11] corresponds to the process of reform of human beings as an ideal explicitly advocated by the Prophets of God[12]. Therefore the divine messages throughout the history primarily came to reform human understanding, and messengers of God worked as "*Musliḥūn*" [reformers] of the society who were bringing good, reconciling human beings with the divine, and reforming their societies towards the better[13]. The Prophet retains those laws which either pertain to the pure Divine rites or to the religious and social practices commensurate with the laws of religion. Prophet amends only those laws which though were originally based on the understanding of common good but now they were not serving the said purpose in the society[14].

Reform was always at the center stage of Prophet Muhammad's (ﷺ) life and mission, and the divine revelation transmitted through the Prophet depicts a discrete condition of moral fracture, disintegration, and chaos about the place and time in which it was revealed. Holy Quran provides an idea of this disintegration and chaos, "Mischief has appeared on land and sea because of the meet that the hands of men have earned."[15] The seventh-century Arab society was enveloped by the corruptions of unbelief and varied forms of idolatry. People of Arabia were valorizing ancestral authority over the sacred tradition; they were preferring tribal customs over divinely ordained law. The revelation of the Quran, as embodied in the life and teachings of the Prophet, intervened to mend, resolve, and reform that disorder which was prevalent in the society at that particular time.[16] Thus the advent of Islam - the message and mission of Prophet Muhammad (ﷺ) - itself can be seen as a divine endeavour to revive Islamic monotheism and reform Arab society and culture from *Jāhiliyyah* (ignorance) to Islam.

The Quran states about the same trans-historical legacy of Prophets that, "And I follow the *Din* (Religion) of my father and forefathers: Ibrahim, Ishaq and Ya'qūb.[17]"

About the Prophet's role as a reformer, Dr. Taha Jabir al-Alwani aptly remarks,

> The Prophet laid down for renewal and reform in order for the discerning and upright members of Ummah to be able to meet the Ummah's needs lest with the passing of time. In this way, he prepared the way for Islam to prevail over all [false] religions and its law to be manifested as universal and comprehensive, capable of meeting the Ummah's needs in all times and places[18].

The idea of reform from beginning has always been at the heart of Islamic tradition. Islamic theology does not recognize the rise of any prophetic figures after Prophet Muhammad (ﷺ). In fact it has been unanimously established in the Islamic creed (*al-Aqīdah*) that Muhammad ﷺ is the last of the Messengers[19] and that he represents the final stage in the cycle of Messengers. The primary task of a Muslim reformer after the demise of Prophet Muhammad is not to entail a change in the message of Prophet but only to reform the way the religion is understood, implemented and practiced during his own spatial-temporal paradigm. Reformers after the Prophet are not supposed to create a new model based on concept of progress rather the perfect model is already available in the revelation, they only need to implement that already existing model present in the figure of Prophet and the divinely revealed book al-Quran in the changing time and space[20].

The task of reform after the last Messenger, in the Islamic world-view falls in line with the succession to the institution of Prophethood. While every Muslim individual has a responsibility to partake in this process of reform as per his qualifications, the Islamic scholars (*Ulama*) including intellectuals within the Muslim community justifiably bear the bigger part of this responsibility. The major difference between Prophetic mission of reform and a non-prophetic reformer who is among the followers (*Ummah*) of the Prophet is that, while the Prophets bring new divine message which usually abrogates old messages, the non-Prophet Reformers, just possess the provision to reform the understanding of that very divine message which a Prophet brings to his community (*Ummah*).

Although Muslims believe that Prophet Muhammadﷺ is the seal of entire Prophethood, yet at different times and in different parts of the Islamic world, new non-Prophetic renewers and reformers will emerge. These reformers will challenge the prevailing status quo in the community and will strive for righteous reform of believers. Although the issues and challenges that the different reformers deal with, naturally vary according to time, place, and circumstances, yet the religion of Islam, as manifested in the *Quran* and *Sunnah*, has already been revealed and will remain intact, which needs no addition or subtraction but only interpretation and application. Therefore it is the understanding and application of the primary texts of Islam - which tends to wane with time – that needs reform. The concept of reform after the finality of Prophethood in Islam therefore, from this perspective means the reformation in the application of Islam in society, revitalizing the Muslim community and returning it to the path of Islam afresh. As a matter of fact, return

to the past does not merely mean to copy the past but to reconstruct and rebuild authentic and genuine human traditions, culture, society and civilization[21]. Abul Hasan Nadwi remarks about the same encompassing fact of Islamic tradition, "the spirit to preserve and renovate the pristine teachings of the faith and the effort to infuse people with a revolutionary spirit to re-assert the divine message are as old as Islam itself[22]."

1.3. Nature and Scope of Reform in Islam

Islamic concept of reform is embedded in the primary texts (*nuṣūṣ*) of Islam; its ultimate purpose has been to bring prevailing realities and social change in line with the transcendental and universal principles of the Quran and the Sunnah through a process of restoration and reform. Before explaining the origin and meaning of reform in Islam, it is necessary to know the meaning of the word 'reform' in the English lexicographical works vis-à-vis concept of reform when used in the context of Christianity, so that it can be properly understood within its definitive Christian perspective likewise its similarity and difference from the Islamic concept of reform may be properly established. There are many Muslim scholars (*'ulama*), as well as intellectuals and ordinary Muslims who oppose the use of the word "reform" because they think it is an alien and inappropriate term which cannot be used in the Islamic tradition in place of the Quranic concept of *al-Iṣlāḥ*[23].

Tariq Ramadan has very elaborately discussed this debate. He has summarized arguments of all those who oppose the use of word 'reform' in place of Arabic term *Iṣlāḥ*. Those who oppose the use of word reform usually base their criticism of the usage of the same upon three reasons. They argue that the word reform represents a threefold danger as for as faithfulness to the Islamic tradition is concerned. The primary argument of those who oppose the use of word reform in Islamic discourse is that "reforming" Islam sounds like changing it and perverting it to adapt it to current times. Second criticism comes from those who see in word "reform" something foreign, an approach imported from the Christian tradition, which may cause Islam to undergo the same evolution as Christianity saw due to Protestant reformation and thereby Islam may lose its original soul and substance. The third usual criticism comes from traditional scholars who believe that Islamic teachings are based on the universal and timeless character so they do not need "reform" and can be implemented in all the times and in all places[24]. Despite all these reservations, the feasibility of using the word 'reform' has been clarified by Muslim

reformist thinkers by explaining similarity and compatibility of the term 'reform' with the Islamic concept of '*Iṣlāḥ*'. As a matter of fact, majority Muslim scholars, use the word 'reform' as the translation of Quranic term '*Iṣlāḥ*' and not in the sense of reform while being used in the Christianity.

Reformation basically emerged as a theological movement during 16th century CE in Europe which attempted to change and improve the Catholic Church, and which ultimately resulted in the establishment of the Protestant Church. Reformation movement primarily emerged as a revolt against the authority of medieval Catholic Church hence aimed at reforming the church of Christendom and removing its tribulations. To put an end to the dominant authority of popes in Christian world was among the major objectives of Reformation. The movement provided ground for Individual interpretation of the Bible which was used as the tool to express personal opinion. In order to free the state from the influence and dominance of the church, the term "divine right of the king" was introduced. Martin Luther of Germany (1483–1546), John Calvin of France (1509-1564) and Ulrich Zwingli of Switzerland (1484-1531) as the main architects of the Reformation Movement in Christianity.

Reformation movement with its different objectives primarily worked at three levels. The first was purely religious in nature; this meant that everyone had to decide in his own conscience how the words of God should be read. The second level was the revolt against the magnificence with which papacy had come to surround itself. And the third level was the promotion and development of new political and social ideas[25].

Since Islam does not have either the institutionalized clergy or the institution of Church, so naturally there is enough scope for fundamental differences between the concept of reform in Islam and the Christian reformation movement (also called Protestant reformation) of 16th century[26]. The same difference has been exposited by Muhammad Iqbal in these words, "A Luther in the world of Islam, however, is an impossible phenomenon; for there is no church organization, similar to that of Christianity in the Middle Ages, inviting a destroyer.[27]" Osman Bakar also expounds the same difference vis-à-vis reform in the two religious traditions in spite of some similarities, according to him,

The notion of reform necessarily takes different meanings and forms in the two religious traditions, although certain commonalities are entirely possible. It would be unreasonable to expect Islam to produce the same kind of religious reformation as western Christianity had done, not even in the more limited domain of Islam the culture[28].

1.4. Reformist Discourses in Islamic Tradition

The usual concepts used in Muslim history within the Reformist Discourse are those of *Iṣlāḥ* and *Tajdīd*. *Iṣlāḥ* is usually translated as reform in English and *Tajdīd* as renewal or revival, but both the terms are extensively used interchangeably in the Islamic reformist discourse. When both the terms are used together they reflect a continuing tradition of revitalization of Islamic faith and practice within the historical communities of Muslims. Both *Iṣlāḥ* and *Tajdīd* provide a basis for the conviction that movements of reform and renewal are an authentic part of the working out of the Islamic revelation in history[29]. To understand the concept of reform in Islam, it is necessary to make genesis of both the terms (*Tajdīd* and *Iṣlāḥ*) and their use in the primary texts of Islam (Quran and Sunnah of the Prophet (ﷺ)) vis-à-vis their understanding throughout the history of Muslim reformist and revivalist Discourses.

1.5. *Iṣlāḥ* in the Primary Texts of Islam (*Nuṣūṣ*)

As for as the lexical meaning of the term *Iṣlāḥ* in Arabic is concerned, *Iṣlāḥ* is defined as the opposite of *ifsād* (mischief) in the major Arabic lexicons. Holy Quran also pitches the word *Iṣlāḥ* in contrast to the word *fasād* and considers *Iṣlāḥ* to be corrective measure for *fasād*, "And do not cause disruption and mischief (*fasād*) in the land after it has been set in order (*Iṣlāḥīha* i.e., after reformation of the living conditions in the country).[30]" Prominent Muslim Lexicographer Imam Raghib al-Asfahani in his magnum-opus Quranic Lexicon, *al-Mufradat* has presented the various shades of meaning for the word *Iṣlāḥ*, "*Salah* (the root word of *Iṣlāḥ*) is the antonym of *fasād* and both these words are often used as verbs. In the Quran *salāh* is sometimes used against *fasād* and sometimes against *saiah* (vice) and *salah* is sometimes used in the context of reconciliation"[31].

Therefore from Arabic lexical perspective, the outcome of the act of *Iṣlāḥ* is a state of benefit and directness in the sense of commitment to the right path.

Comprehensiveness is the major characteristic of the Quranic perspective of *Iṣlāḥ*. The meaning and scope of *Iṣlāḥ* is very broad; it touches major aspects of human thought and civilization, and it is not confined within the domain of religion in its literal sense. Primarily *Iṣlāḥ* is used as a Prophetic task to remove different forms of *fasād* (corruption) from society, so that there can be peace both at the individual and societal levels. The Quran considers the pursuit of *Iṣlāḥ* as an extremely necessary and highly appreciable task. From the Quranic perspective, *Iṣlāḥ* is a safeguard for society, as the Quran clearly states: "Thy Lord would not destroy communities unjustly while their members were *muslihin* (those engaged in the task of *Iṣlāḥ*)".[32] In addition, the reward of the *muslihun* is guaranteed in the Quran; Allah states: "surely We leave not to waste the reward of the *muslihun*."[33] At the same time, the *mufsidun* (those who spread corruption in the society), in total opposition to the *muslihun*, are vehemently condemned in the Quran: "Allah loves not the *mufsidun*."[34] The Quran lays such a great emphasis on the task of *Iṣlāḥ* that it calls *Iṣlāḥ* as the prime concern of the Prophets. While referring to Prophet Shu'ayb, Quran states that he clearly addressed his community that: "I desire only *Iṣlāḥ*, as far as I am able.[35]" The above mentioned Quranic verses make it very visible that *Iṣlāḥ* (reform) of one's community has been the main task of the Prophets of God. In fact, the Quran does not see the institution of *Iṣlāḥ* to end with the finality of the Prophethood as such, but after the finality of Prophethood, those among the followers of Prophet Muhammad (SAW) who occupy themselves chiefly with the noble task of *Iṣlāḥ* and tread on the steps of the Prophets thereupon are appropriately regarded as *Musliḥūn* from the *Quranic* perspective.

The most distinguishing characteristic of the *Quranic* perspective of *Iṣlāḥ* is the one regarding its criteria. It is essential to note that, from the *Quranic* perspective, not every claim of *Iṣlāḥ* can be justified as a real act of *Iṣlāḥ*. The Quran thus indicates, "Do not cause corruption (*la-tufsidu*) in the earth after its *Iṣlāḥ*.[36]"At another place the essential criterion for *Iṣlāḥ* prescribed by the Quran is to hold its Scriptural authority very strongly and to show perseverance in prayers, "and those who hold fast to the Book (Al-Quran) and establish prayer (with punctuality, then) certainly Allah will not waste the wage of *Musliḥūn*.[37]"

As per Prophetic use of term *Iṣlāḥ* and its related concepts, one of the unique characteristic is great emphasis has been laid on esoteric nature than exoteric nature of man. In spite of the socio-political and legal connotations of the term *Iṣlāḥ*, the uniqueness of the Prophetic model of *Iṣlāḥ* lies in the fact that in spite of the social and legalistic aspects of *Iṣlāḥ*, it is primarily directed towards the esoteric development of man and the society and in spite of being a historical phenomenon-its be all and end all is the spiritual elevation of the society towards which the program of *Iṣlāḥ* is directed. The priority given to pondering over inward as is evident from the very well-known Prophetic tradition in which it is clearly stated that the *salāh* (peace) and the *fasād* (mischief) of the whole body of man depends upon the condition of the heart. Narrated by al-Bukhāri on the authority of Nuʻman bin Bashir, the Prophetﷺ is reported to have said:

> Truly, what is lawful is evident, and what is unlawful is evident, and in between the two are matters which are doubtful which many people do not know. He who guards himself against doubtful things keeps his religion and honour blameless, and he who indulges in doubtful things indulges in unlawful things, just as a shepherd who pastures his flock round a preserve will soon pasture them in it. Beware, every king has a preserve, and the things Allah has declared unlawful are His preserves. Beware; in the body there is a flesh; if it is sound, the whole body is sound, and if it is corrupt, the whole body is corrupt, and behold, it is the heart[38].

This tradition of the Prophet (ﷺ) clearly shows that the priority in *Iṣlāḥ* should be given to the interior state of man i.e., heart as whole nature and attitude of man depends on the reformation of heart.

As per the above discussion on lexical and morphological meaning of the term *Iṣlāḥ* and particularly its use in the primary texts of Islam, Quran and Prophetic traditions. *Iṣlāḥ*, as an Islamic concept is a human corrective task in which any state of *fasād* (corruption) is correctively changed into its opposite desired state which meets the Islamic criteria presented in the Quran and as exemplified in the Sunnah of the Prophet Muhammad (ﷺ); and by *fasād* it is meant a state of loss of the benefit of a thing, inexcusable detriment, or unjustified deviation from a moderate norm.

1.6. *Iṣlāḥ* in the Modern Islamic Reformist Perspective

Due to the comprehensiveness of the term *Iṣlāḥ*, no hard bound consensus exists on definition of *Iṣlāḥ* among scholars and reformers. Every Muslim reformist scholar has understood the concept of *Iṣlāḥ* (reform) in his own context as per the challenges of his time. Muhammad Abduh was one of the leading voices of reform in the Egypt. For him *Iṣlāḥ* refers to, "eliminate confusion and accomplish God's messages for the preservation of humanity and world order."[39] For the Contemporary Muslim reformist thinker Tariq Ramadan, *Iṣlāḥ*, "implies bringing the object (whether a heart, an intellect or a society) back to its original state, when said object was still considered to be pure and good: it is indeed a matter of improvement, of curing, through re-forming, through reform".[40]

The concept of *Iṣlāḥ*, whether in its classical meaning or in the modern discourses has a twofold application at individual and collective level, in so far as it is on the one hand an individual or collective effort to define Islam solely in relation to its authentic sources (Quran and Sunnah of the Prophet) and on the other it is an attempt to work towards a situation in which the lives of Muslims, in individual and collective terms, really would conform to the norms and values of their religion, therefore the concept of *Iṣlāḥ* has been a permanent feature in the religious and cultural history of Islam[41].

