CHAPTER II

PERIOD OF IBN TUFAYL

I. Significance of the Environment.

The philosophy of an individual does not grow in a vacuum. It is organically related to his environment. The environment influences the philosopher in many ways. He imbibes the aims, ideals, and aspirations of his society. He often gives expression to the unconscious yearnings of his times. And above all, he faces the challenge of his age and tackles the unsolved problems of his society. Consider for a moment the Advaita Vedantism of Shankara\(^1\) or Philosophy of Illumination of Suhrawardi\(^2\) Maqtul. Is it conceivable that these philosophies should have originated anywhere except the places of their birth? Even the self-taught, solitary philosopher of Ibn Tufayl, 'Hayy Ibn Yaqzan' is not free from the influences of the society. He is represented to be completely isolated from the society. But is he really so? He is a creature of Ibn Tufayl's mind, and as such shares in his experiences, breathes in and takes inspiration from his environment. 'Hayy Ibn Yaqzan' would not have been what he is, had Ibn Tufayl lived in any other country.
or in any other period of history. So, for true understanding and appreciation of the philosophy of 'Hayy Ibn Yaqzan', which in fact is the philosophy of Ibn Tufayl himself, we must make a review of the period of Ibn Tufayl, and study the main trends and characteristics of the period.

To get the true historical perspective, we have to pick up the thread of narration a bit earlier. We have to begin with the Muslim rule in North Africa, which would supply the necessary background to Ibn Tufayl's period.

II. THE MUSLIM RULE IN NORTH AFRICA

The Berbers

Before 'Arab invasion, North Africa, west of the Nile valley, was occupied by the Berbers. These Berbers were an old race and had inhabited the land from the time of the earliest Pharaohs of Egypt. They were hardy and brave people like the desert men of 'Arabia. Their language also bore close affinities with semitic
languages. This has led some writers to infer that the 'Arabs and the Berbers were perhaps derived from the same common stock - the neolithic race. The two wings of the race, the eastern and the western were segregated from one another and developed their peculiar characteristics. The Berbers were very conservative people and, despite of their passing contacts with different civilizations, they had retained much of their original character.

The 'Arab conquest of north Africa in 665 A.D. brought the two wings together - one infused with the dynamic force of Islam, and the other retaining the unsophisticated culture and vitality of an old race. At the time of the 'Arab invasion the Berbers were under the nominal control of the Byzantine Empire. So the 'Arabs had to face the Greek army which they easily defeated. But after the conquest, when they tried to settle down in the country, the interaction between the 'Arabs and the Berbers was inevitable. At first, there were revolts and conflicts. Some new Berber states came into being as a defence against the 'Arab rule. But gradually their resistance gave way and they began to embrace Islam in large numbers.
When an unsophisticated social group is converted to a new faith we usually find two important phenomena. In the first place, the new faith gives them an enthusiasm and orthodoxy which moulds their lives into a rigid discipline. Secondly, some of the old ideas and practices still survive but they are given a new complexion and orientation in the light of the new beliefs. The same happened to the Berbers after their conversion to Islam. Two characteristics were most prominently exhibited by them — a very orthodox and puritan attitude towards religion, and a superstitious reverence for saints. This attitude of reverence made them absolutely submissive to their leaders who appeared before them as saints or religious reformers. The very term 'Murābiţ' lends support to our statement. It is commonly used for saints in Morocco. But it literally means "those who serve in frontier forts or Ribāţ." The two apparently divergent meanings of the term are explained by the fact that the soldiers and officers who served in those forts used to be a strange combination of military valour and religious piety.

O'Leary mentions another interesting trait of the Berbers that they offered refuge and welcome to every lost cause of Islam, so that every heretical sect and
every defeated dynasty made its last stand there.\textsuperscript{6} He attributes this fact to their dissatisfaction and aversion against the 'Arab rulers. But this explanation seems to be unconvincing. Had there been any real hostility or aversion against the 'Arabs it would have expressed itself against Islam. The case of Persia provides a clear illustration of this truth. Reaction against the 'Arabs led them to hate everything connected with the 'Arabs, and gave rise to a movement of revivalism - taking pride in everything belonging to pre-Islamic Persia. This attitude has been most forcefully expressed by Firdausi,\textsuperscript{7} in his \textit{Shahnâma}, in the reply of the Persian king Yazdgurd to the 'Arab messenger.\textsuperscript{8}

But the case of the Berbers is different. Their devotion to Islam is beyond question. They were staunch supporters of the cause of Islam, as they understood it. It was their zeal for Islam, combined with their credulous and dynamic character that made them give shelter to the new movements and new sects of Islam. Whenever any leader worked on their religious sentiments and appealed to them in the name of Islam their response was direct and uninhibited.

