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THE CONCEPT OF THE PERFECT MAN IN THE THOUGHT OF IBN 'ARABĪ AND MUHAMMAD IQBAL: A COMPARATIVE STUDY

by
Iskandar Arnel

A Thesis
Submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research
in partial fulfillment of the requirement
for the degree of Master of Arts

Institute of Islamic Studies
Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research
McGill University
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May 1997

ABSTRACT

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Title : "The Concept of the Perfect Man in the Thought of Ibn 'Arabī and Muhammad Iqbal: A Comparative Study"

Department : Institute of Islamic Studies, McGill University, Montreal, Canada

Degree : Master of Arts (M.A.)

This thesis deals with the concept of the Perfect Man in the thought of both Ibn 'Arabī (560/1165-638/1240) and Iqbal (1877-1938). The concepts of these two figures are analytically compared by way of their views of *wujūd*, the evolutionary process of human being, *qaḍā'* and *qadar*, and the classifications of the Perfect Man. In Ibn 'Arabī's system, these concepts are based on *waḥdaẖ al-wujūd* and, in Iqbal's system, on his philosophy of *Khūdī*. Although Iqbal criticized many aspects of Ibn 'Arabī's thought, this thesis will show that their concepts of the Perfect Man are quite similar, and that Iqbal was influenced in a number of important ways by Ibn 'Arabī.

RÉSUMÉ

Auteur: Iskandar Arnel

Titre: "Le concept de l'Homme Parfait dans la pensée d'Ibn ʿArabī et de Sir Muhammad Iqbal: Une étude comparative"

Département: Institut des Études Islamiques, Université McGill, Montréal, Québec

Diplôme: Maîtrise ès Arts (M.A.)

Ce mémoire traite des concepts de l'Homme Parfait dans la pensée d'Ibn ʿArabī (560/1165-638/1240) et de Muhammad Iqbal (1877-1938). Ces concepts, analysés de façon comparative, traitent de la signification du *wujūd*, du processus de l'évolution, de la théorie du *qaḍā'* et du *qadr* ainsi que les degrés de l'Homme Parfait. Cette étude constate que ces concepts sont fondés, dans le système d'Ibn ʿArabī, sur *waḥdaẖ al-wujūd* et la philosophie du *Khūdī* établie par Iqbal. Malgré qu'Iqbal a critiqué plusieurs aspects de la pensées d'Ibn ʿArabī, ce mémoire démontre que les concepts de l'Homme Parfait y sont similaires et qu'Iqbal fut largement influencé à plusieurs titres par Ibn ʿArabī.

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al-Salām 'alaykum wa raḥmaẖ Allāh wa barakātuh.

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The staff at the Institute of Islamic Studies, McGill University: especially Professor A. Ü̈ner Turgay (Institute Director), Todd Lawson, Sajida S. Alvi, Donald Presgrave Little, Herman Landolt and Eric Ormsby. Their approach to the study of Islamic thought taught me a great deal.

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My thanks also go to my friends, Dr. Muhammad Nur Samad, for his time in discussing some difficult aspects of Ibn 'Arabī's thought with me and for bringing his own copy of *al-Futūḥāt al-Makkiyyaẖ* from Indonesia for my use; Yudian Wahyudi, for his willingness to read the draft of this study as well as for his valuable criticism, especially of chapter three; Sahiron Syamsuddin, who helped me with the translation of certain difficult Arabic texts; and finally to those who helped in editing this thesis, Reem Meshal, Christ MacLeod and Richard McGregor.

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Last but not the least, my thanks go to my fiance, Faddiah, and my younger brothers and sister, the so called BARNEFAR (*Bani Arnel dan Farida*), namely Ashtar Arnel, the soon-to-be mother (at the end of this month, *in shā' Allāh*) Fitri Anggraini Arnel (together with her husband, Edy Suryono) and Roni Adinolfi Arnel, for their love, endless support and forbearance.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

TRANSLITERATION

Characters:

ا =	a	ز =	z	ق =	q
ب =	b	س =	s	ك =	k
ت =	t	ش =	sh	ل =	l
ث =	th	ص =	ṣ	م =	m
ج =	j	ض =	ḍ	ن =	n
ح =	h	ط =	ṭ	ه =	h
خ =	kh	ظ =	ẓ	ة =	ĕ
د =	d	ع =	‘	و =	w
ذ =	dh	غ =	gh	ء =	’*
ر =	r	ف =	f	ى =	y

Short vowels: ـُ = u ـَ = a ـِ = i

Long vowels: ـا = ā ـو = ū ـِيْ = ī

Diphthongs: ـَوْ = aw ـَيْ = ay ـِيّ = iyy ـَوّ = aww

Article: الـ = al Exp. عَبْدُ الرَّحْمٰنِ = ‘Abd al-Raḥmān

عَيْنُ الشَّمْسِ = ‘Ayn al-shyams

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* The *hamzaĕ* (ء) occuring in the initial position is omitted.

Chapter One
INTRODUCTION

A. Background of Study

It goes without saying that the idea of the Perfect Man has been developed in a variety of ways in Islamic thought. At its lowest level, Perfect Man indicates simply the highest type of human being, personified in the Prophet Muḥammad, whose moral standards and behavior correspond with the Quranic notion of perfection.[1] At its highest level, however, the essence of the idea relates, ontologically, to cosmology, taking such forms as the First Intellect in philosophy or the "immutable entities" (*a'yān al-thābitaḥ*) in Sufism. This thesis will compare the concept of the Perfect Man in the thought of Ibn 'Arabī (560/1165-638/1240) and Sir Muhammad Iqbal (1877-1938).

There are two reasons for undertaking this study. First, the earliest of Iqbal's published works, appearing in 1900, was on the Perfect Man.[2] In addition, one should bear in mind that Iqbal from 1900 to 1908 was a great admirer of the idea of *waḥdaḥ al-wujūd* as proposed by Ibn 'Arabī.[3] However, in the following years Iqbal moved from

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[1] See, for example, Quran *sūraḥ* 2:30, 3:110, and 28:77; Annemarie Schimmel, *Mystical Dimensions of Islam* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1975), p. 27.

[2] Iqbal, "The Doctrine of Absolute Unity as Expounded by 'Abdul Karim al-Jilani," *The Indian Antiquary* 29 (1900). The article is reprinted in S.A. Vahid (ed.), *Thought and Reflections of Iqbal* (Lahore: Sh. Muhammad Ashraf, 1964), pp. 3-27. See also Masud-ul-Hasan, *Life of Iqbal: General Account of His Life*, Vol. 1 (Lahore: Ferozsons Ltd., 1982), p. 3.

[3] M.M. Sharif, *About Iqbal and His Thought* (Lahore: Institute of Islamic Culture, 1964), pp. 10-1. Furthermore, Rahman remarks that at this juncture Iqbal was also a Platonic idealist. Fazlur Rahman, "Iqbal, Muhammad," *The Encyclopedia of Religion*, Vol. 7 (New York: Macmillan Publishing Company, 1987), p. 275. Iqbal himself recognizes this in his article "Mysteries of Self and Sufism," first published in *Vakil* and reprinted in *Maqālat-i-Iqbāl*, ed. S.A. Vahid (Lahore: Sh. Muhammad Ashraf, 1963), p. 161. It is worth noting that the term *waḥdaḥ al-wujūd* is not specifically used by Ibn 'Arabī, even though he frequently discusses *wujūd* in his numerous works. It is later scholars who labeled his theory *waḥdaḥ al-wujūd*, beginning with Ibn Taymiyyaḥ, a jurist who led an attack on the teaching of Ibn 'Arabī's "imaginal" Sufism. Ibrāhīm Madkūr, "Waḥdaḥ al-Wujūd bayna Ibn 'Arabī wa Spinoza," *al-Kitāb al-Tidhkārī: Muḥy al-Dīn ibn 'Arabī*, ed. Ibrāhīm Madkūr (Cairo: Dār al-Kitāb al-'Arabī li al-Ṭabā'aḥ wa al-Nashr, 1389/1969), pp. 369-70. Many attempts have been made to classify this

the teachings of Ibn 'Arabī to an appreciation of other thinkers, for example, Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī (604/1207-672/1273), particularly on love, and Friedrich Nietzsche (1844-1900), with his concept of the *Ubermensch* (Superman).[4] With these influences in mind, and since few sources attempt a comparative analysis of their concepts of the Perfect Man, we will therefore analyze the differences and similarities between Ibn 'Arabī's and Iqbal's ideas on the subject.

The second reason for such a study is that we wish to bring out the significance of the notion of the Perfect Man in both Ibn 'Arabī's theory of *waḥdaẖ al-wujūd* and Iqbal's philosophy of *Khūdī*. Iqbal claimed that his philosophy was developed in reaction to Ibn 'Arabī's *waḥdaẖ al-wujūd* and that he meant to criticize the latter for its heretical leanings.[5] This thesis will analyze the impact of the theory of *waḥdaẖ al-wujūd* and the philosophy of *Khūdī* on Ibn 'Arabī's and Iqbal's concepts of the Perfect Man,

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theory as pantheism, panentheism, existential monism, pantheistic monism, natural Sufism and the like, but these classifications seem to be misleading and distort what Ibn 'Arabī meant by *waḥdaẖ al-wujūd*. See Seyyed Hossein Nasr, *Three Muslim Sages: Avicenna, Suhrawardī, Ibn 'Arabī* (Delmar, N.Y.: Caravan Book, 1964), pp. 104-6; William Stoddart, *Sufism: The Mystical Doctrines and Methods of Islam* (New York: Samuel Weiser, 1976), p. 49; William C. Chittick, *Ibn al-'Arabī's Metaphysics of Imagination: Sufi Path of Knowledge Sufi Path of Knowledge* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1989), p. 79; and "Rūmī and *waḥdat al-wujūd*," *Poetry and Mysticism in Islam: The Heritage of Rūmī*, ed. Amin Banani, Richard Hovannisian and Georges Sabagh (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), pp. 72-3. It is also worth noting that the adjective "pantheist" was first introduced in 1705 by a controversial Irish philosopher, John Toland, in a discussion of Socinianism. It is from this that Toland's position was labeled by Fay in 1709 as "pantheism." William L. Reese, *Dictionary of Philosophy and Religion: Eastern and Western Thought* (New Jersey: Humanities Press, 1980), pp. 409, 580

[4] As for Rumi, see William C. Chittick, *The Sufi Doctrine of Rumi: An Introduction* (Tehran: Aryamehr University, 1974); *The Sufi Path of Love: The Spiritual Teachings of Rumi* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1983); and Amin Banani *et al* (eds.), *Poetry and Mysticism in Islam*. For Nietzsche, see his works, for example, *The Birth of Tragedy and the Case of Wagner*, trans. with commentary by Walter Kaufmann (New York: Vintage Books, 1967); and *Thus Spake Zarathustra*, trans. Thomas Common (New York: Boni & Liveright, 1905). A comprehensive study of this German philosopher can be found in Richard Schacht, *Nietzsche* (London: Routledge, 1983).

[5] S.A. Vahid, *Iqbal: His Art and Thought* (London: John Murray, 1959), p. 70. As a matter of fact, there are twenty points on which Iqbal is critical of Ibn 'Arabī's thought, each of which has been analyzed by Muhammad Suheyl Umar, "Contours of Ambivalence, Iqbal and Ibn 'Arabi: Historical Perspective," Parts I, II and III, *Iqbal Review* 34. 1 (April 1993), 34.3 (October 1993) and 35.3 (1994), respectively.

respectively. Furthermore, we will see how Iqbal benefits from Ibn 'Arabī's theory and where he parts company with Ibn 'Arabī.

This work will use both primary and secondary sources. In the case of Ibn 'Arabī, the chief sources will be *al-Futūḥāt al-Makkiyyaḥ*,[6] *Fuṣūṣ al-Ḥikam*,[7] *Rasā'il*,[8] and the three treatises edited by Nyberg-- namely, *Inshā' al-Dawā'ir*, *'Uqlaḥ al-Mustawfiz* and *Tadbīrāt al-Ilāhiyyaḥ fī Iṣlāḥ al-Mamlakaḥ al-Insāniyyaḥ*.[9] For Iqbal's thought, this thesis will rely on "The Doctrine of Absolute Unity as Expounded by 'Abdul Karīm al-Jīlānī," *The Development of Metaphysics in Persia*,[10] *The Reconstruction of Religious*

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[6] I will use both the *Futūḥāt* editions published in Beirut by Dār Ṣādir (n.d.) and the one edited and commented upon by 'Uthmān Yaḥyā (Egypt: al-Hay'aḥ al-Miṣriyyaḥ al-'Āmmaḥ li al-Kitāb, 1394/1974). In the following, 'Uthmān Yaḥyā's edition is referred to as [ed. Yaḥyā]. Also, his name will be spelled according to the Arabic transliteration, i.e., 'Uthmān Yaḥyā, not O. Yahia.

[7] The *Fuṣūṣ* used in this study is edited and commented upon by Abū al-'Alā 'Afīfī, *Fuṣūṣ al-Ḥikam li al-Shaykh al-Akbar Muḥy al-Dīn ibn 'Arabī al-mutawaffā sanaḥ 638H. wa al-ta'līqāt 'alaih* (Beirut: Dār Iḥyā' al-Kutub al-'Arabiyyaḥ, 1365/1946). Part One of the book includes Ibn 'Arabī's *Fuṣūṣ* while the second part includes 'Afīfī's commentary. Here too 'Afīfī's name will be spelled according to the Arabic transliteration, i.e., Abū al-A'lā al-'Afīfī, not A.E. Affifi.

[8] Ibn 'Arabī, *Rasā'il*, Vols. 1-2 (Hyderabad-Deccan: Osmania Oriental Publications Bureau, 1948).

[9] H.S. Nyberg, *Kleinere Schriften des Ibn al-Arabī: Nach Handschriften in Upsala und Berlin zum Ersten mal Herausgegeben und mit Einleitung und kommentar Versehen*, (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1919). Note that the complete title of the *Inshā' al-Dawā'ir* is *Kitāb Inshā' al-Dawā'ir al-Ihātiyyaḥ 'alā Mudāḥaḥ al-Insān li Khāliq wa Khalq* or, as translated by Fenton and Gloton, *The Book of the Description of the Circle Encompassing the Correspondence of Man to Creator and Creatures*. Paul B. Fenton and Maurice Gloton, "The Book of the Description of the Encompassing Circles," *Muhyiddin Ibn 'Arabi: A Commemorative Volume*, eds. Stephen Hirtenstein and Michael Tienan (Shaftesbury, Dorset; Rockport, Mass.; Brisbane: Element, 1993), p. 12. According to them, *Inshā' al-Dawā'ir* was the last of Ibn 'Arabī's work to be composed during his stay in the West. Ibid., 13; S.A.Q. Husaini, *The Pantheistic Monism of Ibn al-'Arabi* (Lahore: Sh. Muhammad Ashraf, 1970), pp. 28-9. For an English translation of this work, see Fenton and Glaton, "The Book of the Description of the Encompassing Circles," pp. 15-41.

[10] Iqbal, *The Development of Metaphysics in Persia: A Contribution to the History of Muslim Philosophy* (Lahore: Bazm-i-Iqbal, n.d.).

Thought in Islam[11] and *Asrār-i Khūdī*.[12] Apart from these primary sources, this study will also consult recent scholarship on the subject. However, it should be noted that, however, that as I am familiar with only Indonesian, English and Arabic, the sources on Ibn 'Arabī and Iqbal in other languages will not be directly relied upon in this thesis.

The study will be divided into four chapters. The first will present some background information and a brief account of the careers of Ibn 'Arabī and Iqbal in which the historical background will be examined in order to clarify the style and significance of their thought within Islamic discourse. The second chapter will introduce Ibn 'Arabī's theory of the Perfect Man and its relation to his concept of *waḥdaẖ al-wujūd*. Iqbal's concept of the Perfect Man and its relation to his philosophy of *Khūdī* will be studied in the third chapter. Finally, the fourth chapter will compare the concept of the Perfect Man in Ibn 'Arabī's and Iqbal's thought, and will summarize the results of this study.

B. Brief Account of the Career of Ibn 'Arabī

Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. Muḥammad Ibn al-'Arabī al-Ṭa'ī al-Ḥātimī, commonly known as Ibn 'Arabī or Ibn Surāqaẖ (in Spain), was one of the most influential Sufis in the Muslim world. Born on the 17th of Ramaḍān 560/28th of July 1164[13] in Murcia (south-eastern Spain), Ibn 'Arabī came from a noble Arab family while

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[11] This work has been published several times. Here I use the edition published in Lahore by Iqbal Academy Pakistan and Institute of Islamic Culture, 1989.

[12] This work was first published in 1915 and translated into English by R.A. Nicholson as *Secrets of the Self: A Philosophical Poem* (London: Macmillan & Co., 1920). In this thesis I use the edition published in New Delhi by Arnold-Heinemann, 1978. It should be noted that Nicholson's introduction to the translation of *Asrār-i-Khūdi* is probably the first among the works in English to outline briefly Iqbal's idea of the Perfect Man. Furthermore, it is one of the fundamental sources for those who study Iqbal's Perfect Man. In the following, this introduction is referred to as "Intro."

[13] We do not know for sure the year of his birth according to the Christian era. Some sources mention that he was born in 1164, and others 1165. Those who agree with the former are 'Afīfī, *The Mystical Philosophy of Muḥyid Dīn-Ibnul 'Arabī* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1939), p. xv; Rom Landau, *The Philosophy of Ibn 'Arabī* (London: Ruskin

his mother is believed to have been of Berber stock.[14] His father was one of the high-ranking luminaries in the court of Sulṭān Muḥammad b. Sa'd b. Mardanīsh and was a trusted official of the Almohad Sulṭān Abū Ya'qūb Yūsuf.[15]

As for his education, Ibn 'Arabī was a brilliant and industrious student who was well-versed in numerous subjects ranging from the Islamic sciences-- the Quran and exegesis, *ḥadīth*, Arabic grammar and composition, Islamic law, theology, philosophy and Sufism, even Zoroastrian and Manichaean philosophy, Hebrew and Christian theology, Greek philosophy and mathematics.[16] Ibn 'Arabī's wide knowledge is not surprising for he was a student of many Sufi masters:[17] both his *Rūḥ al-Quds* and *al-Durraẖ al-Fākhiraẖ* provide us with information on the many Sufis who taught him.

Ibn 'Arabī first became a Sufi, according to his own account, in 580/1184[18] or at the age of twenty. However, this was probably not his first entry into Sufi circles, for he

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House, 1959), p. 15; and Muḥammad al-Bahlī al-Nayyāl, *Al-Ḥaqīqaẖ al-Tārīkhiyyaẖ li al-Taṣawwuf al-Islāmī* (Tunis: Maktabaẖ al-Najāḥ, 1965), p. 371; while those who agree with the latter date are Henry Corbin, *Creative Imagination in the Sufism of Ibn 'Arabī*, trans. Ralph Manheim (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1969), p. 38; R.W.J. Austin's introduction to his translation of both Ibn 'Arabī's *Sufis of Andalusia: The Rūḥ al-Quds and Al-Durrat al-Fākhira* [from *Rūḥ al-Quds* and *al-Durraẖ al-Fākhiraẖ*] (Sherborne: Beshara Publications, 1988), p. 21 (only one manuscript of the shorter version of the *al-Durraẖ al-Fākhiraẖ* appears to have survived, while the longer version is lost) and *Ibn 'Arabi: The Bezels of Wisdom* (New York: Paulist Press, 1980), p. 1; Toshihiko Izutsu, "Ibn Al-'Arabī," *The Encyclopedia of Religion*, Vol. 6, ed. Mircea Eliade (New York: Macmillan Publishing Company, 1987), p. 552; and Moulvi S.A.Q. Husaini, *Ibn Al-'Arabī: The Great Muslim Mystic and Thinker* (Lahore: SH. Muhammad Ashraf, 1993), p. 2.

[14] Claude Addas, *Quest for the Red Sulphur: The Life of Ibn 'Arabī*, trans. Peter Kingsley (Cambridge: The Islamic Texts Society, 1993), p. 17n. 26. Cf. Izutsu, "Ibn al-'Arabī," p. 552, who says that Ibn 'Arabī was purely Arab.

[15] Addas, *Quest for the Red Sulphur*, p. 18.

[16] Landau, *The Philosophy of Ibn 'Arabī*, pp. 15-6; Austin's introduction to *The Bezels of Wisdom*, pp. 1-2.

[17] Addas notes that there were two major movements which dominated Sufism in the Islamic West in Ibn 'Arabī's time: one was the school of Almeria, whose chief representatives were Abū al-'Abbās ibn al-'Arīf and Abū al-Ḥakam al-Barrajān, and the other was the Maghrebi school whose chief representatives were Abū Ya'zā (d. 572/1177), Ibn Ḥirzihim (d. 559/1163) and Abū Madyan (d. 594/1198). Addas, *Quest for the Red Sulphur*, pp. 52-9.

[18] Ibn 'Arabī, *al-Futūḥāt*, Vol. 1, pp. 153-4; Addas, *Quest for the Red Sulphur*, p. 34.

already had been illuminated and had gone on some retreats (*khalwāt*) when he met Ibn Rushd in 575/1179.[19] As illumination and retreat are two important aspects of Sufism, this means that the Shaykh had been traveling this religious path since adolescence, i.e., prior to the year 580/1184.

Ibn 'Arabī's acquaintance with Sufism cannot be separated from the religious background of his family. Besides his father, a *walī* who realized the 'dwelling-place of Breaths' (*man taḥaqqaqa bi manzil al-anfās*),[20] Ibn 'Arabī had three relatives who were Sufis, i.e., Abū Muḥammad 'Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad al-'Arabī al-Ṭā'ī (on his father's side), Abū Muslim al-Khawlānī and Yaḥyā b. Yughān (both on his mother's side).[21] Although Ibn 'Arabī claimed that the Prophet 'Īsā was his first teacher,[22] it was in fact Abū Muḥammad 'Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad al-'Arabī al-Ṭā'ī who first led him on this particular type of religious path.[23]

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[19] Ibid., p. 34. Here special notice should be given to 'Uthmān Yaḥyā who says that Ibn 'Arabī met Ibn Rushd (Averroes) in 580/1184. 'Uthmān Yaḥyā, *Histoire et classification de l'oeuvre d'Ibn 'Arabī*, Vol. 1 (Damascus: Institut Francais de Damas, 1964), p. 94. This assumption seems to be false, because Ibn 'Arabī said that when he met the philosopher he was very young without any down on his face or even a mustache. If he had met Ibn Rushd in this year, i.e., when he was twenty, he would not have said "*mā baqala wajhī wa lā ṭarra sharibī*." For details on this meeting, see Ibn 'Arabī, *al-Futūḥāt*, Vol. 1, pp. 153-4.

[20] Ibn 'Arabī, *al-Futūḥāt*, Vol. 1 Chapters 24, 34 and 35; Addas, *Quest for the Red Sulphur*, pp. 18-9. For the idea of *nafas raḥmānī* in Ibn 'Arabī's thought, see Corbin, *Creative Imagination*, pp. 115-20 and Su'ād al-Ḥakīm, *al-Mu'jam al-Ṣūfī* (Beirut: Nadrah, 1401/1981), p. 614. The latter name will also be spelled according to the Arabic transliteration, i.e., Su'ād al-Ḥakīm, not Souad Hakim as mentioned in *Journal of the Muhyiddin Ibn 'Arabi Society* 18 (1995).

[21] Addas, *Quest for the Red Sulphur*, p. 20.

[22] Ibn 'Arabī, *al-Futūḥāt*, Vol 1, p. 155; Vol. 2, p. 49; and Vol. 3, pp. 43, 341. Cf. *al-Futūḥāt*, Vol. 2, p. 365 and Vol. 4, p. 77. See also Michel Chodkiewicz, *Seal of the Saints: Prophethood and Sainthood in the Doctrine of Ibn 'Arabī*, trans. Liadain Sherrard (Cambridge: The Islamic Texts Society, 1993), pp. 74-88; Addas, *Quest for the Red Sulphur*, p. 39.

