CONCLUSION: A CRITICAL ANALYSIS:

Al-Dawwānī's social philosophy consists of the analysis of virtues, pseudo-virtues and vices, maintenance of mental health and administration of family and state. It deals with ethical ideals, domestic affairs and socio-political organization. His moral theory is, indeed, a prelude to his social philosophy. His primary concern with moral values gives an ethical foundation to his social system and renders it basically evaluative or normative in character. Since his interest is primarily evaluative, social philosophy has become for him almost a branch of ethic, i.e., his social philosophy is simply a matter of application of the general consideration of values to the questions raised by the social order.

Al-Dawwānī's moral theory gives the highest place to the activity of thought, the acquisition of knowledge and the contemplation of the spiritual realities, particularly God, inasmuch as these are the necessary conditions for doing right deeds or for the cultivation of virtues, in which lies the realization of a man's ultimate end, the summum bonum of his life. Following Ibn Miskawaih, Tūsī regards ultimate happiness (Sa'ādat-i quswa) as the summum bonum of man's life. His concept of ultimate happiness, because of its reference to the heavenly (qudsī) elements, is intrinsically different from the Aristotelian concept of happiness. Al-Dawwānī goes a step further and identifies the moral ideal with
the religious one. It is with reference to the vicegerency of God on earth that the Qurān distinguishes right from wrong, evaluates knowledge and defines power; therefore, the vicegerency of God (Khilāfat-i Ilāhī) and not the ultimate happiness should be the inspiring ideal of the "noblest of the creation." His moral theory, in other words, is based on the place or position of man in the universe as determined by God and not by man himself. Man alone is a free, responsible and, therefore, a moral creature; he has to maintain himself both personally as well as socially, physically as well as spiritually in such a fashion as to become a worthy vicegerent of God on this earth. This is thus the ultimate end of his creation. Mature wisdom (ḥikmat-i bālighah), which is the distinctive feature of humanity, is, according to Al-Dawwānī, royal road to this exalted position. But mature wisdom, being a happy blend of theory and practice, is essentially different from the Socratic dictum: knowledge is virtue.

In order to realise the end of the vicegerency of God, man, placing himself under the full control of mature wisdom, has to lead a virtuous life while truly following the principle of moderation and justice in all his individual acts, social transactions and mutual dealings. Influenced by the Quranic doctrine of moderation no less than by Aristotelian doctrine of the mean, al-Dawwānī holds that
the mean constitutes the good in all private and public matters. But it is determined not alone by "reason" and "prudence" as held by Aristotle, but by the divine law. Reason can at best determine the form of morality for all spheres of life, including social and political fields of activities. The contents of this morality are derived from the divine Code. Since the path of moderation is difficult to be trodden, Al-Dawwānī has identified it with the bridge over hell (pul Ṣirāṭ) - a bridge which is narrower than a hair and sharper than a sword. He, therefore, reminds every human being, whether he happens to be a common man or a head of state or a civil administrator, not to forget that he will be held responsible to God, if he deviates from the path of moderation in all his individual deeds, mutual dealings and social activities. Though man is created within time for a stated period, yet he has within himself a deep craving for eternity. Though finite and temporal, he does not and cannot rest content with that. The way is open for the finite and temporal man to attain the everlasting life. In all his actions a man must exercise complete control over his physical passions and lust, in order to attain to an eternal and everlasting life which is to come in the next world. Moral struggle presupposes that all dispositions (ṣulq), whether innate or acquired, are capable of modification and change. Constant instruction, discipline and punishment, as has
been proved by experience, can change the wicked into the virtuous. By these means the evil is partly reduced, if not completely eradicated. And since a person does not know beforehand that a particular evil disposition would resist all attempts at modification and reform, it is in consonance with the dictates of both reason and religion that he should exert his utmost for its modification. It is in view of this fact that al-Dawwānī discusses not only cardinal virtues and their sub-virtues, but also enumerates pseudo-virtues and vices and develops an attractive theory of the causes and cures of mental diseases in detail in order that people may be able to maintain their mental health which ultimately leads to the establishment of a healthy social organization at every level of associative life, viz., family and state. Morality in its nature is essentially, in his opinion, social and, therefore, cannot be confined, he maintains, within the bounds of individual life. Individual perfection is fundamentally bound up with, and ultimately leads to, the perfection of the family and of society at large.

Al-Dawwānī's views as regards the family life and domestic affairs are purely Eastern and patriarchal in nature. Family stands, in his opinion, for a particular relationship existing between husband and wife, parents and children, master and servant, and between wealth and
those who are wealthy. The aim of family life is to evolve an efficient system conducive to the physical, social, and mental welfare of this primary group, with father as its controlling head. The father's function is to maintain and restore the equipoise of the family, keeping the particular dispositions of its constituents in view and also giving due regard to requirements of situation.

