THEOLOGICAL AND PHILOSOPHICAL MOVEMENTS

Islamic thought, developing fast particularly under the impact of Greek philosophy, manifested itself in four main directions: Mutazilism, philosophy, Scholastic Theology and Mysticism. Mutazilism and Philosophy claimed that reason was competent enough to solve all the problems concerning God, soul, etc. Scholastic Theology emerged as a counter-movement; it chiefly relied on revelation. Mysticism developed out of the yearning of the human soul for the direct apprehension of the Divine. The different schools, however, ultimately resolved themselves into two, one believing in reason as the only efficient instrument of knowledge, and the other relying on revelation coming directly viz., i'timad, or through the agency of prophets, viz., wahya.

I. Mutazilism (rationalism)

Though this school of thought was established towards the end of the first century of the Hijra, the germs of the tendency to rationalize the articles of faith were present even much earlier. In the lifetime of the Prophet, Islam was a simple religion.¹ All questions were referred to him. However, even then we find a tendency to rationalize. For, there were two types of men:

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those who accepted the truth of everything simply on the authority of the Prophet and others who too accepted what he said, yet bestowed on it a good deal of deliberation and thinking. After the death of the Prophet differences arose on several points amongst his companions, but the Muslims were too much occupied with the dissemination of their faith and with conquests to quarrel about what faith exactly meant. - Some of the companions were too much devoted to praying and fasting and took little interest in the wars and the conquest. They had plenty of time to deliberate on the aspects of religion and discuss them. These doubts and discussions are the origin of later sects. They, for instance, enquired whether the miraj (ascension) of the Prophet, was physical or spiritual. Some held that it was purely spiritual; others believed that it was physical. Such differences failed to cause any breach in the ranks of the faithful in the beginning. It was only after the battle of Siffin in A.D. 657 that a group of people holding certain dissentent views was first given a distinctive name, viz. Kharijites. Later on, other groups made

2 Ibid., p. 63.
3 Ibid., p. 62.
4 Ibid., p. 62.
5 Ibid., p. 63.
the Murjiites held that no believer who had committed a sin, be
it small or great (kabtra), would remain for ever in the Hell
except the one who was guilty of the sin of polytheism. 12 One
sect of the Murjiites went so far as to believe that faith alone
was sufficient to enable man to attain salvation. 13 But the
moderate Murjiites like Abu Hanifa 14 believed that faith and
action were necessary for salvation. 15 The Qadarite doctrines
arose in this way: The Umayyads who wielded the political sceptre,
were tyrants; they oppressed and beheaded their opponents
indiscriminately and without mercy. When they were asked why
they did so, they said that God made them do so and that he alone
was responsible for their deeds. This insulted the religious
consciousness of the Muslims. The Qadarites arose and proclaimed
that man held power (qadr) over his action, and consequently,
the Umayyad were responsible for their cruel and unjust deeds. 16
Mabad al-Juhani (d. A.D. 699) was the first to discuss openly
the problem of the freedom of will. 17 He asked the opinion of

13 Macdonald, Development of Muslim Theology, p. 126; Wensinck
Muslim Creed, pp. 36 ff; Margoliouth, D.S., Early Development
of Muhammadanism, p. 191.
14 Browne, L., History of Persia, Vol. 1, p. 280; Nicholson, L.,
History of the Arabs, p. 22.
15 Macdonald, Development of Muslim Theology, p. 127.
17 Wensinck, Muslim Creed, p. 53.
their appearance. These groups were the Shiites, who believed in the Imamate as supplementary to the Nubuwwat; the Murjiites who would suspend their judgement against the sinners and wait for the Day of Judgement; the Qadarites who held that a man possessed freedom of the will to have power (qadr) over his actions, etc. The shi'ites and Kharijites were in open revolt against the Umayyads. They regarded them as unbelievers because of their misdeeds. The Murijiites arose to defend the Umayyads. They argued that in spite of being a set of sinners the Umayyads were not polytheists since they believed in the Unity of God. Hence, none has the right, they said, to rebel against a ruler who is not a polytheist. As regards other sins, they said, they should be left to God to be adjudged on the Day of Judgement. When the political necessity passed away, those who held this opinion established themselves as a theological sect. The Kharijites held that a believer who commits a sin, however small (Saghra), and dies unrepentant is doomed to Hell for ever. But

Hasan of Basra (d. A.D. 728) about it, referring to the misdeeds of the Umayyads which they ascribed to God. To this Hasan replied, "The enemies of God lie."\textsuperscript{18} So, the first problem that served as the basis of i'tizal was about the freedom of the will.\textsuperscript{19} This is why the Mutazilites are sometimes called Qadarites.\textsuperscript{20} In a short time the movement won many followers who exercised great influence over contemporary thought.\textsuperscript{21} The term i'tizal itself is of accidental origin. At this time the doctrine of the Kharijites, that the perpetrator of a heinous sin (kabiva) was an 'unbeliever', held sway. Some one asked Hasan whether the perpetrator of a heinous sin was a 'believer' or an 'unbeliever'. Wasil b. ata\textsuperscript{22} (d. A.D. 748) a pupil of Hasan, said before Hasan could answer, that such a person was neither a 'believer' nor an 'unbeliever'. For he said, 'believer's is a term of praise which cannot be applied to a sinner.'\textsuperscript{23} Therefore, he is not a believer. He cannot be called an unbeliever, because he believes in the Unity of God and sometimes does good deeds as well.\textsuperscript{24} On hearing

\textsuperscript{19} Sir Sayed Ahmad Khan, Tahdhib al Akhlaq, p. 65.
\textsuperscript{21} Wensinck, Muslim Creed, pp. 37 ff, 58 ff.
\textsuperscript{22} Sir Sayed Ahmad Khan, Tahdhib al-Akhl\textsuperscript{a}q, pp. 117-120.
\textsuperscript{23} Macdonald, Development of Muslim Theology, p. 130; Mahammad Zarif, Islam aur Aqliyyat, pp. 29-30.
\textsuperscript{24} Ibid., pp. 30-31.
this Hasan became angry.\textsuperscript{25} Wasil left Hasan's circle and went with 'Amar b. Ubayd\textsuperscript{26} (d. A.D. 761), a fellow student to the other corner of the Mosque and began to develop his own views. Hasan, seeing Wasil preaching in the other corner of the mosque, said "ptazala anna, i.e. he has seceded from us." Hence the name Mutazila, Wasil and Ubayd\textsuperscript{27} were the greatest pillars of itizal.\textsuperscript{28} Wasil sent his pupils to all Islamic countries to preach the doctrines of itizal.\textsuperscript{29} The doctrine of the Qadarites

\begin{itemize}
  \item Sir Sayed Ahmad Khan, \textit{Tahdhib al-Akhaq}, p. 65, also pp. 120-122.
  \item Amar b. 'Ubayd's personal influence helped itizal to a very great extent. He was called the best. He was a staunch and devoted follower of truth, unmindful of worldly things. He was a friend and classfellow of Caliph Mansur who held him in high esteem (Sir Sayed Ahmad Khan, \textit{Tahdhib al-Akhaq}, pp. 121). Because of his prestige, the Mutazilite doctrines were accepted by men holding eminent position in the state (Sir Sayed Ahmad Khan, \textit{opt. cit.} p. 65).
  \item Ibid., p. 64.
  \item Ibid., p. 64
\end{itemize}
that man was free to act was accepted by Wasil's school.  

