CHAPTER – II

DEVELOPMENT OF ISLAMIC PHILOSOPHY

Like all the other systems of thought, there are a variety of sources of Islamic Philosophy and a range of ways interpreting it. That is, the notion of Islamic Philosophy will be identified with a range of theoretical issues which arise within thought and which are often closely linked with theological and religious controversies.

Before that, it is important to explain the relation between Philosophy and Religion. Some could agree that Philosophy and Religion are so different in nature that there cannot be a Philosophy of a particular religion. There can certainly be a Philosophy of Religion, and a theology of a particular religion, but not a Philosophy of a particular religion. That is Philosophy deals with generalities in concepts with universal validity, and one cannot expect it to be of use when dealing with a particular religion.

There is also a problem that a particular religion will hold certain proportions to be true because of factors that are quite specific to that religion, and not generalisable. The standard of proof and truth in religion
and Philosophy are quite distinct, and so Oliver Leaman, in his book, 'A Brief Introduction to Islamic Philosophy' says, "the notion of Islamic philosophy seems to be something of an oxymoron".

Holy *Quran* and the *Hadith* are the main sources of *Muslim* Philosophy. But in shaping the *Muslim* Philosophy, there are some local influences of the social, economic conditions of the states which were conquered by *Muslims*. Islam started from Arabia. There were some beliefs and practices in Arabia before the origin of Islam. The early *Muslims* must have been influenced in their thinking by those beliefs and practices which were not against the basic tenets of Islam. Later on it spread to different countries and was influenced by beliefs and practices of those countries also. So *Muslim* Philosophy was influenced by Greek, Persian, Christian and Indian ideas. These influences are also the sources of *Muslim* Philosophy.

We can divide the sources of *Muslim* Philosophy into two categories. Holy *Quran*, *Hadith*, Sunnah and Shariath come under the category of primary sources and Indian and western influences come under the category of secondary sources.

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2.1 Primary sources

2.1.1 Quran

The first primary source is the *Holy Quran*. It is full of philosophical ideas and truths. *Quran* is a beautiful and mostly a clear text; yet it often calls for interpretation on issues which are not found explicitly in it.

2.1.2 Sunnah

Apart from the *Quran*, a good deal of reliance may be placed on the Sunnah, which is often translated as tradition. The tradition refers to the ways of the Prophet and his companions, the sorts of things, which he did and said, and these are a source of inspiration and information or those who come after him and wish to know how to act. Such accounts are found in vast bodies of reports known as *Hadith*, which describe what was said or done on particular occasions.

2.1.3 Hadith

*Hadith* are the sayings and actions of the Prophet from time to time. There are several *Hadith*, which clearly stress on thinking and
imagination. They also emphasize on learning and knowledge. If we see in the real sense, *Quran* and *Hadith* are not two different sources. Whatever has been prescribed in the Holy *Quran*, has been presented in action by the Prophet. Several verses of the Holy *Quran* are understood only if they are studied along with Hadith.

Each *Hadith* has an *Isnad*, a line of transmission, which represents its provenance, its route from the prophet or one of his close companions to the time at which it was formally noted and written down. Then as with all attributions of the authorship, the reliability of such reports is sometimes challenged, and arguments are provided for replacing them with other reports which perhaps gives a different answer to the particular issue being discussed.

2.1.4 **Shariath**

On the basis of the *Quran* and the traditions, the principles of Islamic law, (Shariath) arose. This regulates the interaction of people with each other and with God. From an ethical point of view, it recognizes five kinds of action- the obligatory, the meritorious, the neutral, the reprehensible and the forbidden. While there is broad agreement about the moral character of some activities, there is also wide disagreement about
the precise moral nature of other activities, which is discussed within the schools of jurisprudence (Fiqh).

2.2 Secondary sources

The secondary sources are Pre-Islamic Arab ideas, Greek, Christian, Persian and Indian Philosophies.

2.2.1 Pre-Islamic Arab ideas

Much account is not available for Pre-Islamic period. On the basis of Pre-Islamic poems like Mullaqat and references in the Quran, we can trace certain ideas in Pre-Islamic Arab that is they were metaphysically materialistic and fatalists and ethically hedonists. Therefore they believed in 'Dahr', meaning time or fate, the inexorable time headless of anything, shaping the destinies of men.

2.2.2 Greek Philosophy

Greek Philosophy in general and of Pythagoras, Plato, Aristotle and Neo-Platonists in particular had its effect on Muslim philosophy. A new school of Muslim Philosophy was developed at the time of Al-
Mamun in the name of ‘Falasfihali’ due to translation of books of Greek philosophy into Arabic. Giving importance to the influence on Islamic Philosophy, Peters, in his book, ‘The Greek and Syrian Background’, adds, “it is worth pointing out that many of the sources of Islamic Philosophy are to be found in the links between the growth of the religion of Islam and Greek culture. This is not in any way to disparage what one might see as the philosophical character of the original Islamic texts themselves”.

We can say that the influence of Greek thought on Islamic Philosophy is the application of a form of Neo-Platonism, which was the leading way of doing philosophy which was left of the Greek cultural realm. Neo-Platonism does a doctrine fit rather neatly into religion, especially a religion such as Islam. For instance, there is emphasis on the existence of One Supreme Being or principle, out of which everything else emerges in such a way as not to interfere with the Absolute Unity of the One. This philosophical issue mimics a theological problem in Islam, namely, how we should link the one God of revelation with the multiplicity of existence without compromising God’s absolute Perfection and Self subsistence. The question is, ‘Can we say that God has

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properties, is this to associate God with other things?’. There were heated theological debates around this. Hence, in Leaman’s words “so it is hardly surprising the language of Neo-Platonism struck a chord within Islamic culture”\(^3\)

But at the same time, here the problem is that Neo-Platonism from the religious point of view does not treat seriously the idea of God creating the world out of nothing at a particular time. On the contrary, creation is generally identified with emanation, a continual process of generation which has no beginning or end, and which is automatic.