Not gratification of lust, but preservation of race and protection of property are the basic aims of marriage. Intelligence, integrity, chastity, modesty, shrewdness, tenderness of heart, love, and above all obedience to husband are the qualities which ought to be sought in a wife. It is good, if she has the additional virtues of noble birth, wealth and beauty, but these are absolutely undesirable if are not accompanied with intelligence, modesty and chastity. Administrative expediency requires that the husband should be awe-inspiring. He ought to be, however, benevolent and magnanimous to his wife, but in the larger interest of home, he should avoid excessive affection, and should not confide secrets or discuss important matters with her. With regard to women, Al-Dawwâni approves of their seclusion and thinks that the use of the veil is not only necessary but is, in fact, a compliment paid to the women. He is not in favour of the modern concept of the equality of sexes and does not grant
equal freedom or liberty to the fair sex. The fundamental concern of a woman is to look after the affairs of the household within the bounds of home. He is, however, vehemently opposed to the practice of polygamy. Polygamy, in his opinion, is undesirable because it invariably upsets the whole domestic organization. He, however, reluctantly makes some relaxation for Kings because they are in a position to command unconditional obedience, but even for them it is desirable to avoid it as an act of prudence. Man is to the home as heart is to the body, and as one heart cannot give sustenance to two bodies, so one man cannot manage two homes at a time. So great is the sanctity of family life in al-Dawwânî's eyes that he even advises people to remain unmarried and to observe celibacy, if they are unfit to maintain family equilibrium.

With regard to children, it is recommended that they should be sent to school at an early age for their proper education and training. They should be made just in character through praise, reward, and benevolent censure. He is not in favour of frequent reproof and open censure, the former increases the temptation, and the latter leads to audacity. Their training in just and virtuous character also includes to learn the manners regarding dining, dressing, conversation, gesture, and the manner of moving in society. The children should be trained for a particular profession of their own liking. His views as regards the training of children in
various professions in accordance with their natural aptitudes and inclinations very closely resemble Bradley's famous dictum, "Man's station and his duties." With regard to the training of daughters, Al-Dawwānī closely follows the Eastern tradition. A girl should be trained, he says, specifically in domestic crafts to become good wives and mothers in the domestic set-up. Rigid seclusion, chastity, modesty and the like qualities are, in his view, necessary for a good wife as well as for a mother or sister. He is so rigid in his outlook towards girls that he recommends that they need not read or write and when grown up must be married early to suitable husbands. He does not, however, fix the age for marriage. It may range from puberty to any time possible for a girl's parents, who should take it as a duty to find a suitable match for her. Al-Dawwānī lays great stress on the observance of parental rights, as enjoined by Islam.

Wealth, property and worldly benefits are necessary, believes Al-Dawwānī, for achieving the basic needs of family. For its acquisition, he recommends the adoption of noble means and profession. According to him professions are qualitatively of three kinds: noble, mean and neutral. Statesmanship, calligraphy, medicine, engineering and the like pursuits are, in his opinion, noble professions. Monopoly of goods, witch-craft, gambling, barbering, street-sweeping etc., belong to the category of mean professions.
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He does not mention the types of profession which are neutral. He lays emphasis on lawful expenditure and investment of wealth and property. He is not opposed to saving money, rather he regards it as an act of prudence, provided it is not prompted by greed or miserliness, and does not cause hardship to the members of the family or endangers one's integrity and prestige in society. For a fair regulation of domestic affairs and proper management of family interests, he favours the institution of slavery and recommends the employment of servants. He, however, advocates that servants and slaves are to be accorded mild and benevolent treatment.

The Political philosophy of Al-Dawwani presupposes the presence of moral order in the universe which works without any favour not only in the case of individuals but also in the case of societies and nations. It is the demand of this moral order that men should develop a healthy social organization which follows the middle path and is founded on rectitude which avoids all extremes in accordance with the divine code of conduct, i.e., the Shariah of Islam. It is the primary duty of every morally-conscious person, who also happens to be a social being, to participate actively in the maintenance of social order based on peace, harmony and justice in which everybody is equal before the divinely revealed Law, and persons
in authority formulate their policies for the good of the people in the light of that divine Code of conduct. Al-Dawwānī, therefore, is vehemently opposed to the ascetic way of life. He brands ascetics not indeed as virtuous but intemperate persons.