He added new doctrines to the school, about the creation of the Quran, the denial of the qualities of God as entities separate from Him.

Perhaps the greatest impetus this movement received when Mansur directed his attention to the development of arts, sciences, learning, etc. At this time works of philosophy were translated from other languages into Arabic under the auspices of the state. This helped itizal because it stood for the rational interpretation of faith and spiritual truths. The traditionssts and the jurists were powerless to counteract the arguments advanced by philosophers and followers of other religions against Islam. Mutazilites came forward and met their arguments with arguments. On finding itizal successful in defending Islam against foreign attacks, all learned and prominent people turned towards it.

30 Wasil was the founder of many new sciences and doctrines e.g. Ilm al-Kalam. It was he who first formulated four sources of fiqh, Viz., Quran, Hadith, Ijma and Qiyas (Sir Syed Ahmad Khan, Ibid. p. 14).


33 Mohammad Zarif, Islam aur Aqliyyat, p. 55.

Mahdi, who succeeded Mansur, banned religious freedom. But his son Harun though not a philosopher himself yet, being under the influence of Barmecides who were free-thinkers, helped this movement. 36 Mamun made it a state religion. 37 His action and prejudices against those who were not Mutazilites brought about the downfall of the movement. 38 By invoking the power and influence of the state in the matter of intellectual and religious life, Mamun gave cause to the conservative party to put up a strong opposition, which subsequently became so powerful that the movement could not stand it. Mamun issued a decree that all the Muslims must believe in the doctrine of the creation of the Quran. This brought forth unexpectedly vehement opposition from the orthodoxy. Imam Ahmad Ibn Hanbal and other pious people ultimately gave a death-blow to itizal. 39 Mutawakkil had to recall the decree and to substitute in its place another which was consonant with the views of the orthodoxy. 40 Allai 41 (d. A.D.

36 Ibid., p. 39; Sir Sayed Ahmad Khan, Tahdhib al-Akhliq, p. 65.
38 Ibid., 67 ff.
40 Ibid., pp. 92 ff.
and Nazzam (d. A.D. 845) who were the two most eminent exponents of the Mutazilite school, were Mamun's teachers. So they exercised influence over the whole empire. Allaf added many doctrines to the common stock of the Mutazilites. One of the doctrines which estranged from the spirit of Islam was that the power of God was limited, that it was not in his power, for instance to create a new thing.

From Nazzam onward Itizal tended to become more and more of a philosophy. Besides being a physicist, he was well-versed in Greek philosophy. He was the first to mingle philosophy and other heretical doctrines with itizal, e.g., the doctrine of metempsychosis. He advocated the view that God could do nothing

42 Sir Sayed Ahmad Khan, Tahdhib Al-Akhlaq, pp. 65-66.
43. Ibn an-Nadim, Fihrist, p. 176; Shibli, Lām al-Kalam, p. 35.
47 An-Nazam is the first Mutazilite who has shown that colour, smell, sound, taste, light, heat, etc., are materials of which matter is composed (Sir Sayed Ahmad Khan, Tahdhib al-Akhlaq, p. 181). Development of Muslim Theology, p. 140; Sir Syed Ahmad Khan, Tahdhib al-Akhliq, p. 181.
for a creature; that in fact, He had no power to do anything. 49

He held that the soul, the essence of man, 50 was nothing but a subtle material substance which permeates the body like the oil in a rose.

Jahiz 51 (d. A.D. 868) who was unrivalled in his time in literature, dialectics, jurisprudence, Hadith, etc. 52 advocated many doctrines which were against Islam; e.g., that no material body perished, 53 that God did not will evil, and that He could not be seen in Paradise. 54

Mutawakkil 55 suppressed all these heretical opinions. 56

Yet in all the Islamic countries itizal had taken root, which it was not possible to exterminate. It continued a vigorous life

50 Mohammad Zarif, Islam aur Aqliyyat, p. 49.
51 Sir Sayyed Ahmad Khan, Tahdhib al-Akhlq, p. 182.
52 Ibid., p. 182.
53 Ibid., p. 181
54 Ibid., p. 183.
55 Ibid., p. 183.
56 Ibid.
till the 4th century A.D. But after Jubbai (d. A.D. 915), the last great Imam of i'tizal, decay set in and in a few generations the movement died out. However, it left a permanent mark of its own on Islamic theology. It is not too much to say that it caused a crisis among the Muslims.

The Mutazilite thought as it expanded developed many offshoots for every prominent Mutazilite laid the foundations of a separate sect. However, the basic principles are common to almost all the Mutazilites. It is a sect of people possessing rationalistic tendencies. They maintained that human reason was competent to know the verities of the universe and was completely free to go searching after the Truth. It was a common faith with the Muslims that truth could only be found through the prophets. The result of this belief was that the orthodox theologians and common people came to regard reason as an undesirable intruder into religion. The Mutazilites applied reason to all the truths contained in the Quran and explained away those passages which they did not find conforming to their

59 Sir Sayed Ahmad Khan, Tahdhib al-Akhlaq, 66.
60 Ibid., pp. 120, 122, 180, 181, 133.
modes of reason. They consequently made speculation one of the duties of a believer. Those incapable of knowing truth by reason they held, would be doomed to the eternal fire of hell.

The orthodox theologians held that the nature of good and evil was determined through the commandments of God; the source of truth lay only in revelation. Further, the orthodox believed that God could do everything, that He was free to do good or evil, and that no necessity could be imposed on Him. He could forgive whom He would and punish whom He wanted.