1.7. Concept of *Tajdīd* in Islam

In the Islamic reformist discourse another primary concept besides *Iṣlāḥ* that underlines the idea of reform in Islam is *Tajdīd*, and usually both the terms *Iṣlāḥ* and *tajdīd* are used interchangeably. As the concept of *tajdīd* is fundamental for the proper understanding of concept of reform, so it is necessary to study concept of *tajdīd* in Islam vis-à-vis its origin and development in the Islamic reformist thought from the Prophetic times down the contemporary times. The whole discourse on *tajdīd* is based on the famous tradition (*Hadith*) of the Prophet (ﷺ) which is recorded in the *Sunan Abu Dawud*, with an authentic chain of narrators. Abu Hurayrah narrates that the Prophet (ﷺ) said that "God will raise for this community (*Ummah*), at the head of each century, someone who will rejuvenate (*yujaddidu*) for them their

Religion[42]." It is evident from the text of the Hadith that, the Muslim community after the Prophet will indeed go through certain phases of stagnation and at the same time there lies a clear assurance that it will certainly be revived and put back on track through the process of revival and reform. Since *tajdīd* is derived from the root '*jadada*' which means to renew something but this renewal of religion (*tajdīd al-Din*) does not, of course, entail a change in the sources, principles, and fundamentals of Islam, but only in the way the religious texts (*nuṣūṣ*) are understood, implemented, and lived during different times or places. The scriptural sources (the Quran and Sunnah) remain the primary references in every age and the fundamentals of faith and practice will always remain intact, but it is only reading and the understanding of the texts which will be "renewed" by the efforts of those Muslim thinkers who will point out new perspectives by reviving ageless faith in the hearts of the believers and at the same time stimulating their thoughts so as to enable them to face the challenges of their respective ages.[43]

Tajdīd (renewal) is sometimes misunderstood with the concept of *bid'ah* (that is introduction of new innovation in Islam), but the notion of *bid'ah* is totally antagonistic to the concept of *tajdīd*. Primary sources of Islam encourage the pursuit of *Tajdīd* in order to preserve the spirit of Islamic tradition while as *bidah* means to add new accretions to Islam which are essentially against the spirit of Islam hence vehemently condemned by the Islamic scriptures. One of the primary tasks of a *Mujaddid* is to identify such new innovations (*bidaat*) which are alien to the spirit of Islam and present Islam in its pure and pristine form. The Hadith of *tajdīd* is central to the subject of reform in Islam, it is very fundamental to analyze it further to clarify its content and delineate its message.

1.8. Prophetic Tradition of *Tajdīd* and its Interpretation:

The key word in the Hadith is *yujaddid*, from the verbal root, *jadada*, the noun of which is *tajdīd*, which linguistically means to renew something[44]. *Mujaddid*, being its active participle, refers to one who renews or revives the neglected aspects of religion to their original state. Restoring and disseminating the purity of those principles among people and their acting upon them is the main task of the *mujaddid* hence one who renews or better still revives the application of the Islam in the Muslim society is a *mujaddid* and as this endeavor of revival is very much sensitive and complex, the personages associated with the task of *tajdīd* must possess some special qualities. Besides possessing profound knowledge of religious texts, he must

be a dedicated and pious believer and must be capable of undertaking *ijtihād* wherever and whenever it is needed[45]. Hashim Kamali, a notable reformist thinker, while summarizing the essential qualities of a *Mujaddid* observes that:

1) He must possess clear understanding of the changeable (*mutagayyirāt*) and unchangeable (*Thawābit*) rules in Islam.

2) He must possess Knowledge of the rules of necessity and concessions in Islamic law (*darurah*, *rukhsah*).

3) He must possess Knowledge of the place of rationality and proper use in the understanding of Islamic scriptures.

4) He must give due regard to people's welfares.

5) He must possess knowledge of observance of the general customs and cultures of his society[46].

Another question which is usually discussed in the commentaries and scholarly discussions on the tradition under review is that, whether the tradition visualizes one common renewer for the whole Muslim *Ummah* or whether each country and community could have their own renewers. Though, as has been mentioned earlier, the classical scholarship of the Islamic world supported individual efforts of one renewer in one century for whole *Ummah*,[47] but the modern scholarship supports collective revival, by diverse personalities in different fields and different regions at one time, but the fact that is central to all those who are working as renewers in different places is that *tajdīd* for the renewal of Islam must be in principle meant for the whole *Ummah* in spite of being related to the specific spatial-temporal times of reference, but on practical level, due to the vast territorial domain of Islam, different regional and geographical segments of the *Ummah* may have different renewers as Muslims living in different regions will have different challenges[48]. Most of the classical commentaries had attempted to identify one *mujaddid*, and certainly all had ignored the plurality of claimants in the hadith collection. Perhaps it was first famous commentator of *Sunan Abu Dawud*, Muhammad Shams al-Haq Azimabadi (d. 1911) who suggested that renewal is no longer the responsibility and prestige of one individual every hundred years: renewal is owned by communities, groups and movements. As a social group, they are in a position to identify the immediate crisis and attempt for its resolution[49].

1.9. *Tajdīd* as understood by Muslim Scholars and Reformers

The literary genres which mainly contain information of *tajdīd* in classical times are some Hadith collections their commentaries and some biographical works. Despite of the fact that the concept of *tajdīd* was very close to the discourses on difference between Sunnah and *Bid'ah*, scope and development of *Ijtihād*, but during the medieval times discussions on *tajdīd* were been mainly conducted in personnel, not in conceptual terms, which resulted in *tajdīd* couldn't became central concept in the evolution of medieval Islamic thought, it was rather used as an honorific title bestowed upon popular religious figures of every century over the ages, and the conceptual aspect of *tajdīd* was given least importance, which usually dealt with the qualifications of the *mujaddid*. Unlike medieval times during modern times, especially after the Western onslaught of Muslim world, *tajdīd* retained central place in the evolution of Islamic thought.[50]

Muslim scholars have recorded diverse definitions for *tajdīd*, some of which are antecedent whereas some others tend to be more broad and open. The earliest definition on record of *tajdīd* is that of the *Muḥaddith* Muhammad ibn Shihāb al-Zuhrī (d. 121AH/ 724 CE) according to whom, *tajdīd*, "means revival (*Iḥyā*) of that which has disappeared or died out due to neglect of the *Qur'an* and *Sunnah* and their requirements."[51] Prominent Traditionist and historian Ibn al-Athir's (d.606 A.H) definition of *tajdīd* reflects more on legal and scholastic developments during the early centuries. He described *mujaddid*, or carrier of *tajdīd*, as "a prominent leader who emerges at the head of every century to revive the religion for the *Ummah* and preserve the *madhhabs* of their following under their leadership of respective imams."[52] The renowned Quran commentator Jalal-ud-Din al-Suyūṭī (d.1505 C.E) had a much broader vision of *Tajdīd*. He was among the leading classical scholars who have written a book on the *Hadith al-Tajdīd*[53]. For Suyūṭī, "*Tajdīd* in religion means renewal of its guidance, explanation of its truth, as well as eradication of pernicious innovation (*bid'ah*), extremism (*al-ghuluw*) and laxity in the religion.[54]" Muhammad Shams al-Ḥaqq Azimabadi, a prominent Hadith commentator of Indian sub-continent and the author of famous commentary on Hadith collection of Imam Abu Dawood, *'Awn al-Ma'būd fi Sharḥ Sunan Abu Dā'ūd*, defines *Tajdīd* as the "revival of what has been marginalized of the Quran and Sunnah and issuance of judgment

on their basis as well as eradicating pernicious innovation (*bid'ah*) that contravenes the established Sunnah.[55]"

Tajdīd accordingly implies renewal and regeneration of the application of Islam in the Muslim community. Since, the religion of Islam, as presented in its two revealed sources, has already been revealed and will remain intact, craving neither addition nor subtraction, but only interpretation and application with the passage of time; certainly it is the application of Islam which with time tends to wane and thereupon needs reformation. The word *tajdīd* means therefore, the renewal of the application of Islam in society and the role of a *mujaddid*, thereupon pertains to the revitalization of the understanding of the Muslim community and returning it to the path of Islam afresh, as it was originally during the Prophetic times.[56] Badiuzzaman Said Nursi[57] (1876-1960) who has also been considered as a renewer (*mujaddid*) of his age by his followers has given a comprehensive interpretation of *tajdīd* vis-à-vis nature and functions of a *mujaddid*. He aptly defines the nature and scope of *tajdīd* and *mujaddid* as;

> They [*mujaddids*] straighten religion and make it firm; clarify its essence and true nature; refute and disprove the absurdities which some have attempted to mix with religion; repel and annihilate all attacks on religion; establish all the commands of Allah; and proclaim and make manifest the nobility and sublimity of all divine ordinances. However, at the same time, without in any way damaging the fundamental nature of religion or violating its essential sprit, they fulfill their duties [as *mujaddid*] by employing new methods of explanation, new means of persuasion that are consonant with the age, new forms of detailed instruction... they act entirely in accordance with the ethical model of the Prophet[].[58]

From the above quoted various definitions of *tajdīd* by classical and modern scholars, understanding *tajdīd* and what it has been understood by different commentators has thus been influenced by various factors, one of which is historical in that challenges faced by people and societies in various periods of history are evidently not the same everywhere. This also implies that people tended to interpret *tajdīd* in the light of their own experience and conditions. Another factor which seems very dominant is the interpreter's own point of view and his own field of expertise. A

jurist may understand *tajdīd* differently from a historian or a sociologist and vice-versa, as Prof. Hashim Kamali aptly remarks about the same:

> ...reading the views of a 20th century scholar or *faqihi* [jurist] may well provide a different vision of *tajdīd* compared to his earlier counterparts. This is partly because *tajdīd* is inherently dynamic and multi-dimensional, and can tie up with many other ideas and principles[59].

1.10. *Ijtihād* as the tool of Reform and Renewal in Islam

Ijtihād is the most significant and primary instrument in the process and application of reform in Islam. *Ijtihād* has been from the very beginning used as the main tool for interpreting the divine message and relating it to the changing conditions of the Muslim community in its aspirations to attain justice, salvation and truth. *Ijtihād* is the most important source of Islamic law next to the Qur'an and the Sunnah. The main difference between *Ijtihād* and the revealed sources of the *Shari'ah* lies in the fact while *Ijtihād* is a continuous process of development whereas divine revelation and prophetic legislation discontinued upon the demise of the Prophet,[60] but while as former ones are divine in nature and the later one is human effort to understand and implement them in the changing time and space. Literally the word *Ijtihād* has been derived from the root word *jahada*, hence *Ijtihād* literally means striving, or self-exertion in any activity which entails a measure of hardship. In the Islamic terminology of law, *Ijtihād* is defined as the total expenditure of effort made by a jurist in order to infer, with a degree of probability, the rules of *Shari'ah* from their detailed evidence in the sources of Islam. Eminent legalists have defined *Ijtihād* in various ways but the whole content of these definitions can be summed up in the fallowing definition by Imam al-Shatibi:

> An extreme intellectual effort employed by expert interpreters to have a correct and definite perception of the original basic maxims of Islamic law with (the aim) to derive operative orders there from to provide the necessary legal solution of the problems and issues faced by an Islamic society at any stage of its development.[61]

Being rooted in the Islamic tradition, apart from various Quranic verses which directly or indirectly discuss the nature and importance of *Ijtihād*, it is primarily the Prophetic traditions which act as the most prominent source of *Ijtihād* in which the

Prophet has guided his companions about its nature and scope. The tradition of Mu'ādh bin Jabal is the foremost tradition on this, which not only discusses the meaning and nature of *Ijtihād* in the changing paradigms of time and space but it also determines the framework to be adopted while partaking the pursuit of *Ijtihād* and reform. When Mu'ādh was about to set off for his mission to Yemen as a governor, the Prophet ﷺ asked him: "According to what will you judge? He answered: "According to the Book of God and then the Sunnah of His Messenger ﷺ." "And if you find nothing?" "Then, I shall exert myself (*ajtahidu*) to my utmost to formulate my own judgment", Mu'ādh answered the Prophet, and in response the Prophet then exclaimed, "Praise be to God who guided His Messenger's messenger to what pleases His Messenger!"[62]

The first two questions and their respective answers directly mention the importance of revealed texts and their interpretations for that one must possess profound knowledge of primary texts (*nuṣūṣ*). The third question is of particular importance in the Islamic reformist discourse, because it stipulates that Mu'ādh will necessarily be confronted, in the new environment of Yemen, with situations of which no direct guidance may be found explicitly in the Quran or in the Sunnah, as Quran gives the general principles and the practical implementation of them has to be thought out through the medium of intelligence according to circumstances and situations, Prof. Khurshid Ahmad states about the same,

> God has revealed only broad principles and has endowed man with the freedom to apply them in every in the way suited to the spirit and conditions of that age. It is through *Ijtihād* that people of every age try to implement and apply divine guidance to the problems of their times[63].

The second teaching drawn from this tradition is directly linked to these situations: Yemen-although not far away from the Prophet's city, already contains a different geographical, cultural, and legal setting, requiring the scholar to produce a reflection, an extrapolation effort, reasoned and reasonable *Ijtihād*, to remain faithful to Islamic prescriptions. As Tariq Ramadan states, "that Mu'ādh's last answer is no less edifying in this respect, since it directly refers to his own critical intelligence, which will have to face both the texts potential silence and the new context".[64] Muhammad Iqbal in his lectures on Reconstruction of Islamic Thought has very thoroughly discussed the concept of *Ijtihād* and had called it principle of movement

in the structure of Islam because Iqbal considers *Ijtihād* the main principle of Islam in which the ideal eternal laws are reconciled and implemented in the changing paradigms of time and space.[65]

To conclude it may be asserted that, *Ijtihād* has been proved as an essential and dynamic legal tool in the past and has enough scope in the current times for the (re) interpretation and (re) understanding of Islam vis-à-vis contemporary issues and the challenges faced by Muslim community.[66]

1.11. Limitations of Reform in Islam

Throughout the Muslim history there has been multiple understandings of these core concepts of reform in Islam, while some scholars have tried to restrict their meaning and scope but others have given very less attention towards the limitations of the concept during the modern times, among the host of reform movements and thinkers there are few such understandings of the concept of reform in Islam which becomes problematic and controversial therefore, for instance the case of Ayaan Hirsi Ali's infamous work on the reform in Islam titled *Heretic: Why Islam Needs a Reformation Now*[67], which has turned out to be a controversial book, largely denounced both by traditional scholars and Modern Muslim Reformers for its controversial content. Some of the unqualified and controversial/disputed statements which bypass the limits of reform include, "Until Islam can do what Judaism and Christianity have done – question, critique, interpret and ultimately modernize its holy scripture – it cannot free Muslims from a host of anachronistic and at times deadly beliefs and practices."[68] In this regard it is necessary to mention the limitations of the pursuit of reform. First it must be clear, by 'reform' it has never meant in the mainstream Islamic Reformist Discourse reform in Islam vis-à-vis its sacred revealed texts (Quran and Hadith), rather by reform, it is meant to change/reform the mindset/understanding of the reader of the divine revealed texts of Islam with due consideration to the changing paradigms of time and space. While discussing the nature and scope of reform/renewal in Islam, Dr. Taha Jabir al-Alwani clearly debunks such claims of reform in the light of Islamic tradition of reform which may attempt to change the revealed scriptures itself or even out rightly denounce contribution of predecessor scholars and reformers. For Alwani;

> True renewal derives its substance from the reconstruction or reformation of the Muslim mind, and restoration of its connection with the Book of God

[Quran] in its capacity as the sole creative source-together with the cosmos-of thought, knowledge, creed, law and method. Similarly, genuine renewal entails repairing what has been broken in the connection between the Muslim mind and the Sunnah as well as other aspects of the age of revelation and prophethood.[69]

1.12. Conclusion

The scope of reform in Islam revolves around approaching its scriptures with a fresh mind and a sincere intention to improve one's own understanding of scripture. Never does it permit to approach them in order to change, mend or "improve" scripture itself. Since Islam is a revealed religion, its primary scriptures are trans-historical and eternal, which can never be changed or reformed. What reform then means from Islamic perspective is the fresh interpretation of those permanent and eternal sources as per the new challenges and demands of time. Any attempt in the past or in the present wherein reform has meant to change/reform the scriptures, such acts have been denounced not only by the common believers but also by the learned Muslim scholars and by rightful Muslim reformers themselves.