There were occasional frictions and jealousies also between the 'Arabs and the Berbers but when they
combined in a concerted action against their common foes they became irresistible. The conquest of Spain in early 8th century A.D. was the work of the joint army of the 'Arabs and the Berbers. Thus Andalusia became a district attached to the kingdom of Ifrikiya. 

The next few centuries witnessed further interaction between the 'Arabs and the Berbers, both at the cultural and the political levels. Sometimes, due to petty conflicts and tribal jealousies, a number of small states sprang up. Sometimes, the powerful hand of a reformer or a dynamic leader united them into a single power. The names of Yusuf b. Tashfīn and Ibn Tumart furnish conspicuous illustrations of such dynamic leadership.

With this brief introduction let us now proceed to consider various Muslim dynasties that ruled over Spain. The first important dynasty were the Umayyads of Spain.

III. The Umayyads of Spain

After the fall of the Umayyads in Syria (750 A.D.), an ambitious member of the dynasty, 'Abd al-Rahmān
(731 - 788 A.D.) ibn Mu'āwiya b. Hishām came to Spain and, with his courage and military genius, established his independent power in Spain, with its seat of government at Cordova. It reached its zenith under 'Abd al-Rahmān III (912 - 961 A.D.), who was first to declare himself as an independent Caliph. 'Abd al-Rahmān III was succeeded by his son Al-Hakam II (961 - 976 A.D.). For sometime the Umayyads ruled Spain with remarkable vigour and magnificence. Their rule was characterized by great progress and prosperity. But with the lapse of time the dynasty had spent up its force and vitality. The wealth, prosperity and luxury undermined the sturdiness of the 'Arab character. Internal conflicts and factions weakened their power. The whole of Andalusia was split up into a number of independent principalities. The Christian powers took advantage of the situation and their frequent attacks added to the confusion and anarchy that was already prevailing. At last, Mu'tamid, the king of Seville, along with other Muslim princes, made a joint appeal to the king of Morocco, Yūsuf b. Tāshfīn, to defend them against the tide of Christian conquests. Yūsuf came to their rescue but, finding them too weak to stand on their own legs, established his own power in Spain. Thus the glorious dynasty of the Umayyads of Spain
came to an end. They were succeeded by the Murābiṭs whom we shall consider in another section.

IV. CHARACTERISTICS OF THE UMAYYAD PERIOD

The Umayyad rule in Spain lasted for more than 250 years. It was a period marked by "highest material and intellectual civilization." The Umayyad rulers were very refined and cultured men. They exhibited most of those characteristics which were found among their counterparts in Asia, at the time of their zenith. They were brave, tolerant, and great patrons of Art and learning. They patronized literary arts and poetry and employed Greek artists and architects. They also appointed Christians and Jews on high posts. With all this liberal attitude they were firm in their religious faith. Through pilgrimages they kept contact with the East and looked towards their brethren in the East for guidance in religious matters. They accepted the Qurʾān, the hadith and the Islamic jurisprudence as it was being developed in the East.