The Jabarites on the basis of the passages of the Quran held that man's actions were determined and predestined by God. Man had no will of his own; he could do nothing of his own choice; good and evil, all proceeded from God. But if it were so, why was man made responsible for the acts which were not his own. He could not be justly rewarded or punished for his acts unless he were free to do or not to do. In doing so the theologians made God an unjust tyrant who would punish man for the sins which were not committed by him. The Mutazilites protested against this and said that God was just. He could not punish man for the sins over the avoidance of which he had no power; God had given man

64 Macdonald, *Development of Muslim Theology*, p. 138.
65 Ibid., p. 140.
complete power over his actions. He was free to act any way he liked, it was his freedom of choice between good and evil that made man responsible for his deeds. In this way they upheld the justice of God. If man's actions were predestined, said they, why should God exhort men in the Quran to acquire virtue. They explained away the passages bearing on the determinism of man's actions.

The other main doctrines of the Mutazilites were the denial of the qualities of God, and of the eternal validity of the Quran and the impossibility of the vision of God in the next world. The Quran describes God as knowing, willing, etc. The Divine Attributes, the orthodox held, were real and separate from God. But the Mutazilites denied the existence of God's qualities. They argued thus: Qualities are of two kinds, created (badith) or eternal (qadium). If qualities are created, God, the creator of qualities, is also created; this, therefore, disproves the eternity of God. But if the qualities are taken to be eternal, it means that there are other eternal beings co-

68 There are also many verses of the Quran which imply moral responsibility of man for his actions, e.g. LXXIV, 38:XLI 46; 11, 27; LIII, 40; LII, 21, etc.
69 Macdonald, *Development of Muslim Theology*, p. 48.
72 Macdonald, *Development of Muslim Theology*, p. 136.
existence with God and this contradicts the Divine Unity.  

For upholding God's Justice and Unity, they were called Ahl at-Tawhid wa'l Adl. In Allaf the doctrine of God's qualities takes a new form. Wasil said that the qualities were in His essence and in doing so, he made God a vague unity, a philosophical entity. Allaf said that they were not in His essence; rather, they were His very essence, for if they were in His essence, they would be apart from Him, which was unthinkable about God. God, he said, was omnipotent by His omnipotence. He further said these qualities were mere negations or relations and nothing positive could be said about God, or else it would mean that there was a subject and a predicate which was impossible as God was the Absolute Unity. Nazzam and others made the conception of God as an indefinable something like the absolute

73 Ibid, p. 281.
75 Sir Sayed Ahmad Khan, Tahdhib al-Akhlaq, p. 180; O'Leavy, Arabic Thought, pp. 124-125.
76 Mohammad Zarif, Islam aur Aqliyyat, p. 42.
law of right in the universe. They, like Hegel, cleared the conception of God from the anti-
thesis of the knower and the known. They would not allow any anthropomorphic conception of God.

The doctrine of the creation of the Quran is closely connected with the doctrine of the Unity of God. The orthodox held that wisdom was the attribute of God. This was expressed in the Quran. It was eternal with Him. The Quran was uncreated and had been since eternity with God. If this wisdom was, said the Mutazilites, eternal with God, it meant that there were two eternal principles. In other words, it postulated the existence of two gods. The same argument also held good against the conception of the other qualities of God.

78 Mohammad Zarif, Islam aur Aqliyyat, p. 49.
79 Ibid., pp. 58-59
80 O'Leavy, Arabic Thought, pp. 83 ff.
The orthodox Muslims believed that God would be seen in Paradise by some people at least and that this would be the greatest bliss. The Mutazilites explained away the relevant passages in the Quran and said that God could not be seen in the Paradise because that presupposed the occupation of a place in space by Him.

The Mutazzilites started in good faith to rationalize the tenets of Islam but unconsciously the faith of them was shaken as to the divine origin of the Quran, consequently, they were driven by their own arguments to reject many tenets of the faith, for instance, revelation, etc. The first Mutazilite thinkers were serious about their religion and wanted to rationalise it in order to make it conform to human reason. The Mutazilite school originated independently of any external influence.

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83 Macdonald, Development of Muslim Theology, p. 146-152; Browne, L., History of Persia, Vol. I, p. 287; Steiner and Oberman prove that I'tizal came into existence independently of any external influences. Mr. Muzaffaruddin in his book, Muslim Thought and its Source (pp. 55-64) also tries to prove that the source of Muslim doctrines is the Quran and not Greek philosophy.
But when books of Greek philosophy were translated, the Mutazilites read them with great eagerness. The study of Greek philosophy forced new problems on their minds and their interest in religion for its own sake was pushed to the background.

II PHILOSOPHY

The later Mutazilites, e.g. Nazzam, Jahiz, however, developed a tendency towards philosophical subjects. From amongst these thinkers arose a series of philosophers who were called falasifa (plural of Falsuf) or Hukama (plural of Hakim).\(^{84}\) They were the students of the wisdom of the Greeks.\(^{85}\) Their studies comprised physics, mathematics, chemistry, astronomy and music. They studied the works of Euclid, Pythagoras, Galen, etc. In metaphysics they followed Plato and Aristotle whom they regarded as the expounders of the truth. Many of them limited their studies only to the Aristotelian school.\(^{86}\) The systems of the Greek masters came to them, in the beginning, through translations and commentaries which were incorrect. Plato and Aristotle were rationalists who regarded reason as the only source of true knowledge. But their interpreters gave a religious


\(^{86}\) Qifti, \textit{Tarjkh al\textit{H}ukama} (ed. Cairo, 1298), pp. 29, 11, 6 ff.
religious minded, accepted them as such. In this way they caused a good deal of misunderstanding in the Muslim mind. Plato came to the Muslims in the form of neo-Platonism. A Christian named Naymah of Emessa translated the last three books of the Enneads of Plotinus into Arabic and named it, "The Theology of Aristotle. The Muslims took it for a genuine work of Aristotle. It was through this book that Aristotle was accepted by the Muslims as a religious man. Further, Porphyrius, a neo-Platonist, in his commentary on Plato proved that Plato was a mystic. Similarly, Plotinus, another neo-Platonist, proved that, in the opinion of Aristotle, the human soul was incapable of knowing God through reason; He could only be known through ecstasy. When the Muslims read such mystical views ascribed to Plato and Aristotle their rationalism became tinged with mysticism and it was through this mystical tendency that they were able to mingle the philosophies of Plato, Aristotle and Plotinus with the tenets of the Quran. 87

The Muslim philosophers believed that God was one. Since from one many cannot proceed. He first created the Agent Intellect