[23] Ibn 'Arabī, *Sufis of Andalusia*, pp. 99-100; *al-Futūḥāt*, Vol. 1, p. 185; Addas, *Quest for the Red Sulphur*, p. 20. However, it should be noted that Ibn 'Arabī never became the follower of any particular Sufi master. Adam Dupre and Peter Young, "The Life and Influence of Muhyiddin Ibn 'Arabi," *Union and Ibn 'Arabī*, proceedings of the First Annual Symposium of the Muhyiddin Ibn 'Arabi Society (Durham University, April 1984), p. 7.

Ibn 'Arabī was not only a great Sufi, but a skillful writer who composed many works. The problem is that no one knows the exact number of his writings. In his *'Ijāzah li al-Malik al-Muẓaffar*,[24] Ibn 'Arabī listed between 270 to 290 treatises, while in the "Fihris" he mentioned 248.[25] According to Aḥmad Bakīr Maḥmūd, the number reaches 500 works, although Maḥmūd himself only mentions 192 treatises.[26] However, 'Afīfī shows that Ibn 'Arabī composed 251 works,[27] while 'Uthmān Yaḥyā gives about 846 titles attributed to our author.[28] Whatever the number, this signifies that Ibn 'Arabī was one of the most prolific, with whose writings that cover a wide range of Islamic thought-- from metaphysical doctrine to ritual ablution, cosmology, numerology and oneirology.[29] His works contributed to the development of the metaphysical aspects of later Islamic Sufism, particularly the notion of *waḥdah al-wujūd*.[30]

Indeed, Ibn 'Arabī's writings became celebrated for the new frontiers they helped explore and for introducing the readers to new themes and ideas. This is not surprising since Ibn 'Arabī's works have "a distinguishing feature. . .: it has an answer for

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[24] This work was dedicated to the king of Damascus, al-Malik al-Muẓaffar Bahā' al-Dīn b. al-Malik al-'Adīl b. Abī Bakr b. Ayyūb (d. 635/1227).

[25] The number of books is based on the the research of 'Uthmān Yaḥyā, *Histoire*, Vol. 1, pp. 46 and 48. Here 'Uthmān Yaḥyā (p. 50) also reports that Muḥammad 'Abd al-Raḥmān Badawī has researched the number of Ibn 'Arabī's works on the basis of various copies, cited in both the *'Ijāzah* and "Fihris," found in the National Library of Cairo and in the Manuscript Institute of the Arab League. This research has been published in *al-Andalusia* 20, Part I (1955). One should bear in mind that the number of books cited by 'Uthmān Yaḥyā from Ibn 'Arabī's *Ijāzah* is different from the one reported by Noer, according to whom there are 289 treatises. See Kautsar Azhari Noer, *Ibn 'Arabī: Waḥdat al-Wujūd dalam Perdebatan* (Jakarta: Paramadina, 1995), p. 25.

[26] See the introduction to al-Ḥusayn b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Ahdhal al-Yamanī's *Kashf al-Ghiṭā'*, ed. Aḥmad Bakīr Maḥmūd (Tunis, 1964), pp. 5-13.

[27] 'Afīfī, "Memorandum by Ibn 'Arabī of His Own Works," *Bulletin of the Faculty of Arts*, Alexandria University, 8 (1954), pp. 109-17.

[28] 'Uthmān Yaḥyā, *Histoire*, Vol.1, pp. 139-336; Vol. 2. pp. 337-532.

[29] Ibn 'Arabī, *Sufis of Andalusia*, p. 46.

[30] 'Afīfī, *Mystical Philosophy*, p. xii.

everything."[31] He is honorifically known as *al-Shaykh al-Akbar* because he was the first Sufi to display in his treatises such an impressive range of knowledge of Sufism, one that had been hitherto consigned to oral tradition, medium and secret allusions.[32] Ibn 'Arabī died in Damascus on the 28th Rabī' al-Thānī 638/16th November 1240. His body was buried on the side of Mount Qāsiyūn, in Damascus, next to his two sons who had earlier passed away.

Ibn 'Arabī's greatness, however, does not protect him from criticism. The fact is that there have always been critics of his thought throughout the Islamic world, particularly on the issue of *waḥdaẖ al-wujūd*. He has also been criticized by Western Islamic scholars like Massignon, who had a longstanding animosity towards him,[33] and Clement Huart, who saw Ibn 'Arabī's thought as nothing but disorderly imagination.[34]

In the Islamic world, criticism of Ibn 'Arabī reached new heights in the thirteenth century with the famous Ḥanbalite jurist Taqiyy al-Dīn Ibn Taymiyyaẖ (d. 728/1328), who saw al-Shaykh al-Akbar's doctrine as heretical and far removed from the Islamic belief in *tawḥīd*.[35] Generally speaking, there are four issues which are criticized in Ibn 'Arabī's thought. The first has to do with his views concerning God and the cosmos as being one. Second is his interpretation of the Quran, which may have overstepped certain boundaries-- for example, when the Prophet Abraham is described as

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[31] Michel Chodkiewicz, "The Diffusion of Ibn 'Arabī's Doctrine," *Journal of the Muhyiddin Ibn 'Arabi* 9 (1991), p. 51.

[32] Ibn 'Arabī, *Sufis of Andalusia*, p. 46

[33] Chodkiewicz, *Seal of the Saints*, p. 4.

[34] Clement Huart, *Litterature Arabe* (Paris, 1923), p. 275; Chodkiewicz, *Seal of the Saints*, p. 4.

[35] The first who publicly labeled Ibn 'Arabī a "heretic" (*zindīq*) and an "unbeliever" (*kāfir*) was 'Izz al-Dīn b. 'Abd al-Salām (d. 660/1261). Alexander Knysh, "Ibn 'Arabi in the Later Islamic Tradition," *A Commemorative Volume*, p. 313. It is worth noting that the term *zindīq* was first ascribed to heretics whose teachings were dangerous to the state. The term was originally Persian, being used in the Sassanian administration. The 'Abbasid dynasty officially used the term for the first time in connection with the execution of Ja'ad b. Dirhām. L. Massignon, "Zindīḳ," *Shorter Encyclopaedia of Islam*, eds. H.A.R. Gibb and J.H. Kramers (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1961), p. 659. See also Imām Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, *al-Radd 'alā al-Jahmiyyaẖ wa al-Zanādiqaẖ* (Riyadh: Dār al-Liwā', 1397/1977), pp. 49-52.

being ignorant the interpretation of his dream, and when Pharaoh is regarded as a believer. Third is his idea of sainthood, conceived as a counterpart to prophetic mission.[36] Finally, his theory of *waḥdaẖ al-wujūd* was bitterly criticized as one of the fundamental sources of weakness in Muslim society.[37]

Nevertheless, Ibn 'Arabī has made a substantial contribution to the development of Islamic thought.[38] His thought has had wide influence,[39] not only on an intellectual level, such as in Sufi-philosophy, terminology and *tafsīr*, but also on the practical level with respect to Sufi orders (*ṭuruq*). On the intellectual level, for example, his thought has played a significant role in the historical formation of Iranian Muslim spirituality. One can see that his views, together with those of *al-Shaykh al-Ishrāq*, Suhrāwardī al-Maqtūl (d. 587/1191), have become an important source for the philosophical-gnosticism of Iranian Muslim intellectuals.[40] Also, it is in response to Ibn 'Arabī's doctrine of *waḥdaẖ al-wujūd* that Islamic Sufi-philosophy has developed the doctrine of *waḥdaẖ al-shuhūd*, as promoted by Shaykh Aḥmad Sirhindī (d. 1624) in India.[41]

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[36] The above three criticism have been mentioned in Knysh, "Ibn 'Arabi in the Later Islamic Tradition," p. 322 n. 17. See also Chodkiewicz, *Seal of the Saints*, pp. 10-14, 19-20.

[37] In the early twentieth century this criticism was perhaps made for the first time by Iqbal, according to whom the doctrine of *waḥdaẖ al-wujūd*, being popular with the Sufi orders in India and throughout the Islamic world, has led not only to the decline of the Muslim community through its teaching of self-annihilation, but has also had very harmful practical consequences for the Islamic sciences, literature and culture. See B.A. Dar, *Anwar-i-Iqbal* (I.A.P. Lahore, 1977), p. 269; Umar, "Contours of Ambivalence," part I, p. 33.

[38] For example, Naṣr observes, it is due to Ibn 'Arabī that Sufi doctrines are explicitly formulated. Naṣr, *Three Muslim Sages*, p. 91.

[39] One comprehensive study of Ibn 'Arabī's influence is by Chodkiewicz, "The Diffusion of Ibn 'Arabī's Doctrine," pp. 36-57. See also Knysh, "Ibn 'Arabi in the Later Islamic Tradition," pp. 307-327.

[40] Izutsu, "Ibn al-'Arabī," p. 552.

[41] See Yohanan Friedmann, *Shaykh Aḥmad Sirhindī: An Outline of His Thought and a Study of His Image in the Eyes of Posterity* (Montreal-London: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1971); Vahid, *Iqbal, His Art and Thought*, pp. 74-5; J.G.J. ter Haar, *Follower and Heir of the Prophet: Shaykh Ahmad Sirhindi (1564-1624) as Mystic*, Leiden: Het Oosters Instituut, 1992; and William C. Chittick, "Notes on Ibn al-'Arabī's Influence in the Subcontinent," *The Muslim World* 82.3-4 (July-October 1992), p. 232.

Ibn 'Arabī has influenced the wide use of terms like *nafas raḥmānī*, *al-fayḍ al-aqdas*, *khatm al-awliyā'* and *tajdīd al-khalq*,[42] and has had an impact on post-13th century Sufi literature, particularly poetry.[43] Furthermore, Ibn 'Arabī's influence on *tafsīr* can be seen, for example, in Shaykh Aḥmad b. Aliwa's[44] *al-Baḥr al-Masjūr fī Tafsīr al-Qur'ān bi Maḥḍ al-Nūr*.[45]

Ibn 'Arabī's influence on the Sufi orders is obvious. The orders of the Khalwātiyyaḥ, Tījāniyyaḥ, Raḥmāniyyaḥ, 'Arūsiyyaḥ, and the Shādhiliyyaḥ are excellent examples of this.[46] One can even see his influence in countries such as Indonesia, Malaysia and India. Ibn 'Arabī's influence on Indonesian Sufism has been assessed in a serious study by Zoetmulder,[47] according to whom Ibn 'Arabī's views, especially concerning the *Insān Kāmil*, were introduced to Indonesia by way of 'Abd al-Karīm al-Jīlī's *al-Insān al-Kāmil fī Ma'rifaḥ Awā'il wa al-Awākhir*.[48]

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[42] Certain terms had already appeared before Ibn 'Arabī. However, to quote Chodkiewicz, "it is the work of the latter which has given them a precise usage, and has given them acceptability in the language of ṣūfism." Chodkiewicz, "The Diffusion of Ibn 'Arabī's Doctrine," p. 40.

[43] Izutsu, "Ibn al-'Arabī," p. 556.

[44] Shaykh Aḥmad b. Aliwa is the founder of the *ṭarīqaḥ* Alawiyyaḥ, a branch of the Shādhiliyyaḥ-Derqawiyyaḥ.

[45] Shaykh Aḥmad b. Aliwa, *al-Baḥr al-Masjūr fī Tafsīr al-Qur'ān bi Maḥḍ al-Nūr* (Mostaghanem, n.d.). Here we find that Ibn 'Arabī's thought has been incorporated particularly in describing the verses 5, 6, and 7 of *sūraḥ al-Baqarah*. Furthermore, when Shaykh Aḥmad speaks of "allusion" (*ishāraḥ*) on p. 69, he quotes directly and almost literally from Chapter 5 of the *Futūḥāt*. See also Chodkiewicz, "The Diffusion of Ibn 'Arabī's Doctrine," p. 38.

[46] For details see ibid., pp. 36-57.

[47] P.J. Zoetmulder, *Pantheism and Monism in Javanese Suluk Literature: Islamic and Indian Mysticism in an Indonesian Setting*, ed. & trans. M.C. Ricklefs (Leiden: Kitlv Press, 1995), p. 46.

[48] 'Abd al-Karīm al-Jīlī, *al-Insān al-Kāmil fī Ma'rifaḥ al-Awā'il wa al-Awākhir* (Egypt: Maktabaḥ wa Maṭba'aḥ Muṣṭafā al-Bābī al-Ḥalabī wa Awlādih, 1981). A study of this work can be found in R.A. Nicholson, *Studies in Islamic Mysticism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1921), pp. 77-142.

In short, Ibn 'Arabī's doctrine of *waḥdaẖ al-wujūd*, which may be thought to culminate in the doctrine of the Perfect Man,[49] has provided the Muslim intellectual world with one of its most thought-provoking themes. We have to admit that Ibn 'Arabī was one of the greatest architects of Islamic thought,[50] and he may not have been exaggerating when he declared himself the "Seal of Saints" (*khatm al-awliyā'*): "I am--without any doubt--the Seal of Sainthood, in my capacity as heir to the Hashimite and the Messiah."[51] Likewise, as he says in his *Dīwān*:

> I am the Seal of Saints, just as it is attested/ That the Seal of the Prophet is Muhammad:/ The Seal in a specific sense, not the Seal of Sainthood in general,/ For that is Jesus the Assisted.[52]

C. Brief Account of Iqbal's Career

Iqbal's forebears originally come from the Brahman caste in Kashmir and converted to Islam under the guidance of Shaykh Hamdani, one of the *'ulamā'* in the era of the Moghul dynasty, three hundred years before Iqbal's birth. Iqbal himself was born on the 22nd of February 1877[53] in Sialkot, North-Western Punjab, and grew up in a

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[49] Austin, *The Bezels of Wisdom*, pp. 34-5; Chittick, "Rūmī and *Waḥdat al-Wujūd*," p. 106n. 16.

[50] Henry Corbin, *History of Islamic Philosophy*, trans. Liadain Sherrard (London and New York: Kegan Paul International, 1993), pp. 291-2.

[51] Ibn 'Arabī, *al-Futūḥāt*, Vol. 1, p. 244 as translated by Addas, *Quest for the Red Sulphur*, p. 79. Unless indicated otherwise, the translations of the Arabic texts in this study are mine.

[52] Ibn 'Arabī, *Dīwān* (Būlāq, 1271/1855), p. 293 as translated by Addas, *Quest for the Red Sulphur*, p. 79; cf. also *Dīwān*, pp. 26, 50, 259, and 334. All direct quotations of poems cited in this study will have the format used here, with lines separated by a slash [/].

[53] Even though this is the common date used by scholars for Iqbal's birth, 1873 and 1876 have also been suggested. Iqbal himself in his dissertation wrote 2 Dhū al-Qa'daẖ 1294 as his *hijrī*-year of birth, which is, according to Schimmel, 9 November 1877 because the year 1294 begins in January 1877. Annemarie Schimmel, *Gabriel's Wings: A Study into the Religious Ideas of Sir Muhammad Iqbal* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1963), p. 35. Vahid also points to 1877 as the poet-philosopher's birth year. S.A. Vahid, "Date of Iqbal's Birth," *Iqbal Review* 5.3

middle class family with his elder brother Shaykh 'Atta Muhammad[54] and two sisters. Both his father Nur Muhammad and mother Imam Bibi were illiterate but quite religious: his father was known not only as a Sufi but also an *un parh falsafi* (untutored philosopher).[55]

As for his education, Iqbal was the model of an enlightened man not only for the Muslim Indian subcontinent, but for the Muslim world in general. He studied Islam from his father early on, and then learned the Quran in an Islamic school. He took his early schooling at the Scottish Mission School, Sialkot, where he met Mawlana Sayyid Mir Hasan (1844-1929).[56] Having graduated from this school in 1895, Iqbal travelled to Lahore to study for his undergraduate degree at the Government College, where he graduated *cum laude*. His achievements there earned him a scholarship for graduate studies in philosophy at the same college; he finished his master's degree in 1899 and won a gold medal for the unique distinction of being the only candidate to pass the final comprehensive examination.[57] It is at this college that he met Sir Thomas Arnold.[58]

One should bear in mind that both Mir Hasan and Sir Thomas Arnold were significant figures in Iqbal's youth. Being a Muslim, the former taught him the value of Islam, while the latter was a famous English Orientalist who not only introduced him to

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(1964), p. 27. See also Jan Marek, "The Date of Muhammad Iqbal's Birth," *Archiv Orientalni* 26 (1958), pp. 617-20.

[54] The bond between the two brothers was always strong. Shaykh 'Atta Muhammad is said to have contributed to Iqbal's education when the latter needed funds to pursue his studies abroad. Iqbal strongly supported Shaykh 'Atta Muhhamad during his trial for criminal conspiracy. Although Shaykh 'Atta Muhammad later on joined the Ahmadi movement, the two stuck together. Hafeez Malik and Lynda P. Malik, "The Life of the Poet-Philosopher," *Iqbal: Poet-Philosopher of Pakistan*, ed. Hafeez Malik (New York-London: Columbia University Press, 1971), pp. 15-6.

[55] Ibid., p. 4; Schimmel, *Gabriel's Wing*, p. 35.

[56] For details on his biography, see Hafeez and Lynda, "The Life of the Poet-Philosopher," pp. 8-9.

[57] Ibid., p. 11.

[58] The relationship between Iqbal and Arnold has been described by Saeed A. Darrani, "Sir Thomas Arnold and Iqbal," *Iqbal Review* 32.1 (1991), pp. 13-29.

Western literature and thought, but also encouraged him to continue his studies in Europe. In light of this early support, Iqbal later suggested that the government award Mir Hassan the title of *Shams al-'Ulamā'*. He also showed his appreciation by dedicating his dissertation to Sir Thomas Arnold.[59]

In 1905 Iqbal went to Europe and stayed there for three years to continue his studies. It is worth noting that this period was one of preparation, where Iqbal was maturing and developing his thought, not only in the classroom but also in various discussions with other thinkers and through self-directed study in libraries at Cambridge, Berlin and London. In Cambridge, Iqbal studied philosophy at Trinity College under James Ward and the famous neo-Hegelian McTaggart. He also kept in touch with two renowned Orientalists, E.G. Browne and R.A. Nicholson. Further, Iqbal benefited from the study of jurisprudence,[60] a field which facilitated his career as an attorney upon his return to India.

The years between 1899 and 1905 saw Iqbal struggle to earn a living. In 1899 he was appointed Macleod-Punjab Reader of Arabic at the University Oriental College of Lahore; in addition to this, he was required to teach economics and history at the same university for free. Thus, the income he did receive from this profession was limited. Iqbal also began teaching irregularly as assistant professor of English at Islamia College and at the Government College at Lahore.[61] At the same time, he tried to enter the civil service of the Punjab in 1901. He applied to take the examination for the competitive

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[59] Miss Luce-Claude Maitre, *Introduction to the Thought of Iqbal*, tran. Djohan Effendi (Bandung: Mizan, 1989), p. 14. Iqbal's thesis dedication is as follows:

> This little book is the first fruit of that literary and philosophical training, which I have been receiving from you for the last ten years, and as an expression of gratitude, I beg to dedicate it to your name. You have always judged me liberally; I hope you will judge these pages in the same spirit.

Iqbal, *The Development of Metaphysics in Persia.*

[60] Schimmel, *Gabriel's Wing*, p. 37; Hafeez and Lynda, "The Life of the Poet-Philosopher," p. 19.

[61] Ibid., p. 13.

position of Extra Assistant Commissioner (E.A.C), although his name was removed from the list by the medical board in favour of Hindu candidates.[62]

Although Iqbal lived modestly in that period, his fame as a poet spread widely. He made his national debut in 1900 at the Anjuman annual session, with the singing of his poem entitled *Nalā'-i Yatīm* ("Orphan's Cry"). Success continued in the following years: in 1901, he recited *Yatīm Kā Khatāb Hilāl-i 'Id sāy* ("Orphan's Plaint to the Crescent of 'Id"); in 1902, he read *Islamia College Kā Khatāb Punjab Kay Musalmānu sāy* ("Islamia College's Address to the Muslims of the Punjab") and *Dīn-o-Dunyā* ("Religion and the World"); in 1903, he sang Abr-i Gawher ("Blessed Showers") dedicated to the Prophet Muhammad; and in 1904, *Taswīr-i-Dard* ("Portrait of Anguish"). These and other poems of Iqbal became very popular. By 1905, he had endeared himself to his Muslim audience and become a well-known poet in India.[63]

Iqbal continued as a poet to the end of his life. He was also an attorney (a position he kept until 1934), a professor and a politician. His political arena was the Punjab, where he sought to assert Muslim political aspirations in India. He began these efforts in 1920, when he had direct access to certain political organizations like the Punjab Khilafat Committee (1920), Punjab Legislative Council (1923), Liberal League of Lahore (1924), and the Punjab Legislative Council (1926-1930) where he presided over the annual session of the Muslim League at Allahabad (1930).

Some of his contributions to the political life of India were the reconstruction of the land revenue system, balancing the budget (1927-1930), advancing the development of Muslim education,[64] and suggesting the establishment of a Muslim state separate from that of his Hindu countrymen. The last point was expressed by Iqbal in his presidential address thus:

> I would like to see Punjab, North-West Frontier Province, Sindh and Baluchistan amalgamated into a single State. Self-government within the

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[62] Ibid., p. 14.

[63] Ibid., p. 16.

[64] Hafeez Malik, "The Man of Thought and the Man of Action," *Iqbal: Poet-Philosopher of Pakistan*, p. 84-6

> British Empire or without the British Empire, the formation of a consolidated North-West Indian Muslim State appears to me to be the final destiny of the Muslims, at least of North-West India.[65]

It should also be noted that throughout his life, Iqbal married three times. In 1892, his parents married him to Karim Bibi (d. 1946), a daughter of Khan Bahadur 'Atta Muhammad Khan, a wealthy physician in the city of Gujarat. This marriage produced a girl and two boys-- Mi'rāj Begum (1895-1914), Aftab Iqbal (b. 1899).[66] A third, unnamed child died soon after birth (1901). However, in 1916 Iqbal and Karim Bibi decided to live separately.[67]

In 1909, Iqbal's family arranged a second marriage with Sardar Begum (d. 1935), who belonged to a respectable Kashmiri family from the neighborhood of Mochi Gate in Lahore. The status of their relationship is unclear: some say there was only an engagement, others that there was a marriage.[68] Whatever the case, four years later Iqbal and Sardar Begum married, perhaps for the second time. Iqbal also married another girl, Mukhtar Begum, the niece of a very wealthy business man of Ludhana. The latter died in 1924. With Sardar Begum, Iqbal had Javid Iqbal (b. 1924) and Munirah (b. 1930).[69]

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[65] Delivered at the Annual Session of the All-India Muslim League at Allahabad on 29th of December 1930. This speech has been reproduced by Vahid, *Thoughts and Reflections of Iqbal*, pp. 170-1.

[66] Aftab earned a Master's degree in philosophy, and also qualified as a barrister-at-law at Lincoln's Inn, London. Hafeez and Lynda, "The Life of the Poet-Philosopher," p. 10.

[67] There were at least two reasons for this separation-- their long separation when Iqbal went to Europe to study, and Iqbal's attachment to Miss 'Atiya Begum Faizee, a lady he met in Europe who belonged to an aristocratic and princely family of Bombay. Ibid., pp. 10, 24.

[68] Ibid., p. 24.

[69] Ibid., pp. 24-5.

Looking at his works it is enough to say that he was quite moderate and flexible in his outlook, for he did not limit himself to Islamic thought, but acquainted himself with Hindu teachings[70] and Western thought,[71] especially the works of antiquity, Alighieri Dante (1265-1321), Nietzsche and Henri Bergson (1859-1941). This of Iqbal's intellectual versatility was possible due to the fact that, first, he was born Muslim and grew up in the Islamic milieu; second, the religion of Hinduism and its culture were two common elements of his environment; and finally it was through his studies in Europe that he came to understand the dynamics of Western thought.

As a poet-philosopher, though, he always based his thought on Islamic teachings and made them his ultimate source of reference. Almost all dimensions of his ideas reflect, for example, Quranic or Prophetic teachings, or at least the thought of Muslim sages. Among the latter, Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī was one of Iqbal's favorites, whose thought inspired him to construct his philosophy of *Khūdī*.