It is true, they did not show much taste for philosophy. They did not take any interest in Greek learning and Greek philosophy. The period did not produce
any great philosopher amongst the Muslims. But it was not due to any official ban on philosophy. Several other factors were responsible for it. In the first place, the rigid orthodoxy of the period was the main reason. The Spanish Muslims were mainly interested in the study of the Qur'an, the traditions of the Prophet, and the canon law. The masses looked at philosophy with suspicion. The rigid orthodoxy and conservatism of the period are reflected in the works of the famous theologian, Ibn Hazm. He was an adherent of the school of Dā'ūd-az-Zāhiri in canon law. He believed in taking the Qur'an and the traditions of the Prophet in the strictest and most literal sense, and rejected the principles of analogy and taqlīd altogether. He recommended that every man should study the Qur'an and the traditions for himself. In theology he was opposed to anthropomorphism and subscribed to the 'Asharite doctrine of Mukhālafā - the doctrine that emphasizes the difference of God from all created things, so that no human attributes can be applied to God in the same sense. Ibn Hazm was a great scholar and a sharp controvertialist. He criticized the schools of the 'Asharites and the Mūtazilites both. He had earned great fame during his own life time. According to the statement of Dozy he was "the most learned man of his age" and "the most fertile writer that Spain
has produced." But D.B. Macdonald calls him "an impossible man" belonging to "an impossible school" and "a hopeless crank." One finds it difficult to reconcile these two divergent opinions with one another. We should not, however, forget that Ibn Hazm belonged to another age and we should not judge him by our modern standards. Ibn Hazm was very much the product of his age and with all his learning and scholarship he represented his age in its orthodoxy as well. It was this orthodoxy of the period that did not permit open reception to philosophy among the Muslims. Ibn Masarrah of Cordova was the only exception. But he too had to suffer his writings being consigned to flames. Moreover, finding the city-life uncongenial to his philosophical temperament, he had to retire with his pupils to the solitude of the mountains, and for this reason he was called al-Jabali (the man of mountains). This state of affairs was not due to the narrow-mindedness of the rulers. Some of the Umayyad Caliphs were great scholars. With regard to Hakam Dozy is of the opinion that "so learned a prince had never reigned in Spain." The same author tells us further that Hakam used to have his agents at Cairo, Baghdad, Damascus, etc., who copied or bought for him ancient and modern manuscripts at any costs. The catalogue of the library of the Caliph occupied fortyfour volumes and all these volumes had been read
by Hakam, and most of them had been annotated by him. Often, the books composed in Persia and Syria reached him through his agents before they were read by the scholars in the East. The University of Cordova, which was patronized and maintained by Hakam, was the most renowned Institution in the world at that time. It attracted students, Christians, Jews and Muslims, not only from Spain but also from various parts of Europe, Africa and Asia. Compare with this picture the picture of Spain that we get during the days of Ibn Abī 'Amir. When Ibn Abī 'Amir ascended to power and became the minister, he summoned the distinguished divines of his time to the Library of Hakam and asked them to destroy all the books on Philosophy, Astronomy and other sciences that were obnoxious in their opinion. And this he did just to win the orthodox public opinion on his side, although he was himself a learned scholar inclined to philosophy. He promoted 'Arab culture and civilization in Spain and encouraged the development of various sciences. Historians, scholars and poets used to accompany him on his expeditions and Abī 'Amir used to attend their discussions and discourses. He himself was a distinguished poet and had written a valuable work on "Arabic Literature." He was even inclined to philosophy and patronized philosophers. But he earned the displeasure of 'Ulema and Fugaha on
account of his unscrupulous means in gaining power. He got his name included in the Khutbah along with that of the Caliph and ultimately assumed the title of al-Mansur billah. There was a plot to assassinate him. It did not succeed but Ibn Abi 'Amir got the warning and realized the popular feeling and the resentment of the religious class against him. So, to win them over to his side, he got the secular books of al-Ḥakam's Library burnt under his orders.

There was such a hold of religion on Spanish Muslims that parties contesting for political power often used to seek verdict (fetwa) from theologians in support of their claims and actions. An interesting illustration is to be found in the fetwa issued by several theologians urging on Yusuf b. Ṭaḥṣīn to intervene in the affairs of Andalusia. Similar fetwas used to be issued by theologians condemning certain books that were not to their taste. When Al-Ghazālī's book "احباب العلوم الدين " reached Spain the Qādir of Cordova, Ibn Ḥamdīn declared that any man who read Al-Ghazālī's book was an infidel ripe for damnation.

In short, we find two conflicting trends in Spain of the Umayyad period. On the one hand, there was great
patronage of learning on the part of the rulers who were themselves great scholars; on the other hand, the masses were extremely orthodox in matters of religion, and the religious scholars and theologians had great hold on them. So the rulers were often obliged to seek their favour by persecuting the philosophers and the so-called free thinkers.

V. THE MURĀBITS

We have seen how Yusuf b.Tāshfīn, the king of Morocco, came to help the declining Muslim states of Spain and finally established his power. Yusuf b.Tāshfīn was the 1st ruler of the Murābit dynasty in Spain.

The term Murābit, as mentioned before, was used for saints in Morocco. Its application was extended to the rulers of the dynasty27 that we are considering now, as they were staunchly religious people and represented a movement of religious revival which had also brought political unity and power in its wake. Yahya b.Ibrāhīm of the clan of Jidāla, a branch of great Berber tribe of Latuna, was the leader of this new movement.28 He went on
a pilgrimage to Mecca in 1036 A.D. On his return journey he stopped at Qairawan.²⁹

There he attended the lectures of Abū 'Imrān.³⁰ His earnestness and zest for the knowledge of the teachings of Islam impressed his teacher very much. On the other hand, the lectures of the pious 'Arab scholar kindled in his heart a burning desire to devote his life to preach true Islam to the uncultured and fierce members of his tribe. He brought with him a fellow pupil of Abū 'Imrān, named 'Abd Allāh b. Yāsīn, to help him in his mission. Thus Yahyā started a movement of religious revival among the Berbers of the West and, uniting the neighbouring Berber tribes, laid the foundation of a united kingdom under the rule of the Murābiṭs. His work was continued by his successor, Yūsuf b. Tāshfīn and ultimately a powerful kingdom was established extending from Mediterranean Coast to the Sanegal. Yūsuf b. Tāshfīn was invited by the declining Muslim states of Spain to come to their rescue against the Christian invaders. At first, Yūsuf b. Tāshfīn went to Spain, inflicted crushing defeat on the Christians, and came back to his country. But the Muslims, menaced by Christians, invited him again. The fact was that they were too much disunited and weak to defend themselves. Yūsuf again went to Spain but this
time he stayed on and annexed Spain to his power. But it is interesting to note that before liquidating these petty Muslim states he wrote to Al-Ghazālī for his opinion. Al-Ghazālī, in consultation with another great theologian, Abū Bakr Tartushī, advised Yusuf to proceed to execute the Divine decree on those states, and to govern with justice.  