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87 For Ibn Sina's mystic thought see his two allegories Havy, b. Yaqzan, Salaman and Absal, and his qasids on the human soul.
who, in turn, created the second Intellect and the first Heaven; and the second Intellect produced the third Intellect and the second Heaven and so on till the whole process of creation was completed. Man consisted of a body and a soul; the former a was material and perishable while the latter was spiritual and immortal. The body belonged to the physical world (khalq) while the soul belonged to the transcendental world (Amar). It was a part of the Agent Intellect and yearned to return to it. The union of the two was made possible through contemplation. They further believed that the whole universe was connected through causes which were of various orders, higher and lower. The higher affected the lower. In the ascending order, the soul stood at the highest level. Above it were the angels, beyond whom there was God the necessary existence. The human soul struggled to liberate itself from the limitations of matter in order to meet God from whom it emanated. But the first condition of attaining nearness to Him was to know Him. The purpose of philosophy was to know the first Cause which was Divine. In this way, knowledge became more important than action. But men differed in intellect, and only a few could attain to true philosophy

88 Quran, VII, 54.

89 Quran, XVII, 85; for full discussion of khalq and Amar see Kimiya-Sa'adat, p. 7.

90 Arnold, Legacy of Islam, p. 284.

91 DeBoer, History of Philosophy in Islam, p. 140.
hence, the need of revelation. True religion and philosophy agreed and corroborated each other in all fundamental matters. Therefore, almost all the Muslim philosophers tried to reconcile philosophy with religion.

The Muslims came very early to believe that with the advent of Islam all previous systems of thought were abrogated. The Quran was considered to be the only true guide to humanity that promised success in this world and the next. But with the march of conquests and the expansion of the Empire there cropped up new problems which demanded rational solutions. To meet them they took to the study of philosophy and consequently, works were translated into Arabic from the Greek and other languages. In these studies lay the roots of religious and moral crises in Islam, since the philosophers began to place a higher value on the Greek culture than on the religion of Islam. 92

Al-Kindi, (d. A.D. 873), was the first to take up a systematic study of Greek philosophy. 93 He started as a Mutazilite but in his enthusiasm for philosophy he translated philosophical books from Greek into Arabic. 94 He corrected the translations which

92 Ibid, p. 98.
93 Qift, Tarikh al-Hukama, pp. 366 ff.
94 O'Leary, Arabic Thought, p. 136; De Boer, History of Philosophy in Islam, p. 97.
were already in existence. Some 266 titles of his books have come down to us. He wrote both on theology and philosophy. Being a monotheist, he wrote a book in refutation of dualism. His main doctrines which he left, as a legacy to subsequent thinkers were the doctrine of the creation of the universe, the doctrine of the soul, the doctrine that reason and revelation were two separate sources of knowledge and the doctrine that the summum bonum was the knowledge of the primal cause. His theory of creation was similar to that of Plotinus with the only difference that he expressed his ideas in the Quranic vocabulary, e.g., pen, tablet, angels, etc. His views of the soul were more or less parallel to the Aristotelian. Aristotle divided the soul into three parts, namely, nutritive, reproductive and the rational. But Alexander of Aphrodisias in his commentary added Agent Intellect as a fourth part coming from God. Al-Kindi following the commentator divided the soul into four faculties, namely, Agent Intellect (aql fa' al) which came from above, that is, from God, the rational faculty (aql hayulani) which distinguished man from animals, the acquired intellect, ('aql mustafad) which was acquired by means of the

95 Qifti, Tarikh al-Hukama, pp. 368 ff.
96 O'Leary, Arabic Thought, p. 138
97 Aristotle, De Anima, II; II; O'Leary, Arabic Thought, p. 150.
rational faculty and the intellect in action (aqīl bi'l-fi'l)\textsuperscript{98}

As to reason and revelation, he was under the influence both of Greek philosophy and Islam. Islam believed that the ultimate truth could be known only through revelation, while Greek philosophy relied on reason as the source of truth. Al-Kindi, following the Greek master, admitted the competence of reason as the source of all true knowledge and, at the same time, believed that revelation as well guided humanity to the same goal. The summum bonum, he advocated was the knowledge of the first necessary existence, which he regarded as the end of philosophy. Thus the life of virtue was made subordinate to the contemplative life. These views are found in almost all the philosophers that followed him.

Farabi (d. A.D. 950), the greatest philosopher of Islam and a neo-Platonist\textsuperscript{100} is considered the best interpreter of the philosophy of Plato and Aristotle.\textsuperscript{101} Farabi accepted Greek philosophy as revealed truth. He understood Aristotle so perfectly and unravelled the mysteries of Greek philosophy so comprehensively that he was called the Second Teacher by the Muslims, the first being Aristotle\textsuperscript{102} himself. Besides his passion for Aristotle, he

\begin{footnotesize}
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\item O'Leavy, Arabic Thought, pp. 148 ff.
\item De Boer, History of Philosophy in Islam, p. 106; of Farabi; Mabadi l Falsafa al-Qadima; Al-Ghazzali, Arab'In, p. 7.
\item Qifit, Tarkh al-Hukama, pp. 227 ff, cf Farabi, Mabadi'l-Falsafa.
\item Arnold, Legacy of Islam, p. 256.
\end{enumerate}
\end{footnotesize}
was enamoured of the neo-Platonic concepts concerning emanations. Farabi was one of the associates of the literary circle of Sayf ad-Dawla, the great Hamdanid at Aleppo. The Muslims came very early to believe that Plato and Aristotle were two great masters who expounded the one and the same truth. Therefore, they laboured patiently to bring about an agreement between them. The pious amongst them further advocated that the Quran expounded the same truth. They argued thus: The Quran is truth and philosophy is truth; but truth can be one; therefore the Quran and philosophy must be in agreement. Farabi strove to reconcile the philosophy of Plato and Aristotle with that of the Quran. He dealt with all the problems of religion such as prophecy, angels, resurrection, the pen, the tablet, etc., but in a neo-Platonic fashion, e.g., he believed that the universe had emanated from God in a descending order. He denied the eternity of matter upheld by Aristotle.

103 Arnold, Legacy of Islam, p. 256.
104 Cf. Farabi, Mabadi'l-Falsafa al-Qadima.
105 Macdonald, Development of Muslim Theology, p. 162.
106 O'Leary, Arabic Thought, p. 146.
Akin to the philosophers was a society known as the Sincere Brethren of Basra (*Ikwan as Safa*). This society came into existence after the Buwayhids (A.D. 955) had captured Baghdad and allowed all sorts of heresies to be practised in the name of free thought. Their aim was similar to that of the Mutazilites, i.e., to find rational grounds for religious tenets. They said that their society aimed at making the knowledge of all the sciences accessible to all people. The knowledge of philosophy was not expounded in a simple form, intelligible to the common people, while the religious dogmas were too formal to appeal to the people of intellect, therefore, they set out to popularize the knowledge of all sciences. They summed up the philosophical and scientific learning of the time in fifty-one tracts (*Rasa'il*) Their knowledge was encyclopaedic. They believed that perfection could only be achieved by a fusion of Greek philosophy with the 'Arabian religion. The aim of philosophy, according to them, was the emancipation of the soul from matter. The soul thus liberated would dissolve itself into the universal soul. The world emanated from the primal cause through agencies. They believed in the

111 Macdonald, Development of Muslim Theology pp. 90-92.
unity of religions and tried to reconcile philosophical and scientific truths,\textsuperscript{112} with religion.\textsuperscript{113} The system of the Brethren was eclectic, comprising the ideas of Plato, the neo-Platonists, Aristotle, the Pythagorians, the Mutazilites, the Isma'ilians, etc.\textsuperscript{114} A study of their epistles betrays deep rooted contempt for Islam. They came after al-Kindi and al-Farabi and preceded Ibn Sina.