As has been already discussed the spirit of reform is common to both the Christianity and Islam but what kind of reform Islam permits is different from that of reformation of Christianity which took place in 16th century, the nature and scope of reform necessarily takes different meanings and forms in the two religious traditions. M. Wilfried Hofmann has summarized the scope and limits of reform, by stating that, "there can be no renewal of Islam as such, in particular of its creed (*al-'Aqīdah*), its rites of worship (*al-'Ibādah*), its ethics (*al-Akhlāq*). Hands off the core of Islam! But there can be a renewal of the civilizational aspects of our social life."[70] Reform in Islam therefore primarily corresponds to the new understandings and interpretations of Islam vis-à-vis changing time and space.

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[1] Semitic religions are also called Abrahamic religions and commonly refer to three prominent religions of the world viz., Judaism, Christianity and Islam. All three acknowledge and trace their teachings back to Prophet Ibrahim (A.S). For further study see, David Kay, *The Semitic Religions: Hebrew, Jewish, Christian and Moslem*, Read Books, 2007.

[2] Adam being the prototype of man, Quran frequently mentions the event of his creation (*takhliq*), vicegerency (*Khilāfah*) and prophet-hood (*Nubuwwah*) of Adam, see Al-Quran, 2: 30-38, 15: 30-35, 38: 71-72.

[3] Al-Quran 3: 33.

[4] Al-Quran 20:15.

[5]*Tawḥīd* corresponds to unity of God in His Lordship, Worship, and Names and Attributes, Islam as a religion is primarily a monotheistic religion. Its central and unifying principle is the concept of *Tawḥīd* upon which the entire edifice of its creed, rituals and practices is based. The primary difference between Islam and other religions of the world is Islam's strict adherence to the belief in oneness of Allah. Concept of *Tawḥīd* is classified into three categories, *Tawḥīd al-Asmāwa al-Ṣifāt* (oneness of Allah's names and attributes), *Tawḥīd al-Rububiyyah* (oneness of Allah's Lordship) and *Tawḥīd al-Uluhiyah* (oneness in Allah's worship). For further study see, Abu Mansoor Maturidi, *The Book of Monotheism Kitab al-Tawḥīd*, (Eng. Trs) Sulaiman Ahmad, Maturidi Publication, 2019.

[6] Al-Quran 16: 36.

[7] Al-Quran 21: 25.

[8] Tariq Ramadan, *Radical Reform: Islamic Ethics and Liberation*, Oxford University Press, New York, 2009, p.18.

[9] Tariq Ramadan, ibid p.19.

[10]*Fitrah* in Islam refers to the natural disposition of human being which is pure and innocent, Quran while refers to the *fitrah* states, "truly to the religion being upright, the nature in which Allah has made mankind: no change (there is) in the work (wrought) Al-Quran, 30: 30, Prophet Muhammad (SAW) further explains the above verse of Quran about, "No child is born except on al-fitrah (Islam) and then his parents make him Jews, Christian or Magain" Muhammad bin Ismail, *Sahih al-Bukhari*, Vol. 6, Hadith No. 298, available online at http://sunnah.com/bukhari:4775

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[14]Khalid Masud, op.cit., p. 50.

[15] Holy Quran, 30: 41.

[16] EbrahimMoosa and TareenSherali, 'Revival and Reform' in Gerhard Bowering (ed.) *Princeton Encyclopedia of Islamic Political Thought,* Princeton University Press, Princeton New Jersey, 2013, p. 464

[17] Al-Quran, 12: 38.

[18] Taha Jabir Al-Alwani*, Islamic Thought: An approach to Reform*, The International Institute of Islamic Thought, London, 2006, pp. 58-59.

[19] Prophet Muhammad (SAW) as per Islamic tradition is regarded as *Khatam an-nabiyin* (Seal of Prophets), Quran explicitly states in this regard, "Muhammad (SAW) is not the father of any men, but (he is) the Messenger of Allah, and the Seal of the Prophets" Al-Quran 33: 40.

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[21] Hayat Amir Hussaini, *On Islamic Thought*, Jay Kay Book Shop Srinagar, n.d, p. 48.

[22] S. Abul Hasan Ali Nadwi, op.cit., Vol. 1. p. 11.

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[32] Al-Quran, 11:117.

[33] Al-Quran, 7: 170.

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[35] Al-Quran, 11:88.

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An Appraisal of the Intellectual Developments in Iran Under the Pahlavi Rule

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ABSTRACT

In the modern Iranian history, the revolutions of 1905 and 1979 have left such a resounding impression on Iranian intellectuals that their preoccupation with them and dramatic emphasis on their events has ensured that everything that happened between the two revolutions is seen either as their impact or a direct cause influencing them. This is one of the many reasons why it is noticed that a detailed study of the Iranian state governed by the Pahlavi dynasty is still in its early years. While the political events such as that of the Coup of 1921, the one of 1953, and the White Revolution have been subject to various scholarly debates, the intellectual developments that took place at the same time have failed to receive the corresponding attention. This certainly does not mean that no scholarly progress took place in these six decades, as the sustainment of a modern state without the empowerment of its citizens, achievable only through their education, is out of question; rather it only demonstrates what the priorities of those who had been tasked with the obligation of writing modern Iranian history in the twentieth century were. As such, this paper, endeavors to present a succinct outline of the intellectual products of the Pahlavi era, what influenced the thought of this period, the battle between those who sought to implement the ideals of Enlightenment and those who fought against it, and its implications in the shaping of modern Iran.

Keywords: Iran, Pahlavi, Intellectual, Modern, Literature.

1.1 Coming to Power

At the dawn of the twentieth century, Iran was trapped in a stern battle against the foreign influence of the Czarist Russia which, among other things, had divided its population with respect to their allegiance to the ruling Qājār dynasty (1789-1925 CE). The situation was further exacerbated by the British invasion in 1918 CE

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replacing Russia as the new colonizers of Iran.[1] This incursion resulted in the Anglo-Persian agreement, the terms of which were far too beneficial for Britain than they were for Iran. The natural outcome of such upgraded exploitation was the instigation of a political conflict. Armies from different parts of Iran marched towards Tehran to seize control and overthrow the Qājār monarchy which had become a sore in their eyes due to its increasing inefficiency. One of these armies was commanded by Colonel Reza Khan who, with his three thousand Cossack soldiers, seized control of the capital city in 1921 and proclaimed martial law, promising to protect the monarchy and to make it stronger. Installing himself as the Prime Minister of Iran, the ambitious colonel started to consolidate his authority by subduing the locals, ousting the British, and allying with the Russians. Finally in 1925 CE, the last Qājār Emperor Ahmad Shah was deposed by Reza Khan who captured the throne and established the Pahlavi Dynasty, introducing himself as Reza Shah Pahlavi.[2] The formation of an Iranian nation-state which had been seriously obstructed up to this point due to the intervention of the Great Powers had a renewed opportunity now that the power was in the hands of Reza Shah. His efforts in this direction earned him with the credit of not just reviving Iran as a nation but also "creating" it on modern lines.[3]

1.2 Changing Order

Reza Shah had started the process of consolidation even before the establishment of his dynasty perhaps in anticipation of the outcome that he had so carefully planned for. Given the circumstances in which he rose to power, he had no time to devise a political theory or to concentrate on its philosophy; the only ideology that he professed emphasized order, discipline, and unlimited power. His motto of three words: *Khuda* (God), *Shāh* (Monarch), and *Mehan* (nation) was a clear indication that any form of dissent against him will be tantamount to not just opposing the state but the religion itself thus becoming an act of treason.[4] Nevertheless, his secular orientation was pretty much obvious from the measures he took which involved the marginalization of the *Shīī* scholars and the modernization of the legal and educational institutions - represented by the establishment of the Tehran University in 1935 CE. To achieve 'national unification', he resorted to repressive measures against all kinds of rebellious parties and leaders. He earned the wrath of the religious scholars by abolishing the veil in 1936 and granting various 'rights' to women, something that could never be acceptable to the traditional clergy.[5]

However, it wasn't the clergy or the rebellious locals who led to his fall, rather he was forced to abdicate by the Allied Powers of Great Britain and the Soviet Union in 1941 when they invaded Iran and destroyed the Shah's army after he had refused to take their side in the Second World War and had insisted on maintaining neutrality but was accused of harboring pro-German (Nazi) sympathies mainly on account of their shared ideologies. The throne, on British recommendations, now passed to his 22 year old son Mohammad Reza Pahlavi.[6]

1.3 The falling graph

The replacement of the stubborn autocrat with his inexperienced son reduced the atrocities and political repression to some extent but the persisting foreign control over Iran's oil resources provided an opportunity for various leftist classes and groups to launch movements against the monarchy. Coups were attempted, united Fronts were formed, and various measures were taken to destabilize the government but somehow Mohammad Reza was able to survive all these threats. Amid growing calls for reform, the Shah came up with a programme known as the 'White Revolution' in the 1960s which consisted of agrarian reforms, nationalization of forest resources, and enfranchising women, among other things.[7] It was the clergy class again who were opposed to these reforms calling for more protests and further demonstrations. Being unable to reconcile the discontenting voices, the Shah, now titled as *Shahanshah/Aryamehr*, abolished the parliament and concentrated all the power in his own hands. The most unfortunate result of such a political and economic Diaspora was intellectual bankruptcy which saw many people turning to socialist, communist and Marxist type ideologies while some even tried to use them to reinterpret Islam itself. [8] By 1979, a broad coalition, formed under the leadership of Ayatullah Ruhullah Khomeini, had created a 'revolutionary' situation which, apart from bringing an end to the Pahlavi dynasty and terminating the Iranian monarchy, established the Republic of Iran.[9]

1.4 The Intellectual Tradition

If one tries to outline the underlying factors of the intellectual contributions in the Pahlavi era, it would come to fore that the major emphasis was laid on disparaging the autocratic rulership, its authoritarianism and political intrigues, and the incessant endeavors of the learned elite to attempt fusion between modernity and traditionalism with a compromise on both ends. One major drawback of the Pahlavi

dictatorship was the severe suppression of such writers and authors which was responsible for preventing any major positive development in academic areas. Despite this, Reza Shah's grand scheme of a revolution was not restricted to political and military ambitions only. His dream was the creation of a modern nation-state of which educational reform had to form the integral component.[10] This is evident from the inauguration of the Tehran University in 1934 CE which ultimately became the beacon of modern education in Iran. The university was in essence an amalgam or merger of the existing six colleges, that of Law, Literature, Political Science, Agriculture, Medicine, and Teacher Training. After a few years of its foundation, six new colleges were added – Dentistry, Pharmacology, Veterinary sciences, Theology, Fine arts, and Science & Technology.[11] Mohammad Taqi Malik al-Shuʻarā Bahār (1886-1951), who taught at the university in its early years, came up with his three-volume work entitled *Sabk-Shenāsi* (1942) which became a basic text of Persian literature in the academic fields. The contribution of this work which is a comprehensive history of Iranian languages and prose literature has been acclaimed to a great extent owing to the fact that Reza Shah's conception of a nation-state required homogeneity and unification of diverse cultures in which literary history formed the basic ingredient and this was achieved by Bahār's book.[12] For this purpose, and to make the most important works accessible to a greater audience, translation work had also been initiated with special focus on translating literary and historical works from French and Arabic to the Persian language. The Qājārs during their rule had started to send the students abroad for higher education which was another cause for Iran's dependence on external powers. With the establishment of this university, there was now no need for such measures. The education that they received here was intended to increase their nationalistic character and to build Iran's self-esteem. The renaissance of such a national pride turned out to be a catalyst in uniting academicians, intellectuals, and politicians who started to collaborate with the Shah, even though there was serious disagreement when it came to the issues of democracy and liberalism.[13]

Another key agenda of the modernists was the improvement of the Iranian race and formation of a healthy life style. This was the major impulse behind the active interest that was taken in physical education for which the National Physical Education Association was founded in 1934 mainly due to the sustained efforts of Mir Mehdi Verzandeh (1882-1982) known as the "Father of modern sports" in

Iran.[14] Modernization of music also took place which started from the exertions of the middle class before the government officially formulated policies for its progression. One early example of these local efforts is the school of music *Madrasah-ye 'Ali-ye Musīqi* (1886-1979) under the musician 'Alinaqi Vaziri, being the first institution to teach both European and Iranian classical music. Vaziri also established a musical club *Klup-e Muzikal* which was joined by many intellectuals and academics of his time. Music was added to the curriculum of all schools under the directions of Mehdiqoli Hedayat, Prime Minister of Reza Shah from 1927-1933 CE. Hedayat had himself contributed to this field through his work *Majma' al-Advār* (a review of ancient Iranian and Arab musicologists). In 1938, through an express command of Reza Shah another musical institution was formed and named as State Department for Music *(Idārah-ye Musīqi-ye Keshvar).* This department was in turn responsible for the publication of the magazine *Muzik-e Iran.*[15]

The effect of nationalization was seen in historiography as well. Ahmad Kasravi (1890-1946), one of the most influential historians of his time, promoted nationalistic ideas in his works and would usually support the Shah's projects. His major work was the History of Iranian Constitutionalism which he compiled a few years before his death. This trend was also seen in other historians like Abbas Iqbal and Mohammad Ali Forughi who were mainly concerned with drafting state-sponsored textbooks for schools.[16] A notable literary figure during the reign of Reza Shah was the latter, his first Prime Minister Mohammad Ali Forughi (1877-1942 CE). Besides presiding over editing, translation projects, and historical publication, Forughi came up with the general history of Western Philosophy in Persian language, the first of its nature. In 1937, he translated some of Ibn Sīnā's work on philosophy of natural sciences from Arabic to Persian, also editing the works of the thirteenth century poet Sa'di of Shiraz. His efforts of editing and translating works of such nature came to be seen as one of his methods to promote a blueprint for an Iranian national identity. Overshadowing their contributions is Sadeq Hedayat (1903-1950) who is considered as the greatest literary figure of the twentieth-century Persian literature. His masterpiece was *Būf-e Kūr,* a novel based on fiction though depicting his own struggles with the growing modernity in which he was unable to find a place for himself.[17]

In the late 1940s and early 1950s, the intellectual literature started to adopt a socialist tone mainly owing to the influence of pro-Soviet parties especially the

Tudeh Party and also due to the fall of Reza Shah with the main topics of discussion being Modernism, Nationalism, and criticism of religion, patriarchy, nepotism, and the political establishment of the country.[18] Iran presented an image of pessimism and frustration and there was no real social or economic reform that could take place. This also had an effect on the intellectual elite as well whose ideas seem to have been crumbling under the repressive regime as a result of which their prose and poetry reflected a dark and gloomy theme. Due to most of the country's poets, writers and other intellectuals being in prison, the fissure between them and the Pahlavi regime was further widened.[19]

1.5 Persian Nationalism

In the early years of Mohammed Reza, more steps were taken to establish Persian language as an inseparable ingredient of Iran's composite national identity, a process that had started two decades earlier. In this regard, a notable contribution was made by the lexicographer 'Ali Akbar Dekhoda who compiled a multivolume encyclopedic dictionary of Persian language which was named as *Loghat Nāmah*. Based on citations from classical sources, his efforts to preserve a literary tradition were acknowledged even by the parliament who sponsored its completion and publication in 1946. Previously, Dekhoda had already authored *Amthāl wa Ḥikam*, a four-volume dictionary of Persian proverbs and maxims.[20] Most of Iran's cultural elite of the Pahlavi era were generally seen as a fusion between traditional education and modern Western scholarship. One famous candidate of this category was Mohammad Qazvini (1877-1949), a literary expert with special expertise in editing classical texts. With a colleague he edited the famous *Dīwān* of the poet Ḥafiẓ which helped in re-establishing the latter's place in Iranian literary history. His work had been supplemented earlier by Hasan Pirnya whose 'history of ancient Iran' published in 1933, is said to have turned out to be a boost for the Pahlavis to legitimize their rule by justifying their claim to the ancient Persian past. A year later, in 1934, a millennial celebration of Firdausi's *Shāh Nāmah* was organized which saw Iran hosting scholars from all around the world, thus further paving the way for Persianization of the local population. Another key scholar who helped promote the movement of Persian nationalism was Ibrahim Purdavud (1885-1968), a professor of ancient Iranian languages. He was responsible for training multiple generations of students in Tehran University and imparting in them the nationalist discourse of the Pahlavis.[21]