Here one can say that this picture of the natural world has everything connected with everything else in a determined way, and this pattern of determination is necessary from the logical point of view. That is, at least at the higher level of reality, the way in which the interaction takes place is obvious that this is going to cause problem with the traditional Islamic notion of God, but is worth pointing to the advantages of this sort of philosophical theory. It does trace the production and reproduction of everything back to a source and a single source at that and it establishes a rational structure behind the universe. So Morewedge in

his book says, "thus the various neo-platonic thinkers did provide a suitable set of principles for use by Muslim thinkers, albeit those principles often clashed with Islam itself. Here what is important, though, is not so much whether there is agreement between Neo-Platonism, in whatever form, and Islam, but whether both system of thought speak a language with some common points".4

2.2.3 Christian Philosophy

Christian philosophy in a greater deal influenced Muslim philosophy. Christian church was divided into three sects when Muslims conquered Syria. These sects of Christians were having debates among themselves. These debates influenced the development of the dogmatic teaching in Islam. Many analogies between the debates of these sects and some Muslim ideas were due to the fact that they were concerned with similar problems of the mind in the presence of religious creeds.

2.2.4 Persian Philosophy

When Muslims conquered Persia, there were four religions in Persia. They were Christianity, Manichaeism, Mazdkism, and

Zoroastrianism. These religions were essentially dualistic. The Persians regarded their king as of divine origin. These Persian ideas influenced Muslim philosophy in general.

2.2.5 Indian Philosophy

Indian philosophies like Jainism, Buddhism, Vedanta philosophy and others have influenced Muslim philosophy, especially Sufism.

Earlier, it is said that, like all the other philosophies, Muslim philosophy has certain philosophical issues and answer to these issues, are coming from different sources. The issues are concerned with the ultimate reality, world, human soul, relation between God and man, freedom of will, ultimate cause, source of knowledge and so one. Relating to the question of the ultimate reality the Quran says that, ‘the ultimate reality is God, He is the Absolute Reality, all pervading and eternal’.

Secondly relating to the creation of the world, the answer is that God has created the world and everything therein. He is the creator and sustainer of the world. Then with the question of the human soul, the Quranic view is that it is a command of God. God breathed a bit of His own spirit into man. To point out the evidence of this arguments, the
Quran says, both these two given arguments speak of some common points. Firstly, "when I have fashioned him (In due proportion) and breathed in to him of my spirit". Secondly,

But He fashioned him in due Proportion and breathed into him Something of His spirit".  

Regarding the question of the relationship between the God and man, the answer in the Quran is that man is born with the divine spirit breathed in to him. God has created him in the most beautiful of forms because man is the highest of all creations. He encompasses man. Man is always with God wherever he goes or he stays. Since God is Omnipresent, so wherever man turns, God is present. God listens to the prayers of every man when he calls him. To the question, 'is soul mortal or immortal', Quran says that soul is immortal though it had a beginning in time. Each human soul shall be resurrected on the Day of Judgment to see the consequences of its past actions. The soul will get the final reward or punishment on the Day of resurrection depending upon his actions in this world. Thus, the death is not the end of man's life. It opens the door

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to another form of life. Considering the freedom of will, Quran says that God has given man the freedom of will. He can choose, decide and resolve to do good or evil. Man has been endowed with reason so he may strive and explore possibilities. God has given guidance through revelation and inspiration. Hence, if man chooses to do good it is because in giving him these benefits God has willed him to do so. However, man’s nature has a bias against evil, his reason is opposed to it. He has been warned against evil through the books also. It was possible for God to destroy evil and bring the whole mankind to faith but that is not his plan. He wants that man should have freedom to choose and take all measures to meet different situations.

With the issue of the ultimate cause, the answer is that God is the ultimate cause because God is the cause of everything. He is the cause of all causes. God is the one ‘Reality’ who causes as well as sustains the change of events. The Holy Quran says, “to God belongeth the mystery of the heavens and the earth and the decision of the hour (of judgment) is as the twinkling of an eye or even quicker: For God hath power over all things.”

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6 Surah-al-Hijr-29, ibid., p.4:(5:2).
These issues coming from the different sources are interpreted differently. So there are some divisions in Islam. There are different reasons for them. Firstly, the difference in the interpretation of the verses of the Quran and the Hadith arose only after the death of the prophet, because in his lifetime he was able to solve the problems that arose in the mind of the people.

Secondly, the rise of some schools of thought was due to stress on different sources of knowledge. While some emphasize Aql (reason), others emphasize Naql (tradition), yet some others emphasize Kashf (intuition). It naturally created different schools of thought.

Quran says that there are three sources of knowledge. Aql (reason), Naql (tradition) and Kashf (intuition). Aql or reason is reflective thinking. By means of this, we come to a new truth on the basis of given or known truth. Its way is the logical way, coming to a conclusion by means of the premises. Naql includes the Quran, the Hadith and history. It is rather the authority but it is based on facts. Hadith is a fact and Quran is the revelation from God—the initiative knowledge of the trustworthy. Kashf or intuition is the way of knowing directly or immediately without the help of sense perception or reasoning. It is to have a direct experience, an experience independent of the sense or intellect.
Thirdly, the Muslim savants were not having much interaction with anyone. They were living a secluded life along with their students. Therefore, they did not have time to discuss the authenticity of Hadith, which they collected individually. The students knew the words of their master as the last words. So there arose different schools of thought in Islam.

The classification of different schools of thought is on the basis of political view, theological view and philosophical view.