Ibn Sina\textsuperscript{115} (d. A.D. 1036) was encyclopaedic in learning, an accomplished physician and a great philosopher. His philosophy adopts Aristotle's principles with a little tinge of neo-Platonism. Farabi effected an alliance between theology and philosophy. But in Ibn Sina a complete separation between theology and philosophy took place.\textsuperscript{116} He dealt with the problems of philosophy as well as those of religion, but kept each in its own domain. In philosophy he dealt with such problems as the origin of knowledge, induction and deduction, matter and force, the relation of cause and effect, universals and particulars, the relation of the human soul to the primal cause and the active intellect,\textsuperscript{117} etc. In his

\begin{thebibliography}{117}
\bibitem{113} Brethren of Purity, \textit{Rasail}, Vol. II. p. 329.
\bibitem{114} O'Leary, \textit{Arabic Thought}, pp. 164-116; De Boer, \textit{History of Philosophy in Islam}, pp. 84-85.
\bibitem{115} Qifti, \textit{Tarikh al-Hukama}, pp. 410-426.
\bibitem{116} O'Leary, \textit{Arabic Thought}, p. 171.
\end{thebibliography}
Shifa he took up the religious problems, e.g., of evil, of the necessity and efficacy of prayers, and of miracles, and proved them philosophically.\textsuperscript{118}

Ibn Miskawaih (d. A.D. 1030), a contemporary of Ibn Sina has left us besides his other works, a well-known book, al-Fauz-al-Asghar. In this book he discusses the tenets of Islam philosophically, e.g., existence and unity of God,\textsuperscript{119} the nature of prophecy,\textsuperscript{120} and the essence, destiny and happiness of the Soul.\textsuperscript{121} He has demonstrated that creation is out of nothing, and that it is in time. He has also given a very clear account of the evolution of man.

These great thinkers had hosts of contemporaries and successors. They were all metaphysicians and believed Plato and Aristotle to be infallible. They tried to reconcile faith with philosophy.\textsuperscript{122} Besides, there were great scientist philosophers whose methods, in comprehensiveness and rigour, do not compare unfavourably with the methods of modern science, e.g., al-Biruni, Ibn Haitham, Ibn Miskawaih, al-Fauz al-Asghar, pp. 7, 37.

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{118} Shibli, \textit{Ilm al-Kalam}, pp. 124 ff.
\item \textsuperscript{119} Ibn Miskawaih, \textit{al-Fauz al-Asghar}, pp. 7, 37.
\item \textsuperscript{120} Ibid., pp. 88-124.
\item \textsuperscript{121} Ibid, pp. 37-88; Dr. Iqbal in his "Development of Metaphysics in Persia (pp. 27 ff) has given an admirable summary of Miskawaih's metaphysical views.
\item \textsuperscript{122} Shibli, \textit{Ilm al-Kalam}, p. 121.
\end{itemize}
etc. They depised metaphysics and did not waste their energies in reconciling faith with reason, but directed their attention to the concrete world. The Muslim thinkers started with religion, from religion they went on to philosophy and from philosophy to science. The study of science led them to scepticism. It is for this reason that we hear in this age the names of great sceptics like Abu'l 'Ala al-Ma'arri and 'Umar Khayyam.

III THEOLOGY

The Quran laid down specific and well defined injunctions for the regulation of human life in all its aspects in this world, and set forth Islam as the true religion of man, at once simple and natural. Islam as such was practised for some time after the death of the Prophet but soon after political parties made their appearance and changed the simple faith into a complicated one to suit their own political ends.

In the lifetime of the Prophet no need was felt for an organised theological code for the guidance of the Muslims. All new situations and problems were either met by fresh revelation or solved by the Prophet himself. More than any man that has ever

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123 E.G. "Good desires ease for you, and He does not desire for you difficulty." (Quran, II, 185) "God desires that he should make light your burdens and man is created weak" (Quran, IV, 28).

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lived, Muhammad shaped the destinies of his people; ... they ... (always) looked back to him for guidance and authority at each step".125 Gradually the need for a theological code became apparent when the prophet was no longer in their midst.

Even as late as in the first period of the Caliphate (632 A.D. 660), the law was not formulated and codified into a system. The Orthodox Caliphs and the other Companions of the Prophet sought guidance direct from the Quran and the oral traditions of the Prophet,126 and when these two sources were found silent on a point at issue they depended on ijma and sometimes on their own judgement (ra'y)127 They were perfectly imbued with the spirit of Islam and the ideals of the Prophet. So whatever they said or did in the new situations that arose in their day was in complete accord with the spirit and demand of the Quran and the Sunnah.128 But later on political controversies gave rise to different sects which helped the growth of systematic theology.129

The accession of Muawiya (A.D. 660) marked the beginning of a new era which extended to the beginning of the 2nd century A.H.

125 Browne, L., History of Persia, p. 179.
126 Khudri, Tarikh al-Tashri (Tr. Abdus Salam) p. 168 ff.
127 Ibid., pp. 171-172.
128 O'Leary, Arabic Thought, p. 72.
129 Khudri, Tarikh al-Tashri, p. 165.
This period was responsible for the rise of various sects and systems. The early Companions tried to be scrupulously exact in narrating the traditions but superfluous and false matter crept into them unrecognised through mere human failings. But now the narration of Hadith was adopted as a profession from political sectarian, selfish or other motives and consequently it became popular. In this period the traditions began to be committed to writing. But Prof. Morgoliouth very erroneously held that traditions in written form appeared only after the foundation of Baghdad. The sayings and doings of the Prophet were in the first instance jotted down by the Companions of the Prophet as memoranda and for their personal needs. The Hadith remained for a pretty long time in a fragmentary form in private possession. But in the early Abbasid period public editions of them were issued. During this period two schools of theologians emerged: one laying emphasis on the Hadith, and the other on personal judgement and deduction which was frequently resorted to by the jurists.