Knighted in 1922 in recognition of his contribution to literature and religious science, Iqbal was also a productive writer. Most of his works were written poetically, others in essay form. He wrote in Urdu, Persian and English-- the *Asrār-i-Khūdī*, *The Reconstruction* and *Javid Namah* are his most celebrated. Iqbal, in contrast with most Muslim thinkers, left no work in the Arabic language. However, this does not mean that he was not proficient in Arabic, since, as we saw, he was appointed Macleod-Punjab Reader of Arabic at the University Oriental College of Lahore.

Early in 1938, Iqbal became seriously ill. Overwhelmed by an asthmatic attack, he steadily grew weaker. On 20th of April 1938 he passed away peacefully and his body

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[70] His familiarity with Hindu teachings is shown, for example, in his article "The Doctrine of Absolute Unity," where he said that the post-Islamic history of the Arabs did not and could not produce men like Kapila (cir. 7th cent. B.C.), who is said to be the founder of the *Sankhaya* system of Indian Philosophy, and Shankaracharya (788-820), the greatest exponent of the philosophy of Absolute Monism (*Advaitavada*). Furthermore, in his dissertation, Iqbal compares the philosophy of Mani and Kapila. See Iqbal, "The Doctrine of Absolute Unity," p. 4; *The Development of Metaphysics in Persia*, pp. 14-5; and S.M.H. Burney, *Iqbal: Poet-Patriot of India*, trans. Syeda Saiyidain Hameed (New Delhi: Vikas Publishing House PVT. Ltd., 1987), pp. 54-88.

[71] Khalifa 'Abdul Hakim, "Renaissance in Indo-Pakistan (Continue): Iqbal," *A History of Muslim Philosophy*, ed. M.M. Sharif, Vol. 2 (Karachi: Royal Book Company, 1983), p.1617.

was buried in Lahore on the evening of the next day. A few hours before his death, Iqbal recited to Hasan Akhtar, his admirer, a Persian quatrain:

> The departed melody may or may not come,/ The breeze from Hejaz may or may not come./ The days of this *faqīr* have come to an end,/ Another wise one may come or may not come![72]

[72] Hafeez and Lynda, "The Life of the Poet-Philosopher," pp. 34-5.

Chapter Two
IBN 'ARABĪ'S CONCEPT OF THE PERFECT MAN

The fact that the notion of Perfect Man does not originate in Muslim tradition,[1] has not dissuaded Sufis from either pondering its definition or from seeking a route to its attainment. For Ibn 'Arabī, the idea plays a pivotal role in his worldview; the term appears, perhaps for the first time in Islamic thought, in his works.[2]

One should bear in mind that there are few scholars have immersed themselves in the study of Ibn 'Arabī's idea of the Perfect Man. The most important were 'Afīfī, Nasr, Izutsu, Takeshita, Chittick and al-Ghurāb.[3] But, in so far as their contents[4] and

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[1] The origin of the notion of Perfect Man can be found in Hermetism and Hellenistic gnosis, as well as in the Mazdaean myth of Gayomart. In Semitic religions, the idea of the Perfect Man was developed by the Jewish Kabbalah from the mystical theory of the *Merkava*, becoming the doctrine of the ten *sefirot*. See R. Arnaldez, "al-Insān al-Kāmil," *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, new edition, Vol. 3 (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1971), p. 1239.

[2] Nicholson, *Studies in Islamic Mysticism*, p. 77; "al-Insān al-Kāmil," *Shorter Encyclopaedia of Islam* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1961), p. 170; and Nasr, *Three Muslim Sages*, p. 91.

[3] 'Afīfī, *Mystical Philosophy* and *Fuṣūṣ*, Part II; Nasr, *Three Muslim Sages*, pp. 102-14; Toshihiko Izutsu, *Sufism and Taoism: A Comparative Study of Key Philosophical Concept* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983); Masataka Takeshita, *Ibn 'Arabī's Theory of the Perfect Man and its Place in the History of Islamic Thought* (Tokyo: Dept. of Near Eastern Languages and Civilization University of Chicago, 1987); William C. Chittick, "Microcosm, Macrocosm, and Perfect Man in the View of Ibn al-'Arabī," *Islamic Culture* 63.1-2 (1989), pp. 1-12; *Imaginal Worlds: Ibn al-'Arabī and the Problem of Religious Diversity* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1994); and Maḥmūd Maḥmūd al-Ghurāb (ed.), *al-Insān al-Kāmil wa al-Quṭb al-Ghawth al-Fard min Kalām al-Shaykh al-Akbar Muḥy al-Dīn Ibn al-'Arabī* (Damascus: Maṭba'aẖ Zayd b. Thābit, 1981).

[4] Published in 1939, 'Afīfī's *Mystical Philosophy* was among the first to introduce Ibn 'Arabī's worldview to the English reader. Here, 'Afīfī approaches Ibn 'Arabī's notion of the Perfect Man in relation to the latter's doctrine of the Logos. 'Afīfī divides this doctrine into three categories-- namely, the Logos as Reality of Realities or *Ḥaqīqaẖ al-Ḥaqā'iq*, Logos as Reality of Muḥammad or *ḥaqīqaẖ al-Muḥammadiyyaẖ* and Logos as the Perfect Man or *al-insān al-kāmil* (p. 77). It is interesting that 'Afīfī points out the twenty-two terms used by Ibn 'Arabī to denote "Logos" (p. 66). Despite drawing on various works like *al-Futūḥāt, Fuṣūṣ* and the three treatises edited by Nyberg, 'Afīfī does not fully explore Ibn 'Arabī's concept of the Perfect Man: he even mixes up the distinction between the Perfect Man as the Logos and the Microcosm (pp. 77-82). Furthermore, in his commentary in the Chapter "Faṣṣ Ḥikmaẖ Ilāhiyyaẖ fī Kalimaẖ Ādamiyyaẖ" of the *Fuṣūṣ*, 'Afīfī does not use Ibn 'Arabī's other works at all. Ibn 'Arabī, *Fuṣūṣ*, Part I, pp. 48-56 and Part II, pp. 6-19.

methodologies[5] are concerned, these works have one or two of the following four problems: first, they present Ibn 'Arabī's concept of the Perfect Man as a product of philosophical inquiry and ignore the fact that the major part of such a conception is the product of Ibn 'Arabī's Sufi vision, experience and contemplation; second, they neglect the related issues of Ibn 'Arabī's concept of the Perfect Man; third, they primarily focus on one or two works of Ibn 'Arabī; and, finally, some are simply impressionistic and do not identify the sources of their studies.

Izutsu's *Sufism and Taoism* had a great influence on the study of Ibn 'Arabī, emphasizing the latter's ideas on Being and the Perfect Man. Nevertheless, Izutsu appears to philosophize Ibn 'Arabī's doctrine too much, basing his work on Ibn 'Arabī's *Fuṣūṣ* and its commentary by 'Abd al-Razzāq al-Qāshānī (d. 1330), *Sharḥ al-Qāshānī 'alā Fuṣūṣ al-Ḥikam* (Egypt: al-Maṭba'ah al-Maymaniyyah, 1321H/1903). Qāshānī is one of the greatest Akbarian figures.

Takeshita's *Ibn 'Arabī's Theory of the Perfect Man* is a valuable source which discusses of the concept of the Perfect Man not only using a variety of references from Ibn 'Arabī's works, but also investigating the place of that concept in Islamic thought with special reference to al-Ḥakīm al-Tirmidhī and al-Ghazālī, and the influence that they may have had on Ibn 'Arabī. However, this work is quite theoretical. Criticism on this work has been made by R.W.J. Austin in his review, in *al-Masāq: Studia Arabo-Islamica Mediterranea* 2 (1989): pp. 49-50.

Chittick's "Microcosm, Macrocosm, and Perfect Man in the View of Ibn al-'Arabī" and *Imaginal Worlds* both deal with Ibn 'Arabī's concept of the Perfect Man. However, while the former ignores Ibn 'Arabī's notion of *qaḍā'* and *qadar* and its relation to the Perfect Man on the individual level, the latter is not only, like Takeshita's work, very theoretical but also lacks references. It tends to reflect the author's understanding of Ibn 'Arabī's teachings.

Finally, the work of Maḥmūd Maḥmūd al-Ghurāb, *al-Insān al-Kāmil*, is also interesting since it collects Ibn 'Arabī's sayings concerning the idea of the Perfect Man. However, not only is the work not a comprehensive study of Ibn 'Arabī's concept of the Perfect Man, it fails to identify its textual sources. Unfortunately, I have become aware of this work too late to incorporate it into the second chapter of this thesis. But my initial reading of this work tends to confirm my analysis of Ibn 'Arabi's concept of the Perfect Man. My thanks to Dr. Todd Lawson for bringing this work to my attention.

[5] In his *Ibn 'Arabī's Theory of the Perfect Man*, Takeshita makes reference to the methodology of certain famous contemporary scholars' studying Ibn 'Arabī's thought, two of whom are 'Afīfī in his *Mystical Philosophy*, which is over-systematic and superficial (p. 3), and Izutsu in his *Sufism and Taoism*, which approaches Ibn 'Arabī's ontological thought through phenomenology and Jungian psychology (p. 4). The phenomenological approach to studying Ibn 'Arabī's teachings is also used by Chittick. Takeshita himself studies Ibn 'Arabī's concept of the Perfect Man through a historical approach which is limited in scope, i.e., emphasizing the continuous development of that concept in Islamic thought down to Ibn 'Arabī.

As Ibn 'Arabī is usually described as the propagator of the Islamic notion of *waḥdah al-wujūd*, it is important to outline his perspective on the construction of *wujūd*,[6] i.e., the concept of Being.[7] This is so because his ontology firmly ties in with the idea of the Perfect Man, an idea which entails, as Izutsu claims, a thorough explication of the world of Being.[8] Ibn 'Arabī perceives the essence of *wujūd* in one primary sense-- *wujūd* is one and there is no *wujūd* except God (*lā wujūd illā Allāh*).[9] As a consequence, the existence of the cosmos, as we perceive it in life, is regarded as metaphorical (*majāzī*),[10] for its essence is to be locus of Divine manifestation or even a part of "Him."[11]

However, it would be a mistake to suggest that the phenomenal world has no existence at all. Ibn 'Arabī himself divides *wujūd* into two levels: the highest and the

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[6] *Wujūd* comes from the root *wajada*, which in its active sense is normaly translated "to find" and in its passive sense as "to be found," meaning "to be" or "exist." *Wujūd* itself can be translated as Being, existence, and finding. Chittick, *Sufi Path of Knowledge*, pp. 80-1; *Imaginal World*, p. 15. Austin says that *wajada* may include the meaning of *sachchidananda*, i.e., the great unitary concept of Vedantic Hinduism, which in relation to Ibn 'Arabī's conception of *waḥdah al-wujūd* means not only Oneness of Being, but also the Oneness of Awarness and the Oneness of Experience. For details see R.W.J. Austin, "Meditations on the Vocabulary of Love and Union in Ibn 'Arabī's Thought," *Journal of the Muhyiddin Ibn 'Arabī Society* 3 (1984), p. 9.

[7] There are many works dealing with Ibn 'Arabī's concept of Being. In addition to p. 18, n. 4 in this chapter, see Henry Corbin, *Creative Imagination*; Ian Richard Netton, *Allāh Transcendent: Studies in the Structure and Semiotic of Islamic Philosophy, Theology and Cosmology* (London: Routledge, 1989); Michel Chodkiewicz, *An Ocean Without Shore: Ibn 'Arabī, the Book, and the Law* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1993); and Noer, *Waḥdat al-Wujūd dalam Perdebatan*.

[8] Izutsu, *Sufism and Taoism*, p.19.

[9] Ibn 'Arabī, *Fuṣūṣ*, Part I, p. 92.

[10] Chittick, *Imaginal World*, p. 17.

[11] Ibn 'Arabī, *"Whoso Knoweth Himself...": from the Treatise on Being (Risālat al-Wujūdiyya)*, trans. T.H. Weir Bd. (n.p.: Beshara Publication, 1976), p. 4. However, this work is said to be the work of Awḥad al-Dīn Balyānī (d. 686/1288). 'Uthmān Yaḥyā and Chodkiewicz say that the content of the work does not present a balanced account of Ibn 'Arabī's teachings. See the introduction of Michel Chodkiewicz, *Epitre sur l'Unicite Absolue* (Paris: Les Deux Oceans, 1982); *Seal of the Saint*, p. 3; Nasr, *Three Muslim Sages*, p. 165n. 56; Chittick, "Rūmī and *Waḥdat al-Wujūd*," p. 8; and Martin Notcutt, "Ibn 'Arabī: A Handlist of Printed Materials," *JMIAS* 3 (1984), p. 56.

lower. At the highest level, *wujūd* is the Absolute, known as "the Necessary Being" (*Wājib al-Wujūd*), which designates the Essence of the Real, i.e., the only reality which is real in every respect: The second, lower level is where *wujūd* is perceived as the basic substance of "everything other than God," in reference to the cosmos as a whole and to every extant thing found within it.[12] Thus, the essence of God's *wujūd* is fluid. For, on the one hand, as the essence of all phenomena, it may viewed as the Truth (*al-Ḥaqq*). On the other hand, it may be viewed as Creation (*al-Khalq*), if one regards it as the phenomena which manifest that Essence.[13]

A detailed explication of the above can be found in *Inshā' al-Dawā'ir*, where Ibn 'Arabī divides the attribute of the *wujūd* of things into three categories.[14] First, there is *wujūd* which exists essentially and per se forever (*al-wujūd li dhātih*). It is the Necessary Being (*Muṭlaq al-Wujūd*), i.e., the Absolute, whose *wujūd* is the Source and Creator of everything.[15] Second, there is a *wujūd* which comes from the Absolute. This is a dependent (*muqayyad*) *wujūd* and has no existence in itself,[16] like "the Throne" (*al-'arsh*), "the Chair" (*al-kursī*), heaven and earth with all of their contents.[17] Notice, however, that Ibn 'Arabī denies the existence of a temporal sequence between this *wujūd* and Allah, as

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[12] Chittick, *Imaginal Worlds*, p. 15-6.

[13] Affifi, *Mystical Philosophy*, p. 10.

[14] This treatise also provides us with the details of Ibn 'Arabī's explanation of what is called *wujūd* and non-*wujūd*. The former is divided into four categories, namely existence in substance, in knowledge, in words, and in script. The latter is based on the following categories: non-*wujūd* whose existence is absolutely impossible (such as a son for God); non-*wujūd* whose existence is not compulsory but voluntary (like tasting the heavenly happiness for the believers); non-*wujūd* whose existence is permissible (like the bitterness of a sweet thing); and non-*wujūd* whose existence cannot happen by choice but is sometimes found in an individual species. Ibn 'Arabī, *Inshā' al-Dawā'ir*, p. 7-10; Husaini, *The Pantheistic Monism*, p. 40; Cf. Affifi, *Mystical Philosophy*, pp. 7-10.

[15] Ibn 'Arabī, *Inshā' al-Dawā'ir*, p. 15.

[16] Ibn 'Arabī, *al-Futūḥāt*, Vol. 2, p. 69.

[17] Ibn 'Arabī, *Inshā' al-Dawā'ir*, p. 15.

implied in the words "after" and "before,"[18] because Allah Himself also seems as Time itself.[19] Therefore, the existence of the dependent *wujūd* and Allah cannot be separated in chronological sequence, for it would render the latter prior to the former[20] even while dependent *wujūd* emanates from Allah.

Finally, there is a *wujūd* which cannot be classified as *wujūd* and non-*wujūd*, nor as temporal and eternal.[21] As in the second category, here too *wujūd* cannot be perceived in terms of time sequence. Furthermore, it cannot be regarded as "wholeness" (*al-kull*) and "particular" (*al-ba'ḍ*), nor as "excessive" (*al-ziyādaẖ*) and "deficiency" (*al-naqṣ*).[22] With regard to its characteristics, the third *wujūd* is called by Ibn 'Arabī the source of the cosmos, "the Reality of the Cosmic Realities" (*ḥaqīqaẖ ḥaqā'iq al-'ālam*), "the Most General Wholeness" (*al-kullī al-a'amm*),[23] "the Reality of Realities" (*ḥaqīqaẖ al-ḥaqā'iq*), "the Prime Matter" (*al-hayūlā*), "the First Substance" (*al-māddaẖ al-ūlā*), "the Genus of

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[18] In his ontological perspective, Ibn 'Arabī calls them *al-ta'akhkhur al-zamānī* and *al-taqaddum al-zamānī*. Ibid., p. 16; *al-Futūḥāt*, Vol. 2, p. 56.

[19] This refers to the Prophetic saying, "Do not disdain time (*al-dahr*) for it is, indeed, God Himself." Muslim b. al-Ḥajjāj al-Qushayrī, *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*, Vol. 4, eds. Mūsā Shāhin Lāshīn and Aḥmad 'Umar Hāshim (Beirut: Mu'assasaẖ 'Izz al-Dīn, 1987), p. 434.

[20] Ibn 'Arabī, *Inshā' al-Dawā'ir*, p. 16.

[21] It is said to be non-*wujūd* if it is seen from our perspective. However, if it is seen from inside, i.e., from His absolutness, it has *wujūd*. See Izutsu, *Sufism and Taoism*, pp. 160-2.

[22] This paragraph is from Ibn 'Arabī's *Inshā' al-Dawā'ir*, pp. 16-7. It is here that Ibn 'Arabī continues (p. 17):

> If you say that this thing is the cosmos, you are right; or if you say that it is the Eternal Truth (*al-ḥaqq al-qadīm*), you are also right; or if you wish to say that it is neither the cosmos nor the Truth, by which you mean that it is an "additional meaning" (*ma'n zā'id*), you are also correct. All this may be attributed to it. Such a thing is "the very wholeness" (*al-kullī al-a'amm*), the gatherer (*al-jāmi'*) of the temporal and eternal. It varies with the variety of existences and cannot be divided by the division of the existences; however, it can be divided into the division of the perceived things (*al-ma'lūmāt*). It is neither existence nor non-existence, It is not the cosmos but It is the cosmos, it is other but it is not the other, because the otherness (*al-mughāyaraẖ*) exists only in the two existences (*al-wujūdayn*).

[23] Ibid.

Genera" (*jins al-ajnās*),[24] "the Immutable Entities" (*al-a'yān al-thābitaẖ*),[25] "the Beautiful Names" (*al-asmā' al-ḥusnā*)[26] or "the Perfect Man" (*al-insān al-kāmil*).[27]

This classification of *wujūd* is different from that of the philosophers and the theologians,[28] who divide it into three categorics: Necessary *wujūd* (*al-Wujūd al-Muṭlaq*) or God; possible *wujūd* (*al-mumkin al-wujūd*) or cosmos; and impossible *wujūd* (*al-mustaḥīl al-wujūd*). Their differences lie in the following. Necessary Being is the Reality that "ceaselessly must not not be," an eternal condition where all existence depends on Him and He does not depend on them. The impossible *wujūd* is a reality whose existence within the cosmos is impossible, but it may exist in an intellectual dimension of either God or even man. And the possible *wujūd* is a reality whose association with existence and non-existence is similar.[29] Under these circumstances, one might even say that while Ibn 'Arabī's worldview of *waḥdaẖ al-wujūd* is more

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[24] Ibid., p. 19.

[25] Ibn 'Arabī, *al-Futūḥāt*, Vol. 3, p. 46; *Fuṣūṣ*, Part I, pp. 76, 102; Izutsu, *Sufism and Taoism*, p. 159: "the plane of the archetypes occupies a middle position between the Absolute in its absoluteness and the world of sensible things."

[26] Ibn 'Arabī, *Fuṣūṣ*, Part I, p. 76; Izutsu, *Sufism and Taoism*, p. 161.

[27] Ibn 'Arabī, *Fuṣūṣ*, Part I, p. 50 (*fa huwa al-insān al-ḥādith al-azalī wa al-nash' al-dā'im al-abadī*); 'Affīfī, *Mystical Philosophy*, pp. 66-7.

[28] In addition to the afore-mentioned categories of *wujūd*, we find that Ḥaydar Āmulī (cir. 719/1319-787/1385) in his *Kitāb al-Nuṣūṣ* said "the Realities of the Wholeness" (*al-ḥaqā'iq al-kullī*) include three things, namely the Absolute (*al-Ḥaqq Ta'ālā*), the macrocosm (*al-'ālam al-kabīr*) and the microcosm (*al-'ālam al-ṣaghīr*). Shaykh Sayyid Ḥaydar Āmulī, *al-Muqaddimāt min Kitāb Naṣṣ al-Nuṣūṣ fī Sharḥ Fuṣūṣ al-Ḥikam li Muḥy al-Dīn ibn al-'Arabī*, eds. Henry Corbin and 'Uthmān Ismā'īl Yaḥyā (Tehran: Departement d'Iranologie de l'Institut Franco-Iranien de Recherche, 1975), pp. 502-6.

[29] For details see Ibn 'Arabī, *al-Futūḥāt*, Vol. 3, p. 47. See also Chittick, *Sufī Path*, p. 82; Izutsu, *Sufism and Taoism*, pp. 166-8. It is also said that Ibn 'Arabī divides *wujūd* into two single categories, namely, Necessary *wujūd* (*wājib al-wujūd*) and impossible *wujūd* (*muṣtaḥīl al-wujūd*), and denies the possible or contingent *wujūd* (*mumkin al-wujūd*) as a separate kind of *wujūd* standing independently from the *wājib al-wujūd*. Indeed, according to 'Affīfī, the *mumkin al-wujūd* as perceived by Ibn 'Arabī belongs to and remains in the One, for it is this One whose essence acts as the Subject and the Object or as the *wājib al-wujūd* and the *mumkin al-wujūd* simultaneously in the cosmos. 'Affīfī, *Mystical Philosophy*, p. 9.

ontological than theological, it still resides within the realm of the theological and philosophical discourse on existence (*wujūd*).[30]

Ibn 'Arabī's notion of *wujūd* should be further studied in the light of his theory of Absolute Self-Manifestation (*tajallī*),[31] a doctrine which addresses the manifestation of the Absolute and its relation to the Many. In Ibn 'Arabī's terminology, the term *tajallī* is used interchangeably with *fayḍ*, which denotes "emanation" in the school of Neoplatonism; on one occasion, Ibn 'Arabī even uses the term *tajallī* to explain the meaning of *fayḍ*.[32] However, the underlying idea behind *fayḍ* in his thought is obviously different from the "emanation" of Plotinus. For the latter, the "emanation" connotes a continuous flow from the Ultimate One, while for Ibn 'Arabī, it simply alludes to a different appearance and self-determination (*ta'ayyun*) of the Absolute, either *in actu* or *in potentia*.[33]

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[30] Izutsu, *Sufism and Taoism*, p. 19.

[31] One should bear in mind that Ibn 'Arabī's is, after all, a theory of manifestation. Ibid., p. 152.

[32] Ibn 'Arabī, *Fuṣūṣ*, Part I, p. 49. The full text is:

> *wa mā huwa illā ḥuṣūl al-isti'dād min tilka al-ṣūraẖ al-musawwāt li qabūl al-fayḍ al-tajallī* [originally *al-mutajallī* (n. 4)] *al-dā'im al-ladhī lam yazal wa lā yazāl.*

There are two ways of reading the underlined text. First, it can be read as "*al-fayḍ al-tajallī*," which indicates that the meaning of *fayḍ* is to be explained by *al-tajallī*, since *tajallī* is in the position of *badl al-kull min al-kull*. Such a reading of the text is found in Izutsu's translation (*Sufism and Taoism*, p. 157):

> And this refers to nothing else than the actualization, or the part of the locus thus formed, a particular 'preparedness' for receiving *the emanation, that is, the perpetual self-manifestation* that has been going on from eternity and that will be going on to eternity.

Second, the expression can be read by using its original text, i.e., *al-fayḍ al-mutajallī*, where the last word is in the position of the adjective. Austin's translation:

> The latter is nothing other than the coming into operation of the undifferentiated form's [innate] disposition to receive *the inexhaustible overflowing of Self-revelation*, which has always been and will ever be (Austin, *The Bezels of Wisdom*, p. 50).