On the political basis, classification is Sunni and Shia. Sunni base their interpretation of authority on the traditional view. In their view, such authority reposes in the consensus (Ijma) of the community. (Sometimes interpreted as the community of scholars or religious scholars), as well as in the Quran and the traditions.

Consensus may be involved to select the religious leaders of the community, as it was in the case of the first five caliphs, ranging from Abu Baker to Ali Ibnu Abu Talib.

The Shias disagree the Principles of the Sunnis and claim that the only valid successor of the prophet was Ali, and for them, authority
reposes in the *Quran*, the traditions and the unbroken train of spiritual successors of the Prophet.

On the theological view, the classification is Murjia, Jabria and Sifatia. They embrace the question of destiny and decree of force and acquisition, of the willing of God and of evil and of the decree and the known affirmed by some and denied by others.

On the philosophical views, the classification is Sufi & Mu’tazita. They were based on monistic philosophy. They adopted their own line of thought and philosophic speculations in visualizing the Absolute Reality or the Supreme Creator and the relationship between Him and His creation.

2.3 Origin of Sufism

Mystic interpretation of Islamic life within the bonds of religious orthodoxy is known as Sufism. That is, Sufism represents the mystical trend in Islam. Before explaining Sufism, it is important to explain mysticism and its different types.
Mysticism is a practical, spiritual discipline based on the insight of illuminated seekers of truth. The word mystic, which has passed from Greek religion in to European literature, is represented in Arabic, Persian and Turkish. Geoffrey Parrinder, in his book ‘Mysticism in the world’s religions’, says, “the origin of the word ‘Mysticism’ were in the ‘mysteries’ of ancient Greece. The name was perhaps derived from ‘muein’, meaning to close the lips or eyes, with the probable primary sense of ‘one vowed to keep the silence’, and hence one initiated in to the mysteries’.  

The Oxford English dictionary gives several definitions of mysticism, one is that, “mysticism as a belief in the possibility of union with the Divine nature by means of ecstatic contemplation, and it further defines a mystic as, ‘one who, whether Christian or non Christian, seeks self surrender or union with or absorption into the Diety’.

From these definitions, it is clear that mysticism is a mission of higher religious order. In mystics view, joy of self-realization being the essence of religion is experienced after a long spiritual practice. Therefore, the mystics renounce the world and self for the attainment of

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8 The oxford English Dictionary
self-realization. Here also we can say that mysticism in this way is a kind of Pantheism. Pantheist denied the reality of the self and for them ultimate reality or divinity is transcendent of the world of space and time. Hence, Pantheism, in the simplest terms, is the idea of straight forward identity of God and world. They take the union of Soul with God to be one’s ultimate end.

Mysticism, as Pantheistic type that practices austerities, laid great stress on complete surrender to the will of God. They laid extreme emphasis on God’s decree. The Omnipotence of God and the Ultimacy of the Divine will have come to be emphasized very much. Along with this, it is recommended that for salvation, a complete surrender to the Divine will is necessary. Therefore, they negate the self and the world for the attainment of self-realization.

Mysticism is undoubtedly a universal constant, but its variations can be observed to be very clearly and characteristically shaped by the general religious systems upon which they were based. That is, though all the great types of mystics, have something in common, each is marked by peculiar characteristic resulting from the circumstances in which it arose and flourished. So mysticism constitutes an indispensable part of every religion in the world based on the evolution of human culture and
thought. So the Christian type cannot be understood without reference to Christianity and Islamic type must be viewed in connection with the outward and inward development of Sufism. In Hinduism, this mysticism began with the beginning and in the case of created religions such as Christianity and Islam; it emerged against the institutionalized or dogmatic creed.

Sufism represents the mystical trend in Islam. In other words, mystic interpretation of Islamic life within the bonds of religious orthodoxy is known as Sufism. Etymologically, the term Sufism is derived from an Arabic root ‘Suf’, which conveys the notion of purity, this would make ‘Sufi’ mean ‘one who is pure in heart or one of the elect’. Some writers showed conclusively that the name was derived from ‘Suf’ (wool), and was originally applied to those Muslim ascetics, who, in imitation of Christian monks, had worn woolen garb as sign of puritans and renunciation of worldly vanities.

But most authors believe that the word ‘Sufism’ goes back to the Arabic word (soof-wool) as it was of wool that ascetic’s garment was made. This explanation is found in the oldest extract arabic treatise on Sufism by Abu-Nasr-Al-Sarraj, who declared, “the woolen garment is the
habit and the badge of the saints and eclect. But besides these definition, it is important to say that the 'Sufis' themselves were prone to interpret their name as derived from 'safwa', purity that is piety and indicating the perfection of man from bodily desires and worldly affections.

One can say that the mystical tendency in Islam, that is, Sufism was as old as Islam. In Yusuf Hussain's words, “Sufism was as old as Islam itself; it was no doubt born in the bosom of Islam”. It was launched by the people of Perso-Arab world. In Valiuddin's words, “it is said that at the Abbasid period, during the period of Prophet's death, there were some men of virtue and retiring nature who embraced Islam with pleasure, but they interpreted the Quran and the prophet's blessings in a different way. That is, they sowed laxity in the observation of its ritualistic or dogmatic aspects. Such liberal minded men of God drew their inspiration from the Quran and the life of the prophet but instead of showing their religious orthodoxy, they laid greater stress on the purification of one's inner self in order to attain lasting spiritual bliss.”

For them to seek personnel communion with Him is possible only

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through self surrender, world denial and meditation like the yogis and Christian mystics.