1.6 Seeking Refuge in Poetry

During this time, a poet Nima Yushij (1896-1960) earned fame on account of his rejection of the conventional rhyme and meter used by Persian poets for centuries and also for trying to reflect the uncomplicated nature of the agricultural life and to give voice to those who were suffering. He achieved this through his famous ode *Māhtāb* in 1948. Similar thoughts were portrayed by another poet Mahdi Akhavan Sales (1928-1990), also known as "Omid" who despised the Pahlavi dictatorship and mourned the loss of the National Movement. These themes are evident in his two famous works: *Kāveh ya Eskandar* composed in 1956 when he was in prison and *Ākher-e Shāh Nāmah* in 1957.[22] Religious conventions, patriarchal tyranny, a desire for rebirth, and self-discovery became the main themes of the poetical works of Forugh Farrokhzad (1935-1967), the most famous of her collections being *Tavallodi Dīgar*. Her mystical tendencies were reflected in *Bandegi* composed in 1956 which was a long poem in the form of a discourse with the Creator. Her other poems, some of which were published after her death include *Ey Marz-e Pur-Johar*, *Kasi Keh Mesl-e Hichkas nist*, and others. Poetic imagery and symbolic language received a new direction under the poet Ahmad Shamlu (1925-2000) who used them to continue the discourses started by his predecessors. His *Lawḥ* was heavily influenced by the narratives of the Bible and its message resembled that of *Mahtab*'s, being addressed to the inattentive public filled with words of compassion.[23]

1.7 The War of Ideologies and the Philosophical Epilogue

In his *Taskhīr-e Tammadon-e Farangi*, Seyyed Fakhr-ud-din Shadman (1907-1967) discussed how language plays a role in the development of thought and how it can be used to interpret modernization. He also proposed a policy through which Greek and Latin books were to be translated into Persian to make them available to the younger generation. He was followed by Jalal Āl-Ahmad (1923-1970), regarded as one of the most famous critic of Westernization. Jalal is credited with describing *Gharbzadegi* (Westoxification) in his booklet with the same title. For him, the supreme cause of all the social and cultural evils was the discarding of traditional values and unrestricted albeit phony imitation of Western ways of living.[24] Perhaps the most radical treatment of the subject of "Westernization v. Traditionalism" was carried out by the sociologist Ali Shariati. 'Ali Shariati (1933-1977) was an advocate of Shīʻī revivalism but with a combination of not just non-Shīʻī but also non-Iranian

ideas. Perceiving logical reasoning as universally valid, he attempted to acquire scientific validation for Shī'ism and lectured on many topics including history and sociology of religion, politics, philosophy, etc.

The post-1953 period saw the emergence of periodicals and journals as a major channel through which the intellectual class could circulate their ideas. Journals like *Sokhan*, *Rahnama-ye Ketab*, and *Nigen* became popular due to their scholarly orientation and usually deliberated on topics like politics, art, and literature. These would mostly include anthologies, famously known as *Jong* which would turn out to play a key role in the development of modern Iranian poetry.[25] In the field of philosophy and religious sciences, active contribution was made by both traditionally trained scholars as well as scholars with modern education. Those belonging to the first category include:

i.   Sayyid Muḥammad Ḥusayn Ṭabāṭabā'i (1903-1981), author of *al-Mīzān* (Qur'anic commentary in 27 volumes), *Uṣūl-i Falsafah*, and *'Ali wa al-ḥikmat al-ilāhiyyah.*

ii.   Sayyid Abu al-Ḥasan Rafī'ī Qazvini (1897-1975), author of some commentaries on Shī'ī philosophical treatises including *Mafātīḥ al-Ghayb*, *Ḥikmat al-Ishrāq*, and *al-Manẓūmah.*

iii. Sayyid Muḥammad Kāẓim 'Aṣṣār (1884-1975), famous for his book *Thalāth Rasā'il fi al-Ḥikmat al-Islāmiyyah.*

iv.   Murtaḍā Muṭahhari (1919-1979), who edited *Uṣūl -i Falsafah* and *Kitāb al-Taḥṣīl.*

v.   Jalāl Humā'ī (1900-1980), known for his *Ghazzāli Nāmah.*

      The second category comprises of intellectuals like Yaḥyā Mahdawi, Ghulām Ḥusayn Ṣādiqi, Sayyid Ja'far Sajjādi, Aḥmad Fardīd, Ibrahim Dībāji, and Ḥasan Malikshāhi, all of whom were the alumni of Tehran University.[26]

1.8 Conclusion

Towards the end of Pahlavi dynasty, rift between the state and its subjects, especially the intellectual class, had widened to such an extent that almost all those associated with the latter class were considered to be a part of the opposition. Most of the intellectual activity was aimed at eradicating the 'poverty of thought' as has been discussed above. The journey of Iranian intellectuals began in the twentieth century by searching for techniques to remedy autocracy and to integrate modernity; the Pahlavis were eliminated but the promises and commitments remained unfulfilled. Based on the information available from the contemporary

sources, one can conclude that the intellectual life in the twentieth-century Iran was a tormented one deriving influences either from the Western modern perspective with its multiple shades or from the traditional *Shīʿī* version. Most of the intellectuals who contributed in the later part of this era played an important role in the 1979 revolution. The most noticeable, yet expected, phenomenon of these intellectual elites was their transition from supporting the Shah in the beginning to becoming one of the most powerful weapons of his overthrow in the end.

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The Concept of Īthār (Altruism) in Islam: An Exposition in the Light of the Qur'ān and Ḥadīth

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ABSTRACT

Generosity and philanthropy is one of the fundamental pillars upon which the Islamic edifice is established. Islam enjoins its followers to be generous and ready to spend for the welfare of others. It encourages them to compete in the acts of goodness, charity, kindness, and piousness. It emphasizes its followers to render every kind of goodness to the people and make it their permanent policy. One of the highest forms of generosity is 'preferring the needs and necessities of others over one's own', and 'spending on others what you love and desperately need yourself'. This aspect of generosity is termed as *īthār* (altruism). It is this important aspect of generosity which is briefly discussed in this paper. An attempt is made to discuss the meaning, virtues, excellences, and the various levels/aspects of *īthār* in light of the Qur'ān and Ḥadīth, as well as the teachings derived from them.

Keywords: *Īthār*, Altruism, Self-Sacrifice, Generosity, Charity, Goodness.

1. *Īthār* (Altruism / Self-sacrifice)

1.1 Literal Meaning

The word "إيثار" comes from the root word "أَثَرَ" which originally means "to transmit, pass along, report, relate something from (or based on the authority of) someone"[1]. Its other form "أَثَّرَ" means "to make or leave or cause to remain, an impression, or a mark, or trace, upon someone or something"[2], "to influence, to produce an effect or to make an impression"[3]. Another form of it is "تأثَّر" which means "to be influenced, to follow the footsteps of another, or do so diligently or perseveringly"[4].

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Now, the word "إيثار" is the verbal-noun of "آثر يؤثر" which means "to prefer someone /something to, to like something more than"[5]. We say "آثره" (he preferred him or it), "آثرهُ عَلَيْهِ " (he preferred him before him), " أَثَرْتُ فُلَانًا عَلَى نَفْسِى" (I preferred such a one before myself). In the Quran, Allah says: قَالُوا تَاللَّهِ لَقَدْ آثَرَكَ اللَّهُ عَلَيْنَا وَإِنْ كُنَّا لَخَاطِئِينَ (they (the brothers of Joseph) said: "By Allah! Indeed Allah has preferred thee above us, and we certainly have been guilty of sin!")[6].

1.2 Meaning and Significance of *Īthār* in Islam

Technically, *īthār* (إيثار) means "altruism, preference, love, affection"[7]. It is preferring the needs of others to your own needs; bearing the hunger and thirst yourself but feeding others; suffering hardships to give comfort to others; withdrawing oneself into the background to allow others to go forward; cutting down one's own expenses so as to help others; suppressing one's own personality so that others may shine, or remaining silent to allow others to speak; keeping one's vehicle to one side so that others may go ahead, such self-sacrifices are called *Īthār*. It means putting others before the self. According to the holy Qur'ān those who possess these qualities will have prosperity in both the worlds. Allah says:

$$وَيُؤْثِرُونَ عَلَى أَنْفُسِهِمْ وَلَوْ كَانَ بِهِمْ خَصَاصَةٌ وَمَنْ يُوقَ شُحَّ نَفْسِهِ فَأُولَئِكَ هُمُ الْمُفْلِحُونَ$$

> And they (*Anṣār* of *Madīnah*) give them (emigrants-*Muhājirūn*) preference over themselves, even though they were in need of that. And whosoever is saved from the greed of his soul, such are they who will be the successful.[8]

The quality of *Īthār*, in the truest sense of its meaning, was present in the companions of the holy Prophet (*S.A.A.^W.S*). We know that when the Muslims migrated from *Makkah* to *Madīnah*, they were empty-handed; they had left all their properties and possessions in *Makkah* and migrated to *Madīnah* for the sake of Islam. The people of *Madīnah* were poor themselves possessing things that could hardly suffice their own lives. The things they possessed included household utensils, small houses, lands, orchards, wells and so forth. They did not consider the immigrants as a burden upon themselves and did not grudge them anything. They (*Anṣār*) offered them (*Muhājirūn*) a hearty welcome and shared everything from their possessions

with the newcomers (*Muhājirūn*). In fact there developed a firm brotherhood (مؤاخاة) among them so much so that in case of death the "Brother *Muhājir*" inherited the property of the "Deceased *Anṣār*".

The Companions of the Prophet in general used to help and support each other as well as any needy person with the utmost sincerity; all for the sake of Allah. Their generosity and charity were free from any sign of ostentation. They used to spend money on others and help them out of genuine pious and unpretentious motives. The holy Quran relates:

وَيُطْعِمُونَ الطَّعَامَ عَلَى حُبِّهِ مِسْكِينًا وَيَتِيمًا وَأَسِيرًا. إِنَّمَا نُطْعِمُكُمْ لِوَجْهِ اللَّهِ لَا نُرِيدُ مِنْكُمْ جَزَاءً وَلَا شُكُورًا.

إِنَّا نَخَافُ مِنْ رَبِّنَا يَوْمًا عَبُوسًا قَمْطَرِيرًا.

And they feed, for the love of Allah, - the indigent, - the orphan, - and the captive - (Saying), "We feed you for the sake of Allah alone: No reward do we desire from you, nor thanks. We only fear a Day of distressful Wrath from the side of our Lord."[9]

2. Virtue and Excellence of *Īthār*

A society can prosper only when the bond of relationship among its individuals is strong and based on mutual help and understanding. There should be economic balance in the society and cordiality in it. No individual of the community should be so deprived that he may be facing a life of starvation and no wealthy man of the community should be so greedy that he may be spending his wealth only for his own personal pleasures and luxuries.

Islam prepares its followers to be consistent in the deeds of righteousness and virtuousness, and help and co-operate with each other. It explains to its followers that the benefit of spending in the cause of Allah is not only derived by the poor and needy persons but the givers of charity also achieve the invaluable riches of peace and satisfaction; their hearts are protected from the spiritual diseases like rancor and jealousy, and they are saved from the adverse consequences of selfishness and narrow-mindedness. The holy Qur'ān says:

هَاأَنْتُمْ هَؤُلَاءِ تُدْعَوْنَ لِتُنْفِقُوا فِي سَبِيلِ اللَّهِ فَمِنْكُمْ مَنْ يَبْخَلُ وَمَنْ يَبْخَلْ فَإِنَّمَا يَبْخَلُ عَنْ نَفْسِهِ وَاللَّهُ الْغَنِيُّ وَأَنْتُمُ الْفُقَرَاءُ

Behold, ye are those invited to spend (of your substance) in the way of Allah: but among you are some that are niggardly. But any who are niggardly are so at the expense of their own souls. But Allah is free of all wants, and it is ye that are needy.[10]

Islam clearly states that only such people can be successful in achieving the rewards in this and the next world who remove the manipulations of narrow-mindedness and niggardliness and nourish the qualities of charity giving and generosity:

فَاتَّقُوا اللَّهَ مَا اسْتَطَعْتُمْ وَاسْمَعُوا وَأَطِيعُوا وَأَنْفِقُوا خَيْرًا لِأَنْفُسِكُمْ وَمَنْ يُوقَ شُحَّ نَفْسِهِ فَأُولَئِكَ هُمُ الْمُفْلِحُونَ

So, fear Allah as much as you can, listen and obey; and spend in charity for the benefit of your own souls."[11]

Explaining this verse, Abdullah Yusuf Ali writes:

Charity is meant to help and do good to other people who need it. But it has the highest subjective value for the person who gives it. Like mercy "it blesseth him that gives and him that takes". It purifies the giver's soul: the affection that he pours out is for his own spiritual benefit and progress.[12]

Satan instils some bad thoughts in the minds of the people that if they give their money in charity that will reduce their wealth and put them near to poverty, as the holy Qur'ān relates:

الشيطانُ يَعِدُكُمُ الْفَقْرَ وَيَأْمُرُكُمْ بِالْفَحْشَاءِ

Satan threatens you with poverty and bids you to conduct unseemly[13]

Islam, on the other hand, teaches its followers that charity is the means of nourishment and development. It has four-fold worldly and other-worldly benefits for the givers as well.

i. The wealth will not reduce rather it will get purified and become more valuable and will increase in the future as well because a man who spends the gifts of the Lord generously on His creatures with his both hands will always receive the favours and blessings of God. The Prophet says that there are three types of men about whom he can take an oath. One among them is that person who spends his wealth in the cause of Allah for the goodness of needy, poor and destitute. For such type of men the Prophet swore that their wealth will never decrease on behalf of spending it in charity[14]. And also the holy Qur'ān terms it as "قرض حسن" (excellent loan) which will turn back with increased quantity, not two or three times but with many multiplies. The holy Qur'ān says: مَنْ ذَا الَّذِي يُقْرِضُ اللَّهَ قَرْضًا حَسَنًا فَيُضَاعِفَهُ لَهُ أَضْعَافًا كَثِيرَةً (Who is he that will loan to Allah a beautiful loan, which Allah will double unto his credit and multiply many times?)[15].

ii. They will attain spiritual purity. Many of the spiritual diseases like, greed, love of wealth and riches, hard-heartedness, niggardliness, and covetousness, will not touch them. The Qur'ān says: خُذْ مِنْ أَمْوَالِهِمْ صَدَقَةً تُطَهِّرُهُمْ وَتُزَكِّيهِمْ بِهَا (of their goods take alms, that so thou mightest purify and sanctify them)[16].

iii. That the believers who spend in the path of Allah will get bounds of reward in the hereafter.

iv. When a person is engaged in the acts of charity and donation in a society and redresses the weak portions of it filling the gaps found in it, naturally the individuals helped and uplifted by his help will become his well-wishers and supporters and give him lots of prayers.

When a man commits a sin and realizes that a distance has arisen between him and his Lord, what restores cleanness, light, and gets him a shelter under the benevolence and pleasure of his Lord is spending his most beloved wealth and property in the cause of Allah, and he should gladden the hearts of the poor and needy with its assistance. There are many *aḥādīth* in the books of *Ḥadīth* which

substantiate this rule. These narrations show how a man who got away from the nearness of the Lord due to committing sins can return to the right path and achieve the nearness of the Lord once again by the blessing and greatness of the acts of charity. It is recorded in Al-Ṭabarāni that the Prophet said: "The acts of righteousness and virtue save a man from the adverse consequences of the wicked acts. The charity that is given unobtrusively cools down Allah's anger and kindness to kinsmen increases a man's age."[17]

On one hand, Islam exhorts strongly to spend in the cause of Allah through charity, donation, and helping and supporting the needy and the suffering people, while on the other hand it strongly opposes miserliness, greed, and narrow-mindedness. According to a *Ḥadīth* recorded in Al-Tirmidhī:

> "A giver of charity is near to Allah, is near to humans, and is near to Paradise and away from hell. And a miser is away from Allah, is away from humans, away from the Paradise and is near to hell. An uneducated giver of charity is liked more by Allah than a miserly worshipper."[18]

3. The Prophet's Exhortation, Promulgation, and Teachings in Matters of Charity and *Īthār*

It is beyond the common human heart, let alone a heart filled with *īmān* (faith), not to be moved when witnessing people suffering from poverty, hunger, and weakness. Indeed, the faithful are obligated by their faith to fear their Lord with regard to the plight of such helpless, poor, and destitute people.