Now Spain became a province attached to the Murābit kingdom. Yusuf b. Tāshfīn was succeeded by 'Alī who was equally brave and competent. He defeated the Christians and curbed their power to a large extent. But the conquest of Spain had brought with it wealth, power and luxury which gradually corrupted the dynasty and, according to the eternal law of change, the Murābit dynasty had to yield its place to the Muwahhids or the Unitarians.

But before proceeding further let us throw a glance at the characteristics of the Murābit rule.

VI.  
Characteristics of the Murābit rule:

O'Leary characterizes the Murābit rulers as "rough, uncouth and fanatical men, only partially humanized by Islam." No doubt, they combined the dynamic qualities
of the Berbers with great zeal for Islam. The burning of Al-Ghazālī's books by 'Ali b. Tashfin[^33] may be quoted as a conspicuous illustration of their extreme orthodoxy. But keeping in view the character of that society, it was not something extra-ordinary in those days. No doubt, the Murābiṭ kings were highly religious and orthodox. But the masses were even more orthodox and fanatical in their religious outlook. Moreover, the structure of Islamic society was in essence, though not in form, democratic. Any common man, who commanded the respect and devotion of the masses, could become their Amir by overthrowing the king. The allegation of indifference or disrespect to religion was the most serious charge that would justify dethroning of any ruler. So the rulers had to respect the religious sentiments of the masses and had to bow before their verdict in such matters. The masses were often misled by fanatics who, sometimes with ulterior motives, exploited the situation. There are several instances recorded by historians which bear out the fact of rulers' regard for the sentiments of the public. The indulgence shown by Amīr Yahyā and others to the rude and often insulting behaviour of Ibn Tumart in the beginning of his career is just one instance out of so many. Even the Muwahhid Caliphs of Spain, who were distinguished for their learning and knowledge of philosophy, had to sin
against philosophy by persecuting a philosopher like Ibn Roshd. So in our opinion the charge of being 'rough, uncouth and fanatical' against the Murābiṭ rulers does not seem to be fully justified. Its untenability becomes more obvious when we find that the Western philosophy had its first beginnings in this period. It was through the medium of the Jews that the Muslim philosophy of Asia was transmitted to Spain. The Jews of Spain had adopted 'Arabic as their language. They were on cordial relations with the Muslims and often occupied high posts at the court and in the civil service, during the reign of the Umayyads. Even the Murābiṭs did not take any oppressive measures against Christians or Jews as such.

The first Spanish Muslim philosopher, Abū Bakr Ibn Bājja (d. 1138 A.D.) flourished under the Murābiṭ rule. Abū Bakr Ibn Ibrāhīm, brother-in-law of the Murābiṭ Prince 'Ali, who was the Governor of Saragossa, patronized Ibn Bājja and appointed him as his chief Minister. After the fall of Saragossa he went to Seville (1118 A.D.) where he peacefully engaged himself in composing his works. From Seville he went to the Murābiṭ court at Fez and remained there till his death in 1138 A.D.
VII.

THE MUWAHHIDS

We have so far had a bird's eye view of Spain under the Umayyads and the Murābits. The Murābits were succeeded by the Muwahhids or Almohades as they were called in Spanish language. It is this period which is our main concern, as Ibn Tufayl belonged to this period.

The Muwahhids, like the Murābits, were of Berber origin. They too were connected with a movement of religious revival, started by Ibn Tumart. The very name of the dynasty 'Muwahhids' meaning Unitarians, suggests a religious connotation. The dynasty derived its name from the founder, Ibn Tumart, who used to call himself Al-Muwahhid.\(^\text{36}\)

Ibn Tumart (1073-1130 A.D.),\(^\text{37}\) the founder of the dynasty, is a most interesting figure. O'Leary describes him as "a strange combination of fanatic and scholastic."\(^\text{38}\) No doubt, he was a learned scholar, imbued with a religious zeal for reform. He wrote a number of books including one on Tawhīd and the other "Kanz al-'Ulūm" dealing with religious philosophy.\(^\text{39}\) He was a man of firm determination who minded no risks and shirked no obstacles in
seeking his goal. He, like all great leaders and reformers, understood the psychology of men around him, particularly the masses, and inspired them with awe and reverence. He was an ambitious man too. Even when his condition was no better than that of an ordinary mendicant, he used to dream of kingdoms and thrones. A man with such strange traits could be either a lunatic (of the paranoid type) or an inspired person. But the lunatics do not found kingdoms and do not revolutionize societies. However, let us have some more details about his career.