It is clear that Sufism had no creed or dogma other than that of Islam. But it as a movement against the formalism of Islam. It is irreconcilable with the orthodox Quranic doctrine. 'There is no God, but Allah, and Muhammad as his prophet' was accepted by Sufis in sober earnest, but their treatment of it was cardinally distinct from the codified notion of the Islamic principle. That is, Sufism includes the denial of the world and annihilation of the self as a means of attaining union with God. This is very unusual in Islam in the face of its conception of God. But in Islam it is said that even after man's highest spiritual attainment, he remains man and does not become one with God. The Sufistic ideas of the negation of the self and the annihilation of the self as means of attaining union with God led certain Muslims to adopt an other worldly outlook and attitude of renunciation of socio-political life. Here it is important to understand certain influences of the formation of Islamic mysticism. Firstly, certain internal influence, then, Sufism gathers tributaries from Christianity and Neo-Platonism. Hinduism and Buddhism supplied a number of ideas and also the religions of ancient Persia brought to it their share.
2.3.1 Internal Circumstances

The growth of external knowledge, religious and secular, the spate of philosophical and theological controversies led to the growth of Islamic Mysticism. That is, when Sufism began to develop, the internal circumstances of the Muslim world were political disorder, skeptical tendencies of Islamic rationalism and unconditional piety of the various orthodox schools of Islam. Then also Social taboos of the materialistic world led to the formation of the men of piety and mystic among the Muslims.

2.3.2 Christian influences

There are instances of Christian monks, giving instructions and advice to the wandering Muslim saints. The great Sufis have quoted the gospel text and sayings of Jesus Christ in their biographies.

2.3.3 Neo-Platonism

Christianity had been influenced by the Neo-Platonists. Their influence on Sufis might have been through Christian monks. Some of the Sufis might have also borrowed some ideas from Neo-Platonism.
2.3.4 Indian Influence

The teachings of Buddha had considerable influence in Eastern Persia and Trans Oxania in the 11th century A.D. Baghdad and Damascus were centers of learning, where Hindu scholars taught Indian science and Hindu ascetics (yogis) held debates with Muslim scholars.

Then there were Buddhist monasteries in Balkh, a famous city for the Sufis. The practice of holding the breath was learned by Sufis from Buddhist monks. The ethical self-culture, ascetic discipline and mental abstraction of Sufism have something in common with Buddhism.

2.4 Teachings of Sufism

The first period of Sufism was from c.750 to 1050. It was the time when the name ‘Sufi’ gained currency and was characterized by an evolution of the other worldly bent from the mere practice of asceticism toward the joining of such practice with pantheistic speculations and mystical meditations. The pantheistic speculations had their root in such
passages in the *Quran* that, "where so ever you turn is the face of *Allah.*"\(^{12}\)

In this formative periods of Sufism, 'Rabia' (717-801), a freed slave girl who came to be known in the west as 'the Muslim saint Teresa', introduced the vocabulary of love and wine as symbols of the blissful ecstasy of direct mystical apprehension of God. In contrast to the attitude of the later Sufis, who saw the divine beauty shining through the veil of outer things, Rabia appears to have paid no regard to the beauty of nature. For Rabia devotion to God carried with it the renunciation of earthly lies. It is said that several times her hand was sought in marriage by fellow Sufis. Asceticism did not normally involve celibacy for the Sufis. In one instance, she is said to have replied, "my existence is in God and I am altogether His; I am in the shadow of His command. The marriage contract must be sought for from Him not from me."\(^{13}\) Dying to self and surrender to God meant for her a quietest resignation to sickness and suffering. She refused to pray for relief.


\(^{13}\) Margret Smith, *Rabia, the Mystic and Her fellow saints in Islam*. (London: Cambridge University Press, 1928), p. 103.
In one direction, the Sufis, from the beginning, emphasized, the need for active endeavor in the inner life of the spirit. Rabia was marked by a constant sense of sin. Yet in her piety, fear was something altogether secondary. What characterized her above all else was her passion for God. It also was one of joy. In her prayers we come again and again on the note of thanksgiving. She expresses gratitude even for suffering and adversity, but above all, she rejoices in the consciousness of the divine presence. So Margaret adds, "thou art my joy (she cries to God), firmly established within me".¹⁴

Here it is clear that in the development of Sufism, Rabia is notable for the doctrine of pure or disinterested love- the love of God for himself, which played a great part in the thought and experience of the later mystics. A classic illustration of her attitude is found in the words of her famous prayer,

"Oh my lord, if I worship Thee from fear of Hell, burn me in hell and if I worship Thee from hope of paradise exclude me from paradise, but if I worship Thee for thy own sake, then withhold not from me, Thy eternal Beauty".¹⁵

¹⁴ ibid., p. 108.
¹⁵ ibid.
Then for Rabia, as for the later Muslim mystics, love was the way to the divine vision, which was the goal of her quest. Then she speaks of two types of love in a passage. She says, “I have loved Thee with two loves, a selfish love and a love that is worthily of Thee. As for the love which is selfish, I occupy myself therein with human remembrance of Thee to the exclusion of all others; as for that which is worthy of Thee, therein the raisest the veil that I may see Thee”. Here it is clear that she meant by selfish love, the love of God for his favour and grace bestowed and temporal happiness; and by the love worthy of Him, the love of His beauty which was revealed to her.

Then what was the characteristic of Rabia was the experience of God and pursuit of a way of life centered without experience rather than the development of any distinctive interpretation of philosophy. With her doctrine of disinterested love and her conception of the goal of life as union with God, her attitude involved a profound modification of traditional Islamic teaching.

In the same early period as Rabia, two Sufis were executed by the orthodox for referring to themselves as identical with the deity. First of the two martyrs was Abu Yazid, variously called Bayazid or Al-Bistami.

16 ibid., p. 108.
He introduced the doctrine of ‘Fana’ (probably derived from nirvana) or annihilation, that is, the passing away of individual consciousness in a state of union with God, which has played a significant role in Sufi thought. In his famous text, Abu Yazid vividly describes his reenactment of the prophet’s night journey (miraj) as a mystical ascent during which his “I” gradually absorbed in to the “He” of the beloved. He takes the prophet’s (miraj) as a theme for expressing his own mystical experience.