[33] Ibn 'Arabī, *Fuṣūṣ*, Part II, pp. 9-10; Izutsu, *Sufism and Taoism*, p. 154. See also Elton Hall, "The Real and the Universal Man according to Ibn 'Arabi," *Universality and Ibn 'Arabi*,

As a rule, there is only one *fayḍ* in Ibn 'Arabī's ontological perspective, that is, "the Most Holy Emanation" (*al-fayḍ al-aqdas*).[34] It is interesting to note, however, that Izutsu and 'Afīfī regard it as the highest form of Divine manifestation when contrasted with "the Holy Emanation" (*al-fayḍ al-muqaddas*).[35] Hence, they would argue, there are two types of *fayḍ* to be detected in Ibn 'Arabī's thought-- "the Most Holy Emanation" (*al-fayḍ al-aqdas*) and "the Holy Emanation" (*al-fayḍ al-muqaddas*). However, the last term does not appear in either Ibn 'Arabī's *Fuṣūṣ* or "Kitāb Naqsh al-Fuṣūṣ."[36] The term may have been attributed to Ibn 'Arabī by way of explanation of the latter's idea of the manifestation of the Absolute from its absoluteness toward its cosmic level.

The notion of Divine manifestation relates to the famous Prophetic tradition, *al-ḥadīth al-qudsī*: "I [the Absolute] was a hidden treasure, unknown. But I longed to be known; hence I created the creatures (*al-khalq*) in order that I might be known."[37] This signified the stage of "hidden treasure," where the Absolute was still inconceivable, unthinkable, and mysterious. In other words, the Absolute was alone, for the Many did not yet exist even in *potentia*; in a sense, it was also impossible to speak of Divine names. It is

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First Annual USA Symposium of the Muhyiddin Ibn 'Arabi Society, University of California, Berkeley (September 12-13, 1987), p. 15.

[34] Ibn 'Arabī, *Fuṣūṣ*, Part I, p. 49.

[35] Izutsu, *Sufism and Taoism*, pp. 44, 121, 154-6; Ibn 'Arabī, *Fuṣūṣ*, Part II, pp. 8, 9, 28, 151, and 245.

[36] Ibn 'Arabī, "Kitāb Naqsh al-Fuṣūṣ," *Rasā'il* II. This text has been translated by William C. Chittick in "Ibn 'Arabī's Own Summary of the *Fuṣūṣ*: "The Imprint of the Bezels of the Wisdom," *Journal of the Muhyiddin Ibn 'Arabi Society* 1 (1982), pp. 30-93. The existence of the term *al-fayḍ al-muqaddas* in Ibn 'Arabī's works is still being discussed. Izutsu and 'Affīfī might have found it in one of Ibn 'Arabī's works, but my subsequent reading of the few available works of Ibn 'Arabī in the library of the Institute of Islamic Studies, McGill University, throws doubt on the presence of the term. However, in Jāmī's *Naqd al-Nuṣūṣ*, a classical commentary of *Fuṣūṣ*, one does find such a term. See 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Aḥmad Jāmī, *Naqd al-Nuṣūṣ fī Sharḥ Naqsh al-Fuṣūṣ*, ed. William C. Chittick (Tehran: Iranian Academy of Philosophy, 1977), p. 42.

[37] Ibn 'Arabī, *'Uqlah al-Mustawfiz*, p. 48: "*Kuntu kanzan makhfiyyan lam u'raf. Fa aḥbabtu an u'raf fa khalaqtu al-khalq, wa ta'arraftu ilayhim fa 'arafūnī.*" It should be noted that this *ḥadīth*, according to al-Sakhāwi, is not a Prophetic saying. However, as al-Qārī said, the meaning of this *ḥadīth* is in accordance with the Quranic verse "*wa mā khalaqtu al-jinn wa al-ins illā li ya'budūnī*" (Q.S. 51:56). Quoted from al-Ḥakīm, *al-Mu'jam al-Ṣūfī*, pp. 1266-7.

here that the Absolute longingly cries to be known by the "other" and here, too, that the Divine manifestation takes place.

Ibn 'Arabī grounds his conception of such a manifestation in an elucidation of the true nature of the Absolute. According to him, the nature of the Absolute is secluded by the veils of darkness and light-- the cosmos and the spirit, respectively.[38] Hence Ibn 'Arabī posits Divine Self-Manifestation as a dichotomy: namely, "the Unseen Self-Manifestation" (*al-tajallī al-ghaybī*) and "the Sensible Self-Manifestation" (*al-tajallī al-shuhūdī*).[39]

The first kind of Divine Self-Manifestation is the manifestation of the Absolute from Himself to Himself or, as is said in modern psychology, the rise of "self-consciousness."[40] Such an emanation actually belongs to the third category of *wujūd* and to the veils of spirit. What first comes into existence from this emanation is an immaterial entity, i.e., "Greatest Element" (*al-unṣur al-a'ẓam*),[41] "Muḥammadan Reality" (*al-ḥaqīqaẖ al-Muḥammadiyyaẖ*),[42] "the First Intellect" (*al-'aql al-awwal*),[43] "the Pen" (*al-qalam*),[44] or "the Reality of Realities" (*ḥaqīqaẖ al-ḥaqā'iq*).[45] This emanation is also regarded as the

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[38] Ibn 'Arabī, *'Uqlaẖ al-Mustawfiz*, p. 47; *al-Futūḥāt*, Vol. 2, p. 62; and *Fuṣūṣ*, Part I, p. 54. In *'Uqlaẖ*, the number of veils for both is said to be seventy thousand (p. 47).

[39] The first Divine manifestation is also called "the Essential Self-Manifestation" (*al-tajallī al-dhātī* or *fayḍ dhātī*), while the second is "the emanation based on His willingness" (*fayḍ irādī*). Ibid., p. 51; *Fuṣūṣ*, Part I, p. 120. It is this *fayḍ irādī* which is regarded as "the Holy Emanation" (*al-fayḍ al-muqaddas*) by Izutsu and 'Affīfī. Both kinds of Divine Self-Manifestations are of many types, of which Ibn 'Arabī explains 109 in his "Kitāb al-Tajalliyāt," *Rasā'il* II. The eightieth *tajallī* has been translated by Abraham Abadi, "Ibn 'Arabī's "Theophany of Perfection," *Journal of the Muhyiddin Ibn 'Arabi Society* 1 (1982), pp. 26-9.

[40] Izutsu, *Sufism and Taoism*, pp. 154.

[41] Ibn 'Arabī, *'Uqlaẖ al-Mustawfiz*, p. 49.

[42] Ibn 'Arabī, *al-Futūḥāt*, Vol. 1, p. 118-9 (ed. 'Uthmān Yaḥyā, Vol. 2, pp. 226-7).

[43] Ibn 'Arabī, *al-Futūḥāt*, Vol. 1, p. 125; Vol. 2, p. 421.

[44] Ibid.: "*wa awwal mā khalaqa Allāh al-'aql, wa huwa al-qalam.*" In the following passage he says, "*Fa awwal mā khalaqa Allāh al-'aql, aẓharah fī nafas al-raḥmān fī al-'amā' fī awwal darajatih al-latī hiya fī nafas al-insān. . .*(p. 422)"

[45] Concerning this problem, see also Chodkiewicz, *Seal of the Saints*, pp. 68-9.

illumination of the Divine names--[46] whose essential forms are "the immutable entities" (*al-a'yān al-thābitah*)[47] and whose all-embracing name is Allah.[48] At this stage the immutable entities are *in potentia* and not *in actu* until the emergence of the second type of Absolute Self-Manifestation.

From the afore-mentioned perspective, the first category of emanation is labelled the "preparedness" (*isti'dād*) for that which is to come--[49] i.e., the cosmic world. In other words, it is "the highest mediator" (*al-barzakh al-a'lā*) by virtue of its access to *wujūd* and non-*wujūd*.[50] Being a preparedness, *al-tajallī al-ghaybī* has the capacity to bring forth the potentialities or properties of the Divine names into existence insofar as their "recipients" (*qawābil*) are ready for that,[51] either in terms of spiritual or concrete actualisation.

When this happens, the Absolute exhibits "Sensible Self-Manifestation" (*al-tajallī al-shuhūdī*).[52] Hence, one may say that the Sensible Self-Manifestation is the manifestation of the Absolute into concrete existence; in other words, creating the world and all its contents. One should bear in mind, however, that the actualisation of the Divine names does not start at the request of the Absolute, but rather at that of the Names.[53] In relation to the *ḥadīth qudsī* of "the hidden treasure," it signifies that "creatures" (*al-khalq*) refers not only to the cosmic world, but also to the First Intellect, the Reality of Realities

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[46] In general, the Divine names are considered to be ninety-nine. However, this is not the final word in Sufism, for Ibn 'Arabī and his school hold them to be about one thousand and one or more. So to speak, God's names are limitless (*wa asmā' Allāh lā tatanāhā*). Ibn 'Arabī, *Fuṣūṣ*, Part I, p. 65; Jāmī, *Naqd al-Nuṣūṣ*, p. 84.

[47] Izutsu, *Sufism and Taoism*, p. 160.

[48] Ibn 'Arabī, *al-Futūḥāt*, Vol. 2, p. 124. Austin adds that one of the daring and original ideas of Ibn 'Arabī is his perception that God is created in belief, i.e, the worshipped God who relates cosmically as Allāh and in a special and particular way as *Rabb*. Austin, "Meditation on the Vocabulary of Love and Union," p. 18.

[49] Ibn 'Arabī, *Fuṣūṣ*, Part I, p. 120.

[50] Ibn 'Arabī, *al-Futūḥāt*, Vol. 3, p. 46.

[51] Ibid., Vol. 2, p. 427.

[52] Ibn 'Arabī, *Fuṣūṣ*, Part I, p. 120-1.

[53] Ibid., p. 119.

or the Divine names because the *ḥadīth* itself denotes the "creatures" (*al-khalq*) in an all-embracing form.

The above explanation of Ibn 'Arabī's concept of *wujūd* and of Divine manifestation makes it easier to grasp Ibn 'Arabī's concept of the Perfect Man. As we saw, an attachment to this idea first manifested itself in Ibn 'Arabī's identification of the third category of *wujūd*, which he called "the Reality of Realities" (*ḥaqīqaẖ al-ḥaqā'iq*), "the immutable entities" (*al-a'yān al-thābitaẖ*), "the Preserved Table" (*lawḥ al-maḥfūẓ*), "the Universal Man" (*al-insān al-kullī*),[54] or "the Real Adam" (*ādam al-ḥaqīqī*).[55] This is the Perfect Man himself, who cannot be attributed to either *wujūd* or non-*wujūd* and belongs to the veils of light or spirit, as expressed in Ibn 'Arabī's conception of 'the Unseen Self-Manifestation' (*al-tajallī al-ghaybī*).

However, this category depicting the Perfect Man is not the only category in Ibn 'Arabī's doctrine. There are two other Perfect Men-- the Perfect Man as the cosmos and the Perfect Man as individual.[56] On the cosmic level, the Perfect Man is regarded as "the Big Man" (*al-insān al-kabīr*), namely, the world. One should bear in mind that this category alludes to the Perfect Man because its contents reflect the potentialities of all the Divine names. Thus, the world is perfect in its wholeness when all of its contents are gathered together.[57] Conversely, one cannot label each worldly element as Perfect Man if it is separate from the whole, for no one thing can incorporate into itself all the properties of the Divine names.

A horse, for example, absorbs only the attribute of power (derived from God's name "the Most powerful" or *al-qawī*), but not the attribute of knowledge which is derived from one of God's other names, *al-'alīm*.[58] This premise may be rooted in the Quranic

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[54] Ibn 'Arabī, *al-Futūḥāt*, Vol. 2, p. 397.

[55] 'Affīfī, *Mystical Philosophy*, p. 66, n. 1.

[56] al-Ḥakīm, *al-Mu'jam al-Ṣūfī*, p. 153.

[57] William C. Chittick, "Microcosm, Macrocosm and Perfect Man," *Man the Macrocosm*, Fourth Annual Symposium of the Muhyiddin Ibn 'Arabi Society, Jesus College, Oxford (27-29 of March 1987), p. 11.

[58] See also ibid., p. 12.

verse which enjoins that everything in heaven and earth worships God.[59] However, the act of worship can be exercised only by those who have already been granted life, argues Ibn 'Arabī, as no one knows how such an act takes place except by Divine unveiling (*kashf ilāhiyy*).[60] This verse is then used by Ibn 'Arabī to suggest that every element worships only its own Lord (*Rabb*), which is suited to its own basic nature, not another's Lord nor the Most Comprehensive Lord, or the *Rabb al-'ālamīn*. Thus, the horse worships the Lord of *al-Qawī*, not the Lord of *al-Shadīd*, i.e., the Lord of Lion.[61]

In the previous paragraphs we mentioned that God described Himself as a mystery endowed with esoteric and exoteric qualities (*ẓāhir* and *bāṭin*), by which He created "the Unseen world" (*'ālam ghayb*) and "the sensuous world" (*'ālam shahādaẖ*).[62] In accordance with the Prophetic tradition that God desired to be known by His creatures, Ibn 'Arabī argues that God thus desired a creature who can grasp both of His modes. The Perfect Men cited earlier as the First Intellect and as the cosmos, cannot entirely fulfil this criterion, for the former does not know God in His sensuous manifestation, while the latter does not know Him in His unseen manifestation.[63] As such, there must be a locus which can assimilate both His divinity and His cosmic presence (*al-ḥaḍraẖ al-Ilāhiyyaẖ* and *al-ḥaḍraẖ al-kiyāniyyaẖ*). This creature is none other than the Perfect Man on an individual level, whose existence is attributed, in the first order, to the personal name Adam.

> Indeed, Allah epitomised (*ikhtaṣar*) this cosmic world comprehensively [into one single creature] who embodies the complete meaning of the world, and He named [this creature] Adam. And God said that He created him in His image. Hence, mankind [constitutes] the comprehensive world, [where] he [then] is [called] "the small man" (*al-insān al-ṣaghīr*) and the cosmic world is "the big man" (*al-insān al-kabīr*).[64]

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[59] See, for example, Quran *sūraẖ* 61:1.

[60] Ibn 'Arabī, *Fuṣūṣ*, Part I, p. 170. It is interesting to notice here that Ibn 'Arabī considers everything as possessing life (ibid.).

[61] See also Chittick, "Microcosm, Macrocosm and Perfect Man," p. 12.

[62] Ibn 'Arabī, *Fuṣūṣ*, Part I, p. 54.

[63] Ibn 'Arabī, *Inshā' al-Dawā'ir*, p. 22.

[64] Ibn 'Arabī, *al-Futūḥāt*, Vol. 3, p. 11.

Ibn 'Arabī makes two remarks on this personality. First, the Perfect Man is the only creature created by "the hand" of God, as cited in the Quranic verse, "What prevents thee from bowing down to the creature I made by My [two] *hands*?"[65] This verse signifies that the essence of Adam was made from both Divine and cosmic forms, which denote "the [two] hands" of God. Here, the outward being of Adam is constructed on the basis of worldly elements, while his inward being is constructed on the basis of Divine image.

> Allah did not create Adam with His hands except for an honour (*tashrīfan*). Hence, He said to Satan (*Iblīs*), "what prevents thee from bowing down to the creature that I made by My [two] hands?"[66] In this sense, he [Adam] was no other than the entity (*'ayn*), created between the two forms, namely the cosmic and Divine forms (*ṣūraẖ al-'ālam wa ṣūraẖ al-ḥaqq*), each of which is the hand of God. . . Therefore, Adam was the vicegerent of God. . . As vicegerency of God is only bestowed upon the Perfect Man, then [God] created his [Adam] outer form from the worldly elements and created his inner form from the mode of God. For this God said, "I am his hearing (*sam'*) and seeing (*baṣar*)," and He did not say, "I am his eye (*'ayn*) and ear (*udhun*)." Please, differentiate between the two forms.[67]

Second, the Perfect Man is the "mediator" (*barzakh*) between God and the cosmos, which makes him a repository of absolute perfection in both the temporal and the eternal worlds. One should bear in mind that this is possible because God, in Ibn 'Arabī's view,

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[65] Quran *sūraẖ* 38:75.

[66] It is interesting to note that Ibn 'Arabī equates the term "hands" (*yadayn*) with the term "Be!" (*kun*), which points to power (*qudraẖ*) and mercy (*ni'maẖ*). They are equated because the "hands" are two, while the word "*kun*" comes from two letters, namely *kāf* and *nūn*. For details see Ibn 'Arabī, *al-Futūḥāt*, Vol. 2, p. 70. In his commentary on Ibn 'Arabī's "Naqsh al-Fuṣūṣ," Jāmī says that the two of God's hands used in creating Adam dichotomizes the basic character of creatures, namely, those who are created by *one* hand and those by *two* hands, each hand refers to God's attributes of Beauty (*jamāl*) and Majesty (*jalāl*). The former type of creation refers to every creation except Adam or mankind, and the latter refers to all human beings. Jāmī, *Naqd al-Nuṣūṣ*, pp. 87, 107-9; William C. Chittick, "The Perfect Man as the Prototype of the Self in the Sufism of Jāmī," *Studia Islamica* 49 (1979), pp. 144-5. For details on the idea of *jalāl* and *jamāl* see Ibn 'Arabī, "Kitāb al-Jalāl wa al-Jamāl" and "Kitāb al-Jalāliyyaẖ wa hiya Kalimaẖ Allāh," *Rasā'il* I.

[67] Ibn 'Arabī, *Fuṣūṣ*, Part I, p. 55.

has an absolute perfection only in the eternal sense, while the cosmos has perfection only in the temporal sense.

> And the human being has two kinds of perfection, the first is addressed to the Divine presence and the second to the cosmic presence. . . Hence, he [the human being] seems to be the mediator (*barzakh*) between the cosmos and God, and the gatherer of the created beings and the Creator. He [human being] becomes the line which separates between the Divine and cosmic presences, just like the line which separates the dark and the sun; and this is his essence. Thus, the human being has an absolute perfection in temporality and eternity. In the case of the Truth (*al-Ḥaqq*), He has absolute perfection only in eternity and has no access to such perfection in temporal matters; He is beyond such things. Meanwhile, the cosmos has absolute perfection in temporality and no access to such perfection in eternity; the cosmos can never have it. Therefore, the human being becomes the gatherer.[68]

It goes without saying that Ibn 'Arabī's point in elucidating the inward reality of human beings is based on the *imago Dei ḥadīth*[69] which relates that God created Adam in His/his image (*khalaqa Ādam 'alā ṣūratih*).[70] Here, "His/his" are brought together in acknowledgement of the two different opinions concerning the possessive pronoun, which is found at the end of this *ḥadīth*. First, the possessive pronoun is used in reference to God, meaning that Adam was created in the image of God. Second, it is used in reference to Adam himself, meaning that the latter was created in his own image. Ibn 'Arabī himself is flexible with regard to this problem; although he favours the first opinion-- reasoning that every picture which one may draw is based on his own imagination--[71] he also tolerates the second opinion, for this too, according to him, concurs with the conclusion of the former.[72]

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[68] Ibn 'Arabī, *Inshā' al-Dawā'ir*, p. 22.

[69] A study on the *imago Dei ḥadīth* in Judaism, the school of Philo of Alexandria, Christianity and Islam with special reference to al-Ḥusain b. Manṣūr al-Ḥallāj (d. 922), Rūzbehān Baqlī al-Shīrāzī (d. 1209), al-Imām al-Ghazālī (450/1058-505/1111) and Ibn 'Arabī has been undertaken by Takeshita in his *Ibn 'Arabī's Theory of the Perfect Man*, pp. 8-73.

[70] Interestingly, Afīfī says that this *ḥadīth* belongs to the Jewish tradition, and not to the Prophet Muḥammad, as is commonly held by the Sufis. See 'Afīfī, "Ibn 'Arabī, " *A History of Muslim Philosophy*, Vol. 1, p. 415.

[71] Ibn 'Arabī, *al-Futūḥāt*, Vol. 2, pp. 123-4.

[72] Ibid., p. 124.

The above *imago Dei ḥadīth* should not be taken to suggest that there exists a dichotomy between God's creatures-- namely, those who are created *in the image of God* and those who are *not*. It is true that the *ḥadīth* only mentions Adam, whose creation is based on the image of God. However, an analysis of the *ḥadīth* reveals that the world is also created in the image of God.[73] We have seen that the perfection of Adam comes from the fact that, on the one hand, he is created in the image of God and that, on the other, his personality unites the elements of the world-- i.e., the macrocosm-- by which Adam is called the microcosm and acts as the mirror for God, through which He looks upon Himself.[74] As such, the world, united in Adam, must also be perfect and cannot *not* be created in the image of God.[75] Both Adam and the world are the loci where the *tajalliyāt* of the Divine names occur in historical life, through the expression of each property of the Divine names.

However, what renders mankind distinct from the cosmos (*'ālam*) is its potential to manifest the properties and effects of all the Divine names in a relatively comprehensive and synthetic mode (*ijmāl*). With regard to the particular elements of the cosmos, apart from mankind, they manifest Divine names in a partial mode (*tafṣīl*),[76] for they are created according to the multiplicity of names. Moreover, the cosmic world is itself the partial mode of mankind.[77] So posited, mankind is the goal (*maqṣūd*) behind the creation of the

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[73] Chittick, *Imaginal World*, p. 33.

[74] The idea of the mirror (*mir'ah*) in Ibn 'Arabī's thought, according to Rundgren, is a borrowing from the Platonic and Neo-Platonic metaphor of the mirror (*katoptron*). Frithiof Rundgren, "On the Dignity of Man: Some Aspects of the Unity of Being in Ibn 'Arabī," *Journal of the Muhyiddin Ibn 'Arabi Society* 6 (1987), p. 18.

[75] Ibn 'Arabī, *al-Futūḥāt*, Vol. 2, p. 124.

[76] "To be human is to manifest *wujūd* as *wujūd*, while to be anything else is to manifest certain qualities of *wujūd* rather than others." Chittick, *Imaginal World*, pp. 33 and 57; "Microcosm, Macrocosm and Perfect Man," p. 11.

[77] Ibn 'Arabī, *al-Futūḥāt*, Vol. 2, p. 67. Ibn 'Arabī further states that the human being is created from twenty-eight parts because the cosmic world is also created from the same number of parts. Ibid., p. 391. This number has a relation to the Arabic alphabet, which also numbers twenty-eight letters. As a matter of fact, Ibn 'Arabī is among those Sufis who delved in the secrets of the alphabet and its relation to creation. For details see, ibid., pp. 122-3.

universe, its "spirit." The universe is the "body" of the former.[78] Here, Ibn 'Arabī states that just as the perfection of the cosmic world resides in mankind, so the perfection of the body resides in the spirit.[79] Furthermore, mankind mirrors God, allowing the latter to contemplate Himself. In the absence of mankind, God would forever remain a "hidden treasure."[80]

With regards to temporal life, Ibn 'Arabī's concept of the third type of Perfect Man takes into account his theory of human action in the light of "pre-determination" (*al-qaḍā'*) and "allotment" (*al-qadar*).[81] The former, says Ibn 'Arabī, is "a decree of God concerning all the created things (*ashyā'*);" while the latter is "the specification of the appointed time at which each of the things should actually occur in accordance with its archetypal state."[82] Before we go further, however, we should keep in mind that the discourse on *qaḍā'* and *qadar* relates to Ibn 'Arabī's concept of the "immutable entities" (*al-a'yān al-thābitah*), i.e., the third category of *wujūd*, which in themselves are the "preparedness" (*isti'dād*) for what is to come into existence.[83] We should also add that

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[78] Ibid., p. 67; *The Bezels of Wisdom*, pp. 48-9. This is further elaborated in Ibn 'Arabī's theory of *microcosm* and *macrocosm*. For details see, 'Afīfī, *Mystical Philosophy*, p. 82; Chittick, *Sufi Path of Knowledge*, p. 30; *Imaginal World*, p. 33-5; and Takeshita, *Ibn 'Arabī's Theory of the Perfect Man*, p. 100-9.

[79] Ibn 'Arabī, *al-Futūḥāt*, Vol. 2, p. 67.