Once the Prophet of Islam saw such a sad and sorrowful scene, tears rolled out from his eyes, and he was very much perturbed. He gathered all the Muslims and delivered a very effective speech. He reminded them of the rights of men on men and their duties. He warned them of the punishment from Allah and the consequences in the Hereafter. His speech was so effective that the people who were present there, freely donated whatever they could, with the result that so much money was collected that the man whose condition had so moved the Prophet became a wealthy man from this spontaneous help from the companions of the Prophet. Al-Mundhir bin Jarir narrates that his father said:

> "We were with the Messenger of Allah during the beginning of the day when some people came who were barefoot and (partially) naked, wearing (torn) cloaks

(*Namirahs* or *Abāyahs*), with their swords hanging from their necks. Most of them, if not all of them, were from the tribe of *Bani Mudar*. The expression of the Messenger of Allah changed because of what he saw in them of poverty. He went into the house and then came out and ordered Bilal to give the *Adhān* and the *Iqāmah*. He prayed the *Ṣalāh*, then he addressed (the people) and said: 'O mankind! Be dutiful to your Lord, Who created you from a single person (Adam), created, of like nature, his mate, and from them twain scattered (like seeds) countless men and women; reverence Allah, through Whom ye demand your mutual (rights), and (reverence) the wombs (that bore you): for Allah ever watches over you.' (Al-Quran, *Surah al-Nisā'* (4): 1). 'O you who believe! Fear Allah and keep your duty to Him. And let every person look to what he has sent forth for the morrow.' (Al-Quran, *Sūrah al-Ḥashr* (59): 18). Then the Prophet said: "Everyone should give in charity *dīnār*, *dirham*, clothing, wheat and dates" - (mentioning examples) until he said: "and even half a date". Then a man from among the *Anṣār* brought a money bag which his hands could hardly lift, in fact he could not lift it, and the people came one after another until I saw two piles of food and clothing, and I saw the face of the Messenger of Allah glistening like gold (because of happiness). The Messenger of Allah said: "Whoever sets a good precedent in Islam will have the reward for that and the reward of those who do it after him, without that detracting from their reward in the slightest. And whoever sets a bad precedent in Islam will bear the burden of sin for that, and the burden of those who do it after him, without that detracting from their burden in the slightest."[19]

These eloquent words invite us to compete in matters of righteousness and we should try to vie with each other in performing virtuous deeds, e.g., social welfare work during inclement weather, or relief work after natural calamities, etc. On the other hand, these words warn those who introduce bad practices in the society, and by this they increase the problems and complications of the society, and they leave their successors to face the ill consequences of their acts.[20]

It is recorded in *Sahīh al-Bukharī* on the authority of Abu Hurayrah that once a man came to the Prophet and asked, "O Allah's Messenger! What kind of *Al-Ṣadaqah* (charity etc.) is the most superior in reward?" He replied, "The charity which you practise while you are healthy, niggardly and afraid of poverty and wish to become wealthy. Do not delay it to the time of approaching death and then say, 'Give so much to such and such, and so much to such and such.' And it has already belonged to such and such (his heirs)."[21]

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Thus, the Prophet emphasised the importance of giving in charity whatever a person can afford, and that he should never delay or hesitate in giving it, no matter how small it may be when he has no other good things to give. The Prophet also emphasised that the best charity yielding lofty rewards is the one given when one is healthy, energetic, hopeful, and courageous about the future, and when one himself is in need of the things he spends on others.

4. *Īthār* of the Prophet (*S.A.A.*^W.*S*) and his Companions

In the following lines, some anecdotes from the Prophet's and his Companions' lives about their acts of charity and altruism are given:

(1) It is mentioned in *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhari* that once a woman brought a *Burdah* (sheet of cloth) to the Prophet (*S.A.A.*^W.*S*) and said, "O Messenger of Allah! I have brought it so that you may wear it." So the Prophet (*S.A.A.*^W.*S*) accepted it from her because he was in need of it. The holy Prophet wore it. A man among his companions seeing him wearing it, said, "O Messenger of Allah! Please give it to me to wear." The Prophet said, "Yes. (and gave him that sheet of cloth)." When the Prophet left, the man was blamed by his companions who said, "It was not nice on your part to ask the Prophet for it while you knew that he took it because he was in need of it, and you also know that he (the Prophet) never turns down anybody's request." That man said, "I just wanted to have its blessings as the Prophet had put it on, so I hoped that I might be shrouded in it."[22]

(2) Abū Hurairah (*Rad.A*) reported that a person came to Allah's Messenger (*S.A.A.*^W.*S*) and said: I am hard pressed by hunger. He sent a message to one of his wives (to procure food for him), but she said: By Him Who has sent you with Truth, there is nothing with me (to serve him) but only water. He (the Holy Prophet) then sent the (same) message to another, and she gave the same reply, until all of them gave the same reply: By Him Who has sent thee with the Truth, There is nothing with me but only water, whereupon he (the Holy Prophet) said: Allah would show mercy to him who will entertain this guest tonight. A person from the *Ansār* stood up and said: Messenger of Allah, I (am ready to entertain him). He took him to his house and said to the wife: Is there anything with you (to serve the guest)? She said: No, but only subsistence for our children. He said: Distract their attention with something, and when the guest enters extinguish the lamp and give him the

impression that we are eating too. So they sat down, and the guest had his meal. When it was morning he went to Allah's Messenger (*S.A.A.*^W.*S*) who said: Allah was well pleased with what you both did for your guest this night.[23]

In another version of this *Ḥadīth* it is mentioned that the following Qur'ānic *Āyah* was revealed related to this event:

وَيُؤْثِرُونَ عَلَى أَنْفُسِهِمْ وَلَوْ كَانَ بِهِمْ خَصَاصَةٌ وَمَنْ يُوقَ شُحَّ نَفْسِهِ فَأُولَئِكَ هُمُ الْمُفْلِحُونَ

"But give them preference over themselves even though they were in need of that."[24]

(3) Three *Ṣaḥābah* (companions of the Prophet), namely, 'Ikrimah, Ḥāri<u>th</u> and Suhail bin 'Amr (*Rad.A*) were fatally wounded in a battle and fell to the ground. They were extremely thirsty and 'Ikrimah asked for water, somebody brought it and wanted to quench his thirst meanwhile Suhail, who was also thirsty, saw the water and wanted it. 'Ikrimah preferred him over himself and asked to satiate Suhail first, when the water was brought near to Suhail the third wounded *Ṣaḥābī* (companion) Ḥāri<u>th</u> who was thirstier asked for it. Suhail preferred him over himself and said that he should be satiated first. In this way one preferred the other even when they were dying; none of the three could drink this water as they had breathed their last before the water was brought back to them.

It was narrated that Abu Sa'īd Al-Khudrī (*Rad.A*) said: Whilst we were on a journey with the Prophet (*S.A.A.*^W.*S*), a man came to him on a mount of his and started looking to his right and left. The Messenger of Allah (*S.A.A.*^W.*S*) said: "Whoever has a surplus mount, let him give it to one who has no mount, and whoever has surplus provisions, let him give them to one who has no provisions." He mentioned various kinds of wealth, until we thought that none of us had any right to any kind of surplus.[25]

The Messenger of Allah (*S.A.A.*^W.*S*) said: "The food of one is sufficient for two, and the food of two is sufficient for four, and the food of four is sufficient for eight."[26]

The holy Prophet (*S.A.A.*^W.*S*) said: "When the people of A<u>sh</u>'arī tribe ran short of food during the holy battles, or the food of their families in Al-Madīnah ran short, they would collect all their remaining food in one sheet and then distribute it among themselves equally by measuring it with a bowl. So, these people are from me, and I am from them."[27]

5. Conclusion

It is clear from the preceding discussion that Islam emphasises the importance, significance, and greatness of *īthār* (altruism) in the sight of God for human society. This noble moral virtue was demonstrated by the Prophet of Islam at every moment of his life the details of which are recorded in the books of *Sīrah* and *Aḥādīth* and serve as a beacon light for all the members of the entire Ummah. The Prophet not only instructed his companions verbally in matters of charity and altruism, but he was also completely successful in organising and establishing such a peaceful and civilised society in which every member felt it was his innate duty to help and support others, to the point where they frequently preferred others over themselves in times of need and suffering. The holy Qur'ān praises them thus: and they (*Ansār* of Madīnah) give them (emigrants-*Muhājirūn*) preference over themselves, even though they were in need of that (Al-Qur'ān, *Sūrah al-Ḥashr* (59): 9).

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،لَهُ ظَهَرَ مَنْ عَلَى بِهِ فَلْيَعُدْ ،ظَهْرٍ فَضْلُ مَعَهُ كَانَ مَنْ :وَسَلَّمَ عَلَيْهِ اللهُ صَلَّى اللهِ رَسُولُ فَقَالَ ،وَشِمَالًا يَمِينًا بَصَرَهُ يَصْرِفُ فَجَعَلَ :قَالَ ،لَهُ رَاحِلَةٍ عَلَى رَجُلٌ جَاءَ

فَضْلٍ فِي مِنَّا لِأَحَدٍ حَقَّ لَا أَنَّهُ رَأَيْنَا حَتَّى ذَكَرَ مَا الْمَالِ أَصْنَافِ مِنْ فَذَكَرَ :قَالَ ،لَهُ زَادَ لَا مَنْ عَلَى بِهِ فَلْيَعُدْ ،زَادٍ مِنْ فَضْلٌ لَهُ كَانَ وَمَنْ). Vol. 4, p. 511.

26 Ibid. Ḥadīth No. 5368 (الثَّمَانِيَةَ يَكْفِي الْأَرْبَعَةِ وَطَعَامُ ،الْأَرْبَعَةَ يَكْفِي الِاثْنَيْنِ وَطَعَامُ ،الِاثْنَيْنِ يَكْفِي الْوَاحِدِ طَعَامُ :يَقُولُ). Vol. 5, p. 417.

27 Al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, Ḥadīth No. 2486 (قَلَّ أَوْ ،الْغَزْوِ فِي أَرْمَلُوا إِذَا الأَشْعَرِيِّينَ إِنَّ :وَسَلَّمَ عَلَيْهِ اللهُ صَلَّى النَّبِيُّ قَالَ

.مِنْهُمْ وَأَنَا مِنِّي فَهُمْ ،بِالسَّوِيَّةِ وَاحِدٍ إِنَاءٍ فِي بَيْنَهُمْ اقْتَسَمُوهُ ثُمَّ ،وَاحِدٍ ثَوْبٍ فِي جَمَعُوا عِنْدَهُمْ كَانَ مَا بِالْمَدِينَةِ عِيَالِهِمْ طَعَامُ). Vol. 3, p. 387.

Ottoman Architecture: Cultural Interaction and Influences (Part-I)

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ABSTRACT

The Ottoman artistic and architectural heritage bloomed and prospered in its Golden Age during the reign of Suleyman (r. 1520–66 C.E.), popularly known as "the Magnificent" or "the Lawmaker". The Golden Age marked geographic expansion, boom in trade, economic growth, military successes via land and seas and saw an increase in artistic activities. This period saw development in architecture, calligraphy, manuscript, painting, textiles and ceramics and heralded a new era in the expansion of Muslim architecture in the early Modern era. In this backdrop, the paper explores the nature of Muslim architecture across various Muslim Empires with a particular focus on the Ottoman Empire and investigates the various factors that influenced it spread from the Levant, particularly Greater Syria towards the West and East and how the mutual cultural exchange between the East and the West further shaped the architectural structures across continents.

1.1 Introduction

Having a distinct cultural, artistic and architectural legacy, the Ottoman Empire (1299- 1922 C.E.), spread from Anatolia and the Caucasus across North Africa and into Syria, Iraq and Arabia, integrated and synthesized different forms of Byzantine, Persian and Mamluk traditions, and ultimately formed a rich artistic and architectural heritage. The formal integration of diverse forms and traditions under the Ottoman Empire happened after the conquest of Constantinople by Sultan Mehmet al-Fateh in the mid-fifteenth century when Turkic and Perso-Islamic traditions blended with the Byzantine artistic repertoires. The transformation of Hagia Sophia church, built in 537 CE by the Byzantine Emperor Justinian I, is the first instance of how East encountered the West during the Ottoman period. Throughout Mehmet al-Fateh's reign, Ottoman, Iranian, and European artists and scholars arrived at his court, making him one of the greatest patrons of art and

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science of his times. With such a tremendous patronage, artists felt free to expose and fuse their art with other arts which led to the creation of a distinct style of Ottoman Art and Architecture.

1.2 Roots of Muslim Architecture: Greater Syria

Greater Syria refers to a large area encompassing the modern states of Syria, Lebanon, Israel and Jordan and Palestine. Known as the 'Cradle of Civilizations', the oldest human remains found in Syria date back to roughly 700,000 years ago. The Syrian city of Elba, existing around 3,000 B.C, is one of the oldest settlements. Each civilization built with whatever building materials were at hand, hence the people of the Levant were masters of building with stone in a tradition that went back thousands of years. Their stone walls were dry-bonded and they hardly ever used brick and concrete. The ancient Egyptians discovered that adding volcanic ash to concrete allowed it to set underwater, as did the Assyrians and later the Romans, who developed the use of concrete in new and revolutionary ways. Arches, vaults and domes could be laid over moulds which quickly hardened to become rigid structures.

Roman temples in the East, as at Palmyra's Temple of Bel, for example, has an emphasis on vast walled spaces, open-air courtyards, which enclosed the small room where the image of the god was used and where only priests were permitted. This walled enclosure was an inviolate space for the public, the congregation, to gather and to take part in the ceremonies and rituals of the ancient Semitic religions. The earliest examples are in the Sumerian architecture of Ur and Babylon, in Iraq, both of them ziggurat temple complexes with large courtyards, dating back as far as the fourth millennium. Such a style, alien to both Iranian and Graeco-Roman religious architecture, is found in third-millennium B.C. Phoenician temples of the Levant like Amrit, in Tartous, Syria.

The first original Christian architecture was born in the Byzantine East, not in Rome, in the fourth, fifth and sixth centuries, when Syria, Egypt and Byzantium were the centers of the civilized world. St. Adomnan, for example, abbot of Iona Abbey and biographer of the abbey's founder St. Columba (521–97 C.E.), confirms that Irish monks went to Syria to familiarize themselves with its monastic architecture, while Laurence, Bishop of Siponte in Italy wrote to Roman Emperor Zeno asking to send artists to decorate the churches of his Episcopal villa, a request duly granted.[1]

The tradition passed over to Christianity, with the early pilgrimage churches of northern Syria like St. Simeon Stylites and Qalb Lozeh featuring large walled enclosures where pilgrims could gather safely. Syria was annexed to the Roman Empire in 64 B.C., Pagan gods, such as Jupiter Dolichenus and Jupiter Heliopolitanus, and local fertility goddesses like Atargatis originated in Syria, and therefore Syrian influence penetrated all levels of Roman society, from private soldiers and ordinary citizens to priests and imperial families.[2] The early architectural development of the very first churches, unsurprisingly, began with the repurposing of the pagan temples. Syrians have always been open to religious experimentation and syncretism. The monastery of Mar Gabriel, east of Midyat, is the largest and oldest of the monasteries of the Tur Abdin region in southeast Turkey. The monastery has two churches, and the older, Virgin Mary church (no longer in use) boasts a fine but windowless ancient brick dome, built in around 512 C.E., a rare extant prototype for Justinian's brick-built dome of Hagia Sophia completed in 537 C.E. In the dome behind the altar of the main Forty Martyrs church are beautiful Byzantine mosaics in gold, green and blue, courtesy of generous donations from Anastasius and strongly reminiscent of the mosaics two centuries later in the Damascus Umayyad Mosque, with similar motifs of trees and vine scrolls, images of paradise and fertility. The most exotic of all the Tur Abdin churches can be found in the village of Khakh (Syriac Hah, Turkish Anıtlı). It is called Al-Hadra, (The Virgin) also known as, Meryemana, Mother of god, a graceful second-century Eastern Roman tomb decorated with a pyramid dome and two storeys of elegant, blind arches.[3]

The doors and lintels bear Eastern Roman palm-tree decorations, garlands, pearls and acanthus leaves, and the whole ensemble illustrates well how blended the Roman and Byzantine cultures were and how similar their imagery was, which Islamic architecture then inherited and developed further. The world's oldest Christian church, dated to 231 C.E., was found at Dura-Europos in Syria, a multi-cultural, multi-ethnic and multi-religious trading city on the Euphrates right on the frontier of the Eastern Roman and the Parthian empires.[4] It is a small square shaped courtyard house, identified as a 'church' because of the murals of Adam and Eve and depictions of various New Testament miracles. Excavated at the same time as the church, the much larger synagogue was covered in highly colored wall frescoes of scenes from the Old Testament with patriarchs and prophets in their human form. The synagogue frescoes are thought by art historians to show the origins of later

wall paintings in the Romanesque churches of Europe. A total of sixteen temples were found at Dura-Europos, a city in which Parthians, Greeks, Macedonians and Palmyrenes, be they pagans, Jews or Christians, all worshipped side by side in apparent harmony. The paintings were in near perfect condition as a result of being buried under the sand. Dura-Europos was thereafter nicknamed the Pompeii of the Desert. The official tolerance of Christianity with the Edict of Milan in 313 C.E. then gave Christians the right to practice their religion publicly within the Roman Empire and meant that churches could now be built openly, rather than being discreetly hidden within houses. When the Western Roman Empire and Rome itself collapsed in 476 C.E., Constantinople became the largest and wealthiest city in Europe, and the influences upon it were wide and varied, from the Roman Latin culture, the Egyptian Copts, the Thracians, Macedonians, Illyrians, Bythinians, Carians, Phrygians, Armenians, Lydians, Galatians, Paphlagonians, Lycians, Syrians, Cilicians, Misians, Cappadocians, Persians, to the Arab Muslims.