With regard to the origin of society, al-Dawwānī follows the famous Aristotelian dictum that man by nature is a social being. Since this natural sociability is characteristically human, it logically follows that the perfection of man consists in evincing this characteristic fully towards his fellow beings. This gives rise to the institution of society and results in the advent of human civilization. He lays great stress on the role that love and affection significantly play in the formation, growth and development of human civilization. It is for this reason that Islam has emphasized, he maintains, the superiority of congregational prayers over those offered in isolation.

Human civilization signifies living together of men belonging to different professions for the purpose of helping one another in their needs. Wants greatly differ from man to man and the same is true of human motives. The diversity in needs and motives, leads to conflict of interest resulting in violence and injustice. Thus arises the need for government to keep every one content with his
rightful lot without infringing upon the legitimate rights of others. Administration of justice, therefore, is the chief concern of a government. There are three fundamental agencies which help ensure justice in society, i.e., the divine Law, a rightful government and currency or money. In modern terminology these agencies may be called "legislative", "executive" and "financial" respectively.

Al-Dawwānī thus favours the establishment of a theocratic state. The right form of government for mankind, according to him, is one in which the State relinquishes its claim for sovereignty in favour of God and, after recognizing the legal supremacy of God and His apostle, accepts the position of "imamate" (i.e., vicegerency). In this manner all the legislative, executive and judicial powers of the State will be circumscribed by the limits imposed by God and the prophet of Islam. The morally-oriented individual, characterised by perseverance, courage, fearlessness and trust in God - the moral qualities which are considered to be the characteristics of the righteous in social context - must hold the rein of the state administration in the capacity of a true vicegerant of God. Thus monarchy, for al-Dawwānī, is the ideal form of government. It is incumbent on the King or monarch to administer the State strictly in
accordance with the dictates of the divine code. He can, however, exercise royal discretion in minor details according to the exigencies of the situation, but this too should conform to the general principles of the divine law. Such King is the physician of the world's temper, and the shadow of God upon earth, in whom all his subjects must take refuge and be protected.

The government is qualitatively divided into righteous (i.e., perfect or ideal) and the unrighteous (i.e., imperfect or non-ideal). The best example of the righteous government is the rule of the prophet himself, in whom all virtues are perfected, the next is illustrated by the rule of the first four successors of the prophet; the third by that of a Prince who follows the Sunnah; and the fourth by the rule of a number of wise and pious persons. The first and foremost duty of a government is to consolidate the State by promoting amity and goodwill among her friends, and creating discord and dissension among her enemies. A government may be kept in harmony by promoting integrity and unity among the different classes of people, viz., the Savants, i.e., the wise men, the men of sword, i.e., warriors, or soldiers, businessmen, artisan etc; husbandmen, i.e., agriculturists, and other inferior classes. Between these different classes there should be mutual adjustment, the position
of each being fixed according to its merits and rights. The King is further urged to see that (i) his treasury is in a flourishing state, (ii) he extends kindness and protection to his subjects, and (iii) he is not overtaxing the poor people. This is exactly what a welfare state connotes in modern times.

Al-Dawwānī is not an advocate of the passive acceptance of evils. He believes in the deterrent theory of punishment. There are three repressive methods, in his opinion, of punishment, i.e., Confinement to one's residence, imprisonment and banishment or exile. Capital punishment is to be adopted as a last resort. Grant of pardon must not bar a fair exercise of punishment as regards the offences which injuriously affect the health of society and hamper the State administration, such as theft, adultery, robbery etc. Punishment in relation to the infringements of personal and private rights of the people may be or may not be barred by the grant of pardon.

Al-Dawwānī's social philosophy lays down certain principles of war ethics for the guidance of rulers. War should be avoided at all costs, even through diplomatic tricks, without resorting to perfidy. But if the conflict becomes inevitable, offensive measure should be taken only in the name of God and that too with the unanimous approval of the army. The army should be led by a man of dashing spirit, sound judgment, and experienced in warfare. Al-Dawwānī
also emphasizes the maintenance of an efficient secret service to have vigilence over the movements of enemy; for it is not desirable to take the enemy lightly, however ill-equipped he may be. Again, expediency demands that the enemy should, as far as possible, be taken prisoner rather than killed, and there should be no killing after the final victory, for clemency is most befitting for a King than vengeance.

Al-Dawwānī's social philosophy also contains discussion on offices and departments of administration, on the duties of friendship, on the manner of dealing with the different categories of the people and it is based on the Shariah of Islam.