[80] Claude Addas, "The Paradox of the Duty of Perfection in the Doctrine of Ibn 'Arabī," *Journal of the Muhyiddin Ibn 'Arabi Society* 15 (1994), p. 38.

[81] Both are difficult subjects which have bred controversy for centuries, as seen in the theological dispute between the Qadarites, Jabrites, Mu'tazilites and Ash'arites. For more details on this account, see, for example, Sharif (ed.), *A History of Muslim Philosophy*, Vol. I, pp. 200-1, 229-32; Fazlur Rahman, *Islam*, second edition (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1979), p. 113; Salvador Gomez Nagoles, "Sunnī Theology," *Religion, Learning and Science in the 'Abbasid Period*, eds. M.J.L. Young *et al.* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), pp. 1-9; and Corbin, *History of Islamic Philosophy*, pp. 110-12, 116-7.

[82] Ibn 'Arabī, *Fuṣūṣ*, Part I, p. 131. The translation is based on Izutsu's *Sufism and Taoism*, p. 176. As a matter of fact, Izutsu offers one of the best explainations of Ibn 'Arabī's conception of *qaḍā'* and *qadar* (pp. 175ff).

[83] Ibn 'Arabī, *Fuṣūṣ*, Part I, p. 128.

qadar, according to al-Qāshānī, is itself the immutable entities,[84] which are closely related to the knowledge of God, being the object of Divine knowledge.[85]

A doctrinal implication of such a perception is that everything which is attributed to God must be completely perfect. Consequently, what comes out of God's decisive judgement, which is based on His knowledge concerning the destiny of every living being in the cosmic world, must also be perfect and nothing can change it-- *not even God Himself*.[86] In other words, if God changes the destiny of a man, such an action would signify the imperfection of His knowledge. This leads undeniably to pre-determination, leaving no room for human free-will at all, since the destiny of everything has been fixed from eternity and we human beings are simply actors in an everlasting Divine drama![87]

Seen from the unlimited Divine perspective, Ibn 'Arabī's perspective on temporal life portrays man as a passive agent: man acts only insofar as his immutable entity includes what he is going to do. However, seen from exterior, limited perspective of the human being, he is an active and dynamic agent, where someone might say that his being a famous scholar is due to certain activities which enable him to be a famous scholar, like reading, writing, research and seminars. On the one hand, to become a famous scholar by doing those activities is considered an act of free-will; on the other, all this has actually been decided from eternity.

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[84] al-Qāshānī, *Sharḥ al-Qāshānī*, p. 163; Izutsu, *Sufism and Taoism*, p. 177. However, Ibn 'Arabī himself does not say this. See Ibn 'Arabī, *Fuṣūṣ*, Part I, pp. 131-2.

[85] Izutsu, *Sufism and Taoism*, p. 177. Furthermore, looking at Ibn 'Arabī's theory of Divine attributes, said to be the twin of his theory of immutable entities, one might even consider that the immutable entities are the Knowledge itself. See Ibn 'Arabī, *Fuṣūṣ*, Part I, pp. 51-2; Izutsu, *Sufism and Taoism*, p. 164.

[86] Ibn 'Arabī, *Fuṣūṣ*, Part I, p. 82; Izutsu, *Sufism and Taoism*, p. 169. At first glance, this seems heretical for its contradiction of the Quranic verse (2:284): "and Allah hath power over all things (*wa Allāh 'alā kull shay' qadīr*)." However, the statement would not appear heretical when one assumes, with Izutsu, that "the 'preparedness' of a thing . . . is after all nothing but a particular ontological mode of the Absolute." Izutsu, *Sufism and Taoism*, p. 194n. 32. At this point, we should say that Ibn 'Arabī criticized the philosophers for their misunderstanding of the conviction that God can do whatever He wants to do, even when it contradicts what He had already decided. Ibn 'Arabī, *Fuṣūṣ*, Part I, p. 67.

[87] Ibid., p. 128: "*fa mā ẓahara fī al-wujūd illā mā kāna lah fī ḥāl al-'adam fī al-thubūt.*"

Yet, how could Ibn 'Arabī frame the problem of pre-determinism and free-will as such? An interesting point lies in the fact that Ibn 'Arabī regards knowledge of *qadar* as one of the highest, granted by God to those few entitled to it by their perfect gnosis.[88] This means that the majority of human beings are not aware of their destinies. Consequently, what is said to be human free-will is nothing but what has been determined from eternity. Therefore, the pre-determination of human life is not a negative thing at all if one associates it with the Divine knowledge, because, logically speaking, the pre-determined condition of the human being cannot be imperfect: it comes from the perfect knowledge of God.

We should further consider how Ibn 'Arabī understands the function of prayer in the light of this idea of pre-determination. Ibn 'Arabī's understanding of supplication (*du'ā'*) is unconventional. For most Muslims, supplication is an act which, if answered by God, can change one's destiny; for Ibn 'Arabī, one should pray to God merely because He commands us to do so,[89] not because it might change our destiny.[90] The act of prayer itself, he continues, is decided by God at the state of the immutable entities (*a'yān al-thābitah*), so what comes from the prayer always follows that original decision.[91]

The idea of pre-determination developed by Ibn 'Arabī also leads him to a unique position concerning reward and punishment, and "the one who is legally responsible" (*mukallaf*). According to him, nothing in the world goes against the will of God. One who makes a mistake is actually "not stepping over the boundaries set by his reality, nor does he commit any fault on his (pre-determined) road."[92] Hence, "those who are legally charged with responsibilities" (*mukallafūn*) cannot be dichotomised into "those who obey

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[88] Ibid., p. 132.

[89] This refers to Quran *sūrah* 40:60, i.e., "And your Lord says, "Call on Me, I will answer your prayer."

[90] Ibn 'Arabī, *Fuṣūṣ*, Part I, p. 59.

[91] Ibid., p. 60.

[92] Ibid., p. 128. The translation is based on Izutsu, *Sufism and Taoism*, p. 170. According to Ibn 'Arabī, those who say that someone commits sin have actually not been unveiled by God, so they see only the surface of the reality. Ibn 'Arabī, *Fuṣūṣ*, Part I, p. 128.

God" (*muṭī'ūn*) and "those who disobey Him" (*munkarūn*), because the latter are no less obedient to God than the former.[93] Each of them follows only what has been decided in the state of immutable entities.

Ibn 'Arabī's idea of the *mukallaf* is built on an unusual perception. In one of his poems he expounds:

> O, what should I say about him who is charged with responsibility/ He must be Allah, no other.[94]

In the following passage he continues,

> The Lord is real (*ḥaqq*) and the slave (*'abd*) is real/ O, what should I say about him who is responsible (*al-mukallaf*)/ If you say the slave, he is lifeless (*mayyit*)/ If you say God, how is He responsible (*annā yukallaf*)?[95]

We should bear in mind that Ibn 'Arabī's concept of *waḥdaẖ al-wujūd* forces him to refer to God Himself as the *mukallaf*. As we have seen earlier, Ibn 'Arabī believes that it is only the Absolute who has the *wujūd* absolutely, and what is usually regarded as the *wujūd* of various things is nothing but the *wujūd* of the Absolute manifested in different forms. These being the terms, the one who is rewarded or punished is not the man, but the Absolute Himself.[96]

With respect to the idea of the Perfect Man at the individual level, Ibn 'Arabī's perception of *qaḍā'* and *qadar* signifies two things. First, becoming a Perfect Man is essentially not due to our own efforts, but rather depends on God's eternal decree.[97]

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[93] Izutsu, *Sufism and Taoism*, pp. 171.

[94] Ibn 'Arabī, *Tanazzul al-Amlāk min 'Ālam al-Arwāḥ ilā 'Ālam al-Aflāk aw Laṭā'if al-Asrār*, eds. Aḥmad Zakī 'Aṭiyyaẖ and Ṭāha 'Abd al-Bāqī Surūr (Cairo: Dār al-Fikr al-'Arabī, 1380/1961), p. 41.

[95] Ibid., p. 42; *al-Futūḥāt*, Vol. 1, p. 2.

[96] Ibn 'Arabī, *Fuṣūṣ*, Part I, p. 96.

[97] Cf. Chittick, "Microcosm, Macrocosm and Perfect Man," pp. 12-5. He says that perfection, according to Ibn 'Arabī, depends first of all on knowing oneself, for it is identical

Second, what is said to be the Perfect Man is actually the Absolute Himself, so is "the Animal Man" (*al-insān al-ḥayawān*). The difference between the two is that the Perfect Man reflects all the properties of the Divine names, so that he sees with the sight of God, he is angry with His anger and so on. In the worldly life, such a personification takes the form of the Messengers, Prophets, gnostics (*al-'ārifūn bi Allāh*), the men of spiritual realization (*muḥaqqiqūn*), the friends of God (*awliyā'*),[98] or simply the Sufi. On the other hand, the Animal Man reflects the Divine names only partially and is not a gnostic.[99]

Having addressed Ibn 'Arabī's concept of the Perfect Man, it may now be appropriate to trace the influences which were at work behind this concept and to identify its purpose within Ibn 'Arabī's socio-historical context. Studies have been conducted on the former. 'Afīfī, for instance, has tried to connect Ibn 'Arabī's doctrine of the Perfect Man to Ḥallāj's concept of "God-ness" (*lāhūt*) and "Man-ness" (*nāsūt*).[100] Nicholson points to Abū Yazīd al-Bisṭāmī's concept of the "Complete Man" (*al-insān al-tāmm*) as a precursor to the idea of the Perfect Man in Islamic thought.[101] Takeshita posits Ibn 'Arabī's conception of the Perfect Man as a continuation of the ideas propounded by al-

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with knowledge of God; second, on following the "Universal Balance" (*al-mīzān al-kullī*), i.e., the balance of the law (*al-mīzān al-shar'ī*); and finally by attaining the stage of "slavehood" (*al-'ubūdiyyah*). Here, Chttick fails to consider the significance of Ibn 'Arabī's theory of *qaḍā'* and *qadar* for his concept of the Perfect Man on the individual level.

[98] Ibn 'Arabī's concept of sainthood is described in Chodkiewicz, *Seal of the Saints*; Stephen Hirtenstein, "Universal and Divine Sainthood: The Meanings and Completion of God's Friendship," *Journal of the Muhyiddin Ibn 'Arabi Society* 4 (1985), pp. 7-23; *Sainthood*, Proceedings of the Sixth Annual Symposium of the Muhyiddin Ibn 'Arabi Society, Wadham College, Oxford (Aprill 1989), pp. 1-63; and Su'ād al-Ḥakim, "The Way of *Walāya* (Sainthood or Friendship of God)," *Journal of the Muhyiddin Ibn 'Arabi Society* 18 (1995), pp. 23-40.

[99] For the distinction between the Perfect Man and the Animal Man see al-Ghurāb, *al-Insān al-Kāmil*, p. 9; Chittick, "Microcosm, Macrocosm and Perfect Man," pp. 12-3.

[100] 'Afīfī, *Mystical Philosophy*, pp. 78, n. 4.

[101] Nicholson, "al-Insān al-Kāmil," p. 270. The idea of al-Bisṭāmī's *al-insān al-tāmm* was first recorded by al-Qushayrī in his *al-Risālah al-Qushayriyyah*, eds. Ma'rūf Zurayq and 'Alī 'Abd al-Ḥamīd Bulṭah'jī (Beirut: Dār al-Ḥabīl, 1410/1990), p. 261.

Tirmidhī and al-Ghazālī,[102] and Arnaldez situates it within Hermetic and Hellenistic gnosis, the Mazdaean myth of Gayomart and the Jewish Kabbalah tradition.[103]

These studies are aided by the fact that Ibn 'Arabī himself was a learned man, adept in various disciplines.[104] This learnedness enabled him to employ technical terms and teachings of an "inter-disciplinary" nature and to incorporate them into Islamic doctrine, but also developing them further. The portrait before us is of a Sufi-philosopher whose religious teachings are, invariably, difficult to separate from his philosophic thought.[105] Therefore, even though he was the first to coin the term "Perfect Man" (*al-insān al-kāmil*), and he himself might be regarded as "the greatest master" on this subject, Ibn 'Arabī's concept of the Perfect Man contains elements from other thinkers and Sufis.

With regards to the second problem, there are three reasons which challenge any attempt to perceive Ibn 'Arabī's concept of the Perfect Man as a response to his own current socio-historical situation. First of all, the study of Ibn 'Arabī reveals a Sufi who experienced divine visions, i.e., unveiling (*kashf*), which enabled him to be cognizant of

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[102] Takeshita, *Ibn 'Arabī's Theory of the Perfect Man*, pp. 100ff.

[103] Arnaldez, "al-Insān al-Kāmil," p. 1239. However, to affirm that Ibn 'Arabī's concept of the Perfect Man had been influenced by the Jewish Kabbalah is an over simplification. Research by Idel shows that the first document of the existence of a theosophical nature in Judaism came from Provence, in southern France, and dates from the second half of the twelfth century. In the middle of the thirteenth century, the influence of the Kabbalah reached Spain, centered in Catalonia and then in Castile. It was in Castile where Kabbalah speculative (*'Iyyun*) literature, which combined the ancient *Merkeva* doctrines with a Neo-Platonic mysticism of light, appeared. Moshe Idel, "Qabbalah," *The Encyclopedia of Religion*, Vol. 12, p. 117. We may conclude, therefore, that the concept of the Perfect Man in Ibn 'Arabī's thought was much older than that of the Jewish Kabbala. Ibn 'Arabī already spoke of that concept in his *Inshā' al-Dawā'ir*, which was composed between 1193-1198.

[104] See Chapter I, p. 5.

[105] There is a little doubt that the three studies-- 'Afīfī's *Mystical Philosophy*, Izutsu's *Sufism and Taoism* and Michael Anthony Sells' "The Metaphor and Dialectic of Emanation in Plotinus, John the Scot, Meister Eckhart, and Ibn Arabi," Ph.D. Dissertation (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1982)-- are based on this premise. However, the authors philosophize the majority of Ibn 'Arabī's ideas and, hence, take a reductionist view of his teachings. See also Chodkiewicz, *Seal of the Saints*, p. 5.

things without learning or reading.[106] This ability, in all likelihood, contributed to his position on the "miracles" (*karāmāt*)[107] of the friends of God (*awliyā' Allāh*). One should bear in mind that Ibn 'Arabī was himself a *walī*, and moreover, was convinced of being "the Seal of Muḥammadan Sainthood" (*khātm al-awliyā'*).[108]

The above statements can be explained as follows. As is commonly known, in the Sufi tradition one must submit his entire life to the will of God and lets the latter direct his life wherever He may.[109] Such total submission implies that a Sufi is no longer the master of his own life, a condition which permits Divinity to intervene in such a way that God becomes his hearing when he hears and his sight when he sees. Furthermore, there is a basic difference between how a philosopher and how a Sufi derive knowledge.

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[106] This is narrated by Ibn 'Arabī in Chapter 312 of *al-Futūḥāt*, Vol. 3, entitled "Knowing the Rank of How the Divine Inspiration is Sent Down to the Hearts of the Friends of God...," particularly p. 47.

[107] On *karāma* see L. Gardet, "Karāma," *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, new edition, Vol. 4 (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1978), pp. 615-6. Ibn 'Arabī's own teachings on this subject is found in his *al-Futūḥāt*, Vol. 1, pp. 369-74.

[108] This is stated at least three times by Ibn 'Arabī. First, ibid., p. 244 ('Uthmān Yaḥyā, Vol. 4, p. 71):

> I am, without any doubt, the Seal of Sainthood
> In that I am the heir of the Hāshimite and of the Messiah.

Second, in ibid., pp. 318-9 ('Uthmān Yaḥyā, Vol. 5, pp, 68-70):

> When I was interpreting this vision [vision of the two bricks in the wall of the Ka'ba], I said to myself: my place among the 'followers', in my own category [i.e., the category of the *awliyā'*], is like that of the Messenger of God among the prophets, and perhaps it is through me that God has sealed sainthood.

Third, in his *Dīwān*, p. 259:

> . . . I am the Seal of all who follow him [i.e., the Prophet Muḥammad]/ . . .
> Jesus, I say this without lying, is the Seal of those who went before.

For details, see also Chodkiewicz, *Seal of the Saints*, pp. 128-30. The translation of the above quotation is based on this.

[109] Abū Naṣr 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Alī al-Sarrāj al-Ṭūsī, *Kitāb al-Luma' fī al-Taṣawwuf*, ed. R.A. Nicholson (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1914), p. 31; Muhammad Nur Samad, "Naẓariyyah al-Ma'rifah 'inda al-Junayd al-Baghdādī: Dirāsah Muqāranah," Ph.D. Dissertation (Cairo: al-Azhar University, 1994), p. 222.

The latter derives it not only through intellectual exercise, but from Divine information through unveiling (*kashf*): hence, reading and learning do not always constitute primary vehicles for the acquisition of knowledge.[110] Conversely, the former acquires knowledge by engaging in intellectual exercises. It is worth noting that the first means of acquiring knowledge was recognized by Ibn Rushd (Averroes).[111] Ibn 'Arabī narrates:

> [Ibn Rushd] asked [me], "what solution have you found as a result of Sufi illumination (*kashf*) and Divine inspiration (*al-fayḍ al-Ilāhī*)? Does it coincide with what is arrived at by speculative thought?" I replied, "Yes and no. Between the Yea and the Nay the spirits take their flight beyond matter, and the necks detach themselves from their bodies." At this Ibn Rushd became pale, and I saw him tremble as he muttered (*yuḥawqil*) the formula "there is no power save from God." This was because he understood my allusion. . . After that he sought from my father to meet me in order to present what he himself had understood: he wanted to know if it conformed with or was different from what I had. He was one of the great masters of reflection and rational consideration. He thanked God that in his own time he had seen someone who had entered into his retreat (*khalwatih*) ignorant and had come out like this [i.e., with that knowledge] without (*min ghayr*) study, discussion, investigation or reading. He said, "We acknowledged (*athbatnāhā*) this condition (*ḥālaḥ*) [i.e., an ability to know things through Sufi illumination] and we saw not many (*arbāban*) who can do that." Praise for God [who made] me at that time one of the openers of the closed doors.[112]

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[110] Macewan and Young have suggested that Ibn 'Arabī's students should be more appreciative of such a Sufi experience. Details see Richard Macewan, "Beginning a Study of the Work of Ibn 'Arabi," *Journal of the Muhyiddin Ibn 'Arabi Society* 1 (1982), pp. 20-5; and Peter Young, "Between the Yea and the Nay," *Journal of the Muhyiddin Ibn 'Arabi Society* 2 (1984), pp. 1-4.

[111] Ibn Rushd was not the only scholar to acknowledge such a knowledge. In modern times, the great Arabic and Persian translator, the late A.J. Arberry, not only acknowledged it. In his own confession, he says:

> I am an academic scholar, but I have come to realise that pure reason is unqualified to penetrate the mystery of God's Light, and may indeed, if too fondly indulged, interpose an impenetrable veil between the heart and God.

See "Editorial," *Journal of the Muhyiddin Ibn 'Arabi Society* 2 (1984).

[112] Ibn 'Arabī, *al-Futūḥāt*, Vol. 1, 154. See also Corbin, *Creative Imagination*, pp. 141-2; Addas, *Quest for the Red Shulpur*, p. 37; and Stephen Hirtenstein, "Muhyiddin Ibn 'Arabi: The Treasure of Compassion," *Homepage of Muhyiddin Ibn 'Arabi Society Journal* (January 1997), p. 3. The above translation is on the basis of the latter's work.

Second, as far as his concept of the Perfect Man is concerned, one finds that Ibn 'Arabī's line of reasoning remained both stable and consistent during his lifetime. This is important to bear in mind because Ibn 'Arabī spent his life in the West and the East, in each of which he traveled from one place to another and, as such, discovered different problems and needs of different people. Therefore, if only his concept of the Perfect Man had a set of purpose, it would have been changed.

Finally, Ibn 'Arabī states in the opening chapter of the *Fuṣūṣ* that his work is a compilation of revelations received from the Prophet Muhammad, and that he himself is a mere orator of it.[113] It is noteworthy that Ibn 'Arabī's self-perception as a receptacle of Divine information finds recurrent mention in works other than the *Fuṣūṣ*. He is known to have claimed that all his written works were Divinely inspired or commanded, coming to him in his sleep or through Sufistic revelation. He claimed his writing was free of personal intention.[114]

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[113] Ibn 'Arabī, *Fuṣūṣ*, Part I, p. 47:

> I saw the Messenger of Allāh in a vision of good augury which was imparted to me during *the last ten days of the month of Muḥarram (fī al-'ashr al-ākhir min muḥarram)* in the year 627 at Damascus.

The translation is based on Chodkiewicz's *Seal of the Saints*, p. 49n. 4; see also Austin, *The Bezel of Wisdom*, p. 45. The translation of the above underlined text is much more accurate than that of Corbin, who translates it as "le dixieme jour du mois de Moharram. . ." Corbin's introduction to Ḥaydar Āmulī's *al-Muqaddimāt min Kitāb Naṣṣ al-Nuṣūṣ*, p. 4. The above statement by Ibn 'Arabī has been interpreted by 'Uthmān Yaḥyā to mean that the *Fuṣūṣ* is not only the result of *rawiyyah* but also that of the *ru'yan*. See 'Uthmān Yaḥyā's Arabic introduction to ibid., p. 8. For details on the idea of *mubashshirāt* see Ibn 'Arabī, *al-Futūḥāt*, Vol. 1, pp. 375-80.

[114] 'Afīfī, "Memorandum," pp. 109-17; Austin's introduction to Ibn 'Arabī's *Sufis of Andalusia*, p. 48. The text is:

> In what I have written I have never had a set purpose, as other writers. Flashes of divine inspiration used to come upon me and almost overwhelm me, so that I could only put them from my mind by committing to paper what they revealed to me. If my works evince any form of composition, that form was unintentional. Some works I wrote at the command of God, sent to me in sleep or though a mystical revelation.

Under these circumstances, it is quite difficult to point out the purpose of Ibn 'Arabī's concept of the Perfect Man in relation to his socio-historical context. Furthermore, studies of Ibn 'Arabī's thought and its relation to his time are still scarce in our present day. Contemporary scholars usually do no more than to relate that the Shaykh did so-and-so at such-and-such a time. But in doing so, they neglect the reasons for his actions and what that may imply for his contemplative thought. Thus, we must turn to the phenomena themselves in order to understand that concept. If we put aside his Sufi attributes, it may be said that Ibn 'Arabī cloaks himself in Divine legitimacy to shield his concept of the Perfect Man from criticism. Yet, if we accept him as a Sufi whose abilities establish him as a holy man, all his contentious claims would be above suspicion and all his works accepted as simply the product of contemplation, free of any motive or agenda. Yet, this seems impossible, for human thought cannot escape its condition.

See also Michel Chodkiewicz, "The Futūḥāt Makkiyya and its Commentators: Some Unresolved Enigmas," trans. Peter Kingsley, *The Legacy of Medieval Persian Sufism*, ed. Leonard Lewisohn (London: Khaniqahi Nimatullahi Publication, 1992), p. 225.

Chapter Three
IQBAL'S CONCEPT OF THE PERFECT MAN

One cannot speak of Iqbal's concept of the Perfect Man[1] without also considering his theory of evolution, a concept central to his philosophy of *Khūdī*. Analysis shows it to be related to the theory of evolution established by English scientist, Charles Darwin (1809-1882), who claimed that all species undergo natural selection and that the human being evolved from apes. This theory is unpalatable especially to the Abrahamic religions, which seem to hold that human being are descendent from Adam and Eve, directly created without passing through natural selection. Iqbal's theory of evolution may have been a reaction against Darwin's. Iqbal's approach is religious and based on a process of Absolute Divine Self-Manifestation.

Any studies on Iqbal's ideal man needs to begin with this theory and to analyze his perception of the evolutionary development of the Self to the "not-selves." It must also note how these "not-selves" compete with each other to attain perfection. In general, Iqbal's theory of evolution is meant to illuminate the Self's continuous creativity,[2] and not to locate the source of the physical evolution of created beings, as is the case with Darwin's theory of evolution.