1.3 Hagia Sophia: Inspiration in Dead Cities of Syria

The Romanesque churches of Europe and Hagia Sophia, which later became the foundation of Ottoman Architecture, both draw their influence from the Dead Cities of Syria. Syria not only absorbed the architecture of the sun and moon worshipping pagans, the Orthodox Roman Christianity and the Muslims but it consisted of its own indigenous traits as well. Thus, Syria became the Melting Pot of traditions and designs.

1.4 Qalb Loze (Heart of the Almond)

The church at Qalb Lozeh dates back to 460 C.E. and is one of the best-preserved churches of this period in the region consisting of columns and soaring arches which led the foundation of later Byzantine church architecture, and further influenced Muslim architecture in and around Syria.

In an effort to create Hagia Sophia into a grand basilica that represented all of the Byzantine Empire, Emperor Justinian decreed that all provinces under his rule send architectural pieces for use in its construction. Bricks and metal which was produced in Anatolia and North-Africa was used and marble (used in the walls and floor) came from Syria as well as architectural designs of the Byzantine Church Architecture of Syria such as large domed roof and semi-domed altars, were immensely reproduced. The interior of the arches and semi-domes were laden with

Byzantine mosaics made of gold, silver, terra cotta, colorful stones and pure glass and stained glass, brought in from Syria. Syria being the leading manufacturer of glass objects, was the only province under the Roman Empire that did not witness a deathblow after the decline of the Empire, rather the skill was honed and patronized by the Umayyad Dynasty (660-750 C.E.).

1.5 Architectural Features across Civilizations

1.5.1   Ribbed Vaulting

A rib vault is an architectural feature used to cover a large interior space in a building, in which the surface of the vault is divided into webs by a framework of diagonal arched ribs. Ribbed walls permitted the construction of much higher and thinner walls. Ribbed vaults are a distinguished feature of Muslim Architecture, found in Khirbat al-Mafjar, Umayyad Caliph Hisham's Palace, Sulaimaniye Mosque in Istanbul and Santiago de Compostela Cathedral in Spain. Early Muslims pioneered the use of ribbed vaulting in the ceilings of mosques and palaces, using their deep understanding of complex geometry, to disguise the structural elements, the ribs – by covering them in decoration. This technique was brought to Europe by Muslim masons via Muslim Spain and Norman Sicily, and then refined by Christian Craftsmen.[5]

2. Minaret/Tower/Spire

First seen in the early-eighth century Damascus Mosque built under Umayyads, where the minarets were built on the foundations of pre-existing Roman Temple enclosure towers, one of each in of four corners. Minarets served a shared purpose i.e. to proclaim religious power and to reach upwards as an emblem of faith. Ottoman minarets were tall, pencil-shaped and the tip being lead covered with elongated conical cap, as can be seen in Sultan Ahmet Mosque. Minarets often formed feature of European Basilicas like the Saint Paul's. [6]

3. Double Arcades

These were a series of arches carried by columns or piers, a passageway between arches and a solid wall. It finds its traces in Khirbat al-Mafjar in Jericho, Cordoba Mosque in Cordoba, Selimiye Mosque in Edirne and Durham Cathedral in England.[7]

4. Blind Arches

It is an arch found in the wall of a building that has been in-filled with solid construction. This type of arcade has no actual openings. These blind arches are found in Qasr al-Hayr al-Sharqi and Qasr al-Hayr al-Gharbi, built in Syria by Caliph Hisham from the Umayyad dynasty. These arches are also found in Bayezid Mosque in Istanbul and Canterbury Cathedral and Durham Cathedral in England. Arches originated in Mesopotamia and later brought two more critical developments to architecture i.e., Vaults and Domes. Pointed arches entered Europe through Almafi merchants in Italy trading with Damascus, Egypt and Istanbul. Europe's medieval Gothic Cathedrals were covered in pointed and trefoil arches inside and out.[8]

5. Stained Glass

This was used to intensify architecture with vivid color, glasses are colored via metallic oxides during its manufacture, using different additives in order to create a range of hues and tones. It represents purity and spirituality in Christianity and became an integral and innovative element of Muslim architecture in the form of Shamsiyyat and Qamariyyat, i.e., the solar and lunar imagery for example in Dome of Rock in Damascus. The Venetians and Crusaders took the method and raw-material from Syria, and through them it spread across Europe, becoming popular with Dutch artists.[9]

The 17th Century traveler Evliya Celebi writes that in his time there were 364 stores and businesses involved in glass-making at Tekfur Palace, which became the centre of glass-making workshops in the 18th Century. Stained glasses beautifully decorate the interior of Selimiye Mosque in Edirne and Chartres Cathedral and Basilica of St. Denis in France.[10]

6. Double Dome

A double dome is built of two layers. There is one layer inside which provides ceiling to the interior of the building. The outer layer crowns the buildings. It provides appropriate elevation to the monuments without losing the aesthetic value. Double domes helped project greater height and therefore greater visibility and a more imposing presence.

The first to use double domes were the Seljuks in the 11th Century. St. Mark's Basilica in Venice had the first wooden double dome, Santa Maria del Fiore

Cathedral double dome made of brick which later came to be known as Brunelleschi's Dome. Ottoman double domes of the 16th Century were made out of stone and were flatter than church domes. St. Paul's Cathedral in London, built by Christopher Wren in the 18th Century consisted of triple domes with three layers.[11]

7. Twin Towers

These were first seen in Syria in the 'Dead Cities' in the fifth and sixth century churches such as Qalb Lozeh, Deir Turmanin and Church of Bissos at Ruweiha. Further seen in Sulaymaniye Mosque built by Sinan and later seen in cathedrals all over Europe for example Notre Dame and Westminster Abbey.[12]

2   Ottoman Architecture

Ottoman architecture was influenced by the concept of 'Paradise Garden'. Each building is designed in a way that connects art with the spaces of everyday life. Trees were planted along-side streets as a balancing element that created harmony between the massive masonry structures, nature and open spaces in order to create a balance between nature and materialism.

2.1. Classical Period of Ottoman Architecture

A strong Byzantine influence, especially that of Hagia Sophia runs through the architecture of the classical period. Several mosques similar to Hagia Sophia, but with different proportions, openings and interiors. Mosques had interior and exterior courtyard. Each part of the structure designed and built while considering its impact on the whole monument. Traditionally stones for foundation, brick for the arches and timber for the decoration of domes were used. Later in the Classical period, lead-capped domes and minarets, polychromed glazed ceramic tiles, iznik tiles of white and blue, geometric designs adorned with colored stone, exotic wood and gold and calligraphy became a common sight.

2.1.1. Kulliye/Complex

Ottomans inherited from the Seljuks a variety of public functional buildings. The first of these was the Hana, a building complex consisting of a mosque, a madrassa and a mausoleum. A hospital was also added like in the case of the *Ulu Cami Mosque* built in 1396 C.E. in Bursa. The structural complex came to be known as Kulliye and it served educational, religious and cultural and welfare functions. The kulleyes were founded, maintained and run by Wakf. The wakf received donations in the form of money, subsidies and other endowments and through these donations the Wakf paid wages to the clerics of mosques and mua'llims.[13]

Buildings such as public bath (*hammam*), offices (*hana*), shops and *bazaars* were later added to the Kulliye and mausoleum (*turbe*) were also added to accommodate the relics of the founder of the Kulliye or of the Sultan himself. The first Kulliye was built by Sultan Orhan Gazi in 1334 in Iznik consisting of a mosque, a public bath and a public kitchen (*imaret*). Sultan Orhan also built another Kulliye Complex in Bursa consisting of a mosque, a bath (known as *Bey Hamami*), an *imaret* and a *madrassa*. Al-Fateh complex known after its founder, Sultan Muhammad Al-Fatih (1451-81), consists of a mosque, sixteen madrassas, mausoleum (turbe) of Fateh himself, a library, a hospice (tabhane) and a kitchen (imaret), built and designed by the Greek architect. Kulliye became a building tradition that every Sultan enagaged in constructing, often after successful war campaigns, as a token of appreciation to God for victory.

2.1.2. Mosques

Mosques were given central location in the Kulliye and they played a central role in the religious, cultural and political life of the Ottoman Muslim society. Early Ottoman Mosques consisted of rectangular structures with flat roofs raised by arcades and joined by a courtyard with an ablution fountain. The adoption of the domed roof, arranged in a number of small domes rising progressively like steps towards the main dome of the central aisle, produced the unique sanctified atmosphere. The attempt was to re-organise the internal space of the mosque and this was done by enlarging the cupola in front of the Mihrab, allowing greater span which gave the area more centrality. The infinity is expressed through verticality and hence the dome became the dominating skyline of the Ottoman architecture. The perfect centralization of the space under the main dome affirmed its unity and confirmed the symbol of one God-Tawhid, fundamental principle of Islam.[14]

2.1.3. Yesil Cami/ the Green Mosque (1412-1413)

Founded by Sultan Mehmet (1403-1421) in Bursa, the whole complex site consists of a bath, tomb and a Medressa. Typical of Ottoman mosques, Yesil Cami was dominated by its domes. What makes this mosque more interesting is the Persian tile-work in blue and green color, made by artisans from Tabriz. The mosque comprises a prayer hall with its centre falling under the central dome and the Mihrab area is located under the half dome. Interestingly, the Mihrab has Persian poetry engraved over it. The balcony tiles were dense with Cuerda Seca outline,

influenced by the Timurids in Samarqand. The Cuerda Seca tiles contain the polychrome glaze within black outline. The tomb of the Sultan called the *Yesil Turbe* (The Green Tomb) was designed by architect Haci Ivaz Pasha. The tomb has monochrome glazed turquoise tiles in hexagonal shape. The Cenotaph has Arabseque medallions with bright yellow floral tiles, again influenced by the Timurid architecture.[15]

2.1.4. Shahzade Mosque (1544-1548)

The architectural successes of Mimar Sinan started with Shehzade mosque (Istanbul, 1544-1548). In this mosque, Sinan increased the size of the main dome to reach half the size of the diameter of the prayer hall, and flanked it with four half domes, one from each side. The huge prayer hall was lightened by a series of large stained glass windows.[16]

2.1.5. Suleymanye Mosque (1549-1557)

The site of the mosque was chosen by Sultan Suleyman himself, on a hill above the Golden Horn. It is Sinan's masterpiece. The influence of the Hagia Sofia on the Suleymanye Mosque is visible as Sinan himself is known to have said that he wanted to out pass it. many parallels can be drawn between the two structures. Sinan reiterated the structural scheme of Hagia Sofia, especially the main dome supported by two semi-domes from the North and the South.

However the dark atmosphere inside the roof of Hagia Sofia was what was changed and improved by Sinan. The massive polychromed arches that supported the main dome created brighter environment as the drums of domes and the surfaces underneath them were skillfully adorned with extra windows in order to illuminate the interiors.

The golden Naskh inscription that adorns the centre of the dome reads:

"Allah is the Light of the heavens and the earth. The parable of His light is as if there were a Niche and within it a lamp: the lamp enclosed in glass: the glass as it were a brilliant star: Lit from a blessed tree, an olive, neither of the east nor of the west, whose oil is well-nigh luminous, though fire scarce touched it: Light upon Light! Allah doth guide whom He will to His light..." (Quran – 24: 35-36).

The minarets were skillfully designed to both enhance the character of the building and emphasise the importance of the domed part of the building i.e., the Prayer hall. The ingenuity of Sinan in this mosque is the ventilation system. With such a large size the mosque posed a number of serious challenges concerning the supply of fresh air and the disposal of smoke of oil burners and candles which could pose a risk to the health of the attendants and to the architectural designs also. For this Sinan spent a considerable time studying the wind direction at the site which helped him in devising an astonishing ventilation system based on careful location of the windows. Accurate instructions were drawn to which windows should be opened.[17]

The homogeneous distribution of sound inside the spacious mosque was another issue Sinan had to deal with. Therefore, Sinan designed the Muezzin's terrace (*mahfil*) at the centre of the mosque and thus the worshippers inside every corner of the mosque could hear and follow the Imam.

2.1.6. Bayezid Kulleysi (1484-1488)

Built by Ottoman architect Mimar Hayruddin for Sultan Bayezid the Second on the shore of Tunca river in Edirne, it remained in operation from 1488 upto four centuries. The complex consists of a mosque, *tabhanes* (guesthouse), *medresah*, *darussifa* (hospital), *imaret* (kitchen), pharmacy and food-storage areas. *Bayezid Khan Bridge* over the Tunca river was built to connect the kulliye to the city.

The principal aim of the complex built by Sultan Bayezid was to establish a hospital in Edirne. The Darussifa consisted of three portions, the first one included six outpatient rooms and service rooms such as kitchen, laundry and *surup* room (laboratory), the second courtyard consisted of four administrative rooms and the third part was the inpatient section called *sifahane* (curehouse).

Underneath the dome of Sifahane, a polygonal marble *sadirvan* (water tank with fountain) was placed not only to provide water but also so that the patients could relax to the sounds of the water. Beside along the edges, platforms were built where musicians used to provide music therapy to the patients.

The mosque holds the center position of the Kulliye with a diameter of 20.55 meters. The Mihrab and the Mimbar of the mosque have been built of marble and

the interior doors and windows are decorated by woodworking and infront of the mosque consists of a large courtyard with a *Gazebo* (pavilion) in its center.

The entrances of the structures present in the complex are decorated by *Muqarnas*, honeycomb-like vaulting, the earliest example of *Muqarnas* can be found in ancient Persia under the Sassanid Empire (224-651 C.E.). These honeycombed structures are later found in Christian Spain architecture and Western architecture.

The mosque had windows with Baroque edges, a theatrical style which appeared in Italy in the 17th Century and gradually spread all across Europe. The baroque style is characterized by vaulted cupolas (domelike ceilings) and the use of rough stones and smooth stucco and easily interpreted detail work. Also many windows were built to facilitate lighting inside the mosque keeping in view the rainy and cloudy climate of Edirne.

Flying Buttresses flanked the domes of the mosque, these flying buttresses are the half arches that extend out from a stone wall and this feature was popular during the Gothic Era of 12th Century for example the St. Vitus Cathedral in Prague.[18]

2.2. Final Phase of the Ottoman Architecture

Rococo style is an ornamental and theatrical style of architecture, art and decoration which combines asymmetry, scrolling curves, gliding, white and pastel colors, sculpted moulding and frescoes. Although Rococo art came after Baroque in Western Europe, it emerged in Turkey before the emergence of Baroque style. While the Baroque style employed contrasts of light and texture and conversely, Rococo contained more light sources, softer colors, flowers, pebbles and seashell motifs. Later in the 18th Century, Ottoman architecture was influenced by Baroque architecture in Western Europe, resulting in Ottoman Baroque style. The 18th century is the period, when the economic dominancy of Western Europe was felt in the intercontinental trading activity of the Ottoman Empire.