Again Abu Yazid says, “I saw that my spirit was borne to the heavens. It looked at nothing and gave no head, though paradise and hell were displayed to it; for it was freed of phenomena and veils. Then I became a bird, whose body was of oneness and whose wings were everlastingness and I continued to fly in the air of the absolute, until I passed in to the sphere of purification, and gazed upon the field of eternity and beheld there the tree of oneness. When I looked, I myself was all those. I creed: ‘O lord, with my egoism, I cannot attain to Thee and I cannot escape from myself hood. What I am to do? God spoke, ‘Oh, Abu Yazid, thou must win release from Thy-thouness by following my Beloved’.”¹⁷ Here we may observed fully, the doctrine of passing away in God (Fana) which Abu Yazid’s time onwards assumes a central position in the structure of Sufi theory. Eventually ‘He’ and ‘I’ become

interchangeable, for in reality, the attributes of Abu Yazid’s essence has been subsumed in to God. This particular understanding of mystical annihilation (fana) is attained only after the most arduous stripping away of one’s attributes. Nothing is spread. Neither personality nor spiritual attainments. Abu Yazid compares the process to the snake’s struggle to slough off its skin, or to the blacksmith’s violent manipulation of red hot iron.

Despite their dramatic power, the ecstatic utterances of Al-Bistami are overshadowed by those of the most famous of the Baghdad mystic, Ibu Mansur Al Hallaj. His imitation into Sufism began early in his life, while, he was still a teenager. For over 20 years he lived in seclusion and was trained by a number of great Sufi masters of the period, Tustari, Amar and Al-Junaid.

Al-Hallaj broke away from his teachers and became an itinerant preacher. As he continued to mature spiritually, he attracted increasingly larger number of disciples. So, Herbert Mason, says, “he became known as Hallaj al- asrar, ‘the carder of consciences’, a play on the family name al-Hallaj, which meant ‘cotton carder’.”

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The core of Al-Hallaj’s preaching was a call to moral reforms and to the experience of intense union with the Beloved. Among Al-Hallaj’s poetic and prose writings, one phrase stands out as the paradigmatic expression of mystical ecstasy, his famous ‘Ana Al-Haqq’ (I am the divine truth). In Rumi view, it was even He that cried in human shape, ‘Ana-Al-Haqq’, the one who mounted the scaffold was not Mansur (Hallaj), as the foolish imagined.

But the teaching of Hallaj himself was different. According to him, dedication is the outcome of creation in the divine image: God created man in his image, in order that man might find the divine image in himself through the transformation of his being by love, and so might become one with the divine nature. Union with God involves the infusion or incarnation or (Hulul) of the divine spirit in the human body. For Hallaj also there is thus even in deification both unity and diversity. So Rumi, in his book, ‘Masnawi’, adds, “for Al-Hallaj, I am He, whom I love, and He whom I love is I, we are two spirits dwelling in one body. I thou seest me, thou seest Him and if thou sees Him, thou seest Us’ both”.19

It is to be noted that for Hallaj, although, Muhammad is the pre-existent height of Prophecy, it is Jesus rather than Muhammad in whom deification is perfectly realized. In using the term ‘Hulul’, to indicate the interpretation of the human and the divine, Hallaj was following Junaid, the younger contemporary of Hallaj, also stresses duality. It is the meaning of Sufism according to Junaid that ‘God should cause Thee to die from Thy self and to live in Him’. But living in God, man continues to exist as an individual and individual being involves separation from Him as well as union with Him. The lover yearns after the beloved, yet suffers from the sense of separation.

Most Sufis rejected the doctrine of ‘Hulul’. In God there is no duality. In that presence, ‘I and we and thou do not exist’, ‘I and we and thou and he’ become one. Here it is clear that for the Sufis, they have no separate existence, but exist only in the unity of God.

Al-Hallaj, called the Saint of Baghdad, was a true mystic who longed for immediate union with God and he often felt the inrush of God in to his soul. He is often regarded as a monist, but his mysticism is midway between monotheism and monism. There is no God, but God and He is loved and not merely revered as love promoted intimacy and reciprocity. He says,
“We are two spirits fused in a single body;
Thus, to see me is to see Him,
And to see Him is to see us”.

“I have become He that I love and He that I love has become myself”. He had the cosmic vision of God in all forms as the All-self and said: ‘I am God of truth’. “This mystic state is the immediate oneness with God which is due to inner sanctification and the removal of the sense of separateness and opposition between the self and the Divine essence without in any way annihilating the self. The Divine ‘I’ lives in the nothingness of the egoistic ‘I’ and when egoism is destroyed by grace, there grows a real intimacy between the self and God as the lover and the Beloved and it is burning endearment which is more mine than myself. When the intellect moved by love is transfigured in to intuition, love ripens in to ecstasy and God intoxication; but love is for love’s sake and the mystic seeks not the ecstasy of divine Union but God Himself. This love leads to the beatific vision of God in paradise. Rapt in Divine love, the mystic is transformed in to God or deified without becoming identical with the Deity and he is more than the prophet with an external

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21 ibid., p.129.
mission". Hallaj is said to have visited India and seen its mystics. In 922 A.D; he was condemned as a heretic and was tortured and beheaded. But he smiled away his torture and it is said that even the blood that gushed out poured out his God-consciousness.

The disciple of Al-Hallaj, Junaid became very famous for his theory of Tawhid (Unity of God). Tawhid is an Arabic word meaning to make one or to assert oneness. It is applied in different ways to the oneness to God. The Classical definition of Tawhid (Unity of God) given by Junaid is that, "it consists in the separation of the Eternal from that which was originated in time". For him unity means the isolation or separation of God from the created universe, thereby recreating a kind of dualism. He defined, "unity as to separate the Eternal essence from the originated essence, but he regarded the soul as the divine Idea and as such eternal. It is dipped for a moment in to the temporal world but it returns to the divine unity enriched by its experiences".