The continuous creativity of the Self is demonstrated when, in order to manifest Itself, the Self posits the not-self (or matter) into existence and employs the latter as its mirror, on the one hand, and as an operational object of its manifestation, on the other.[3] Seen in this light, the evolutionary process of the Self may be regarded as a consequence

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[1] Iqbal uses many terms to denote the Perfect Man-- e.g., *Mard-i-Mu'min*, *Mard-i-Ḥaq*, *Faqīr*, and *Qālandar*. See Jamilah Khatoon, "Iqbal's Perfect Man," *A Journal of the Bazm-i-Iqbal* 1.1 (1952), p. 57.

[2] Ibid., p. 58. In understanding the evolutionary process, Iqbal concurs with Whitehead who says "Nature is not a static fact situated in a dynamic-void, but a structure of events possessing the character of a continuous creative flow..." Iqbal, *The Reconstruction*, p. 28. Accounts of Iqbal's concept of evolution can be found in Mazhar-ud-Din Siddiqi, "Iqbal's Concept of Evolution," *A Journal of the Bazm-i-Iqbal* 2.3 (1954), pp. 19-61; and Hafeez Malik, "The Man of Thought and the Man of Action," pp. 73-4.

[3] Khatoon, "Iqbal's Perfect Man," p. 58.

of its living impulse, which operates in the loci of manifestation, charts the direction of evolution and determines the evolutionary process itself.[4] Observing God as the only source of evolution, Iqbal comes to the conclusion that the not-self (or matter) can never be regarded as dead, since all egos proceed only from the Ultimate Ego.[5] In other words, Reality itself is to be found in the not-self, i.e., an ongoing Reality, developing, self-manifesting, and situating the Ego at its center.[6]

It should be noted that the existence of Reality in the not-selves does not entail that each ego of the not-selves necessarily shares the same qualities. The manifestation of Reality in the cosmos occurs in various degrees, depending on the strength of feeling of egohood or consciousness.[7] In Iqbal's view, the not-self consists of a colony of egos of a lower order, which move from imperfection to perfection; a possibility which occurs only when the association and interaction of that colony attains a minimum level of co-ordination.[8] Here, Iqbal comes to the realization that such perfection can only be

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[4] Burki, "Iqbal's Concept of the Mard-i-Mu'min and Rumi's Influence," *Iqbal Review* 13.1 (1972), p. 13.

[5] Iqbal, *The Reconstruction*, p. 57. Here Iqbal says:

> I have conceived the Ultimate Reality as an Ego; and I must add now that from the Ultimate Ego only egoes proceed. . . Every atom of Divine energy, however low in the scale of existence, is an ego. But there are degrees in the expression of egohood. Throughout the entire gamut of being runs the gradually rising note of egohood until it reaches its perfection in man.

In his *Gulshan-i Rāz-i Jadīd and Bandagī Nāmah*, trans. B.A. Dar (Lahore: Sh. Muhammad Ashraf, 1964), p. 36, Iqbal also mentions:

> From its ray nothing comes into being save egoes,/ From its sea, nothing appears save pearls.

[6] Khatoon, "Iqbal's Perfect Man," p. 59.

[7] Iqbal, *The Reconstruction*, p. 58.

[8] Ibid., p. 84.

measured against the scale of individuality.[9] More explicitly, perfection in its true sense, occurs only in man, for he alone can consciously participate in the creative life of God.[10]

How does Iqbal perceive the evolution of man? Iqbal maintains that man proceeds through four stages of evolution-- from an inorganic state to organic plant life, then to animal life and eventually to human life.[11] Iqbal concurs with Rūmī on this subject and takes verses from the *Mathnawī* as the starting point of his argument:

> First man appeared in the class of inorganic things,/ Next he passed therefrom into that of plants./ For years he lived as one of the plants,/ Remembering naught of his inorganic state so different;/ And when he passed from the vegetative to the animal state/ He had no remembrance of his state as a plant,/ Except the inclination he felt to the world of plants,/ Especially at the time of spring and sweet flowers./ Like the inclination of infants towards their mothers,/ Which know not the cause of their inclination to the breast . . ./ Again the great Creator, as you know,/ Drew man out of the animal into the human state./ Thus man passed from one order of nature to another,/ Till he became wise and knowing and strong as he is now./ Of his first souls he has now no remembrance./ And he will be again changed from his present soul.[12]

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[9] Burki, "Iqbal's Concept of the Mard-i-Mu'min and Rumi's Influence," pp. 59.

[10] Iqbal, *The Reconstruction*, p. 57-8.

[11] Ibid., p. 97.

[12] Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī, *Rūmī, Poet and Mystic*, trans. R.A. Nicholson (London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd., 1970), pp. 187-8. It should be noted that Iqbal responded at least four times to these verses. The frst considered it in *The Development of Metaphysics*, p. 91. Second, it appears in *Bang-i-Dara* (p. 143), where Iqbal says:

> That which is conscious in man, sleeps a deep sleep/ In trees, flowers, animals, stones and stars.
>
> (Quoted and translated by Burki, "Iqbal's Concept of the Mard-i-Mu'min and Rumi's Influence," p. 12).

Then, in Iqbal's *The Reconstruction* (pp. 97-8). Finally, it appears, as Badvi notes, in the lines of a forgotten poem, where Iqbal says:

> With what great effort have I made/ Rank by rank, part by part,/ Inorganic into organic, organic into animal,/ Animal into brute, brute into man.

Lutfullah Badvi, "A Forgotten Composition of Iqbal," *Iqbal Review* 5.3 (January 1965), pp. 77-8. These lines are translated and quoted by Burki, "Iqbal's Concept of the Mard-i-Mu'min and Rumi's Influence," p. 12.

This evolutionary concept bears significance for Iqbal's interpretation of the Quranic story of the Fall. It is worth noting that Iqbal rejects the personage of Adam as a historical figure.[13] Adam, he claims, is a Quranic fiction[14] and is, as such, a divine parable prescribing universal normative values and a philosophical approach to the understanding of human nature.[15] It should come as no surprise that Iqbal posits the story of the Fall as a metaphor for the first, rudimentary stage of human mental and intellectual development-- the shift from a primitive state of instinctive drives to the conscious tendancy toward a free self, capable of doubt and insurgence.[16] In other words, Adam is a fictive figure who symbolizes the period of transition from animal to human consciousness.

The emergence of man and his coming to the world cannot, therefore, be dismissed as a purposeless phenomenon. Iqbal formulated this thesis as a challenge to the Old Testament, which posits the world as a punishment for Adam's disobedience.[17] By this, Iqbal intends to emphasize the positive aspect of worldly life, for the Quran itself puts it in the context of meliorism, neither optimistic nor pessimistic.[18] This emergence entails a pivotal process whereby the human, as a consequence of the interactive tension between himself and his environment, can raise himself to a higher

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[13] Iqbal, *The Reconstruction*, p. 67. A direct source for Iqbal's idea on the Fall can be found in ibid., pp. 65-70 and *Payam-i Mashriq*, trans. M. Hadi Hussain (Karachi: Iqbal Academy Pakistan, 1971), pp. 41-8.

[14] Iqbal, *The Reconstruction*, p. 66.

[15] Ibid., p. 65.

[16] Ibid., p. 67.

[17] Ibid., p. 67.

[18] Ibid., p. 65. The pessimistic approach to life can be found, for example, in al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī's thought (d. 110/728). For details see A.J. Arberry, *Sufism: An Account of the Mystics of Islam* (New York: Harper Torchbooks, 1970), pp. 33-5.

plane by becoming cognizant, in the first instance, of the nature of "I am."[19] In the second instance, man can elevate himself by observing the Divine attributes of his own nature, so that his life is rendered more individual and unique under the guidance of the Most Unique Individual: God.[20] For Iqbal, this is further proof of the continuous creativity of the Self and of the everlasting struggle wherein man's role as God's co-worker and vicegerent on earth awaits.[21]

An attempt should be made to understand Iqbal's thinking on human action as it relates to Perfect Man. In contrast to Ibn 'Arabī, who was firmly pre-deterministic, Iqbal invested human action with free-will. According to him, a human being is free in the sense that his feelings, hates, loves, judgements and resolutions exclusively belong to him.[22] At this point, God is regarded as transcendent, a being who cannot feel, judge or choose for a person for whom many courses of action are open.[23]

At the same time, humanity is also pre-determined or, in Iqbal's terminology, lives in a "mechanism." Although it is rather difficult to find a direct reference in any of Iqbal's writings which can support the above statement, the idea of pre-determinism exists in the back of his mind when he speaks of prayer. According to him, prayer is important for everyone since it is actually the ego's escape from *mechanism* to *freedom*.[24] Iqbal also spoke of how to make the world *our own*[25] in the sense that all our deeds must be based on our own judgement, without any external interference. This means the world is not ours until we fight for it, because all activities within the world have been determined from eternity.

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[19] Iqbal, *The Reconstruction*, p. 82.

[20] "Intro," pp. 16-7.

[21] Iqbal, *The Reconstruction*, p. 10; *Secrets of the Self*, pp. 66-7 and 71-5.

[22] Iqbal, *The Reconstruction*, p. 80.

[23] Ibid.

[24] Ibid., p. 87.

[25] Ibid.

However, to make Iqbal a believer in both pre-determinism and free-will is unfair. A careful study of his *Reconstruction* shows that humanity is fighting with pre-determination in order to establish its own free-will. Iqbal elucidates this by first tackling the problem of time. According to him, there are two types of time-- pure duration and serial time.[26] The former is the original and underlying duration which covers all, and cannot be separated into past, present and future; the latter is a duration which has been calculated or thought by human beings and is implied in terms like yesterday, today and tomorrow.

Iqbal goes on to identify pure duration as *taqdīr* itself. It is, more specifically, time prior to the manifestation of all possibilities,[27] or the time which is beyond the reach of causal sequence.[28] Here, *taqdīr* is thought to be duration that is taking, moving and operating the past in the present, and considering the future as an open possibility.[29] Therefore, destiny is better understood as the inner reach of a thing without any external interference-- as such, it is active-- and the future is not a number of events lying in the sky to be dropped one by one to earthly life like "the grains of sand from the hour-glass."[30] Posited in this way, Iqbal comes to the conclusion that there is no repetition in both serial time and human conscious experience: they are real and original.[31] Repetition is the very basic character of mechanism, which cannot produce goodness.[32] Creation itself is against mechanism because to live in real time is to be absolutely free and original in creation.[33]

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[26] Ibid., pp. 37-40.

[27] Ibid., p. 40.

[28] Ibid.

[29] Ibid., pp. 39-40.

[30] Ibid., p. 40.

[31] Ibid.

[32] Ibid., p. 68.

[33] Ibid., p. 40.

The afore-mentioned position taken by Iqbal in explicating human action is unusual for the following three reasons. First, his illustration of the battle of the human against the "mechanism" for free-will cannot explain the status of the "fight" and the "free-will." Does such a fight belong to mechanism or free-will? Is the free-will a result of that battle or the opposite of mechanism? Second, the battle itself implies that there are people who lose and others who win. Does this mean that the losers will remain forever in mechanism and vice versa? Finally, by tackling the idea of time, Iqbal left us no clue of when both mechanism and free-will take part in historical life.

An in-depth discussion of Iqbal's Perfect Man entails an analysis of the development of his philosophic thought. Sharif, an admirer of Iqbal who explored his philosophy, identifies three phases in the development of Iqbal's thought. From 1901 to 1908, Iqbal's first phase was marked by the influence of "pantheistic"[34] ideas, primarily derived from Ibn 'Arabī's thought.[35] From 1908 to 1920, Iqbal started developing his own philosophy, referring to it as the philosophy of *Khūdī*.[36] Lastly, from 1920 to his death (1938), Iqbal further modified his philosophy in a dynamic way, taking into account, and emphasizing, the philosophy of change.[37]

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[34] Iqbal uses this term to describe Ibn 'Arabī's theory of *waḥdaẖ al-wujūd*. For critics of the usage of this term see Chapter I, p. 1 n. 3. In the following, I use this term instead of *waḥdaẖ al-wujūd*.

[35] Sharif, *About Iqbal and His Thought*, pp. 10-2. However, Sharif does not mention why he starts the classification of Iqbal's thought from 1901. It would be more accurate if this period began prior to 1900, for Iqbal at this juncture had already written some poems and an article "The Doctrine of Absolute Unity," which had pantheistic tendencies. Schimmel has revealed that, in his early Urdu poem, Iqbal mentioned one traditional *ḥadīth qudsī*: "I am Aḥmad without m, Aḥad, One." Iqbal avoided using this *ḥadīth* in his mature period because it seems to imply a pantheistic view of life. Annemarie Schimmel, *And Muhammad is His Messanger: The Venaration of the Prophet in Islamic Piety* (Chapel Hill and London: The University of North Carolina Press, 1985), p. 240.

[36] Sharif, *About Iqbal and His Thought*, pp. 12-7; "Intro," p. 9.

[37] Ibid., pp. 17-8. However, the second and third stages of this development do not differ in content (p. 10), for they both aim at strengthening the human personality. This third period can be regarded as a direct consequence of Iqbal's activities in the political arena, where his disappointment at the unstable political situation in his country inspired him to take action by pursuing an Islamic perspective. For Iqbal's political activities in the Indian subcontinent, see Chapter I, p. 15.

The developmental theory of Iqbal's Perfect Man, such as that suggested above, is generally neglected by those who study his ideal man. These scholars, reliable as they are in other respects,[38] betray a preoccupation with his concept of the ideal man in its finished form. As a consequence, Iqbal's historical intellectual journey, particularly that pertaining to his notion of the Perfect Man, is bypassed, especially during his pantheistic period.[39]

There are only three works in the first period of Iqbal's thought, i.e., "The Doctrine of Absolute Unity as Expounded by 'Abdul Karīm al-Jīlānī,"[40] *Bang-i-Dara* and *The Development of Metaphysics in Persia*. The first is the earliest of Iqbal's scholarly articles and is Sufi in nature. It is here that the young poet-philosopher first demonstrated his ability to elucidate the Sufi concept of *al-insān al-kāmil* with special reference to al-Jīlī. According to Iqbal the author of *al-Insān al-Kāmil fī Ma'rifaẖ al-*

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[38] As a matter of fact there are a number of writings which directly deal with Iqbal's Perfect Man, for example, Jamilah Khatoon, "Iqbal's Perfect Man," pp. 57-64; Subhash Kashyap, "Sir Mohammad Iqbal and Friedrich Nietzsche," *The Islamic Quarterly* 2.3 (1955), pp. 175-94; Aziz Ahmad, "Sources of Iqbal's Perfect Man," *A Journal of Bazm-i-Iqbal* 7.1 (1958), pp. 1-18; Riffat Jehan Dawar Burki, "Iqbal's Concept of the Mard-i-Mu'min and Rumi's Influence," pp. 1-17; Riffat Hassan, "Iqbal's Ideal Person and Rumi's Influence," *Iqbal Review* 24.3 (1983), pp. 119-26; Sayyid Naimuddin, "The Ideal Man in Rūmī and Iqbāl," *Islamic Culture* 65.2 (1971), pp. 81-94; 'Abdul Khaliq, "Iqbal's Concept of the Perfect Man," Iqbal Review 25.1 (1984), pp. 47-57; and Dawam Rahardjo (ed.), *Insan Kamil: Konsepsi Manusia Menurut Islam*, Jakarta: Pustaka Grafitipers, 1987. However, an indirect hint at Iqbal's Perfect Man can be found in works dealing especially with Iqbal's philosophy of *Khūdī*, for example, Abdur Rahman, "Iqbal's Philosophy of the Self," *A Journal of the Bazm-i-Iqbal* 2.1 (1953), pp. 35-45; M. Rafiuddin, "Iqbal's Idea of the Self," *A Journal of the Bazm-i-Iqbal* 1.3 (1953), pp. 1-28; B.A. Dar, "Iqbal and Bergson," *A Journal of the Bazm-i-Iqbal* 3.1 (1954), pp. 34-86; Miss Kazimi, "Iqbal's Revolt," *A Journal of the Bazm-i-Iqbal* 3.1 (1954), pp. 87-113; Asif Iqbal Khan, "Iqbal's Concept of the Self (A Philosophical Analysis)," *Iqbal Review* 24.3 (1983), pp. 81-8; and Riffat Hassan, "God and Universe in Iqbal's Philosophy," *Iqbal Review* 28.1 (1987), pp. 9-26.

[39] An exception is the work of Aziz Ahmad, "Sources of Iqbal's Perfect Man" and A.H. Kamali, "The Heritage of Islamic Thought," *Iqbal: Poet-Philosopher of Pakistan*, pp. 211-42. The former studies the influences of both al-Jīlī and Nietzsche, and ignores the contribution of Suhrawardī to Iqbal's concept of the Perfect Man. Kamali fills this gap but neglects the fact that Iqbal's association with al-Jīlī is because of *waḥdaẖ al-wujūd*.

[40] Vahid erroneously held the publication year of this article to be 1902. Vahid, *Iqbal: His Art and Thought*, p. 73. However, he corrects this in his *Thoughts and Reflections of Iqbal*, pp. 3-27. A very brief summary of this article can also be found in Masud-ul-Hasan, *Life of Iqbal*, p. 33-5.

Awā'il wa al-Awākhir conceives of three stages which permit the individual to become a Perfect Man: 1) a stage where he meditates on the Divine names and studies nature; 2) a stage where he steps into the sphere of Attribute, i.e., an agency which gives us knowledge of the state of things; and 3) a stage where he enters the sphere of Essence.[41] Thus, the Perfect Man in al-Jīlī's treatise is, to Iqbal, one whose soul is illuminated by the Divine names and attributes, and who has arrived at the point where Man-ness and God-ness merge.[42]

Bang-i-Dara (*Caravan Bell*) was first published in 1924. However, as evident in the table of contents of Kiernan's *Poems from Iqbal*,[43] it was actually compiled prior to 1905. Kiernan himself translated several selected poems from Iqbal's *Bang-i-Dara* composed either prior to 1905, between 1905-1908, or after 1908. It is here that we see Iqbal's perspective on human existence further developed.

It should be kept in mind that there are two recurrent themes in this work: First, Iqbal perceives of everything as flowing from a single source-- God; Second, the world is depicted as a manifestation of God, while man is clothed in the radiant light of God. The following quotations elucidate these points, respectively :

> The day's bright launch has foundered in the whirlpool of the Nile/ On the river's face one fragment floats eddyingly awhile/ Into the bowl of heaven the twilight's crimson blood-drops run--/ Has Nature with her lancet pricked the hot veins of the sun ?/ --Is that an earring, that the sky has thieved from Evening's bride/ Or through the water does some silvery fish, quivering, glide ?[44]

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[41] Iqbal, "The Doctrine of Absolute Unity," pp. 9 and 18-9. These three stages are actually a reversal of those of God (p. 6) when He leaves His absoluteness : 1) the stage of Oneness, 2) the stage of He-ness and 3) the stage of I-ness (p. 8). This is so because God, in order to be known, is in the process of descent, while the human, in order to be perfect, is in the process of ascent (p. 9). See also his *The Development of Metaphysics*, pp. 118-9.

[42] Ibid., pp. 122-3; "The Doctrine of Absolute Unity," p. 19.

[43] V.G. Kiernan, *Poems from Iqbal* (London: John Murray, 1955).

[44] Ibid., p. 2.

> Your radiant looks are kindled by that glowing orb's warm beams/ That turn to rippling silver your flowing streams;/ That sun it is that clothes you in these ornaments of light,/And whose torch burns to keep your concourse bright./ Your roses and rose-gardens are pictures of Paradise/ Where the Scripture of *The Sun* paints its device[45]

In sum, this life can be seen as a miniature in relation to the Divine Absolute, whose imagination makes us feel as if we are the actor in this life.

> These eyes are full, and drops like dew Fall thick on you again;/ This desolate heart finds dimly its/ Own image in your pain,/ A record drawn in miniature/ Of all its sorry gleaning :/ My life was all a life of dreams,/ And you--you are its meaning.[46]

From these poems, it may be deduced that until the writing of his dissertation, Iqbal's understanding of the above three elements remained tenuous. A more sophisticated pantheistic view-- one of the cornerstones of his definition of the Perfect Man--was to come later. This dissertation not only confirms the historical contribution of the undying Persian metaphysical tradition to Islamic philosophy, but signifies Iqbal's understanding of Islamic Sufism and the ontological and cosmological discourse surrounding human life. It is here that Iqbal expounds the pantheistic thought of renowned Muslim thinkers like Suhrawardī and, again, al-Jīlī. This dissertation is, therefore, highly recommended for students of Iqbal,[47] particularly those who interested

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[45] Ibid., p. 3.

[46] Ibid., p. 1.

[47] In his letter to Professor Fritz Hommel, T.W. Arnold writes that Iqbal's dissertation is the first to trace the perpetual development of ancient Iranian concepts, even after their assimilation into Islamic philosophy, and to clarify the character of the former with respect to the latter. Durrani, "Sir Thomas Arnold and Iqbal," p. 24. Furthermore, Schimmel is right when she says that this dissertation is significant to the history of religions and that it shows the genius of its author. Schimmel, *Gabriel's Wing*, p. 38. A careful study of this dissertation shows, however, that Iqbal is not fair in his illustration of Islamic Persian metaphysics. When he speaks of the Sufi-philosophy of illumination (*ishrāqī*), he refers directly to its founder, Suhrawardī al-Maqtūl, but when he writes about the Sufi-philosophy of *waḥdah al-wujūd*, he does not trace it back to Ibn 'Arabī, but to his followers such as al-Jīlī and 'Azīz Nasafī. Furthermore, Iqbal mistakenly labelled both *waḥdah al-wujūd* and *ishrāqī* thought as pantheism. Finally, the absence of Ibn 'Arabī as a figure among Iranian sages in Iqbal's dissertation is still understandable since the former is not Persian in origin. However, to neglect the contribution of Ṣadr al-Dīn al-Qūnawī, the step-son and close disciple of Ibn 'Arabī, to the development of

in his concept of the ideal man, since much of his thought is developed from critical formulations first introduced in this dissertation.

Earlier, we made reference to al-Jīlī's Perfect Man as interpreted by our poet-philosopher through his "The Doctrine of the Absolute Unity." Since Iqbal includes a major portion of this article in his dissertation without fresh re-appraisal, we need not restate Iqbal's presentation of al-Jīlī's Perfect Man. Rather, we will proceed to Iqbal's interpretation of Suhrawardī's Perfect Man.[48] According to Iqbal, Shaykh al-Ishrāq's Perfect Man is a person who, on the one hand, is able to rise above other created beings and, on the other, to be more illuminated. All this can only be achieved through both knowledge (achieved by either sense, reason or *dhawq*)[49] and action, coupled with a persistent drive to change one's attitude towards the universe and to adopt a line of conduct which is instrumental to that change.[50] Later on, as we will see, both Suhrawardī and al-Jīlī's versions of the Perfect Man left their imprint on Iqbal's concept of the Perfect Man.

One should bear in mind that Iqbal had already acquainted himself with world philosophy by the time he wrote his dissertation.[51] Naturally, these influences

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Iranian thought is not acceptable. al-Qūnawī influenced many outstanding Iranian figures like Quṭb al-Dīn Shīrāzī, al-Ṭūsi, al-'Irāqī, al-Qāshānī, al-Qaysarī, al-Jīlī, al-Jāmī and al-Shabistarī. Umar, "Countours of Ambivalence," Part I, pp. 26-7.

[48] There is no doubt that Iqbal is an admirer of Suhrawardī. In his own words Iqbal says:

> . . .the young Persian thinker [Suhrawardī] calmly met the blow which made him a martyr of truth, and immortalised his name for ever. Murderers have passed away, but the philosophy, the price of which was paid in blood, still lives, and attracts many an earnest seeker after truth.

Iqbal, *The Development of Metaphysics*, p. 97. In his pantheistic views, Suhrawardī, according to Iqbal, regards the world as something real and the human soul in its individuality as distinct from God (ibid., p. 114). One should bear in mind, however, that a study of Iqbal's perspective on Suhrawardī's concept of the Perfect Man is still open debate.

[49] Ibid., pp. 109-11.

[50] Ibid., p. 109.