Ibn Tumart was a native of Morocco. His real name, according to Ibn Khaldūn, was Amghār, which in Berber means 'Chief'. Ibn Tumart, in the same language, means son of "Omar the little". He had derived this name from his father who was known by the name of Tumart. His full name, however, was Abū 'Abdullah M. Ibn Tumart. He was a descendent of 'Alī, the 4th Caliph of Islam and the son-in-law of the Prophet. He also claimed to be a Mahdī. According to certain traditions of the Prophet, a Mahdī (the rightly guided one) will come to the rescue of Islam when it is faced with a crisis. Some critics have doubted the authenticity of this tradition. However, the concept has been a source of inspiration to many and there have been several claimants of the title of Mahdī in the
history of Islam. The Shi'ite sect attaches a particular significance to the concept. According to them, Mahdī is the name of the twelfth Infallible Imam who has already been born and will make his appearance at the proper time. This has led O'Leary (p. 246) to suppose that Ibn Tumart introduced shi'ite ideas into Morocco. But, as we have said earlier, the concept of Mahdī has no exclusive connection with the Shi'ite doctrines. The religious doctrines of Al-Muwahhidīs give a lie to it. Moreover, the fact that Ibn Tumart was a pupil of Al-Ghazālī and a follower of Ibn ʿUṣāf and Dāʿūd az-Zāhirī clearly indicates that he could not be a shi'ite.

Ibn Tumart was a follower of Ibn ʿUṣāf in canon law. This explains the rigid orthodoxy of his views. There is also great resemblance between several doctrines of his sect and those of Ibn ʿUṣāf.

Ibn Tumart made extensive travels in Asia and went on pilgrimage to Mecca. During these travels he came under the influence of Al-Ghazālī. It is said that he met Al-Ghazālī at Damascus and shared his retreat, for some time, in the mosque of the Umayyads. Then, on his second visit to Syria he attended the lectures of Al-Ghazālī at the Niẓāmiyya, in Baghdad. An interesting
episode of this period has been recorded by some writers. One day, when Al-Ghazālī was taking his class, the news reached him that the Murābiṭ king, 'Ali bin Tashfīn, had ordered his books to be destroyed. This enraged Al-Ghazālī and he foretold that his (i.e. 'Ali's) power would be destroyed and overthrown by one who was present in his audience. This seems to have given Ibn Tumart new hope and enthusiasm. He longed and prayed to God that he may be chosen to fulfil this mission. We are not concerned with the super-natural aspect of this version, but it gives support to the fact of Ibn Tumart's meeting with Al-Ghazālī, and his being a pupil of Al-Ghazālī. Rene Basset, however, holds the view that Ibn Tumart and Al-Ghazālī had never met. We do not find sufficient grounds to doubt the evidence of two earlier historians - Al-Marrakushi and Subkī. Moreover, the fact that Ibn Tumart shows deep influence of Al-Ghazālī in his life and work reinforces our presumption. As D.B. Macdonald points out, Ibn Tumart worked for the same revival of faith and religious life in the West which Al-Ghazālī aimed at in the East. Further, it was he who was responsible for introducing the orthodox scholasticism of Al-Ghazālī to the West.
Ediogn Hole represents Ibn Tumart as a clever and deceitful man, and tells us that once he entered into a plot with a man named Wansherishi. Wansherishi, for some time, posed as a silly and idiotic fellow. Then one day he came forward with a learned discourse on the Qur'an and connected subjects. This change he explained by telling the people that an angel had washed his heart and filled it with gnosis. According to Hole, this 'miracle' was brought about to give support to the waning influence of Ibn Tumart. But this estimate is in flat contradiction with other reports about his character. Margaret Smith tells us that since a very young age he was renowned for his piety. Moreover, his ascetic life and orthodoxy cannot be reconciled with the above-mentioned charge. The fact seems to be that very often superstitious stories gather round such spiritual leaders. Some such story seems to have been interpreted by Hole as the deceitful working out of a miracle by Ibn Tumart.