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22 ibid., p.129.
24 ibid., p.220.
The Second period of Sufism (from 1050-1450) provided a needed sanctuary against the apparent blasphemy of self-identification with *Allah*.

Al-Gazali (1058-111) fused mysticism with Muslim traditionalism by de-emphasising the pantheistic aspects of Sufism. His success was so great that he is sometimes said to have made Islam a mystic faith. 'Strive', he said, "to know how to attain to the Divine presence and the contemplation of the Divine Majesty and Beauty".25 He added, however that, "to be a Sufi means to abide continuously in God and to live at peace with men. From a religious view point, this was a far less dangerous teaching than Hallaj’s ‘I am the truth’".26

Other key figures of this medieval period were Ibn-al-Arabi and Jalaludin Rumi. Arabi was born in Spain and settled in Damascus. Sufism was based on the monistic philosophy. The monistic philosophy of Sufism was based on the theory of *Wahdat-Ul-Wajud* or the ‘Unity of Being’, which was the main contribution of Arabi to Sufism, according to which the creator (*Haq*) and the created (*Khalq*) were identical. In other

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26 ibid.,p.108.
words, God was the Unity behind all plurality and the Reality behind all phenomenal appearance. So Ibn-Al-Arabi, explains it in these words:

“There is nothing but God, nothing in existence other than He; there is not even a ‘there’, where the essence of all things is one”.

This theory was in conformity with the Vedanta philosophy of Absolute Monotheism, according to which the creator and the creature (man) constituted one Absolute Reality. Their direct communion with God could be attained in this very mortal life through intense love and dedication to the supreme power. The Sufi Saints, in their capacity as pirs, the teachers or guides showed the path and suggested the means to their followers called murids, for the attainment of that eternal bliss which was called marifat (gnosis) or wasl (union) by them.

This theory was considered by Ibn Arabi in two planes which might be called for convenience sake the cosmic and the phenomenal. The unity of being is manifested in 3 levels - the Absolute, the Divine names (archetypes) and the phenomenal world.

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In his short treatise, *Kitab Insha Al Devasir*, he wrote, "know that the things that exist constitute 3 degrees, there being no other degrees, of being...... I would assert that of these 3 categories of things, the first is that which possesses existence by it self. That is, that which is existence per see in its very essence. The existence of this thing cannot come from non-being; on the contrary, it is the Absolute being having no other source than itself... It is, in, brief, the Absolute Being with no limitations and conditions, praise be to Him! He is *Allah*, the living, the Everlasting, the Omniscient, the one, who wills whatever He takes, the Omnipotent". 28

Arabi gives the being of the first plane the names of the Absolute, the God and Reality. He adds, "in truth, there is but one single essential Reality (*Haqiqah*), the perfection in which are drowned all the existential realities as well as the non-existent relations". 29

Then there arises the question, If God is all, what is the world in which we live? Here the answer is "The World is then the shadow of God". The shadow appeared because God wanted to manifest Himself and thus to see His own Essence. Like many other mystics Arabi finds this explication on the secret *Hadith*, the authority of which is asserted by

29 ibid., P.38.
Sufis only, starting that when the prophet David asked God why He had created the world. God answered; "I was a hidden treasure and I waited to be known, so created the world".  

Sufis start with this Hadith and treat the origin of the world as God’s wish to manifest Himself, his hidden essence, yet God never manifests Himself completely, he always hides something. In Arabi’s view, “He hides behind the veils of darkness which are natural bodies – and the veils of light – which are subtle spirits; for the world is made of crude and subtle matter”.  

Wahadat-Ul-Wujud consists in admitting the objective idealistic principle of the subject and object identity, according to which the subject is not secondary to the object (substance) but a mode of its existence. That is, it is for the self-revelation of the one that the development of an identical principle takes place. God, the self-conscious reason, may be manifested only in man’s perception of nature and of the world.

The Orthodox Muslim theologians were opposed to the doctrine of Wahdat-ul-wujud and Mari fat, according to them God as the Absolute

[31] ibid., P.67.
Power was indivisible and unrivalled in his eternal existence and that the relationship between God and man was the one between creator and the creature or of master and the slave. They held that God was an invisible Absolute Reality and an Eternal Beauty which they named as ‘Jamal’, and this Universe was not a mere illusion either, it was the visible or outward manifestation of God, and it was named as *Husn* (lovable beauty).

Jalaludin Rumi, another figure of this period is revered as the wisest of the Sufis. He expounds the intimacy and reciprocity of love between the self and God and the nature of transcendental union. In his view, the lightning spark of love arises in the human heart, God also feels love for the soul and thus there is reciprocity as the relation between the lover and the Beloved. Since life is the first renounced and the intellect is transcended and it is then that the soul flies Heaven ward, fares without feet and enters in to the Bosom of Reality or God. He is the cloud of Unknowing and dark to the logical intellect. In transcendental communion, there is inflowing of love and heart speaks to heart without erotic imagery. Thus Rumi adds,

"With Thy Sweet Soul, this soul of mine
Hath mixed as water doth with Wine
Who can the wine and water part,"
Or me and Thee when we combine?
Thou art become my greater self;
Small bounds no more can me confine.
Thou hast my being taken on,
And shall not I know take on Thine?
Me thou for ever hast affirmed,
That I may ever know Thee mine,
Thy love has pierced me through and through,
Its thrill with Bone and Nerve entwine.
I rest a flute laid on Thy lips;
A lute, I on thy breast recline.
Breathe deep in me that I may sigh,
Yet strike my strings, and tears shall shine”.