The earliest known example of European influences in Anatolia might be the Sungurbey mosque in Nide built in the 14th Century which has Gothic features like gothic windows with tracery-Rococo style is an ornamental and theatrical style of architecture, art and decoration which combines asymmetry, scrolling curves, gliding, white and pastel colors, sculpted moulding and frescoes. Although Rococo art came after Baroque in Western Europe, it emerged in Turkey before the

emergence of Baroque style. While the Baroque style employed contrasts of light and texture and conversely, Rococo contained more light sources, softer colors, flowers, pebbles and seashell motifs.

In *Cihannuma Mansion* at Edirne Palace has characteristics of Romanesque and was constructed as a Tower Castle which can be found all over Europe. In the 18th Century, which came to be known as Ottoman Baroque Age, Ottoman architecture was under the influence of the West. As a result of relations with Europe, traditional Ottoman art was replaced by works influenced by Western influences. Artists from France started a new trend in Istanbul and caused the Baroque style to dominate. *Osman Kiosk* in Topkapi Palace, *Laleli Mosque* (1765), *Nusretiye Mosque* (1826), *Grand Mecidiye Mosque* (1854), Main Gate of *Dolmabahce Palace* (1856) and *Naksidil Valide Sultan Tomb* (1817) are the noteworthy examples of Ottoman Baroque Age.

The characteristics of the Baroque architecture were implemented with some changes, such as the use of sculptures and decorations without human bodies. The golden Baroque age in Ottoman Empire continued for a century, and later as in Europe, Neo-Classicism became the main style in the mid-19th Century. Gaspare Fosatti, Antonia I. Melling, Krikor and Garbaret Banyan were the most famous architects among the others who built important buildings in Istanbul.[19]

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The Ethical Paradigm of Islam and its Implications on Environmental Protection

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ABSTRACT

Islam is a divinely revealed religion. It encompasses all that which is essential for a happy and prosperous life. Not only the religious obligations and the moral behavior of the man are guided by Islam but the things surrounding him are also given equal consideration. One of the important aspects of nature is the environment hence for its protection we find many references in basic sources of Islam where Muslims have been ordained to work for the protection of the environment. Environment protection is an important aspect of Islam. Being stewards of the Earth, it is the responsibility of Muslims to care for the environment proactively. There is a definite purpose behind the creation of different species, be it plants or animals. Muslims are encouraged to reflect on the relationship between living organisms and their environment and to maintain the ecological balance created by Allah. Protection of the environment is essential to Islamic beliefs and mankind has the responsibility to ensure safe custody of the environment. The present paper is an attempt to highlight the teachings of Islam regarding the protection of the environment viz-a-viz the role of Muslims in this process.

Keywords: Islam, Environment. Conservation, Quran and *Hadith*, Ecology

1.1 Introduction

The natural habitat of an organism including everything that affects its growth and survival during its lifetime is collectively known as the environment. In other words, "Environment is the totality of water, air and land interrelationships among themselves and also with the human beings, other living organisms, and property". It includes all the physical and biological processes and their interactions.

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Environmental studies provide an approach towards understanding the environment of our planet and the impact of human life upon it. Since the environment is global, it acts as a multidisciplinary subject encompassing physics, geology, geography, history, economics, physiology, biotechnology, remote sensing, geophysics, soil science, hydrology, etc.[1]

1.2 Importance of Environmental Science

The environment belongs to all living beings and is, thus, vital for all. Everybody, regardless of their profession, is affected by environmental issues like global warming, depletion of the ozone layer, dwindling forest, energy resources, loss of global biodiversity, etc. Environment study deals with the analysis of the processes in water, air, land, soil, and organisms that lead to pollution or degradation of the environment. It helps us in establishing a standard for a safe, clean, and healthy ecosystem. It also deals with important issues like safe and clean drinking water, hygienic living conditions and clean and fresh air, fertility of land, healthy food, and development. Sustainable environmental law, business administration, environmental protection, management, and environmental engineering are immerging as new career opportunities for environmental protection and management.[2]

1.3 Human Activities and their Effects on the Environment
1.3.1   Agriculture

It is the oldest and most widespread occupation of the people in rural areas. Over the years, there have been notable changes in the pattern of farming; Manual farming has been replaced by 'mechanized farming' due to the advancement of different technologies. Plowing is done by tractors in place of bulls. Modern agricultural techniques have eventually changed in both ways. Some of these are favorable and some unfavorable. The changes in the earlier form of agriculture have been brought due to:

> (i)   Mechanical factors: Tractors, tube wells, and agricultural equipment.
> (ii)   Chemical factors: Fertilizers and pesticides.

1.3.2   Industries

Industrial activities generate a huge amount of waste products which are usually discharged into the water bodies. The smoke from industries also pollutes the air. It also results in noise pollution. Processing of wastes from large chemical plants is a

very complex process because many chemicals are produced that way. In recent years, emphasis is being laid on industrial waste treatment, for the recovery of useful byproducts. By and large, it should be kept in mind that no industrial product is more important than our environment. Nowadays various measures have been taken to transform industrial waste into profitable products to save our environment as well as money. For example, waste papers can be used to make thick covers for notebooks. Industrialization is considered as a synonym for development but it is necessary to review the impact of industrialization on society and the environment otherwise it may lead to the disastrous and life-threatening consequences.

1.3.3   Mining

Mining is the act of extracting ores, coal, etc. from the earth. Mining on an Industrial scale can cause environmental damages from exploitation which can remain long after the mining is closed. The major effects of mining operations on human beings and plants are as follows:

1) Mining produces enormous quantities of waste compared to any other natural resource extraction activity. Water dissolves these wastes to produce contaminated fluid that pollutes soil, river, and groundwater.
2) Mining also leads to air pollution due to the release of greenhouse gases and other toxic gases, for example, CH_4, CO_2, etc.
3) It leads to deforestation including the loss of flora and fauna.
4) Mining operations produce a lot of noise. The deafening sound of machinery used in mining and the blasting create conditions that become unbearable to local people and the forest wildlife.
5) It leads to the migration of tribal people from mining areas to other areas in search of land and food.
6) Mining results in the lowering of the groundwater table.
7) It leads to formation of ponds that can alter the hydraulic gradient and drainage basin limits in local regions.

1.3.4   Transportation

About 200 years ago, the atmospheric gases were balanced and the atmosphere was able to protect itself from encroaching pollutants. But the various means of transport released oxides of nitrogen, hydrocarbon, and various harmful gases in the

atmosphere. The increased concentration of these gases combined with the growing deforestation and expoliation of natural resources damaged the atmospheric balance and impaired its ability to protect itself. The effect, after all, was a serious and irreparable disturbance in the atmosphere.

1.4 Islam and Environment Protection: An Ethical perspective

Among world religions, Islam has a unique perspective on the question of man's relationship to the environment. Not only does it offer a clear moral position, but also, unlike many other religious traditions, it offers practical solutions to the broader questions arising from the political, economic, and legal dimensions of environmental issues.

From a Quranic point of view, the current environmental crisis must be seen as the direct result of man's activities. The Quran declares: *"Corruption has appeared on the land and sea because of what men's hands have done."*[3]

The solution, therefore, is in changing people's behavior. As it says in the Quran: *"Allah does not change the condition of people until they change what is within themselves."*[4]

It has also been mentioned in a *hadith* that the Prophetﷺ said: '*This world is a green and pleasant thing. Allah has left you in charge of it (mustakhlifukum) to see how you will behave.*'[5]Man is therefore in charge - he is Allah's caliph *(khalifah)* on the earth - but he is also responsible for what he does under this deputation.

The issue is thus one of action and behavior, and behind every action, there is an ethical paradigm. The ethical position of Islam as it relates to the environment is simple enough to understand. Allah has created the earth and everything that is on it 'for' man. That is, he may use it as Allah has ordained for him, with the understanding that he is responsible for what he does, that he is being watched and tested, and that he will be rewarded or punished accordingly.

Environment protection is an imperative aspect of Islam. Being custodians of the Earth, it is the responsibility of Muslims to care for the environment practically. There is a definite purpose behind the creation of different species, be it plants or animals. Muslims are encouraged to reflect on the relationship between living organisms and their environment and to maintain the ecological balance created by Allah. Protection of the environment is essential to Islamic beliefs and mankind has the responsibility to ensure safe custody of the environment.[6]

The human race is essentially dependent on nature or, environmentally speaking, on the biosphere as it provides them with all the necessities for their sustenance, growth, and development. But the development & progress of human civilization has brought the biosphere – the giver of products essential for life, living space, quality of life, variety of life, and national economies–to a breaking point. The biosphere is now giving us signals that it is greatly stressed; that it is struggling to cope with natural resource depletion, ozone depletion, acid rain, ecosystem loss, polluted air, land, rivers, and oceans. Yet our future depends on it. The environmental problem started when the modern man stopped looking at himself as the vicegerent and trustee of the All-Merciful God and stopped understanding nature as a sacred sign and valuable trust from God. For the same reason, it seems that the best way to protect the environment from destruction and, indeed, to improve its condition is to revive these forgotten understandings by referring back to the teachings and instructions of Islam and reviewing and readjusting our policies regarding the application of modern technology and using natural resources judiciously.[7]

The Islamic perspective on the environment rests on the belief that Allah is the Creator & Sustainer of the universe. The whole universe along with all of its factors has been created with perfect wisdom (*hikmah*). The number, quantity, and quality of these factors are precisely determined by the divine plan. Each factor plays its ordained role. Everything created by Allah has a just purpose that must be fulfilled.[8] The Holy Quran, shedding light on this point, says:

"We created not the heavens and the earth and all between them but for just ends, and for a term appointed: but those who reject Faith turn away from that whereof they are warned."[9]

For the sustenance of His creation, Allah has placed a measured quantity of the environmental resources which matches the total demand of the resources in the universe. This implies the existence of environmental balance in the natural ecosystem. Hence, Islam looks at the environment from the standpoint of balance. The Quran describes the notion of environmental balance in various terms like '*adl*', '*qadar*', and '*mizan*'. These terms corroborate the notion of balance in the following Quranic verse: *"Verily all things We have created in proportion and measure."[10]*

The above ayah makes a general statement about the existence of equilibrium in everything. The process of creation & growth of all things follows the principle of

balance. Now, we will focus on some important components of the environment and their preservation from an Islamic perspective:

a) Nature

There are more than 750 verses in the Quran that are related to nature. Fourteen chapters of the Quran are named after certain animals and natural incidents, such as: 'the Cow', 'the Cattle', 'the Thunder', 'the Bee', 'the Ant', 'the Daybreak', 'the Sun', 'the Night', 'the Fig' and 'the Elephant'. Moreover, there are many cases in which God takes an oath by some natural phenomena like: 'the dawn' and 'the fig and olive'.[11] In numerous verses, the Quran states that all the natural phenomena have awareness of God and glorify God: "*And We made the mountains and the birds to celebrate our praise along with David.*"[12]

In many verses, the natural phenomena are characterized as divine signs indicating the knowledge, the wisdom, and the power of God, such as:

"*Most surely in the creation of the heavens and the earth and the alternation of the night and the day, and the ships that run in the sea with that which profits men and the water that God sends down from the cloud, then gives life with it to the earth after its death and spreads in it all (kinds of) animals, and the changing of the winds and the clouds that are made subservient between the heaven and the earth, there are signs for a people who understand.*"[13]

b) Water

In Islamic culture, water is highly regarded. The word *maa*' (water) is used in the Quran about 60 times. Water is introduced as the origin and the source of life. For example, the Quran says: "*And We have made of water everything living.*"[14]

A Muslim who wants to perform *salah* or touch the Holy Quran or circumambulate the Ka'bah in Makkah must be ritually pure and to be ritually pure he needs to make ablution with water.

c) Earth

Every Muslim in his *Salah* has to prostrate to God several times on the earth (or an earthly material like soil or sands). If water is not available or using water is harmful to one's health (e.g. because of injury), one needs to use earth or earthly materials in a special way to perform ritual ablution.

God created the earth and laid it out for humanity. He also made the earth manageable and tractable. God has made for people a means of their livelihood on earth. Human beings should utilize the earth and construct upon it.[15] The Holy Quran says: "*He is the one who created you from the earth and settled you upon it so that you might cultivate the land and construct towns and cities in which to live.*"[16]

d) Deforestation

Islam is against the cutting or destruction of plants & trees unnecessarily as is evident in the following Hadith: Abdullah ibn Habashi reported that Prophet Muhammad ﷺ said: *He who cuts a lofty-tree (without justification), Allah will send him to Hellfire.*"[17]

Islam highly recommends planting trees and urges people to protect them to the extent that planting a tree is considered an act of worship, for which special prayer is recommended. The Holy Prophetﷺ said: 'Unless you are compelled, do not cut down a tree!'[18]

e) Animals

According to Islamic teachings, animals have numerous rights, for which human beings are held responsible. There are six rights for the beasts that their owners should observe:

- ➢ they should not be forced to carry what they do not have the strength to bear,
- ➢ they should not be rode while the rider is speaking,
- ➢ they should be given their provisions when they stop,
- ➢ they should not be branded (imprinted) or burnt,
- ➢ they must not be struck at their face because they glorify God and
- ➢ they should be allowed to drink when they pass by water.

A fundamental right for animals is the right to life. According to a well-known *hadith*, the Holy Prophet ﷺ said:

"*While a man was walking he felt thirsty and went down a well and drank water from it. On coming out of it, he saw a dog panting and eating mud because of excessive thirst. The man said, 'This (dog) is suffering from the same problem as that of mine. So he (went down the well), filled his shoe with water, caught hold of it with his teeth, and climbed up and watered the dog. Allah thanked him for*

his (good) deed and forgave him." The people asked, "O Allah's Apostle (SAW)! Is there a reward for us in serving (the) animals?" He replied, "Yes, there is a reward for serving any animate (living being)."[19]

1.5 Governing rules in Islamic environmental ethics

Some of the major Islamic instructions on how to treat the environment and natural resources can be formulated as follows:

1.5.1   Benefit from natural resources in a responsible way

The emphasis of the Quran and Prophetic traditions on the preservation of nature and natural phenomena does not imply that we cannot benefit from them. Indeed, the Quran suggests that God has created them for man to dominate and benefit from them.

Nature and natural phenomena are also signs of God, on which we should reflect to come to a better understanding of God and a closer relationship with Him. We also need some of the natural materials for the performance of some acts of worship. Therefore, we can benefit from them materially and spiritually as well.

1.5.2   Act towards nature as a guardian

Not only must man responsibly use natural resources but also, as the vicegerent of God on the earth (*2:30; 6:165; 35:39*), he must assume responsibility for their maintenance and improvement of their condition.

Failure to observe divine pleasure and carry out his responsibilities towards himself and the world certainly leads to man's dissatisfaction as well as the destruction of the world. God is the True and the whole creation is based on the Truth. Following the True leads to the tranquility of the heart and ultimate satisfaction as well as an abundance of divine blessings including both material and spiritual ones.

For example, the Holy Quran says: *And if the people of the towns had believed and guarded (against evil) We would certainly have opened up for them blessings from the heaven and the earth, but they rejected, so We overtook them for what they had earned."*[20]

On the other hand, arrogance before the True and selfishness leads to confusion, forgetting one's self, breakdown of human relations, and even severe damage to the physical world. This is against the laws of the creation and, as a result, the world would resist such people and finally would rebel and save itself from ultimate

corruption. This may be one way of understanding the following verse: "*And should the truth follow their low (carnal) desires surely the heavens and the earth and all those who are therein would have perished and been corrupted.*"[21]

1.5.3   Recognize your role as a trustee

The Holy Quran states: "*We offered the trust unto the heavens and the earth and the hills but they shrank from bearing it and were afraid of it. But man assumed it.*"[22]

This means that human beings have been given the responsibility of guardianship and trust (*al-amaanah*) by God to care for and serve as a channel for the blessings of God to all creation. Humans are invested with special status and responsibility as trustees on earth and must fulfill the requirements of that trust. According to Islam, nature is a divine trust and man is the trustee. It can also be argued that since future generations also have the right to benefit from it, nature is also a trust for them.