Ibn Tumart showed great zeal for and

There are several episodes of his life telling us how he was put to great troubles on account of this habit. At Mecca he was roughly treated for his blunt attempts at
reform. His cynical ways and puritanical criticism of people made him unpopular in Egypt. Once, on a sea voyage, he tried to force his reforms on the crew. They were unsporting enough to throw him into the sea, but, fearing some spiritual consequences of their profanity, they took him back into the ship. At Mahdiya he was staying in a wayside mosque. As the mosque was situated on a thoroughfare all sorts of people used to pass that way. This gave Ibn Tumart ample opportunities for the exercise of his mission. Whenever a man with a musical instrument or a jar of wine passed before him he would pounce upon him and smash the offensive article. This won him many enemies among the rich but the masses held him in great esteem. When the complaints against his high-handedness reached Amīr Yaḥyā he did not consider it wise to take any action against Ibn Tumart. So the Amīr called him, showed all respect to him and politely asked him to leave that place. He moved to Bijaiya in Algeria but was soon forced to leave that place too. His next refuge was Mellala. It was here that he met a young man of Berber origin, named 'Abd al-Mumin who was proceeding to the East, in search of knowledge. Ibn Tumart's superior insight told him that he was the right man for carrying out his mission. He invited him to work for his mission, promising honour and greatness of both the
worlds as a reward. The youth agreed and from that time onward the two worked together.\textsuperscript{53}

It was the time when the Murābiṭ dynasty had lost its original puritanism. Luxury and wealth had undermined their vitality. The royal family of Morocco often indulged in practices which did not fully conform to Islamic law. This gave Ibn Tumart an opportunity of making himself unwelcome to the Amīr. But he had won such prestige and reverence among the masses that even the Amīr hesitated to do him any harm. One day, Ibn Tumart forced his way through the guards and took his seat upon the throne that was laid to receive the Amīr. Neither the Amīr, nor the guards had the courage to interfere with him in public. However, he was privately asked to leave the city. Ibn Tumart moved to Fez but after sometime returned to Morocco. This time he had a more serious adventure. Sūra, the sister of the Amīr 'Alī, was in the habit of riding in public without a veil. Ibn Tumart saw her one day in that unconventional state, pulled her off the horse and showered abuses at her for her deviating from the established custom. He even went so far as to insult and rebuke the Amīr in the mosque.\textsuperscript{54} This was an open clash with the royal family. He thought it wise to escape to
Tinamel and there raised the banner of revolt against the Murābīṭs. Ibn Tumart could not live to see the successful termination of this rebellion. He was killed in a battle. But his pupil and successor 'Abd al-Mumin succeeded in translating his dreams into reality, by siezing the whole empire of the Murābīṭs. Thus came into power the new dynasty of the Muwaḥhidūn. Their rule lasted from 1146 to 1268 A.D.

We have traced the life history of Ibn Tumart at some length because it was his character and personality that determined, to a large extent, the character of the dynasty. 'Abd al-Mumin (1130 - 1163 A.D.) who succeeded Ibn Tumart was a product of his teachings and an embodiment of his aspirations and ideals. His rule lasted for 33 years, from 1130 to 1163 A.D. Most of his time, however, was spent in brilliant campaigns, wresting power from the states into which the Murābīṭ power was split up. He was succeeded by his son Abū Yūsuf (1163 - 1184 A.D.). Abū Ya'qūb Yūsuf inherited from his father a vast empire, spreading over North Africa (from Atlantic coast to Egypt) and including a large part of southern Spain. The Murābīṭ rulers owed nominal allegiance to the Eastern Caliphs, but Abū Ya'qūb Yūsuf assumed independent
power under the title of the Commander of the Faithful. He had inherited all the good qualities of his brave father, of which he gave a good account in many battles against the Christian powers that were trying to menace Muslim Spain from time to time.

In 1184 A.D. he made preparations for a decisive battle against the Christians. He laid the siege of Santarem and sent a formidable fleet to attack Lisbon. But his plans could not materialize, as he was wounded at the siege of Santarem, and a month later died on his way back to Seville. His body was taken to Tinamel in North Africa and was buried by the side of 'Abd al-Mumin and Ibn Tumart.

He was succeeded by his son, Abū Yūsuf al-Mansūr (1184 – 1199 A.D.) who was a brave soldier and a patron of learning and philosophy like his father. The period of Abū Ya'qūb Yūsuf and Abū Yūsuf al-Mansūr was the golden age of Spain from the point of view of philosophical development. Our philosopher Ibn Ṭufayl, and Ibn Roshd belonged to this period and their careers were connected with the courts of these two patrons of learning. But it was their private and personal hobby to encourage
philosophy and to participate in philosophical discussions. Their public administration was strictly based on the Qur'an and the Shari'a. The Muwahhid rule lasted for about a century and a half. The Christian attacks and internal dissensions soon completed their downfall. With the fall of Morocco in 1269 A.D. the dynasty came to its final end.