130 Ibid, p. 193 f; cf. on the classification of Muslim sects, Cureton, Arabic Text, p. 4.
131 Khudri, Tarikh al-Tashri, pp. 198.
132 Ibid., p. 214.
133 Margoliouth E., Development of Muhammadanism, p. 89.
134 Khudri, Tarikh al-Tashri, p. 206.
The next period extends to the middle of the 4th century. It is well marked for the complete codification and systematization of theology, the high development of jurisprudence and the scientific and critical compilation of the Hadith. The orthodoxy first developed fiqh (lit. knowledge) which, in the beginning, included not only jurisprudence, to which it devoted itself exclusively in later times, but also theology, social law, civil law, that is to say, the Islamic law in general. It contained details of everything that a man ought to do to himself, to others and to God. The faqih combined in him all that was required in a teacher and guide of Islam. Above all, he was a pious man. The fiqh was meant to be a pattern of ideal conduct. In jurisprudence the Muslims borrowed little or nothing from the Romans or other sources. They were the originators and founders of this science.

Imam Shafil and his followers were the first to lay down the rules of jurisprudence and write treaties on it, as yet these rules having existed only in the hearts of the people. In this period

136 Margoliouth E., Development of Mohammadanism, pp. 32-72.
137 O'Leary, Arabic Thought, p. 70; Macdonald, Development of Muslim Theology, p. 66.
138 Margoliouth, E., Development of Mohammadanism, p. 73.
139 Ibid., pp. 173-174.
140 Ibid., p. 40; Al-Ghazzali, Ihya al-Ulum, p. 66.
lived the four renowned Imams of jurisprudence, viz., Abu Hanifa (d. A.D. 767), ash-Shafi'i (d. A.D. 820), Malik Ibn Anas (d. A.D. 796) and Ahmad Ibn Hanbal (d. A.D. 855) and the great traditionists Bukhari (d. A.D. 870), Muslim (d. A.D. 974), at-Tirmidhi (d. A.D. 892) and an-Nasai (d. A.D. 915) etc.

The Orthodox Caliphs depended freely on their own opinions (Ra'y). In the Umayyad period too the jurists used their opinions to supplement the law. The addition of this new element, that is personal judgement did not intrude into the Shariat as foreign matter, it was in fact strictly derived from and based on the Quran and the Sunnah. In the Abbasid period the jurists began to assign limitations to free judgement. Abu Hanifa by adopting the method of Qiyas (analogy) placed a definite limitation on free judgement. Conclusions could only be formed on the basis of similar cases cited in the Quran and the Tradition. In order to meet new situations, however, and to enlarge the elasticity of the Shariat law, he propounded the doctrine of Istibsan or equity, i.e., what seems right and just should be adopted even though it could not be deduced from the Quran and Hadith. Malik b. Anas was deadly opposed to Ra'ysand Istibsan, but in order to allow a little free choice, he advocated another method called Istislah i.e., public

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141 Macdonald, Development of Muslim Theology, pp. 95-96; O'Leary, Arabic Thought, p. 74.
Analogy was to be set aside only when it was against public interest. He added the doctrine of \textit{ijma} (the consensus of opinion) but it was only limited to the people of Medina. He laid great emphasis on Tradition. Ash-Shafi'i's widened the scope of \textit{ijma} to the entire body of the Muslims.\textsuperscript{143} Ahmad b. Hanbal was an extremist who would not allow the least digression from the words of the Quran and the Hadith. Further, the systematization of Hadith curtailed the scope of free enquiry to narrower limits. Ready-made answers were proposed and the Muslims were exhorted to follow them in order to attain ideal conduct.\textsuperscript{144}

In the middle of the 4th century there began a new era. The different schools attained full vigour and power and became mutually so exclusive that each established itself as a permanent sect. Even the least difference of opinion was not tolerated, consequently the persecution of sects by one another began with great vehemence. No scope remained for the exercise of reason. The opinions of the founders of the sects became inexorable laws for their followers. The spirit of \textit{taqld} got to the fore-front. Al-Ghazzali undertook to discuss and criticise the evils resulting from such fanaticism and obstinate adherence to certain opinions and systems.

\textsuperscript{142} Ibid., pp. 100-101; O'Leary, \textit{Arabic Thought}, p. 76.
\textsuperscript{143} O'Leary, \textit{Arabic Thought}, p. 76.
\textsuperscript{144} Ibid., pp. 74-77c.
Because of the necessary conditions prevailing in this age the science and art of disputation and argumentation (munazara) was developed to perfection. The purpose originally was to sift the truth from falsehood; but later it was used to silence opposition by all means, fair or foul. It was also used to test the ability of the learned. Al-Ghazzali has discussed in his Ihya the advantages and disadvantages of the prevailing practice and has stated the rules that should regulate the conduct of disputations.\(^{145}\)

The orthodox theologians believed in the words of the Quran and the Hadith literally. They defended anthropomorphic ideas about God. They did not allow any discussions concerning things sacred. Later, however, they invented kalam (dialectics) after the fashion of the Mutazilites to strengthen their arguments; and themselves came to be known as Mutakaliman.\(^{146}\) The difference between the Mutazilite Kalam and the Ash'arite Kalam\(^{147}\) is that the one believed in the sufficiency of reason, and the other believed in the complete dependence on revelation in religious and moral matters. Consequently, the former in course of time came to refute and explain away all the tenets of faith that did not, in their opinion, correspond to reason.


\(^{146}\) De Boer, History of Philosophy in Islam, p. 42; Macdonald, Development of Muslim Theology, p. 136.

the latter defended and proved all of them. The result was that scholastic theology came into being. But they knew no philosophy and, hence, were unable to withstand the Mutazilites. After the accession of Mutawakkil to the Caliphate free thought was suppressed and the Mutazilites were punished. This helped the spread of orthodoxy. The Mutazilites, however, were still the masters of science and argumentation and tried to defend and explain religion on rationalistic lines. But rationalism made people sceptical and indifferent to religion. Heresies and unbelief were rampant, indeed, a master-mind was needed to save the people from this scourge.

Towering personalities, like those of Ibn Hazm (d. A.D. 1064) the Zahirite (formalist) in Spain, Abu'l Hasan al-Ash'ari in Mesopotamia (d. A.D. 932), and Abu Manaur al-Maturdi (d. A.D. 934) in Samaraqand emerged in this period to defend the faith against the attacks of the Mutazilites. Each one of them exerted immense influence on the minds of their followers and they created powerful systems of theology. But in course of time the system of al-Ash'ari eclipsed all other systems. Also at this very time the various Shi'ite sects like the Qarmathians, and the Zaydites, etc., were busy undermining the religion and social basis of Islamic society. Al-Ash'ari

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149 Ibid., p. 291.
150 Macdonald, Development of Muslim Theology, p. 187.
was the only person who could silence the Mutazilites as well as the other heretical sects by his mastery of the science of disputation.  