When the self goes out, says Rumi, God comes in. It is only when selfishness is effaced that there is union in love. The soul longs for union with God as Infinite love who is within. Man is the magic mirror in which the great charmer really reflects his Beauty and love and he is made Godly. The only mosque is the heart.

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His Persian ‘Masnawi’, is a series of mystic tales, ruminations, invocations, and so forth, expounding and illustrating the doctrines mainly of pantheism and transmigration in his ‘Masnawi’ he adds, “I am the mote in the sunbeam, I am the ball of the sun, I am the glow of the morning, I am the breath of evening”; I die as a stone and become a plant, I die as a plant become an animal,... dying as a man I shall come to life as an angel... and in the end I shall become the nothing”. Rumi instituted the devotional dances now associated with the whirling dervishes. These dances, consisting of accelerated movements of head and feet are aimed at remembering one’s inner self, God, and the identity of the two, in a state of ecstatic trance and exaltation.

Then the medieval period was marked by the establishment of the great Sufi orders, of which about one hundred still exists. Chief founders of these orders were Abd-al-Quadir (1078-1166), whose followers have their headquarters in Baghdad, Shihab-al-Din-a-Suhara Wardi (1155-1191) who was executed at the instance of the Orthodox whose order is influential in Iran: and Moinudin Chist.

33 ibid., P.232.
For the Sufis, union with the God is both a present fact of experience and the goal of life. Union with God implies both a higher state of consciousness an immediate vision of divine Reality in which the division between God and Man is done away, and a transformation of human personality whereby the unification so realized becomes a permanent condition of being.

That is, the Sufis followed certain paths to the goal of union with Reality, for that the Sufis were divided in to a number of sects called *Silsilahs* or orders. Hence it is important to explain the different orders and the path they follow to the attainment of the Absolute.

2.4.1 Sufi Orders or Silsilahs

According to one estimate, as many as 175 such orders of the Sufis came into existence in the Muslim world. But of these orders, Muslims of India prominently follow ten orders. Each order has had its own founder.

2.4.1.1 Quadiriya Order

This order was founded by Hazrat Abdul Quadir Jilani. Whose tomb is at Baghdad. Its influence is extensively among the Muslims of South India. Its teachings are based on the *Quran* and traditions.
2.4.1.2 Chisti Order

Khwaja Muinudin was the founder of this order. Of all the orders, the impact of Chisti order is visible even in small villages of Indian subcontinent. Kwaja Moinudeen Chisti, a disciple of Kwaja Abu Abdal Chisti, the propounder of this order introduced it in India. He selected Ajmeer as his permanent abode since 1195. He lived like a typical Hindu Saint and preached the gospel of Absolute monotheism in the true spirit of the Vedanta philosophy with the only difference that he gave the name “Allah” to the Almighty creator. For him music, vocal as well as instrumental became considered to be of great spiritual value. So he invited musicians and singers for the recitation of spiritual songs and hymns.

For them the love of God and the attainment of God can be realized only through music that is through praising of God through music.

Baba Farid was a disciple of Moinudeen Chisti. A brilliant orator with poetic expressions, he popularised Chisti order throughout the country. So Shrikh Farid’s ‘Jama- at- Khana’ at Jodhan, writes, K.A. Nizami’, “as one of most mystic centres of the age, and all sorts of pupil
high and low, rich and poor, flock to it to soothe their tired nerves in the cool, spiritual atmosphere that prevailed there". He is also the view that, like poetry music also elevates emotions to the ecstatic state that is necessary for union with God.

2.4.1.3 Suhrwardi Order

Shaikh Bahaudin was the founder of this order. Unlike the Chisti saints, the exponents of the Suhrwardi order did not believe in excessive austerity or self-mortification, rather they constituted an influential and affluent priesthood of the Muslims. They lived comfortable family lives and felt no scruples in accepting costly presence and patronage from the Muslim aristocracy.

Suhrwardi have a deep influence on Islamic philosophy. The system of Ideas associated with his name is ‘illumination’ or ‘Ishraqi (Theosophy of illumination), a new formulation, intuition by which one comes to know God. God’s light must be allowed to shine in oneself to such a degree that one is united with that force. Further more, for every person, indeed for every substance, there is an angel. The angels are arranged in two hierarchies in proportion to their perfection in effusion of light: one longitudinal, one latitudinal. In his view, to seeking to attain
the divine light one must have the guidance of prophets, particularly, the last, prophet Muhammad, whose night journey to heaven (*miraj*) comes to shymbolise the Sufi novice’s stages of consciousness of the way marked by Muhammed. From all these it is clear that Suharwardi, came to shape the metaphysics of Sufism in its gnostic form among Sunni and Shia Muslims alike. After his death his son Arif, as the chief Khalifa of his disciple, set up his *Khānqah* at Sind.

2.4.1.4 Naqshbandi Order

Baha-Ud-Din Naqshband of Turkistan founded this order. Insistence on rigid adherence to Shariat and nurturing love for prophet was the essence of this order.

Lastly one can say that the modern period of Sufi philosophy sometimes referred to as the period of the poets.

In India, Kabir combined the tenets of Brahmanism, Vaishnavism, and Sufism. In his poems, he referred to God interchangeably as Rama, Hari or *Allah*. Although representing God as Omnipresent, Kabir defended the individuality of the human soul, which, however can attain unification with God through love. From above all these, we can say that
the way of life taught and followed by the Sufis is closely related to the goal, which they seek. In its deepest being, the soul is divine – within the heart and soul is the very essence of God. Man is divided from God by his blindness to the light of reality and by the power of His narrow self. It is the purpose of man who enters upon the upward path to remove the veils between God and the soul. A.M. Smith, in his book, ‘Al-Gazali- the mystic’, says, “may God’, once Gazali, prayed for a disciple, anoint your inward vision, with the light of Reality; May He empty your inmost self from all save His own presence”. 34 The aim which the disciples seeks is the immediate vision of God, and the inner transformation of his being, so that God alone may live and act in him.