VIII.
CHARACTERISTICS OF THE MUWAHHID RULE:

In dealing with the life history of Ibn Tumart we have already anticipated several characteristics of the rule of the Muwahhid dynasty. The dynasty was of Berber origin, and so its rulers showed all those dynamic qualities which characterized the Berber race. They were deeply religious also, like the early Murābiṭs. They too were the products of a religious revival and their personalities carried on them the stamp of the most dynamic figure of the leader of the movement viz. Ibn Tumart. Their rule was consciously based on a religious doctrine which demanded, a pure conception of Tawhīd (Unity of God) purged of all anthropomorphic elements, and strict conformity to the Qur'anic principles and the traditions of the Prophet. They based the
Muhammadan Law on these and not on limited human reasoning. These principles were laid down by Ibn Tumart and they clearly revealed the influence of Ibn Hazm and Da'ūd az-Zāhiri on his religious doctrines. Ibn Tumart had also been a pupil of Al-Ghazālī and his followers also showed some influence of Al-Ghazālī's philosophy and his orthodox religious outlook.

As we have seen before, some of these Muwahhid rulers were great patrons of learning and philosophy and some of them were great scholars themselves. The two traits of their personality — their orthodoxy and love of learning and philosophy — had found a compromise. In their private capacity they enjoyed the company of philosophers, presided over their discussions and took delight in philosophical speculation. But discharging their duties as the Heads of a Muslim state they did not want to budge an inch from the orthodox way. This, however, did not prevent them from appointing philosophers on high positions, showering favours on them, and consulting them in all important matters. The philosophers themselves had accepted the situation willingly or unwillingly. They were content with the position that philosophy is the privilege of the chosen few. They
enjoyed perfect freedom to speculate. But the masses were not to be initiated into its secrets, and their simple faith and discipline was not to be disturbed.

The favours and prestige enjoyed by Ibn Ṭufayl at the court of Abū Ya'qūb of Spain are a clear indication of the philosophical interests of the Muwahhid Caliphs. The facts about the first interview of Ibn Roshd with the Caliph, Abū Ya'qūb Yūsuf, as given by 'Abd al-Wāhid al-Marrākushi,\(^{57}\) throw great light on the scholarship and philosophical attainments of the Caliph. When Ibn Ṭufayl introduced Ibn Roshd to the Caliph, the first question that the Caliph put to Ibn Roshd, after the preliminary formalities, was, "What is the nature of Heavens according to the philosophers? Do they take it to be eternal or created?" Ibn Roshd was a little embarassed at this question. He feared lest his reply should go against the susceptibilities and the bias of the Caliph. Then the Caliph, addressing Ibn Ṭufayl, began to discuss the question himself. First he mentioned the views of Plato, Aristotle and other philosophers and then stated the criticism put forward by Muslim philosophers against these views. He showed such depth of knowledge and mastery of details that surprized Ibn Roshd.
Ibn Roshd, encouraged by this gesture of the Caliph, also participated in the discussion. The Caliph was impressed by Ibn Roshd and gave him a robe of honour and a horse. From that time onward, Ibn Roshd also enjoyed the favours and the patronage of the Muwahhid Caliph. But when the frank and bold expression of his philosophical views came in clash with their religious policy the Caliph, Abū Yusuf al-Mansūr did not hesitate to dethrone him from his place of honour.⁵⁸

These two trends seem to characterize the whole history of Muslim rule in Spain. The patronage of philosophy and religious orthodoxy coexisted. The rulers generally were much fond of philosophy but at the same time they were very strict and firm in their religious faith and administrative policy. Even when some of them were not so strict the regard for public sentiments forced them to curb the freedom of philosophers. The masses in Spain mostly consisted of the Berbers and the 'Arabs. They were unsophisticated people of simple faith and looked at philosophy and the philosophers with suspicion. The philosophers who occupied high positions because of their talents, had often their enemies and rivals among the influential class. These men often exploited the
public sentiments and made them demand the downfall of a certain philosopher or philosophers. And the rulers had often to bow before the verdict of public opinion.

It was this socio-cultural or religio-political environment in which Ibn Ṭufayl lived and compiled his work, 'Hayy Ibn Yaqẓān'. With this background in view, it is not difficult to guess why he chose the form of a story for the expression of his views. It also explains his extreme caution and moderation in handling the delicate problems of philosophy. The problem of the relation of Religion to Philosophy was the most thorny problem of the period, which offered a challenge to the philosopher. Ibn Ṭufayl accepted the challenge and offered a solution of that problem, which perhaps moulded the policy of the government and influenced the subsequent philosophical thought as well, as we shall discuss in our last chapter.