[51] Many people have attempted to study this aspect. For further detail see Vahid, *Iqbal: His Art and Thought*, pp. 59-103; *Studies in Iqbal* (Lahore: Sh. Muhammad Ashraf, 1976); B.A. Dar, "Inspiration from the West," *Iqbal: Poet-Philosopher of Pakistan*, pp. 187-210; and A.H.

permeated his view of life in the phenomenal world. This was first manifest after his return from Europe, in 1911, when he started writing his masterpiece *Asrār-i Khūdi*.[52] The year 1915 thus witnessed a development in Iqbal's thought, particularly in relation to his Perfect Man, where he expounded the attainment of perfection from beginning to end, together with the psychological changes which this entailed.[53]

To undertake this process, Iqbal emphasized that one must complete three stages of self-education, namely the stage of the camel, self-control and Divine vicegerency.[54] Khalifa 'Abdul Hakim was correct in pointing to Nietzsche's influence on Iqbal's *Asrar-i-Khudi*,[55] because these stages are a close parallel to Nietzsche's stages of the camel,

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Kamali, "The Heritage of Islamic Thought;" Kashyap, "Sir Mohammad Iqbal and Friedrich Nietzsche," pp. 175-94; and Sayyid Naimuddin, "The Ideal Man in Rumi and Iqbal," pp. 81-94.

[52] This poetic book was first published in 1915. The first edition raised controversy because of its attack on the famous Sufi, Khawja Hafiz, and several Urdu poets like Akbar Allahabadi, Khwaja Hasan Nizami of Delhi, Pirzada Muzaffar-ud-Din Ahmad and Maulana Feruz-ud-Din Ahmad Tughrayee. In reply to this book and in defense of Hafiz, Pirzada Muzaffar-ud-Din and Maulana Feruz-ud-Din wrote two complete *mathnawi*, i.e., *Rāz-i-Bekhudi* and *Lisān al-Ghā'ib*. In the second edition, the Hafiz's name was omitted because Iqbal, as he said to Khalifah 'Abdul Hakim, was afraid that people might oppose the aim of his philosophy of *Khūdi*. See Dar, "Inspiration from the West," p. 197; Abu Sayyed Nur-ud-Din, "Attitude toward Sufism," *Iqbal: Poet-Philosopher of Pakistan*, pp. 294-5.

[53] Cf. "Intro," p. 9.

[54] Iqbal, *Secrets of the Self*, pp. 67-75.

[55] Khalifa 'Abdul Hakim, *Iqbal as a Thinker* (Lahore, 1944), p. 147. Dar adds that Iqbal was already familiar with Nietzsche's "Superman" before he went to Europe in 1905. Dar, "Inspiration from the West," p. 207. The problem comes up not only because of the similar spirit of their philosophies, but also because of Iqbal's confession in a letter to professor Tabassum (2nd of September 1925), that he consciously or unconsciously studies the reality and truth of Islam from the perspective of European philosophy. It is true that Iqbal admires this German philosopher whose heart, according to Iqbal, is that of a believer and his brain is that of an infidel. Iqbal claimed he was one of the few who understood Nietzsche's madness. According to Iqbal, Nietzsche had the power of "negation" as implied in the Islamic creed, *lā Ilāh illā Allāh*, but was empty of the power of "affirmation" of *illā Allāh*. Annemarie Schimmel, "Iḳbāl," *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, new edition, Vol. 3 (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1971), p. 1058; Kashyap, "Sir Mohammad Iqbal and Friedrich Nietzsche," p. 175; Iqbal, *A Message from the East*, trans. M. Hadi Hussain (Karachi: Iqbal Academy Pakistan, 1971), p. 109; *The Pilgrimage of Eternity*, trans. Shaikh Mahmud Ahmad, pp. 139-40; *Stray Reflections: A Note Book of Allama Iqbal*, ed. Javid Iqbal (Lahore: Sh. Ghulam Ali & Sons, 1961), pp. 42-3.

lion and child.[56] Furthermore, this influence is reflected openly in Iqbal's note to Nazir Nivazi on Nietzsche in the summer of 1937, where Iqbal strongly insists on the distinction between his own perspective on the Perfect Man and Nietzsche's;[57] Iqbal was obviously aware of the similarity between the two.

This, however, misled Kashyap to conclude that the only difference between the two philosophers' conceptions of the Perfect Man lay in name and not in substance.[58] What Kashyap fails to appreciate are the various influences on Iqbal's *Asrār-i Khūdī*. Early in the prologue of his book, Iqbal testifies that *Asrār-i Khūdī* is inspired by the genius of Rūmī, the author of "the Persian Quran."[59] Furthermore, the content of that book itself reflects the Quranic and Prophetic teachings. Therefore, to suggest that Iqbal's book benefits only from Nietzsche may be dismissed as an oversimplification.[60]

Moving to our analysis of Iqbal's perception of the stages of self-education, the first stage is that of self-obedience.[61] Here obedience denotes submission to the religious norm. This is a period of immersion in faith, a period of complete supplication before God's command, which culminates in adherence to the "pillars of belief" (*arkān al-īmān*) without any prior rational understanding of their inherent meaning or purpose.[62] Metaphorically, this stage is symbolized by a camel, patiently traversing the desert; a

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[56] The first stage deals with obedience, utility, and hardihood, where man carries the load of commandments and obligations. Then, man passes to the stage of lion, i.e., the stage of self-determination and self-control. Finally, the stage of child, a metaphor for the innocent personality which creates new values in this life and takes it as play, unaffected by the past. For details see Nietzsche, "Thus Spake Zarathustra," *The Philosophy of Nietzsche*, ed. The Modern Library (New York: Random House, 1954), pp. 23-5; Maurice Friedman (ed.), *The Worlds of Existentialism: A Critical Reader* (New Jersey and London: Humanities Press International Inc., 1991), pp. 64-6, 243-4; Kashyap, "Sir Mohammad Iqbal and Friedrich Nietzsche," pp. 181-2; and Dar, "Inspiration from the West," pp. 206-7.

[57] This note has been reproduced in *Thoughts and Reflections of Iqbal*, pp. 238-44.

[58] Kashyap, "Sir Mohammad Iqbal and Friedrich Nietzsche," pp. 181-2.

[59] Iqbal, *Secrets of the Self*, p. 30-2.

[60] See Vahid, *Iqbal: His Art and Thought*, pp. 95-7.

[61] Ibid., pp. 67-9.

[62] Iqbal, *The Reconstruction*, p. 143.

beast of burden stepping noiselessly towards the journey's end.[63] Iqbal also likens this stage to a moving star and growing grass, whose obedience to the law of movement and growth, respectively, delivers them to the highest perfection.

> The star moves towards its goal/ With head bowed in surrender to a law./ The grass springs up in obedience to the law of growth;/ When it abandons that, it is trodden underfoot.[64]

Proclaiming obedience to be the vehicle to one's goals, Iqbal says :

> Thou, too, do not refuse the burden of Duty:/ So wilt thou enjoy the best dwelling-place, which is with God./ Endeavour to obey, O heedless one/ Liberty is the fruit of compulsion./ By obedience the man of no worth is made worthy;/ By disobedience his fire is turned to ashes.[65]

The key philosophical point which Iqbal underlines in the stage of self-obedience is this: anyone who would control the universe must first learn to obey.

> Whoso would master the sun and stars./ Let him make himself a prisoner of Law./. . ./ Since law makes everything strong within,/ Why dost thou neglect this source of strength ?/ O thou that art emancipated from the old Custom,/ Adorn thy feet once more with the same fine silver chain/ Do not complain of the hardness of the Law,/ Do not transgress the statutes of Muhammed.[66]

The next stage in the process of self-education is the stage of self-control.[67] This is also labeled a period of thoughtful meditation where one tries to define or grasp one's religious life and the source of its authority.[68] It is interesting to note that Iqbal conceives of this stage in the context of *tawḥīd*, the Islamic creed which negates every

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[63] Iqbal, *Secrets of the Self*, pp. 67-8.

[64] Ibid., p. 68.

[65] Ibid.

[66] Ibid., pp. 68-9.

[67] Ibid., pp. 69-71.

[68] Iqbal, *The Reconstruction*, p. 143.

god except Allāh,[69] and the four remaining Islamic pillars (*al-arkān al-Islām*), namely prayer, fasting, pilgrimage and almsgiving,[70] each of which exerts a positive impact upon every individual and his society.

It should be kept in mind that, for Iqbal, the relation between individual and society is strong, in the sense that society depends on its members. Therefore, following Mackenzie, who says that the ideal society is impossible without the ideal man, Iqbal values the excellence of a society according to the excellence of its members: "We stand in need of a living personality," he writes in a letter to Nicholson, "to solve our social problems, to settle our disputes, and to place international morality on a surer basis."[71]

The significance of the religious inference finds its justification, in this stage, in the innermost recesses of human psychology. To Iqbal, the overriding human drives stem from feelings of love and fear.[72] Both can be sources of virtue as well as vice, depending on the direction an individual gives them. Owing to his firm belief in the virtues of Islamic ethics, Iqbal underlines the principles of *arkān al-Islām* as sources of strength in the battle to subdue love and fear. Only in this way can one fortify ones ego or self and assume the reigns of control in ones own life.

> All this is a means of strengthening thee:/ Thou art impregnable, if thy Islam be strong,/ Draw might from the litany "O Almighty One"/ That thou mayst ride the camel of thy body.[73]

Here, Iqbal asserts that anyone wishing to conquer the world must first conquer himself:

> By conquering yourself you change to strong from weak./ Draw nearer to yourself, if it is God you seek./ If you can master the self-conquering technique,/ The whole world will be yours to take./ O what a happy day it

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[69] Iqbal, *Secrets of the Self*, pp. 69-70.

[70] Ibid., pp. 70-1.

[71] Vahid, *Thoughts and Reflections of Iqbal*, p. 95. For a fair study of Iqbal's concept of society, see Manzooruddin Ahmad, "Iqbal's Theory of Muslim Community and Islamic Universalism," *Iqbal Review* 23.3 (1982), pp. 111-32.

[72] Iqbal, *Secrets of the Self*, p. 69.

[73] Ibid., pp. 71.

will be when you take the world !/ The veils of all the nine heavens will then be unfurled./ The moon will prostrate to you double-curled/ With but a lasso made of smoke-puffs at it hurled./ You will be a free agent in this ancient idol-house,/ Quite free to carve new idols in accordance with your choice.[74]

Iqbal believed that the ability to control oneself depends on the strength of the self as a unit. He who craves such control must fortify his "I am-ness" and avoid the things that weaken it. This is not surprising, since Iqbal emphasized the significance of being powerful, especially when he saw that the Muslim community in his time was being colonized by Westerners. It is here that he thought power is more divine than truth itself. To Iqbal, environment is the creation of the powerful individual while civilization is his thought. Therefore, instead of waiting for the coming of the Mahdī, the personification of power, everyone has to create the Mahdī in himself,[75] according to Iqbal.

Inspired by Rūmī's thought and Nietzsche's "Superman," Iqbal points to seven factors which fortify the self and four which weaken it. The former include desire; love; *faqr* or an inner attitude of detachment and superiority to material comforts; *ṣayādi* or hunting, symbolized by heroic idealism based on daring, pride and honor; suffering; forbearance; courtesy; and obstruction.[76] The four aspects that weaken the self encompass *sawāl* or asking, which denotes any action that degrades a self-respecting ego and *taqlīd*; despair, grief and fear; servitude or an act by those who would sell their soul; and *nasab-parasti* or pride in one's lineage or caste.[77]

Here we see that both stages of self-obedience and self-control are constructed on the basis of Islamic doctrines. The former culminates in the six pillars of faith (*arkān al-imān*), while the latter culminates in the good deeds (*al-a'māl al-ṣāliḥah*) as reflected

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[74] Iqbal, *The New Rose Garden of Mystery and the Book of Slaves*, trans. M. Hadi Hussain (Lahore: Sh. Muhammad Ashraf, 1969), pp. 9-10.

[75] Iqbal, *Stray Reflections*, pp. 90-4.

[76] Burki, "Iqbal's Concept of the Mard-i-Mu'min and Rumi's Influence," pp. 2-5.

[77] Ibid., pp. 5-7.

in the spirit of the five pillars of Islam (*arkān al-Islām*). This is a reasonable assumption to make, as Iqbal, after a long journey which included the study of the intellectual developments and spirit of East and West, comes full circle, back to the Quran as the most illuminating source on the dynamic of life.[78] This is the source which points to the significance of the equipoise between mind and body, thought and action,[79] instinct and reason.[80]

The hardships of the second stage bear fruit in the third stage, i.e., the stage of the Perfect Man, *Mard-i Mu'min* or divine vicegerency (*niyābat Ilāhī*). Iqbal also refers to this stage as the period of discovery, where psychology and religion increase one's desire for direct contact with the Absolute Ego. At this point, religion is regarded as a kind of personal assimilation of life and power where the individual acquires his free personality by intuitively discovering the fundamental source of the law and not by ignoring its significance.[81]

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[78] Schimmel, *Gabriel's Wing*, p. 221. However, Iqbal's eagerness to posit Quranic ideas in an empirical format makes his interpretation look very unusual and personal. Schimmel, "Iḳbāl," p. 1058.

[79] It is noteworthy that the first sentence written by Iqbal in the preface to his *Reconstruction* is "the Qur'ān is a book which emphasizes 'deed' rather than 'idea'." Iqbal, *The Reconstruction*, p. xxi. This should not be misunderstood to mean that the Quran ignores the significance of thought. As per its name, Iqbal's *Reconstruction* intends to reconstruct both intellectual and practical dimensions of Muslim life. The former attempts "to reconstruct Muslim religious philosophy with due regard to the philosophical traditions of Islam and the more recent developments in the various domains of human knowledge." Iqbal, *The Reconstruction*, pp. xxi-xxii. The latter means to attack the substance of intellectual discourse as mere ideas which leave important actions behind. "In my eyes," says Iqbal, "the hands of a carpenter, rough and coarse due to the constant use of the saw, are far more attractive and useful compared to the soft and delicate hands of a scholar, which never carry more than the weight of a pen." Hafeez Malik, "The Man of Thought and the Man of Action," p. 74.

[80] In his theory of knowledge, Iqbal includes the significance of both intuition and reason, and regards the former to be as real as the latter. On this particular point Iqbal criticizes al-Ghazālī who, he says, fails to see the relation between thought and intuition which then forces him (al-Ghazālī) to seek refuge under the spell of Sufism. Iqbal, *The Reconstruction*, pp. 4-5. However, this criticism needs to be studied further. For al-Ghazālī's theory of knowledge, see Eric L. Ormsby, "The Taste of Truth: The Structure of Experience in al-Ghazālī's *al-Munqidh min al-Ḍalāl*," *Islamic Studies Presented to Charles J. Adams*, eds. Wael B. Hallaq and Donald Presgrave Little (Leiden : E.J. Brill, 1991), pp. 133-51.

[81] Ibid., p. 143.

It is the Perfect Man, says Iqbal, who will show us the presence of God in human life and teach us to bring forth the imaginative creative drives in daily life, on the one hand, and to find the betterment of that life, not only as an occasion for ascetic self-sacrifice, but as an ultimate objective in the quest for the most highly developed and satisfying thoughts, on the other.[82] In defining such a personality Iqbal says:

> The *na'ib* (vicegerent) is the vicegerent of God on earth. He is the completest ego , the goal of humanity, the acme of life both in mind and body; in him the discord of our mental life becomes a harmony. The highest power is united in him with the highest knowledge. In his life, thought and action, instinct and reason, become one.[83]

Under these circumstances we can deduce some fundamental characteristics of Iqbal's Perfect Man. Owing to his ability to partake in the creative life of God, Iqbal's Perfect Man is, in the first instance, a spirit of the universe and a shadow of the Greatest Name.[84] Second, he is divinely illuminated and, as such, masters the three sources of knowledge-- inner experience, history and nature--[85] which further enable him to remove the veils of the mysteries of life.[86] Third, Iqbal's Perfect Man has a persistent desire to

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[82] Vahid, *Thoughts and Reflections of Iqbal*, p. 96.

[83] "Intro.," p. 22-3.

[84] Iqbal, *Secrets of the Self*, p. 72. Iqbal says:

> If thou canst rule thy camel, thou wilt rule the world/ And wear on thine head the crown of Solomon./ Thou wilt be the glory of the world whilst the world lasts/ And thou wilt reign in the kingdom incorruptible./ ('Tis sweet to be God's vicegerent in the world./ And exercise sway over the elements./ God's vicegerent is as the soul of the universe,/ His being is the shadow of the Greatest Name.

[85] Iqbal, *The Reconstruction*, p. 77. On Iqbal's theory of knowledge see, for example, Khurshid Anwar, "Iqbal's Theory of Knowledge," *Iqbal Review* 28.1 (1987), pp. 87-105.

[86] Iqbal, *Secrets of the Self*, pp. 72-3, Iqbal says:

> He knows the mysteries of part and whole/ . . ./ He is the final cause of "God taught Adam the names of all things." / . . ./ Splendid visions rise from the print of his foot.

manifest himself and other things in a new, fresh light.[87] Finally, he is a leader in the world, a man of action and a progenitor of new values.[88]

Inevitably, the discourse on Iqbal's Perfect Man leads to a significant question: Is such a personality merely imaginary or historical? In response, Iqbal affirms both possibilities, arguing that the notion of the Perfect Man in his scheme implies an evolutionary development from imagination to reality, a position which obviously reflects his view of "the unfinished created world."[89] Among the precedents for the emergence of his Perfect Man in this world is the development of humanity both in mind and body, as signified by the production of an ideal race of unique individuals.

> He [the Perfect Man] is the last fruit of the tree of humanity, and all the trials of a painful evolution are justified because he is to come at the end. He is the real ruler of mankind; his kingdom is the kingdom of God on earth. Out of the richness of his nature he lavishes the wealth of life on others, and brings them nearer and nearer to himself. The more we advance in evolution, the nearer we get to him. In approaching him we are raising ourselves in the scale of life. The development of humanity both in mind and body is a condition precedent to his birth. For the present he is a mere ideal; but the evolution of humanity is tending towards the production of an ideal race of more or less unique individuals who will become his fitting parents. Thus the kingdom of God on earth

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[87] Ibid.

> His genius abounds with life and desires to manifest itself/ He will bring another world into existence./ A hundred worlds like this world of parts and wholes/ Spring up, like roses, from the seeds of his imaginations. / . . ./ He teaches age the melody of youth/ And endows everything with the radiance of youth./. . ./ At his cry, "Arise," the dead spirits/ Rise in their bodily tomb, like pines in the field./ His person is an atonement for all the worlds.

[88] Ibid., pp. 72-4:

> He executes the command of Allah in the world./ When he pitches his tent in the wide world./ He rolls up this ancient carpet./. . ./ To the human race he brings both a glad message and a warning,/ He comes both as a soldier and as a marshal and prince./. . ./ By his grandeur the world is saved./ His protecting shadow makes the mote familiar with the sun./ His rich substance makes precious all that exists,/ He bestows life by his miraculous action, He renovates old ways of life./. . ./ He gives a new explanation of life/ A new interpretation of this dream.

[89] Ibid., p. 32.

means the democracy of more or less unique individuals, presided over by the most unique individual possible on this earth.[90]

Such a characteristic leads Khatoon to the conclusion that Iqbal's Perfect Man aims to solve the conundrum of human misery in two ways.[91] First, it teaches spiritual fortification whereby man is rendered capable of creating and absorbing Divine attributes. In turn, an optimistic view of the future of man is proffered.[92] Second, the Perfect Man is envisioned as a free personality with the initiative and creative power to mold and to change what lies within and outside of him.[93]

Khatoon is correct insofar as Iqbal's concept of the Perfect Man appears at a time when the Muslim world, particularly the Muslim subcontinent, is suffering from a political malaise brought on by colonialization.[94] In part, this malaise stems from the misuse of Sufi thought (e.g., "self-annihilation") in popular culture and is the cause of people's ignorance of the historical process.[95] Iqbal thus ponders a profound human problem: the loss of a powerful personality. It goes without saying that the spirit behind Iqbal's notion of the Perfect Man seeks to elevate humanity to greater heights. When such an idea is transmitted into a society grappling with real historical events, like those of Muslim India, it infuses its members with a sense of self-respect such that they are able to partake in the process of history as an honored community and not as mere

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[90] "Intro.", p. 23.

[91] Khatoon, "Iqbal's Perfect Man," p. 58.

[92] Ibid., p. 60-1.

[93] Ibid., p. 61.

[94] See Sheila McDonough, "Intuition, Culture and Ideology in the Thought of Iqbal," *The Rose and The Rock: Mystical and Rational Elements in the Intellectual History of South Asian Islam*, ed. Bruce B. Lawrence (Duke: Duke University Programs, 1979), pp. 135-8.

[95] Iqbal, *The Reconstruction*, pp. xxi and 99.

victims.[96]

Finally, Iqbal's second and third stages in the development of the self correspond to those of al-Jīlī.[97] The only difference is that the second stage of Iqbal's program of self-education not only assimilates al-Jīlī's first and second stages of self-development, but incorporates both Rūmī and Nietzsche's notions of virtue and power. In his third stage of self-education, it is evident that Iqbal shares al-Jīlī's and Suhrawardī's views of the Perfect Man as an illuminated personality. Here, not only is he inspired by the treatises of Eastern philosophers but also by Nietzsche. However, the fundamental faith and deeds of Islamic doctrines, i.e., *al-arkān al-īmān* and *al-arkān al-Islām*, which find expression in Iqbal's ideal man,[98] render him immune to the charge of being an Eastern Nietzsche.[99] On the one hand, all this signifies that Iqbal's Perfect Man-- i.e., the

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[96] His call for the amalgamation of the Punjab, North-West Frontier Province, Sind and Baluchistan, which are now in Pakistan, can be seen from this perspective. Iqbal, "Presidential Address," delivered at the Annual Session of the All-India Muslim League at Allahabad on the December 29, 1930, reproduced by Vahid, *Thoughts and Reflection of Iqbal*, pp. 170-1.

[97] See Aziz Ahmad, "Sources of Iqbal's Perfect Man," *Studies in Iqbal's Thought and Art*, ed. M. Saeed Sheikh (Lahore: Bazm-i Iqbal, 1972), pp. 110-2 and 124.

[98] As Schimmel says, "Iḳbāl's ideal man. . . can only be understood in his relation to God." Schimmel, "Iḳbāl," p. 1058.

[99] Khalifah Abdul Hakim, "Renaissance in Indo-Pakistan: Iqbal," p. 1620. It is true that Nietzsche's "Superman" is not based on any religious metaphysical aspect (Nietzsche himself is famous as "the first deconstructor of metaphysics"); although, as suspected by Iqbal, Nietzsche may have borrowed the concept of the Superman from Islamic or Eastern literatures. However, it would be wrong to say, as Iqbal does, that this Prophet of Aristocracy has a "monster" in his ethical philosophy, on the one hand, and does not believe in the "I am-ness" of man, on the other.

In regard to his philosophy of ethics, it is not surprising that Nietzsche should say that the goodness of the common people is the badness of the Superman, because the Superman is an ideal human being whose ethics are above those of the common people. References from the literature of Islamic Sufism also speak of this superiority, i.e., the superiority of the *Khawwāṣ* over the *'Awwām*. Dhū al-Nūn al-Miṣrī, for example, has been reported by al-Sarrāj al-Ṭūsī in his *Kitāb al-Luma'* as saying, "The common people repent from sins, while the *khawwāṣ* from inattention" (*tawbaẗ al-'awwām min al-dhunūb wa tawbaẗ al-khawāṣ min al-ghaflaẗ*), "The sinfulness of the people of proximity is the goodness of the common people" (*dhunūb al-muqarrabīn ḥasanāt al-abrār*), and "The proudness of the gnostics is the sincerity of the neophytes" (*riyā' al-'ārifīn ikhlāṣ al-muridin*).

manifestation of his philosophy of *Khūdī*-- is Islamic in character and, on the other, shows an excellent combination of the spirit of Eastern thought with Western philosophy.