151 Al-Ash'ari was a Mutazilite till his 40th year. In a dream the Prophet is said to have exhorted him to follow the Quran and the Hadith. He resolved to do so and to fight the Mutazilites tooth and nail. He meet his teacher al-Jubba'i (d. A.D. 915) the last great Imam of the Mutazilites in public discussion and defeated him. He wrote more than a hundred books in refutation of i'tizal, 152, 153 He did not recognize any knowledge of the Divine things that was independent of revelation. He maintained that theology could not be built on a purely rational basis. Faith in the Quran and the Sunnah of the Prophet was necessary. But the anthropomorphic statements in the Quran about God, e.g., His hands, face, etc., which the literalists believed to be true were explained by him allegorically. He rejected the doctrine of the Mutazilites that God had no qualities. He believed that God had qualities, e.g.,

Knowledge, Will, etc., but they were not to be understood in the sense in which they were predicated of human beings. As to the creation of the Quran, he maintained that it was the eternal Word of God.

With regard to the freedom of the will, he held that man could not create anything, God was the only Creator. God created in man the faculties of choice and power. Then he created the actions which corresponded to choice and power. Initiation belonged only to God; that which lay in the power of man was simply Kasb (acquisition) which meant that his actions corresponded to the power and choice which God had created in him already. Man was the locus (mahaball) of his actions. The Mutazilites held that God being just could not do evil to His creatures. God made man free in his actions. So it was not God but man himself who was the author of both good and evil. Repudiating this view al-Ash'ari maintained that there was no limitation on God. He could do both good and evil to any of His creatures He liked.

And as to the vision of God in the next world, he defended it staunchly in his own way. Differing at once both from the orthodox

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154 For detailed discussion see Aspects of Islam, Macdonald, pp. 115-144.

155 Macdonald, Development of Muslim Theology, p. 192. Commenting on his position Macdonald says, "The closeness with which al-Asha'ri in this comes to the pre-established harmony of Leibnitz and to the Kantian conception of existence show how high a rank he must take as an original thinker"
and the Mutazilites, he maintained that physically it was impossible as it involved place and direction. But he maintained that vision could be possible without the aid of the physical eyes.  

In fact the great original mind of al-Ash'ari built up a powerful system of metaphysical theology, and laid the scientific foundation of scholastic kalam. The orthodox theologians accepted al-Ash'ari's teachings as a great blessing from God. His books were circulated throughout the Muslim countries and found great favour everywhere. After al-Ashi'ari came Qadi Abu Bakr Baqiliant (d. A.D. 1012) who perfected the Ash'arite theology.

In the 5th century of the Hijra there arose a number of great theologians like Imam al-Haramayn (d. A.D. 1085) and al-Ghazzali who contributed to the glorious development of Ash'arite theology. At this time the Seljuqs ruled in Baghdad. They were orthodox Muslims. They stopped all free thinking in matters religious. The Ash'arite school of theology was fortunate in having among its defenders personalities like Baqilani, Imam al-Haramayn, etc., yet the Ash'arite could not escape persecution. They had many enemies,


157 Macdonald, Development of Muslim Theology, pp. 191-204.

158 Ibid, p. 201-202

159 Imam al-Haramayn, the teacher of al-Ghazzali, incurred the displeasure of Tughril Beg whose grand Vazier was a Mutazilite. He fled to the holy places and remained there till the death of Tughril Beg.
for instance, the Hanbalites, the Mutazilites, the philosophers, etc. Indeed, the Ash'arite movement was opposed vigorously and had to pass through many vicissitudes and tribulations before it could triumph over all.

In the last instance its progress was accelerated still further by the successors of Tughril Beg. Tughril Beg conquered Baghdad (A.D. 1055) and delivered the Caliph from the Shi'ite control. His successors, Alp-Aralan and Alp-Arsian's great Vazir, Nizam-al-Mulk founded the renowned colleges of Nayashabur and Baghdad to spread Ash'arite doctrines. This marks the turning point in the Ash'arite bid for final victory. It was, however, mainly through al-Ghazzali that the Ash'arite system became the most popular system in the Islamic countries. Al-Ghazzali crushed all opposition completely. The Ash'arite doctrines as modified by him were established finally in the whole Islamic world, in Syria and Egypt Sultan Salah ad-Din (d. A.D. 1089) and in North Africa and Spain al-Ghazzali's pupil Ibn Tumart helped the Ash'arites to gain complete victory.

When al-Ghazzali was a professor at Baghdad and at the highest of his fame, one Mohammad Ibn Tumuri came from Morocco to attend his lectures. He learned from him the Ash'arite faith. After his return, he laid the foundation of an empire, (the Muwahhida) The Muwahhids made the Ash'arite system the state religion but the doctrines were accepted after a good deal of struggle (Macdonald, opt. p. 245).
IV  SUFFISM

Suffism\textsuperscript{161} held that Islam had two aspects, form (Zahir) and spirit (Batin). The former, representing the external aspect, was embodied in the Shari'at, while the latter, representing the inner aspect, constituted the Tariqat. The Sufis followed the Tariqat for the salvation of the soul. Suffism started as a reaction against the formalism of the theologians and the masses, the intellectualism of the rationalists and the philosophers, the ungodly ways of the ruling classes. The theologians, jurists and traditionalists adhered to the letter of the law. Detailed form-las were put forward to be followed by every Muslim in his daily life, which reduced Islam to a set of rituals and ceremonies. The rationalists adhered to the cult of reason and regarded it as the source of truth. The philosophers followed the rationalists and believed in the infallibility of Plato and Aristotle. The Abbasid dynasty had pushed the Arab culture into the background and adopted the Persian ways and manners which encouraged laxity in morals. The pious had to discover a way of life by which they could find God. The result was the development of Sufism. The doctrines of Sufism and its rules of conduct were based on the Quran and the lives of the Prophet and his Companions.

The Quran was interpreted mystically and allegorically. The Muqatta'at, i.e., the letters which occur in the beginning of certain chapters of the Quran and have no apparent meaning, such as Alif Lam Min and Ha Mim, helped the growth of mystical interpretations
since they must have some meaning. Their famous doctrine of the Unity of Existence (Wahdat-al-wajud) is based on their interpretation of the Quran. According to it all is a reflection or adumbration of God. He is the Visible and the Unvisible. His hand is above men's hands. He shoots their arrow when they shoot and wishes their thoughts when they wish. He loves them when they love him. He is ever in a new manifestation. He is the real being and object of love.