Let us now proceed to the narration of the life history of Ibn Ṭufayl.
NOTES & REFERENCES

1. Cf. Indian Philosophy - Radha Krishnan.


4. See the article on Belief in spirits in Morocco by Dr. Wastermarck (Humaniora I (1) - Abo, Finland, 1920). Also, Le Culte der Saints Musulmans dans l' Afrique du nord (Geneva, 1905), by Dr. Montel.

5. O'Leary, p. 229. For further details see Encyclopaedia of Islam, I, 318-320.


7. Firdausi (920-1035 A.D.) was a Persian poet who flourished in the reign of Mahmūd of Ghazna.

8. زهیر شتر خوردن وسو سمار عرب را بجائے رسیدست کار کہ نخت کیان را کنند آرزو غنبرتؤی، جنگ گردان غنبر (زبان نامہ فردوسی)

9. Ifrikiya was the name given to the province lying next to Egypt. West of it lay Maghrib which was divided into two parts, Central Maghrib and Further Maghrib. Further Maghrib spread to the Atlantic coast.
10. It is said that the uncle of 'Abd al-Rahmān, Mašlama b.'Abd al-Malik, had predicted about his future greatness. Since then he entertained an earnest desire to become a ruler. Cf. A Political History of Muslim Spain by S.M. Imamuddin p. 34.

11. 'Abd al-Rahmān was declared Amīr in 756 A.D., when Khutbah was read in his name at Archidona, the capital of Regio.

12. For further details see A Political History of Muslim Spain by S.M. Imamuddin.


14. Daʿūd az-Zāhiri was born in Kūfa (815 or 817 A.D.) of a Persian family, and died in Baghdād in 883 A.D. Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics, Vol. IV. See also Biography of Daʿūd (Tabqāt) by al-Subkī.

15. In the absence of a clear injunction about a particular situation to draw inference from a somewhat similar case about which there is a clear verdict.

16. Following authority or accepting the dictum of a recognized and authentic teacher.

18. The Development of Muslim Theology and Jurisprudence by D.B. Macdonald, p. 110.

19. Encyclopaedia of Religion & Ethics, Vol. IX, the article "Muslim Philosophy in the West." p. 888.


23. Ibn Abi 'Amir was born about 942 A.D. He rose to power from a low status with his own efforts. After the death of al-Hakam II, about 977 A.D., his power reached its zenith and the Caliph Hishām II, who was only an inexperienced boy, was a puppet in his hands. He died in 1002 at the age of sixty-one.


25. Just to give some idea of the fatwa we may reproduce its concluding words, which ran as follows: "We take it upon ourselves to answer before God for this decision. If we err, we consent to pay penalty in another world, and we declare that you, Amīr of the Muslims, are not responsible therefore; but we firmly believe that the Andalusian princes, if you leave them in peace, will deliver our land to the infidels, and in that case you must account to God for your inaction."

Spanish Islam - Dozy p. 712.

27. The Murâbîts were also called Mulâththamîn (the people of the veil) as they belonged to a tribe which used to wear litham (veil) to protect themselves against the burning sands of the desert. See The Political History of Muslim Spain by Imamuddin, and also People of the Veil by Lord Rennel of Rodd.


29. Qairawan was the first city founded by the 'Arab settlers after their conquest of North Africa in 665 A.D.

30. Abû 'Imrân was a pious Muslim and a Malikite Professor of Law.


32. O'Leary p. 234.


34. Cf. Al-Ghazâlî, the Mystic-Margaret Smith p. 64.
37. Some historians give his date of birth as 1078 A.D. Cf. The Political History of Muslim Spain by Imamuddin.

38. O'Leary p. 246.

39. Al-Ghazālī, the Mystic by Margaret Smith p. 64.


42. Al-Ghazālī, the Mystic by Margaret Smith p. 63.

43. Al-Ghazālī, the Mystic - Margaret Smith p. 63. (See also Tabaqāt-Subkī p. 26).

44. Ibid p. 63.

45. Cf. (i) Al-Ghazālī, the Mystic - Margaret Smith p. 63, 64.

46. Encyclopaedia of Religion & Ethics, Article on Ibn Tumart.


49. Andalus, Spain under the Muslims - Ediogn Hole pp. 26, 27.

50. Al-Ghazālī, the Mystic - Margaret Smith p. 63.
51. Ordering the people to do the right, and prohibiting them from doing the wrong. The Qur'an enjoins upon every Muslim to perform these two duties.

52. O'Leary pp. 247, 248.

53. Q168

54. Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics, Vol. VII. Also see Tārikh al-Daulatain by Al-Ẓarkashi and Kitāb al-Mu'jib by Abdul Wāhid al-Marrākushī.

55. The Commander of the Faithful (الامامين الصادقين) was the title reserved for the Caliphs.

56. O'Leary p. 250.

57. Q139

58. تاريخ ولاية الإسلام لطفي جمع صفحات 188-205.