In regard to his philosophy of selfhood, it is hard to say that Nietzsche does not believe in the "I am-ness" of man while at the same time he preaching the death of God and calling for the personification of the Superman on the basis of human selfness. All this signifies that Iqbal's philosophy of *Khūdī* and its relation to Nietzsche's philosophy have not been studied properly, because Iqbal's point of view on Nietzsche is taken uncritically, ignoring what Nietzsche says about his philosophy in numerous works. See Vahid, *Thoughts and Reflection of Iqbal*, pp. 239-41; Muhammad Ma'ruf, "Iqbal's Criticism of Nietzsche," *Iqbal Review* 23.3 (1982), pp. 37-44; and al-Sarrāj al-Ṭūsī, *Kitāb al-Luma'*, p. 44. On Nietzsche's thought, see The Modern Library (ed.), *The Philosophy of Nietzsche*, which contains the translation of Nietszche's *Thus Spake Zarathustra*, *Beyond Good and Evil*, *The Genealogy of Morals*, *Ecce Homo* and *The Birth of Tragedy*; H.J. Blackham, *Six Existentialist Thinkers* (London: Routledge, 1961), pp. 23-42; Walter Kaufmann, *Nietzsche: Philosopher, Psychologist, Antichrist* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1974); Schacht, *Nietzsche*; and David E. Cooper, *World Philosophies: An Historical Introduction* (Oxford and Cambridge: Blackwell Publishers, 1996), pp. 324-9.

Chapter Fourth
COMPARISON / CONCLUSION

Based on the above study, two major points need to be compared: first, the approaches to the idea of the Perfect Man and, second, the similarities and differences between Ibn 'Arabī and Iqbal. Both of these points will be explained below.

A. Approaches to the Idea of the Perfect Man

Corbin and Chittick captured the essence of Ibn 'Arabī's thought with the titles they gave their works-- *L'Imagination Creatrice dans le Soufisme d'Ibn 'Arabī* and *Ibn al-'Arabī's Metaphysics of Imagination*, respectively. Both titles point to the fact that Ibn 'Arabī had a powerful imagination that provided him with both intellectual satisfaction and Sufi illumination. He not only built a distinct system of thought but also influenced mainstream Islamic tradition. And his concept of the Perfect Man sprung from this powerful imagination.

In contrast, Iqbal was a poet-philosopher who amalgamated the various strands of thought into his philosophy of *Khūdī*. As we observed earlier, Iqbal viewed the idea of the Perfect Man through the teachings of Sufis like Rūmī, al-Jīlī and Suhrawardī, and Western philosophers like Nietzsche. By doing so, however, Iqbal did not seem to spiritualize philosophy. Rather, he philosophized Sufism. As a result, the elements taken from Suhrawardī, al-Jīlī and Rūmī appear much more philosophical in Iqbal's conception of the Perfect Man.

Furthermore, the writings where Ibn 'Arabī and Iqbal explain the concept of the Perfect Man, are intersting to compare. We should bear in mind that one Ibn 'Arabī's greatest skills is his ability to communicate complex metaphysical ideas in written form. Most of his ideas on the concept of the Perfect Man were written in prose form, which allows the reader to fathom more the complexity of the notion of the Perfect Man. This is different from Iqbal, who used poems.

B. Similarities and Differences

The above survey, however, does not show that Ibn 'Arabī and Iqbal were completely opposed in their views of the Perfect Man. It may be said that Ibn 'Arabī and Iqbal do not differ much in their concepts of the Perfect Man. First of all, they agree that the source of being for everything is the Absolute. The difference, however, lies in their perspective of the Absolute itself. According to Ibn 'Arabī, this Absolute is the Truth (*al-Ḥaqq*), the Most Mysterious, the Most Inconceivable and Unperceivable. For Iqbal, the Absolute is simply Allah or, as Ibn 'Arabī says it, the Comprehensive Name of the Divine Names, i.e., the first manifestation of the Absolute from Himself to Himself.

Second, Ibn 'Arabī and Iqbal are in agreement that there is a process which advances the existence of everything. An in-depth study of their views shows that they differ in the use of the term. In Ibn 'Arabī's terminology, this process is named the Unseen Self-Manifestation (*al-tajallī al-ghaybī*) and Sensible Self-Manifestation (*al-tajallī al-shuhūdī*); while in that of Iqbal it is called inorganic and organic, with equivalents in Ibn 'Arabī's system.

The third point concerns the nature of the Perfect Man. Compared to Ibn 'Arabī, Iqbal locates his concept of the Perfect Man only at the individual level. Nothing in Iqbal's concept indicates that this personification lies at the level of the "third *wujūd*" and the cosmos, as in the case of Ibn 'Arabī. This is understandable since Iqbal's idea of the Perfect Man is concerned with the individualization of that concept in historical life; whereas that of Ibn 'Arabī is meant to provide a cosmological explanation for every *wujūd*.

The final instance deals with the problem of human destiny. One should bear in mind that both Ibn 'Arabī and Iqbal characterize the personality of the Perfect Man at the individual level in more or less the same way-- i.e., with respect to the person who has knowledge of God and absorbs the Divine names into his personality. In this formulation, the personification of the Perfect Man for both Ibn 'Arabī and Iqbal combines Divinity and humanity, allowing the Perfect Man to act through the properties

of the Divine names, and God to use the human vehicle in order to see and control His creatures.

Table 1: *Similarities and Differences between Ibn 'Arabī's and Iqbal's idea of the Perfect Man.*

No.	IBN 'ARABĪ	MUHAMMAD IQBAL
1.	The source of *wujūd* is one, i.e., the Absolute	The source of *wujūd* is one, i.e., the Absolute
2.	Everything in the cosmos is the different modes of the Absolute Self-Manifestation. Meaning there is an evolution of the Absolute's *Wujūd* through: (a) its Unseen Self-Manifestation (*al-Tajallī al-Ghaybī*); (b) its Sensible Self-Manifestation (*al-Tajallī al-Shuhūdī*).	Everything in the cosmos is the different modes of the Absolute Self-Manifestation, through the evolutionary process. In case of the human being, his mental evolution proceeds as follow: Inorganic thing => Plant form => Animal form =>Human form.
3.	Three types of Perfect Man: (a) the third category of *wujūd*, (b) the cosmos; (c) individual, i.e., the one who has been unveiled (*kashīf*).	There is only one type of Perfect Man, namely, the Perfect Man at the individual level.
4.	One becomes the Perfect Man if his destiny says so.	One becomes the Perfect Man if one tries hard to be so.
5.	The Perfect Men at the individual level are those who have knowledge of God and of themselves, and can absorb the properties of the Divine names into themselves, for example, messengers, prophets, *awliyā'*, gnostics (*'ārifūn*) and etc.	The Perfect Men are those who make use of their intuition and rationale, action and thought in equal balance, on the one hand, and those who can absorb the properties of the Divine names into themselves, on the other.

Ibn 'Arabī is more direct than Iqbal in naming that personality: it is the gnostics, Prophets, Messengers, in short, the friends of God. Although Iqbal does not call his ideal man the friend of God, this does not mean that such an individual is not to be considered one of the friends of God. As we have observed, the characteristics of Iqbal's Perfect Man are essentially similar to Ibn 'Arabī's. Again, we do not see any serious difference between the two except in terminology.

What makes Ibn 'Arabī and Iqbal distinct from each other is the problem of how someone can acquire such characteristics. As for Ibn 'Arabī, he avoids speaking of how to reach such a magnificent state, at the individual level, because his thought is intended to illustrate the essential meaning of the Perfect Man. This should not be a surprise since Ibn 'Arabī perceives the position of the Perfect Man as something which has been

determined from eternity, namely, in the state of immutable entities (*a'yān al-thābitah*), not as a thing which can be attained through certain exercises or efforts.

On the other hand, Iqbal regards the Perfect Man as the ultimate model which everyone may imitate in so far as he unites his thought and action in daily life with the light of Divine guidance. Those who are able to do this are automatically illuminated and come truly to understand the mysteries of life. In this way, Iqbal hopes to establish that the individual creates his own destiny. Whether or not one becomes a Perfect Man depends on one's will and effort. Here the pivotal concern is that the idea of the Perfect Man be free from the determinism.

Looking at these conceptions of human destiny, we see that Ibn 'Arabī successfully presented his concept of the pre-determined condition of the human being through a Sufi approach, starting with an explanation of the meaning of *wujūd* and action in terms of the God-human relationship. The key lies in knowing that all human activities have been decided from eternity, including actions which are thought to be performed through free-will.

Iqbal's inclination toward the idea of human free-will paves the way for a logical perspective on human destiny, whose understanding is an active and dynamic process. Compared to Ibn 'Arabī's theory of pre-destination, however, Iqbal's conception of free-will does not completely solve the problem of human destiny. First of all, Iqbal puts God beyond human psychological choices. "God Himself," says Iqbal, "cannot feel, judge and choose for me when more than one course of action is open to me."[1] As such, God is transcendent to our historical life. Secondly, this perspective suffers an epistemological rupture when it understands God as the Perfect Knower whose knowledge covers everything in detail, including human destiny.

The above analysis of the similarities and differences between Ibn 'Arabī and Iqbal should also be read in the light of Iqbal's criticisms of Ibn 'Arabī's thought. Umar has collected twenty of Iqbal's criticisms,[2] two of which relate to certain aspects of the

[1] Iqbal, *The Reconstruction*, p. 80.
[2] Umar, "Contours of Ambivalence," Part I, pp. 32-35.

construction of Ibn 'Arabī's concept of the Perfect Man:[3] first, the doctrine of Ibn 'Arabī's *waḥdaẖ al-wujūd* takes human individuality to be an illusion and may lead to personal passivity and collective laziness.[4] Second, this doctrine perceives God as immanent in the world, when in fact His being has no an actual perpetuity with the world.[5] In the following, we will examine both of these criticisms.

In regards to the first criticism, one cannot deny the fact that the theory of *waḥdaẖ al-wujūd* introduced by Ibn 'Arabī considers human *wujūd* an illusion (*khayāl*) or a metaphor (*al-wujūd al-majāzī*). One should bear in mind, however, that Ibn 'Arabī presents this from the Divine perspective, arguing that only the Absolute is absolutely real. In other words, our *wujūd* is an illusion from God's point of view, whereas from our perspective it is real. Therefore, while affirming the *wujūd* of God as the source of everything, Ibn 'Arabī also says, "the Lord is real and the slave is real (*al-Rabb ḥaqq wa al-'abd ḥaqq*).[6]

Iqbal's association of this with human passivity and laziness, due to the continuous interference of the Absolute in human affairs, is misleading. He misses the point that Ibn 'Arabī posits human passivity only from the Divine perspective: more than that, the human in this context is also lifeless.

> The Lord is real (*ḥaqq*) and the slave (*'abd*) is real/ O, what should I say about him who is responsible (*al-mukallaf*)/ If you say the slave, he is lifeless (*mayyit*)/ Or if you say God, how is He responsible (*annā yukallaf*)?"[7]

Did Ibn 'Arabī promote passivity and laziness in relation to human daily life? It is enough to say that Ibn 'Arabī's theory of *qaḍā'* and *qadar* is one that constitutes the law of action of created beings. Such a question will be answered as follows. First, Ibn 'Arabī says that nothing escapes the knowledge of God, knowledge which is perfect and covers every segment of human life. Second, there is a distinction between knowing the

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[3] These criticisms are Nos. 1, 3, 6 and 16 in Umar's article. However, Nos. 1 and 3 actually deal with the same problem.

[4] Ibid., p. 32; S.A. Vahid, *Maqālāt-i Iqbal* (Lohore: Sh. Muhammad Ashraf, 1963), pp. 154 and 156.

[5] Ibid., p. 163; Umar, "Contours of Ambivalence," Part I, p. 32.

[6] Ibn 'Arabī, *Tanazzul al-Amlāk*, p. 42; *al-Futūḥāt*, Vol. 1, p. 2.

[7] Ibid., p. 42; *al-Futūḥāt*, Vol. 1, p. 2.

qaḍā' and *qadar*, and the contents of *qaḍā'* and *qadar*. The former refers to knowledge per se, i.e., being aware of what has been decreed from eternity and what is going to happen; while the latter consists of the "preparation" (*isti'dād*) and "recipients" (*qawābil*) for everything. Accordingly, both *qaḍā'* and *qadar* are active, not passive. Finally, Ibn 'Arabī said that only a few know the secret of *qaḍā'* and *qadar*, and the rest are ignorant of it.

Under these circumstances, we find little hint of passivity or laziness. It is hard to find in Ibn 'Arabī's writings any indication that if a person desires something, all he needs to do is sit and wait. Someone who wishes to be a good believer still has to adopt religious doctrines; he will not be good believer unless he accomplishes the conditions which take him to what he wants to be. The problem is that, since the majority of people are veiled from the secret of *qaḍā* and *qadr*, they assume that what they have done sprung from their own free-will. According to Ibn 'Arabī, what we choose and do is no more than the realization of God's decree.

In this light, we can say that what Iqbal criticized is not actually to be found in the teachings of Ibn 'Arabī. This criticism has arisen from the popular image invented by the ignorant people of Ibn 'Arabī's thought,[8] from the practices of Ibn 'Arabī's followers in particular, or the Sufis of the Indian subcontinent, who, according to Iqbal, displayed passivity in the face of historical challenges.

Iqbal's second criticism essentially relates to the manifestation of God in the world of being: God has no actual presence in the world, but the doctrine of *waḥdaẖ al-wujūd* places emphasis on the immanence of God on earth. One should bear in mind, however, that Iqbal contradicts himself with regard to this criticism. First, while rejecting the immanent God of Ibn 'Arabī's *waḥdaẖ al-wujūd*, Iqbal says that everything in the universe is the self-manifestation of the Absolute.[9] He continues, "Like pearls do we live and move and have our being in the perpetual flow of Divine life."[10] How does

[8] See also Knysh, "Ibn 'Arabi in the Later Islamic Tradition," *A Commemorative Volume*, p. 321.

[9] Iqbal, *The Reconstruction*, p. 57.

[10] Ibid., pp. 57-58.

God then become transcendent if He Himself is the actual life behind our being? Also, how does God have no an actual "presence" in the world?

Iqbal's criticism of Ibn 'Arabī leads to the question of whether Iqbal had properly studied the works of Ibn 'Arabī. It is interesting to read Iqbal's letter to Shah Suleman Phulwarwi, dated 24th of February 1916, where he wrote:

> I have no misgivings about Al-Shaikh al-Akbar, Ibn 'Arabi, rather, I cherish a love for him. My father had a profound attachment to *Fusus al-Hikam* and *Al-Futuhat al-Makkiyyah*. Since the age of four my ears were acquainted with the name and teachings of Ibn 'Arabi. For years at end both the books mentioned above were studied in our home. I had but little understanding of these doctrines in my childhood days but I, nevertheless, regularly attended these study circles. Later, when I studied Arabic, I tried to read myself. As I grew in experience and knowledge my understanding and interest also increased.[11]

Umar believes that Iqbal did not read the original works of Ibn 'Arabī,[12] nor did he study *al-Futūḥāt* and *Fuṣūṣ* under the guidance of any Sufi masters or with the help of traditional commentaries.[13] His claims are based on the fact that, first of all, the records of Iqbal's life do not leave any clue of such activity[14] and, secondly, that the original works of Ibn 'Arabī and their traditional commentaries were very hard to come by. Commenting on Pir Mehr 'Ali Shah's discovery of a copy of *al-Futuḥāt*, Umar, following Ahmed, says that such a copy was the only one available in Lahore.[15]

However, Umar seems to be oversimplifying the facts. First, Muslims in the Indian subcontinent were familiar with the teachings of Ibn 'Arabī. Even in the absence of records of Iqbal's attachment to Sufi authorities on Ibn 'Arabī's treatises, this does not mean that Iqbal did not study those works. The letter above by Iqbal suggests that

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[11] B.A. Dar, *Anwar-i Iqbal* (Lahore: Iqbal Academy, 1977), p. 177. The translation of the text which was originally in Urdu language is based on Umar's "Contours of Ambivalence," Part I, p. 25.

[12] Ibid., p. 38.

[13] Ibid., p. 25.

[14] Ibid.

[15] Ibid., p. 38; Faiz Ahmed, *Mehr-i Munir* (Lahore, 1376H.), p. 105.

he might have studied Ibn 'Arabī either under the guidance of his own father, who was also a Sufi, or the others.

Also, Chittick's observations on the libraries in India[16] tell us that there are many works, some of them still in manuscript form, which comment upon Ibn 'Arabī's works or thought, and that these commentaries were written by many outstanding Sufi figures like Sayyid 'Ali Hamadānī (d. 786/1385),[17] Sayyid Ashraf Jahāngīr Simnānī (d. ± 829/1425)[18] and Muḥibb Allāh Mubāriz Ilāhābādī (d. 1058/1648).[19] Therefore, looking at the above letter and some similarities between Iqbal's and Ibn 'Arabī's concepts of the Perfect Man, we may assume that Iqbal may have read Ibn 'Arabī's *al-Futūḥāt* and *Fuṣūṣ*, and at least one of those commentaries.

To conclude, Ibn 'Arabī and Iqbal were two figures who lived in different eras, under different condition: their lives were separated by 712 years. Their respective historical backgrounds are distinguishable by the fact that the former lived in the period of Muslim rulers and the latter in the period of Western colonialization of Muslim countries. However, both show many similarities in their concepts of the Perfect Man. The differences between the two, apart from their perspectives of the Absolute and of human action, lie in their different terminologies.

Although a famous opponent of Ibn 'Arabī's *waḥdaẖ al-wujūd*, Iqbal himself was very familiar with Ibn 'Arabī's thought. Furthermore, it should be noted that his concept of the Perfect Man was strongly influenced by Suhrawardī, Rūmī, al-Jīlī and Nietzsche. It is here that Iqbal's connection to Ibn 'Arabī should be underlined, since Rūmī was a very close fellow of Ṣadr al-Dīn al-Qūnawī, the step-son and close disciple of Ibn

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[16] William C. Chittick, "Notes on Ibn al-'Arabī's Influence in the Subcontinent," *The Muslim World* 82.3-4 (July-October 1992), pp. 218-241.

[17] He was probably the author of *Ḥall-i Fuṣūṣ*, the commentary of *Fuṣūṣ*. See ibid., p. 223.

[18] He was a disciple of 'Abd al-Razzāq al-Qāshānī, the famous commentator of the *Fuṣūṣ*. His views were compiled as *Laṭā'if-i Ashrafī* by his student, Niẓām Ḥājjī al-Yamīnī, which is reported to be the source of al-Jāmī's *Nafaḥāt al-Uns*. Niẓām Ḥājjī al-Yamīnī, *Laṭā'if-i Ashrafī* (Delhi: Nuṣrat al-Maṭābi', 1295); Chittick, "Notes on Ibn al-'Arabī's," p. 223.

[19] He was a disciple of Abū Sa'īd Chishtī Ṣābirī Gangohī (d. 1049/1639-40), and the author of *Taḥliyaẖ al-Fuṣūṣ*, a commentary on the *Fuṣūṣ* in Arabic. According to Chittick, Muḥibb Allāh was the translator of several parts of the *Futūḥāt*. Ibid., pp. 234-5.

'Arabī,[20] and al-Jīlī was, in turn, influenced by al-Qūnawī. Therefore, it is not an exaggeration to say that Iqbal's idea of the Perfect Man, which is central to his philosophy of Khūdī, was also positively enriched by Ibn 'Arabī.

[20] The influence of Ibn 'Arabī on Rūmī is still debatable and needs to be studied seriously. Chittick does not believe that Rūmī was influenced by Ibn 'Arabī. Chittick, "Rūmī and *waḥdat al-wujūd*," pp. 917. However, there are two indications of a possible influence. First, the fame of Ibn 'Arabī, on the one hand, started since he was a life; and, on the other, his writings had been read by other Sufis and Muslim legal scholars. There is no doubt that those treatises had reached Rūmī. Second, Rūmī was a close fellow of al-Qūnawī, who was responsible for the spread of Ibn 'Arabī's thought in Persia. Needless to say, their relationship might be assumed as a gate to the connection between Rūmī's thought to that of Ibn 'Arabī.

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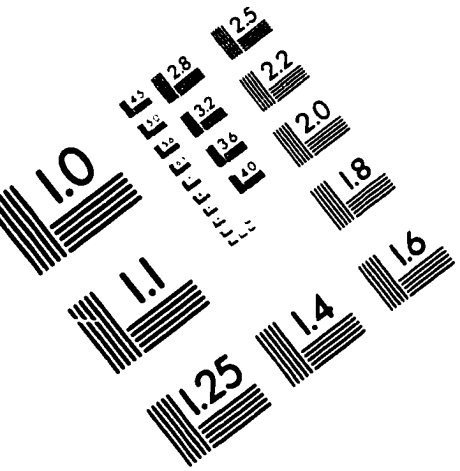

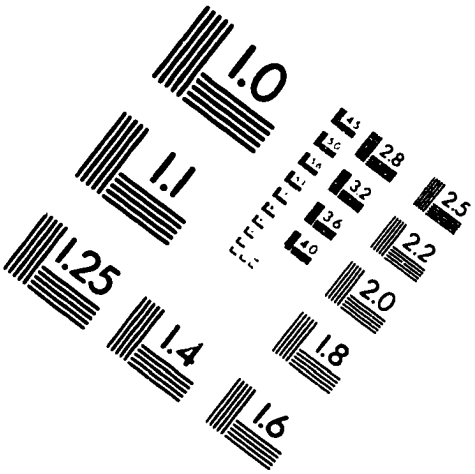

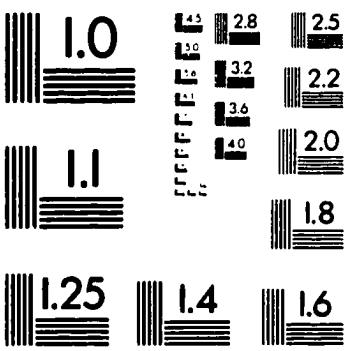

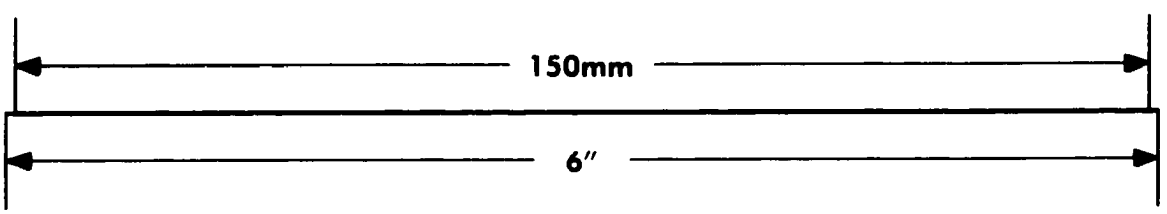

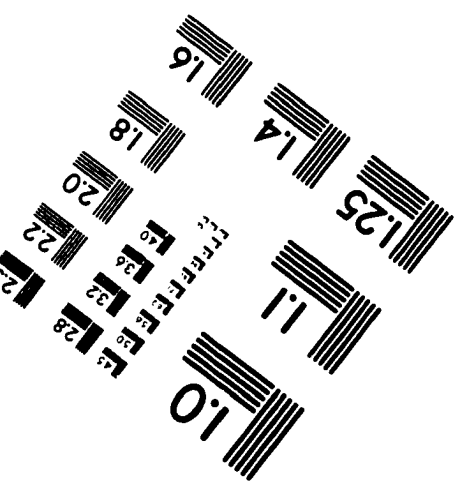

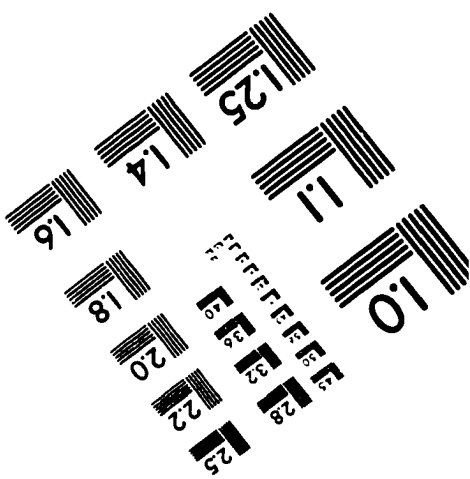

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