Thus when we reflect upon Al-Dawwānī's social system as a whole, we find that in elaborating his social ideals he appears to have been influenced by diverse sources. The underlying spirit and metaphysical bases, apart from cosmology, of his social philosophy are purely Islamic. Though his cosmology essentially depicts Neo-Platonic influence as he explains the process of creation of the universe after the famous Neo-Platonic theory of Emanation, yet he is vehemently opposed to the doctrine of the Eternity of the world, its logical derivation. His conception of virtues and vices is a blend of Islam, platonism and Aristotelianism. In his doctrine of the
"mean" he seems to be greatly influenced by Aristotle, al-Ghazalî and the Quranic concept of the moderation. His views as regards the maintenance of mental health indicate indebtedness to Miskawaih, Naṣîr al-Dîn Tūsî and al-Ghazalî. In dealing with the problems of family and State he graciously accepts the authority of Al-Fârâbî and Ibn Sînâ who were greatly influenced by the Greeks. Moreover, the design of the supper-structure of Akhlaq-i Jalâlî, the principal source of his social philosophy, is strikingly similar to that of Akhlaqi-Nâṣîrî of Naṣîruddîn Tūsî.

But nothing can be farther from the truth than the assertion that Al-Dawwânî has only reproduced the thought of the Greek philosophers and the aforesaid Muslim Scholars in different language. As Aristotle has said so aptly, "there is nothing new under the Sun." One cannot create a system of thought of one's own as if its creation were a mechanical invention. The principles have always been and will always be the same. What determines the originality of an author, in a traditional civilization like that of Islam, is his ability to reinterpret and reformulate the eternal truths in a new light and thereby create a new intellectual perspective.

Viewed in this context Jalâl-al-Dîn Al-Dawwânî must
certainly be considered to be one of the most significant figures in the intellectual life of Islam. His originality lies in the adaptation of the views of the Muslim philosophers, especially of al-Fārābī, Ibn Sīnā, Niskawī and Tusi, to the traditional Muslim thought and at the same time of Platonic and Aristotelian ideas to Islamic environment. Though the form of his social philosophy is, to a great extent, Platonic and Aristotelian but its content is his own which he derives from the Qurān, and the Sunnah. The vicegerency of God (i.e., Khilafat-i 'Ilāhī) and not the ultimate happiness should be, in his opinion, the inspiring ideal of the noblest of the creations, that is, man. His conception of virtue, like those of all other Muslim Philosophers, is a combination of Platonism, Aristotelianism and Islam. So far as the form and denotation of the Cardinal virtues are concerned, they are purely Greek, but their contents, and connotations are mostly Islamic and based on the Qurān and the Sunnah. The virtue of courage as patient struggle for noble and pious ends, the expansion of the field of temperance, the extension of the ideal of justice to all humanity, the emphasis on the purity of motives and intentions, the performance of private as well as public acts for the pleasure of God, the conception of love inspired by sincere altruism and of friendship unstained by any selfish interest are not
at all Greek, they rather display the deep-rooted influence of Islam on his thought process. Similarly, for the Aristotelian doctrine of the mean, which he uses to explain virtues and vices, he seeks to provide, like Al-Hazālī, the authority of the Tradition of the Prophet who has, more often than not, called upon his followers to observe the principle of moderation in their pursuits, religious and secular, private and public, individual and social. His application of Aristotle's threefold division of justice to Islam and the Muslim community does not appear traditionally objectionable and foreign to Islamic beliefs and ideals. His advices as regards the maintenance of mental health are purely Islamic and are in perfect harmony with the social ideals of the Muslim society. He, indeed, quotes from Galen, Plato, Aristotle, al-Hazālī and others. But the system he formulates from so many diverse elements depicts a unity and consistency which is characteristically his own.

Al-Dawwānī's depiction of family life bears close affinities with truly Islamic ideal. Though it bears an apparent resemblance in its formal structure to the Aristotelian family-pattern, yet his descriptions of the qualities of a good wife, of the purpose and objective of marriage, of the upbringing of children, of the sources of income and manners of expenditure, of the parental and filial obligations, and of the treatment of the servants and slaves are truly Islamic in character. But his opposition to education and training of daughters, however, is un-Islamic, and cannot therefore, be justified. His vehement opposition to polygamy, too, is not in harmony with the
doctrine of Islam.