The Sufi who sets out to seek God calls himself a traveller, he advances by slow stages along a path to the goal of union with Reality. The path expounded by the Sufists consists of the 7 stages each of which is the result of the stages immediately preceding it. The path of the 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 ‘Arif’. These paths are called Marifat. These stages are called Maqamat. They are (1) Repentence (Tawbah) (2)

Abstinence (Wisr) (3) Renunciation (Zuhd) (4) Poverty (Faqr) (5) 
Patience (Sabr) (6) Trust (Tawakkul) and satisfaction (Ridza).

The first place in every list of stages is occupied by repentance. 
This marks the beginning of a new life. Repentance is described as the 
awakening of the soul from the slumber of heedlessness, so that the sinner 
becomes aware of his evil ways and feels contrition for past obedience. 
He is not truly patient however, unless he at once abandons the sin or sins 
of which he is conscious and firmly resolves that he will never return to 
these sins in the future. If he should fail to keep his vow, he must again 
turn to God, whose mercy is infinite. A certain well-known Sufi repented 
70 times and fell back into sin 70 times before he made a lasting 
repentance. That is, 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.

Abstinence means one should refrain himself from indulgence. In 
Sufi sense, it may be of 3 types. Firstly abstaining from acts which are 
doubtful. Secondly abstaining from whatever one’s consciousness does 
not allow. Thirdly abstaining from anything, which diverts attention from 
God.
Renunciation means that one should give up voluntarily those things, which give physical enjoyment. It has 3 stages. Firstly renouncing something, which may bring name and fame. Secondly investigating what to be given up and what not to be given up. Thirdly, not possessing nor wishing to possess any worldly thing.

Then poverty means to be stripped of every wish that can turn one's thought from God. It may be of 3 types. Firstly neither to possess nor seek anything. Secondly not to possess anything but not to decline if offered. Thirdly, not to possess anything but to seek the help of friends in extreme need.

Then patience means to keep mental equilibrium in adversity in distress and in trials from God. It may be of 3 types, patience in God, patience in and for God; patience in, for and with God, The first type is 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.

Then Trust in God means complete dependence on God. In all affairs, it is of two types, firstly renunciation of every personal initiative
such as seeking food, taking medicine etc. Secondly, admission of some personal initiative such as working for the purpose of subsistence etc. Lastly, satisfaction, in this stage, the Sufi does everything to please God.

From above all these, we can say that Iqbal is against the Sufistic theory and practices.

Firstly regarding the conception of the Unity of being, as Sufis proclaimed, Iqbal agrees with Shaikah Ahmed (Sufi Thinker) who refuted the conception of the identity of man with God, by emphasizing the separateness of human personality and stressing the need for retaining man's individuality. Here Iqbal maintains that ever after man's highest spiritual attainment he remains man and does not become one with God and discourages this goal in the Ideal of life.

Here Iqbal points out that the true interpretation of human experience is the realization and bold affirmation in an undying phase of the reality and permanence of the human ego in profound personality. This movement towards the most unique individual is not confined to the life of man but is also there in the development of all living organisms. So
he in his Lectures adds, "through the entire gamut of being runs the gradually rising note of ego hood until it reaches its perfection in man".  

Secondly, he is against the Sufistic notion of the negation of the self. In his view, the negation of the self or its absorption into some Eternal self should not be man's moral and religious Ideal. So he adds, "religion and morality are for man's self affirmation and he can attain moral and religious ideal by becoming more and more individual, more and more unique. Khudi is everything and it covers the whole kingdom of God in its existence". 

In his view, religious ideal of man is self-affirmation. He does not believe in man's seeking union with God. Since complete union between the creator and the creature is not possible. Iqbal seeks separation instead of union with God. Thirdly unlike the Sufis, Iqbal does not teach renunciation of the world. On the contrary, he endeavours to make both religious life and material world harmonious in the light of the teaching of Islam.

Then addressing the 'Sufis', Iqbal in his Lectures says,

\[\text{35 Religious reconstruction, op. cit., p.103.}\]
\[\text{36 Ibid., P.104.}\]
“Your eyes are fixed on miracles that amaze
But world of events strange attracts my gaze
A call to you is sent by world of chance,
Perhaps you may transmute it with your glance”.

Again, he says,

“If angelic art and celestial lore
The ills of Muslims cannot cure,
Worthless they are and of no use,
Of fact so true you must be sure,
Your reveries deep and rapture sweet,
Your worship at the midst of night,
If fail to keep a watch of self
Are useless quite hand ave values straight”. 37

Then it is clear that man’s highest achievement or destination, according to him does not lie in seeking self-negation or detachment from the material world, and in annihilation of his ego-hood in the Ultimate Reality, that is God. It is Sufistic view also. But in Iqbal’s view, it is essentially rooted in self-affirmation and conquest of the Universe.

37 ibid.
But Iqbal agree with the basic principle of mysticism that it is an attempt to reach the Ultimate Reality through inner experience and that it discards intellect or reason as insufficient and relies on love or intuition. In his view, the human ego proceeds from the directive energy of God. Moreover, the ego has been endowed with free personality. So that it may take part in the creative movement of the Universe. This is the purpose of ego's existence. It is also the purpose of the infinite as revealed through the ego. Infact, Iqbal is more emphatic in asserting that in the higher Sufism of Islam, unitive experience is not the finite ego, effacing its own identity by some sort of absorption in to the infinite ego, it is rather the infinite passing in to the loving embrace of finite.

From above all these, it is clear that he is against to sufistic ideas of man and God and here it is necessary to explain his ideas of world and man and God and how it is similar to Islamic Ideas.