1.6 Virtues related to human treatment of the environment

1.6.1   Preservation, not Profligacy

Protecting the environment from detriments of all kinds and preserving nature is the philosophy of Islamic environmentalism. Being the trustee of nature, this is the duty of humans to take care of environmental sustainability. Along with proper care of the environment, Islam also cautions not to be profligate and wasteful.[23] Allah gives the order to humankind: "*O Children of Adam! Beautify yourselves for every act of worship, and eat and drink (freely), but do not waste: verily, He does not love the wasteful.*"[24]

1.6.2   Simplicity

Simplicity is an important feature of Islamic life having far-reaching implications for the environmental balance. The Holy Quran has ordained such a life by proscribing extravagance. It says: "*Do not be extravagant, surely Allah does not like extravagant*".[25]

1.6.3   Cleanliness

Tidiness and cleanliness are very important in Islam. This can be understood from the fact that cleanliness has been declared as half of a believer's faith.[26] Scholars have explained that through this narration one can conclude that cleanliness is of two types: exterior and interior. By repenting and obeying God's commands, a believer purifies his inner self; and by making ablution and maintaining cleanliness, one purifies his outer self thus completing his faith and reaching its perfection.

1.6.4   Moderation and balance

A believer should be moderate in all aspects of his life including his use of nature. Indeed, the whole world is based on order and harmony (*mizaan*). Exceeding limits in using nature or natural resources is extravagance, which is considered a major sin in Islam. For example, the Quran says:

And eat and drink and be not extravagant, surely He does not love the extravagant; And do not squander wastefully. Surely the squanderers are friends of satans and Satan is ever ungrateful to his Lord.[27]

1.6.5   Thankfulness

Another important quality of a believer is thankfulness, not only in words but also in deeds. Thankfulness by deeds means to use divine blessings in the way which is right and, therefore, pleasing to God. To misuse divine blessings or harm those, for example by destroying jungles and polluting water, are signs of ungratefulness which is severely condemned in Islam. For example, the Quran says: "*Have you not seen those who have changed God's favor for ungratefulness and made their people alight in the abode of perdition?*"[28]

1.7 Vices related to human treatment of the environment
1.7.1   Extravagance

One of the great threats to human society and the environment is extravagance. The origins of this are greed and negligence. This character is controlled by religious teachings. In Islamic sources, two sins are distinguished. One is *israf* or wasteful consumption. Another sin is *tabdhir* or squandering. These two concepts are brought into play to adjust human behavior.

1.7.2   Vandalism

Nobody in Islam is allowed to cause harm or loss to others. This is a general rule which is supported by many verses and *hadiths* and, in particular, by the well-known prophetic *hadith*: '*There shall be neither harming nor reciprocating harm.*'[29] This *Hadith*, about which tens of books and essays have been written, means that there is no place in Islam for inflicting any harm on one's self or others.

1.8 Conclusion

Islam is a universal religion and its concern for the environment is a universal one, cutting across national, religious, and geographical barriers. Its major commandments are directed, not to the Muslims alone, but to the human race. Hence, when it comes to the question of conserving natural resources, the Almighty Allah's decree is enforced upon 'people' rather than on Muslims alone. It's evident from the above discourse that great emphasis is put in the Quran and Hadith on the sanctity of nature and natural phenomena. Thus, it becomes clear that in Islam the environment is sacred and has an intrinsic value. Even if there is no threat or shortage, we must still look after natural resources, protect animals and plants and, more generally, improve and develop the environment. As the vicegerents of God, we have to channel the mercy of God to everything within our reach.

References and Endnotes

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BOOK REVIEW by **Zeeshan Ahmad Sheikh**[*]

Toward Islamic English by Ismāʿīl Rājī al-Fārūqī, International Islamic Publishing House Riyadh, Saudi Arabia and International Institute of Islamic Thought, Herndon, Virginia U.S.A, 1416 A.H/ 1995 A.C.

Dr. Ismāʿīl Rājī al Fārūqī (1339-1406 A.H/1921-1986 A.C) is widely recognized as an authority on Islam and comparative religion. Dr. al Fārūqī was a dedicated and active academician. His educational training in Philosophy took place at Indiana and Harvard University. He also engaged in the post-graduate study of Islam at al-Azhar University and Christianity and Judaism at McGill University. He was, therefore, one of the few contemporary Muslim scholars qualified to deal with Islam, Christianity, and Judaism. He was a co-founder of the International Institute of Islamic Thought (IIIT) and the Association of Muslim Social Scientists (AMSS). He was also the founder of the Islamic Studies program in the Department of Religion at Temple University. He has also authored various books such as *The Cultural Atlas of Islam*, *Tawḥīd: Its Implication for Thought and Life*, *Historical Atlas of the Religions of the World* and *Christian Ethics: A Historical and Systematic Analysis of Its Dominant Ideas.* Among his significant intellectual and academic contributions is his consistent and constant emphasis on Islamization of Knowledge and result-oriented inter-faith dialogue. The present book *Toward Islamic English* is an extension of the same discourse on Islamization of Knowledge, albeit the paradigm in which the theme of the book is described is more academic and relates to the methodological dimensions of studying Islamic Studies as an academic discipline. Dr. Ismāʿīl Rājī al Fārūqī's rationale for the correct methodological approach towards Islamic Studies in academic domains is very crucial, for it relates to the historical, Civilizational, literary, and cultural aspects of Islam. Accurate academic representation of such methodology in terms of precise utilization of Islamic terminologies is central to the correct interpretation and understanding of Islam. The book is divided into four components, each complementing the previous one. According to Dr. al-Fārūqī, Islamic English is the English language modified,

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enabling it to carry the Islamic Proper nouns and their meaning without distortion, and, thus serve the linguistic needs of the Muslim users of the English language. In this context, the author raises three crucial questions about "Islamic English."

Who are the Muslim users of the English language?

What is the nature of the distortion claimed to exist?

Furthermore, what is the needed rectification?

These questions and their significance lie in their proper understanding, which the author attempts to discuss throughout the book.

The first Component of the book discusses Muslim users of the English language:

Muslim users of the English language, as per Dr. al Fārūqī, are Muslim citizens and permanent residents of the English-speaking countries and non-citizen Muslim students that are part of these countries for academic purposes. The term also includes the Muslims of those countries where English is one of the official languages, such as India, Pakistan, Sri Lanka, Malaysia, Nigeria, Ghana, Uganda, Kenya, Ethiopia, Tanzania, and others in Africa and around the Globe. The category equally includes all those Muslims, regardless of their country of residence, who have mastered in or acquainted themselves with the English language and use it as a language of reading, research, writing and communication. Thus the author says the number of Muslim users of the English language to whom the book addresses amounts to several hundred million. Dr. al Fārūqī says some of the considerations of this book involve the Muslim users of all other languages that are not based on the Arabic alphabet, thus making the number of persons involved more significant than those non-Muslims for whom English is a mother tongue. If these Muslims understand and employ correctly the rules related to Islamic English, it will naturally influence non-Muslim writers, thinkers, academicians and commentators on Islam, particularly the Orientalists whose writings distort the meaning and ethos of Islamic terms.

The second Component of the book deliberates upon the nature of distortion claimed to exist:

- **Distortion through Transliteration**

  Dr. al Fārūqī boldly asserts that the present situation of the English language when it expresses matters concerning Islam, its culture, history and civilization to the Muslim World or non-Muslims is chaotic. It constitutes an intellectual and spiritual disaster and carries a universal injustice against the human spirit. The

author does not merely present this argument but substantiates it with practical examples. Loyalty to Islam is inseparable from loyalty to the Qur'an and loyalty to the Qur'an is inseparable from loyalty to Arabic, its language and its form. This inseparable connection is at the root of *i'jāz*, the absolute inimitability of al Qur'an and its transcendent and miraculous nature. Any distortion in the Arabic terms which connote an Islamic value or any divine *ṣifāt* (attribute of Allah) or the name of Muhammad ﷺ or of his epithets or name of any other Prophet of Islam or any quality of that Prophet is not only a violation of the term but all that it represents in the context of Islam. Dr. al Fārūqī exhorts that every Islamic name has cultural, civilizational, spiritual and historical implications. Even the names of Muslims themselves are so significant that they serve to form their identities for the outside world and their relationship with Allah, for instance 'Abd Allah (servant of Allah), 'Abd al Raḥmān (servant of most merciful). Alteration or mutilation of the same tends to mislead its entire meaning. Inappropriate and inadequate English equivalents of Islamic terms are the grave manifestation of this distortion. Dr. al Fārūqī explains this by providing the following examples: suppose a name is a conjunction of 'Abd (servant) and one of the divine names, it would be blasphemous to misspell or mispronounce it; e.g. 'Abd al Haqq (servant of Allāh, The Truth) as Abd al Hakk (servant of scratching).

Similarly, misspellings of the names of God combined with other words to make personal names, such as Mumtaz al Rehman instead of al Rahmān, Abd al Ghafur (servant of wide and empty) instead of 'Abd al Ghafūr (servant of the Forgiving). Misspelling the names of Prophet ﷺ without proper transliteration such as Munzir or Monzer (hurrier, belittler, despiser) instead of Mundhir (warner) or Muddassir (he in whom something has been plunged by force, as in assassination with a dagger) instead of Muddaththir (wrapped in his mantle). Using names like Mohamet, Mahomet, Mohamed, Mohamad, and Maumet for Prophet Muhammad ﷺ is also strongly objectionable from an Islamic perspective.

Similarly, the terms Mohammedanism or Mohammedans are also misleading and signify some meaning which is not in line with the spirit of Islam. Muslims worship Allāh only and not Muhammad ﷺ who was the last and final messenger of Allāh. By providing these examples, Dr. al Fārūqī draws our attention to the need and importance of the subject under discussion. Dr. al Fārūqī suggests that these misappropriations and distortions, if not rectified and any academic study/research

devoid of such rectification can compromise the true meaning embedded in Islamic terms and concepts. Dr. al Fārūqī further argues that names that have a Western equivalent (Yūsuf, Ya'qūb, Ishāq, Yūnus, Mūsā, Ibrāhīm) are hastily changed into their Biblical equivalents (Joseph, Jacob, Issac, Jonah, Moses, Abraham) without the awareness that these Biblical personalities represent entirely different meaning to the Christians and Jews than the Qur'anic names do to the Muslims. General ignorance of Arabic and the difficulties of Transliteration are responsible for it, claims the author. The author admits that many ways of transliterating Arabic words into Latin alphabets exist. However, within the English-speaking world, there has been little success in coordinating and unifying the various ways. Those of one country have followed different ways from those of another. Some universities, libraries, educational institutions and publishing firms have devised their ways. Some have more influence than others. The Library of Congress, The American Oriental Society, The Middle East study association and some other universities each tried to establish their way as a universal norm for Transliteration. None succeeded, and none proved its viability without question since each had set its own rules, some of which are pretty arbitrary, incomplete and inadequate for English-speaking Muslims. The vast majority of transliterated words carry no diacritical marks and thus give occasion for mispronunciation.

- **Distortion through translation**

  Dr. al Fārūqī asserts that many Arabic words are not translatable to English. Muslims who are eager to present their meaning in English must be cautious enough to retain the original meaning of the Arabic word and avoid using those words which do not do justice to the intended meaning of the word during its English translation. The orientalists may have used such inappropriate translations because, for them, all Islamic meanings must fit themselves under western categories. However, for the Muslims to imitate the orientalists in their errors and misinterpretations is unacceptable. Some of the examples which Dr. al Fārūqī provides to substantiate his arguments are:

  Consider the word *Ṣalāh* which is often translated as "Prayer." The translated word does not reflect the proper connotation of the Arabic word Ṣalāh. Being the supreme act of worship in Islam, Ṣalāh must be established five times a day for the purposes defined by Shari'ah (Islamic law). It comprises precise recitations, Prostrations, standing and sitting with an orientation towards the Ka'bah and should be

performed only after ablutions and a solemn declaration of *niyyah* (intension). All this cannot be compressed into a word like "prayer." Therefore, the reason demands that Ṣalāh should always be called Ṣalāh.

Similarly, consider the term Zakāh often translated as charity, alms-giving, or poor-due. These terms may refer to any voluntary act of giving anything to help those in need, termed *ṣadaqah* in Islam. However, Zakāh represents something entirely different. It is a public welfare tax with a specific amount ($2^{1/2}$ percent) to be paid by Muslims as per Shari'ah (Islamic law). Its payment is religiously and publicly obligatory for all Muslims who have the minimum required wealth. So the English equivalents mentioned above do not communicate the proper meaning of the word Zakāh. Therefore it must be understood as it stands in its Arabic form. Dr. al Fārūqī concludes that the same considerations apply to most of Islam's vocabulary, religion, and culture. Words like *taqwā*, *ḥuda*, *qisṭ*, *waḥy*, *ṣiyām*, *ḥajj*, *fiqh*, *uṣul al-fiqh*, *ḥadīth*, *etc.* have more meaning in their Arabic form than their English approximations are ever capable of carrying. Translating them is to reduce and ruin their meaning. Dr. al-Fārūqī suggests that the intellectual faithfulness to English form has no right to assume priority over faithfulness to meaning. While talking about Islamic English, Dr. al-Fārūqī does not project the whole discourse as a violation of the English language but rather as its enrichment. According to him, today, the English-speaking world needs Islam's religious and spiritual values more than it did at any other period of its history. Infusion of the English language with a new Islamic vocabulary immune from any mistranslations is very beneficial not only for the English-speaking people themselves but for the world of which they are economic, political and military leaders, contends Dr. al Fārūqī.

In the third Component of the book, the author talks about the needed rectification in Transliteration:

Here Dr. al Fārūqī discusses the rules and regulations concerning the manner of transliterating Arabic letters into their respective English equivalents. Dr. al Fārūqī, in a sequential way, talks about the Transliteration of letters, consonants, and vowels. These English equivalents of Arabic letters are significant while transliterating Arabic words into English. Analysis of rules governing Transliteration of consonants, vowels, vowels following consonant, initial vowels and medial or final vowels are thoroughly examined. To the readers of the book, it is

recommended to correctly figure out all necessary points that Dr. al Fārūqī has meticulously enumerated pertaining to the Transliteration of letters.

Regarding rectification in the Transliteration of words, Dr. al Fārūqī suggests that phonetic transliteration should be avoided as much as possible. The linkage between words should be appropriately identified and knowledge of where one word begins and ends and the recognition of constituent words is equally necessary. Dr. al Fārūqī also talks about 21 specific rules, which are crucial during the Transliteration. These rules preserve Arabic words' structure and shape during their English Transliteration.

In the fourth Component of the book, the author talks about the needed rectification in translation:

General rules which will ensure rectification during translation are discussed in detail here. These rules are essential from the readers' point of view and need an attentive reading; however, the author does not claim that this list of rules is exhaustive and suggests that further research is needed in this field. Since Islam is taught at the college and university levels in non-Arabic languages worldwide, the time has come to institute common curricula and terminology which would guarantee the continuity of Islamic Knowledge despite its pursuit in languages other than Arabic. These rectifications shall maintain and preserve the Islamic character and style of words, concepts and terms put to use through translation and safeguard this discipline from any falsification or alteration by improper translation. In the last part of the book, Dr. al Fārūqī provides a list of Islamic words and concepts along with their Arabic form, Transliteration and translation. The author claims that the list is meant to initiate and institutionalize such developments for the Muslim users of the English language and its consequences for academic purposes are positively envisioned.

Conclusion

The book's theme forms a part of the program of Islamization of Knowledge, of which Dr. al Fārūqī was a strong proponent. Dr. al Fārūqī propounds that every branch of knowledge should be Islamized to reflect a consciousness determined by the epistemological and methodological principles and values of Islam. According to him, there is a need for Islamic scholarship to establish those key concepts, categories, and technical vocabularies expressing Islam as it relates to the correct interpretation and understanding of Islam. Dr. al Fārūqī thinks that faulty Transliteration and improper translation constitute a severe problem to the

continuity of Islamic Knowledge and its understanding. Hence, for the English-speaking people or those who study or write about Islam in English, Dr. al Fārūqī suggests the need for creating a new language called Islamic English. Adding to modern English the terms of Islam, its culture, civilization, spirituality and ethics, together with pertinent rules of Arabic grammar, represents a worthy and beneficial effort. The book also evokes a consciousness toward a post-colonial approach of studying Islam as an academic discipline and presents a very relevant discourse for the students and researchers in the field of Islamic studies.