Again, his conception of the sovereignty of God expressed in the form of the supremacy of the Shari'ah reflects the traditional views of the jurists of Islam, and determines the exact nature of his socio-political system. His conception of love, friendship and brotherhood stands in close conformity with the Islamic way of life. His theory of society and state does contain certain elements of Platonic and Aristotelian legacy. But al-Dawwānī's conception of state basically differs from that of Plato and Aristotle. The state of Plato and Aristotle is only a city state, whereas al-Dawwānī's state is certainly more extensive and larger than the then Greek city states. Moreover, Plato wants to entrust the affairs of the state to a group of philosophers and names the organization aristocracy. Aristotle favours monarchy and seems to be inclined to aristocratic pattern of social organization. On the contrary, al-Dawwānī not only calls the Head of the state "Khālīfah" or "Imām", but identifies the organization with the ideal of "Khilāfah" (i.e., vicegerency) in Islam. He differs in this respect not only from Plato and Aristotle, but also makes a departure from the ideals held by Al-Ṭūsī and Al-Fārābī. He stands far aloof from the Farabian conception of the State, which is a strange combination of the Republic of Plato and the Shi'ite's dream of an infallible Imām. He does not attempt at
building a social pyramid whose lower rungs may be so arranged as to serve the purpose of the Rās al-Awwal (the supreme head of the State) as Al-Fārābī has tried to build up in his "madīnat al-Fāḍilah." Nor he agrees with the political system of Ṭūsī who was an excellent exponent of the Shi'ite faith of the 'Imām', not of that of Ismā'īlī-branch, but of the faith of those who believe in the "Twelve Imāms", commonly called the "Twelvers" (ithnā 'asharites).

We can clearly discern two parallel currents in the history of Muslim political thought. One is more closely related to the government of the Prophet and the early Caliphate. It aims to revive the pristine ideals. The other trend incorporates diverse elements stemming from Greek and Iranian sources. The former is represented by the four renowned schools of jurists (Hanafī, Malekī, Ḥanbalī, Shāfeʿī) and later by Ibn Taymiyah, Mawārdī and Al-Qhazālī. The latter has as its representative in Al-Fārābī, Ibn Sīnā, Ibn Rushd, Ṭūsī and others. In spite of being a student of philosophy, Al-Dawwānī's views as regards the state and the political authority are akin to those of the former group. Like Ibn Taymiyah, Mawārdī and Al-Qhazālī, he is chiefly interested in the rule of the divine law (Siyāsah Sharī'ah). It is Al-Dawwānī's firm belief in the Shari'ah of Islam that has
great influence upon the later Sunni jurists. It is his theory of "Khalīfa" and "Imām" which underlies in the Ottoman and Mughal empires, as Sir Hamilton Gibb asserts.

Al-Dawānī's social system may not sound convincing to a student of modern social philosophy. It may appear to him to some extent antique, purely normative and teleological and mostly concerned with otherworldly life. His approach towards the basic problems of social philosophy, though apparently highly synthetic in spirit, yet is fundamentally metaphysical. His view that the problem of human ideals and values can be intelligible only when they are studied in a wider perspective of the nature and destiny of man, the place he occupies in the total scheme of the universe, and the relationship that obtains between him and God - is most fundamental to the understanding of his social norms. The central concern of social philosophy, in his opinion, is the moral evaluation of social process and institutions in the light of some basic metaphysical considerations. The approach of modern philosophy, on the contrary, towards social process and institutions is mostly critical or analytic. Philosophers, today, strive to achieve clarity about the meaning of the basic concepts like society and State, power and authority, law and rights, political obligation, justice and like terms, and of logical patterns relating to them that are central
to the understanding of all social phenomena. They seem to be interested mainly in the methods of enquiry and the analysis of concepts as they are, instead of as they ought to be. The modern social philosophy is, therefore, to a great extent neutral towards value, and is directed rather towards seeking clarification of the justifications and arguments that are advanced in favour of social structure and functions.

In spite of this marked difference as regards the method of approach, the basic concerns of al-Dawwānī's social system and those of the modern social philosophy are strikingly the same. The understanding of the relation of man and society, of the nature of associative life, of the problems of power and authority of the state, of social control through law and rights, of the problems of political obligation, and of the ideal of justice, is as much a concern of al-Dawwānī as that of the modern social philosophy. His emphasis on rule of law and his conception of law which is a "tool of social engineering" - are quite significant and modern in spirit. The only difference is that modern social philosophy assigns this function to the man-made law, whereas al-Dawwānī wants to construct the edifice of a healthy society strictly in accordance with the divinely revealed law.
"There can be no ideal society', says Mackenzie, 'without ideal men: and for the production of these we require not only insight, but a motive power; fire as well as light. Perhaps a philosophic understanding of our problems is not even the chief want of our time. We want prophets as well as teachers... Perhaps we want a new Christ - we want at least an accession of Christ's spirit - the spirit of self-devotion to ideal ends - applying itself persistently in all the departments of life, and in the midst of all the complexities of our modern civilization. Al-Dawwâni's social system tries to inculcate this spirit of prophetic understanding as it views the social process and institutions in the light of a system of values in which "all noble thought, all noble passions, all noble delights" may receive their highest development and perfection.