Sufis regard the Prophet as the Superman (Al-Insân al-Kamil). His traditions and doings played a great part in the development of Sufism. Its cosmological view is based on the tradition: "I was a hidden treasure and desired to be known, and, therefore, I made the Creation that I might be known." Their philosophy of the Ego is based on the tradition, "Whoever knoweth his self knoweth his Lord." The Sufis endeavoured to emulate each and every aspect of the Prophet's life. The retirement of the Prophet to the cave of the Hira for meditation for a certain period of time every year, set an example to

162 Quran, XLVII, 10.
163 Quran, VII, 17
165 Ibid, III. 30
166 Ibid, LV, 29.
the Sufis to retire from society. The practice of ecstasy and self-annihilation was founded on the Prophet's habit of absorption in prayers. The ascetic aspects of Sufism are based on the simplicity of the life followed by the Prophet. The Prophet for instance would give away what had come into his possession before going to sleep. He washed his clothes, repaired his shoes, milked his goats, and never on any occasion did he take his meal to his fill.\(^{167}\)

The Sufis also endeavoured to emulate the simple lives of the Prophet's Companions, particularly that of Ali. Ali is regarded as the head of almost all the Sufi sects. Various rules were derived from the incidents in the life of Ali. A mother brought her son to Ali and requested him to forbid the boy not to eat too much sugar. Ali asked the boy to come to him a few days after. On the next occasion Ali gave the advice to the boy. The mother asked Ali why did he not offer the advice on the first occasion. He replied that he had to break the habit himself before he could advice others to give it up. This incident underlies the practice of purifying one's heart first and then bidding others to do the same. Another incident is the basis of the doctrine of ecstasy and total absorption in God. Ali was struck with an arrow which could not be extracted as the operation was very painful. But Ali was not disturbed by pain when

\(^{167}\) Al-Ghazzali, *Kimiya-i-Sa'adat*, p. 280.
the arrow was pulled out while he was absorbed in prayers.

Salman Farsi, Uways Qarni and other saints led the sufis to asceticism. The Isma'ilians whose cult was to adhere to the inner meaning of the Quran also contributed to the ideology of Sufism e.g. the doctrine of the infallibility of the Imam.

Before al-Ghazzali Sufism passed through three main stages of development. At the first stage, the Sufis were ascetics and quiescents. They laboured under a terrible consciousness of sin. This world seemed to them fleeting and deceitful, seducing men away from heavenly bliss. They were terribly afraid of the world to come. The verses of the Quran such as "Those who commit sin will get terrible chastisement" and "On wrong doers befalls terrible vengeance," goaded the sufis to run away from the temptations of the transitory world in order to avoid the wrath in the world to come. They devoted their lives to prayers, both incumbent and supereogatory. They retired from society and avoided every form of luxury and ostentation. Their object was the avoidance of every indulgence which entangled the soul and prevented its development. Hasan of Basra (d. A.D. 728), Ibrahim Ibn Adham (d. A.D. 777), Abu Hashim (d. A.D. 777) and Rabi'a Basri (d. A.D. 776) belonged to this quietist stage. The

169 Quran XLVII, 4 ff.
170 Quran, XLVIII, 20 ff; XIV, 33.
gloomiest view was taken by Hasan. He influenced the life of his times and subsequent generations. He was a great friend of the Caliph Umar Ibn Abdul Aziz.

At the second stage of development which is known as the theosophical stage, the doctrines of Sufism began to take a definite shape. Ma'ruf of Karkh (d. A.D. 815) introduced the doctrines of total forgetfulness and emotional elements. Sari-Saqati (d. A.D. 870) initiated the doctrine of Tauhid, which became the central idea of the later sufi philosophy. Tawwab bin Ibrahim Dhu'n-Nun Misri (d. A.D. 859) who was the first to found a sufi sect in Egypt formulated the doctrines of hal (state) and maqam (stage) and ecstasy. He wrote treatises wherein he expounded mystical doctrines. Bayazid of Bistam (d. A.D. 876) forms a link between theosophical stage and the pantheistic stage.

At the third stage, pantheism came to the forefront. Bayzid is well known for his utterance, Beneath my cloak where is none but God. He elaborated the doctrine of self-effacement and self-annihilation. The sufi doctrines were systematized and unified by Junayd of Baghdad (d. A.D. 900) and preached by Shibli (d. A.D. 945). It is the doctrine of absorption and self-effacement which led to pantheism. Pantheism obliterates the distinction between the Creator and the creature and contends that there is only one existence, all else being an illusion. Mansur-al-Ha'ir (d. A.D. 921) also betrays pantheistic tendencies. He is an enigma. Some consider him a hoax while others a saint. He was executed for exclaiming, "Ana-i-Haq" (I am
the Truth). According to the sufis the utterance was due to a state of exaltation in which Mansur-al-Hallaj, was lost in raptures at the Beatific Vision and had lost touch with the phenomenal reality. The early historians regarded him as an imposter. He introduced un-Islamic doctrines into Sufism such as Hulul (Fusion), Ittihad (Union) Tanasukh (Transmigration), Raj'at (Return), etc. Al-Ghazzali in his defence says that his only fault was to have divulged the secret which he ought not to have done. 171

The breach between Sufism and orthodox Islam took place gradually. At its first stage of development Sufism was not very different from Islam. In their doctrines the Sufis emphasized some truths of Islam at the cost of others. In their conduct they cut themselves off from society and devoted themselves exclusively to religious exercises. At the second stage, novel methods of the purification of the heart were divsed. At the third stage, pantheistic tendencies became evident. In Niffari there appears a distinction between Sufism and Islam. The external side of Islam was lost sight of. Prayers, fasts, etc., were given up, and dhikr and other innovations were adopted for the purification of the heart. The authority of the Shaikh was added to the authority of the Quran and the Prophet. Now the breach between the orthodox Islam and Sufism had become complete. The theologians adhered to the letter of the law and the sufis sought the spirit.

It led a group of thinkers to reconcile the views of the theologians and the sufis, i.e. the Shari'at and the Tariqat. They pointed out that both the letter and the spirit were necessary. Junayd of Baghdad was the first celebrated sufi who advocated that the external path (Shari'at) and the internal meaning (Haqiqat) were the two aspects of religion which supplemented each other. He was followed by al-Qusharri (d. A.D. 1074) who tried to bridge the gulf in his treatise al-Risala al-Qushar-i-ya. Aba Talib al-Makki continued the task. Al-Muhasibi is the real representative of the school and the true forerunner of al-Ghazzali. But the gulf between Sufism and Islam continued to remain wide till al-Ghazzali reconciled the two.